Distant Neighbors: Shifting Borders of Comedy, Identity, and Conflict in Andean Bolivia

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DISTANT NEIGHBORS: SHIFTING BORDERS OF COMEDY, IDENTITY, AND CONFLICT IN ANDEAN BOLIVIA

Jennifer A. North

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Counter to popular expectations, marginalized peoples—including those who have long suffered from racism and discrimination—are sometimes active and enthusiastic consumers of media products that portray them in potentially negative ways. For example, *El Cholo Juanito y Richard Douglas (CJRD)*, a Peruvian television comedy based on stereotypical representations of Quechua migrants and assimilated mestizo city dwellers, has enjoyed great popularity in highland Bolivia from 2005 to the present, including in the Quechua-speaking town of Morado Q’asa. Based on in-depth field research and a series of personal interviews, this thesis explores the reception of *CJRD* in Morado Q’asa to analyze the construction and negotiation of ethnic, regional, and national identities among its residents. While *CJRD* elicits a wide variety of responses, both laudatory and critical, most viewers considered the show to be an intra-ethnic production that was at times empowering to its Quechua protagonist and, by association, its real and imagined Quechua audiences. Additionally, I found that many interviewees connected the conflictive relationship portrayed between the two main characters (one stereotypically “traditional,” the other stereotypically “assimilated”) to their own strained relationships with “pretentious” returned migrants and youth from a neighboring, more
“Hispanicized” town. This research indicates that many people of Quechua heritage in Morado Q’asa struggle to identify as Quechua while simultaneously freeing themselves from old stigmas associated with “Indianness,” as well as the hypocrisy frequently attributed to cambas—lowland Bolivians who embrace and exalt “modern,” global identities while rejecting indigeneity. Researched and written in the context of Evo Morales’ MAS presidency, this work demonstrates how community engagements with and uses of media can reveal creative and sometimes surprising processes of identity construction and negotiation in a complex and rapidly shifting ethno-political landscape.
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

As I delved into researching for and writing this thesis, I found myself mentally adding person after person to the list of individuals meriting special mention at this moment. With little exaggeration, I can say that to truly thank everyone, I would need to add an additional chapter to this thesis. Even so, I shall try to express my appreciation in these short paragraphs.

Primero que nada le agradezco mucho al pueblo de Morado Q’asa por aceptarme en su comunidad, sus escuelas, su biblioteca y sus casas. Gracias por mostrarme esa amabilidad incansable de los Andes: los platos de comida, los chistes y la conversación. A las jóvenes, gracias por su amistad, aún cuando no logré seguir los pasos de ningún baile que me enseñaron y perjudiqué varios partidos de futsal con mi torpeza. A la familia Castellón Miranda le mando mi amor y agradecimiento siempre por hospedarme en su casa las dos veces y por tratarme siempre como una más de la familia. Al personal de Biblioworks en Sucre—sobre todo Roxana, Maritza y Zannah—gracias por apoyar mi proyecto. Les agradezco la ayuda en coordinar mi segunda visita a Morado Q’asa aún cuando no iba de voluntaria, y la admirable visión de Biblioworks que hizo que mi primera visita de voluntaria fuera una alegría enorme.

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In addition to my committee, I would like to acknowledge the support of the College of Arts and Sciences (CAS) and the entire Center for Latin American Studies (CLAS) at the University of Miami. I appreciate CAS’s financial support for my preliminary research and volunteer work in Bolivia during June and July of 2013 and CLAS’s financial support for my thesis research in July and August of 2014. Among the people of CLAS, I am grateful for the direction and creativity of former director Dr. Ariel Armony, my supportive and persevering advisor, Dr. Belkys Torres, the ever helpful and friendly Joselyn García, and everyone else who made that department my home on campus. Furthermore, I’d like to thank Dr. Marten Brienen, who during my first two years at the University of Miami helped spark my interest in Bolivia, and Américo Mendoza Mori, whose enthusiasm for Quechua and the Andes led to several fascinating conversations that helped shape my methodology in Bolivia.

También les doy mil gracias a las dos Nélidas que me enseñaron tanto de la lengua quechua. En Miami, Nélida Mendoza del departamento de Ayacucho en el Perú me enseñó no sólo cómo hablar su lengua sino también cómo amar su tierra y cultura natal. En Bolivia, mi amiga y “hermana” Nélida Castellón me repitía todos los nombres de las plantas y los animales que pasábamos en Morado Q’asa. Charlaba en quechua conmigo mientras jugábamos al fútbol, sin importarle que yo dijera palabras que no existían ni que ella siempre ganara. Si logré comunicarme con las personas que conocí en Morado Q’asa es gracias a su amistad. Pachiy, Neli. Dyuspagasunki, Nélida.

Finally, I could not have completed this thesis while maintaining (at least some!) of my sanity without the companionship, encouragement, and locura of Mackenzie and Grace, with whom I have embarked on this exciting, sometimes strange journey
of Latin American Studies at UM. Above all, I’ve been blessed to have shared the process of this thesis with three people who have accompanied me in so many important moments of my life: my close friend, Taylor, my mom, and my dad. It’s a rare joy to have received valuable scholarly critique on my graduate work from the same person with whom I exchanged endless emails in middle and high school as we edited each others essays for class to (what we thought was) near perfection. Thank you, Taylor, for your endless encouragement and sharp perspective. Likewise, I cannot thank my parents enough for their unfaltering support. Thank you, Mom and Dad, for sacrificing your peace of mind at times as I traveled alone to the Andes that first time, and for your superhuman ability to not say “I told you so” when you easily could have. Thank you for trusting me and supporting me as I returned the following year. Your presence and strength accompanies me in all that I do.
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INTRODUCTION

A chill breeze rushed down the freshly swept streets, hardly stirring the packed soil. As the wind passed, it fluttered the hand-woven kamas, intricately patterned blankets shaped into welcoming half-moons. Hanging letters, strung together just off the main road, spelled out a greeting: *Bienvenidos a Morado Q’asa.*

After welcoming the visitors, several dozen community members assembled in a small clearing. Along one side of the clearing, the long wall of the little-used church cast shade onto the people gathering along it. Despite the wind, the sun burned clearly above in the mountain sky. Across from the church, three wooden benches stood one after the next along a row of adobe houses, awaiting the guests of honor. On the far side of the clearing, teenagers crowded in front of the patio of Biblioteca Villa Zamora, partially obscuring the pale blue wall.

![FIGURE 1: Women from Morado Q’asa dance around the pukara. (Photo by author, 2013)](image-url)
A few yards ahead of the teenagers, a ten-foot-high *pukara*\(^1\) towered over the assembled group. The rectangular structure—constructed like a wide ladder between two long posts, wrapped in vegetation—marked the center of dance, the pinnacle of celebration. Hanging from each rung of the *pukara*, bottles of soda, fresh-baked snacks, bags of chips, and balloons swung gently. A red, yellow, and green Bolivian flag fluttered from the wall of the library, creating the illusion that the quintessential symbol of the South American nation crowned the *pukara*.

More and more members of the community settled into the clearing: sitting, standing, leaning, and wandering. I sat down awkwardly near the end of the long bench, unsure of my place in this gathering arranged to celebrate the library’s chief funder, Brendan Sherar, a businessman from the United States. Another volunteer from Biblioworks, the nonprofit organization that supported the library, settled next to me on the bench. The organization’s Bolivian and North American staff joined us. Past the bench, women in *polleras*\(^2\) lined the rest of the house, occasionally accompanied by a man or two clutching a bag of *coca*.\(^3\) Where the clearing joined the street, a larger group formed. Another huddle of women sat on folded blankets, chatting. Further down, a cluster of children and teenagers looked on, the girls dressed in jeans and sweatpants rather than *polleras* like those worn by their mothers and grandmothers. On the patio of the library, the town authorities stood conversing seriously while a young man checked the sound equipment. The young librarian nervously darted inside the library, ensuring

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\(^1\) Literally, “fortified tower” in Quechua, the *pukara* serves as an altar during celebrations in Tarabuco canton. When possible, Quechua words used in this work reflect the Bolivian spelling.

\(^2\) Gathered skirts typically worn by Quechua or Aymara women in the Andes.

\(^3\) *Coca* leaves, from the *coca* plant, are mild stimulants native to the Andes traditionally chewed by indigenous highlanders.
that the children who would perform were preparing. Finally, the celebration commenced.

First, a small girl wandered into the clearing, wearing pink sweatpants and a mask made out of a plate, featuring the hand-drawn image of a pig. The five-year-old fell to the ground while the community observed, curious. Next, thirteen-year-old Maritza Montesinos\(^4\) strutted out into the clearing, a sack over her shoulder. She wore a grey *ch’ullu* (woolen cap) with her shoulder-length hair tucked inside to make her look more masculine, a stereotypical *campesino* (peasant) man. The other articles of clothing that comprised her costume were also markedly rural and indigenous—a leather vest, a woven *lliklla* (light blanket) tied around her waist, old olive-colored sweatpants rolled up below her knees, and a pair of her own *abarcas* (rubber sandals). She began to chatter a monologue and the other young actresses joined her. Her classmate, Liliana, assumed the character of the town judge. Her oversized, navy dress jacket, clean white shorts, dark bag, and hat attempted to cast the

\(^4\)All names used for people in Morado Q’asa are pseudonyms. The last names, while pseudonyms, maintain familial relationships.
image of an authoritarian man. A third classmate, Gabriela, joined in, wearing a bright pink pollera, her hair in two braids to complete the cholita style.\(^5\)

Just the appearance of the three sixth graders in their costumes and with their different struts sent the teenagers gathered nearby into a fit of laughter. The play commenced. The raucous laughter from the community members gathered around the clearing continued as the plot progressed. Meanwhile, I observed, bewildered. The girls skillfully acted out a scene following the structure of a court case. The scenario grew more and more enigmatic as the sixth graders wove a scenario that evoked humor through the heavy themes of rape, corruption, and blatant racism. The “judge” flung racial slurs such as “indio” at the “campesino.” Maritza, the campesino, exaggerated the heavy accent of a Quechua-dominant speaker—a form of speech similar to that of her parents. The trio ended the sketch by turning the tables as the campesino humiliated the judge and the cholita, who had accused him falsely. The audience gathered around the clearing cheered as the girls retreated to the library to change clothes and prepare for their next performance, a dance.

In the pause between the end of the sketch and the next act, in which the girls danced, the librarian approached me and a Biblioworks staff member, a Bolivian psychologist. The psychologist chuckled, “el Cholo Juanito, right?” The librarian beamed and nodded.

---

\(^5\) Cholita, a diminutive form of the term choła, is used much more frequently in Chuquisaca than the latter term. While the terms cholo and choła have derogatory connotations, the identifier cholita is more neutral. Cholita refers to any woman who wears the pollera, whether a migrant in an urban area or a resident of rural towns or villages, like Morado Q’asa. In Morado Q’asa, women labeled cholitas by others (because they wear a pollera) usually self-identified as cholitas and used the term freely.
Performing Identities

This skit was not the first time I had heard of el Cholo Juanito, one of the central characters in the Peruvian comedy El Cholo Juanito y Richard Douglas (CJRD). I had watched an episode on DVD during my first day in Morado Q’asa, when one of the teenagers in my host family popped the disc into the family’s DVD player in a moment of rest. Seeing it performed live in the community festival, however, heightened my curiosity.

When the sixth-grade girls of Morado Q’asa staged the skit, they did more than simply put on a play mimicking a popular program. The girls and their director, the teenage librarian, chose this program rather than a more omnipresent comedy like El Chavo del Ocho, which broadcasted every day on Bolivisión, the sole television channel accessible in the town. The girls assessed which elements made them laugh and reproduced them. They assumed that their audience—their community—would take equal pleasure in their humor. In the sketch, they willingly and gleefully exchanged racial slurs that they usually avoided and comfortably mocked a stigmatized accent in their society—an accent that marked the speech of most of their parents. While these similarities made me, as an outsider, uneasy, the young women had correctly predicted the impact of their performance. Everyone—adults and children; monolingual Quechua speakers and bilinguals; women and men—laughed heartily throughout the play.

The sixth graders created this literal performance of ethnicity in a context rich with more subtle embodiments of ethnic and other identities: the nation symbolized by the Bolivian flag; Spanish literacy represented by the library; Yampara culture standing tall in the pukara; Andean indigeneity threaded into the women’s polleras, the men’s coca,
and the children’s *ch’ullus*; migration and education embodied by the Bolivian psychologist; the transnational Andes reflected in the Peruvian skit; ethnic conflict structuring the plot; and echoes of colonialism in the foreign NGO leaders and volunteers seated in the place of honor. Despite our position, the other foreigners and I remained on the outskirts of the presentation; this performance was deeply Andean, by Andean people and for Andean people.

**Celebration and Mockery: Contradictions of Ethnic Comedy**

This research has grown from the questions that emerged as I watched Maritza, Liliana, and Gabriela perform *CJRD* in July 2013, and as I saw the show reappear during the two months I spent in Morado Q’asa that year. What made a show based on ethnic slurs and blatant discrimination so popular in a community where I had observed many signs of Quechua pride? Did the audience identify with the character of el Cholo Juanito or did they view him at a distance, perhaps because of his Peruvian origins? For the people of Morado Q’asa, who was laughing at whom? As I considered these questions, I grew convinced that exploring the reception of *CJRD* in Morado Q’asa could reveal valuable facets of the processes by which community members negotiate their ethnic identities in contexts of migration, globalized media circulation, and political change.

Indeed, examining audience reception of *CJRD* alongside other threads of people’s lives in Morado Q’asa proved fruitful. I discovered that while the show and life experiences evoked a multiplicity of interpretations, the people of Morado Q’asa generally viewed both characters—the “Cholo” Juanito and the *mestizo* Richard Douglas—as part of a familiar intra-ethnic realm, despite recognizing the show’s Peruvian origins and the contrasting ways by which each character performed his
ethnicity. Discussions with residents of Morado Q’asa revealed the tensions felt as individuals attempted simultaneously to distance themselves from the stigma of being labeled “indio,” or Indian and being considered hypocrites who reject their culture and brag about their achievements.

Methodology

To explore these themes, I returned to Bolivia in July and August 2014. While I conducted the central portion of my fieldwork during these months, the foundation of this thesis formed during my initial stay in Morado Q’asa in June and July 2013. My observations during both of these trips as I participated in many facets of life in Morado Q’asa have informed this study.

Initial Place in the Community

In June and July of 2013, I lived in Morado Q’asa with a local family while volunteering with Biblioworks, a US-Bolivian nonprofit organization that constructs and stocks small libraries and trains librarians in rural Chuquisaca. I lived with the family of the young librarian, and I supported her efforts in the library while organizing a book club for children and teenagers. During my time in the community in 2013, I developed relationships that would prove invaluable during my more formal research in 2014. Of equal importance, I strengthened my abilities in the local variety of Quechua.\(^6\) In an effort to stay busy during the day, when children studied in school and the library was closed, I

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\(^6\) People in Morado Q’asa and in much of Chuquisaca speak Southern Quechua. In many ways, it most closely resembles the Quechua spoken in Cuzco rather than the Quechua spoken in other locations in southern Peru, such as Ayacucho. Such similarities include the first person plural, exclusive “ñuqayku” (in Ayacucho, “ñuganiku”) and the present progressive, formed with “-sha-,” as in Cuzco, rather than “-chka-” as in Ayacucho. Southern Quechua in Bolivia has integrated more aspects of Spanish than cusqueño Southern Quechua, however. For instance, it has lost the suffixes “-mi” and “-si” that still characterize Quechua in Cuzco. It uses both “-kuna” (from Quechua) and “-s” (from Spanish) as markers of plural nouns, with the former following consonants and the latter following vowels. As I initially learned the Quechua of Ayacucho, this time in 2013 was crucial for me to adjust my speech to the context.
visited both the primary school in Morado Q’asa and the secondary school in the adjacent town several times. These experiences helped me understand the bilingual academic environment in which the children of Morado Q’asa learn. I also developed relationships with several teachers whose perspectives informed my own with regard to the people from other parts of Bolivia who help make up the social fabric of Morado Q’asa.

**Interviews**

Fundamental to my research are sixteen semi-structured interviews conducted during July and August 2014 with Quechua-speakers in Morado Q’asa. A total of nineteen individuals were interviewed because in two of the interviews, family members joined the conversation after the initial interviewee and I had already begun. These nineteen individuals belonged to eleven different households. Participants for interviews were chosen based on availability and generally derived from the relationships I had established in the community, though on two occasions, I interviewed people who just happened to be near me. I recorded and transcribed all but one interview. The people interviewed ranged from ten-years-old to around seventy-years-old. I interviewed fourteen females and five males. The uneven gender representation exists despite my efforts to interview more males. As a young female, I often found myself pushed into the female sphere, especially among adolescent girls (six of the nineteen interviewees were young women between ten and eighteen-years-old). When I attempted to interview adolescent or young adult males, they often grew shy or illusive. This distribution of participants, therefore, does not represent the entire community, nor was it intended to do so. Rather, I interviewed those with whom I would be able to have frank conversations

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7 See Appendix A (168) for a list of interviewees and their basic demographic information.
about topics as benign as music and television, to delicate and personal ones, such as incidents of discrimination.

My interviewees came from all classes in Morado Q’asa, with the exception of the poorest class. Figure 1 outlines a rough division of classes within Morado Q’asa and some of the markers of these categories as I observed them. The majority of people came from “middle” classes: average or wealthy agriculturalists (thirteen of nineteen). One interviewee came from the highest class, as she was a primary school teacher. The remaining five came from the shopkeeper and merchant class. In regards to occupation, all but one interviewee worked to some extent in agriculture. The one woman who did not participate in family agriculture was a primary school teacher from Sucre. She also was the only person interviewed who spoke Quechua as a second language. Furthermore, five young women interviewed (twelve through eighteen) were secondary school students, and one girl (ten) was a primary school student. Three men (twenty, mid-thirties, and forty-four) participated both in agriculture and migratory construction work. One twenty-five-year-old man was studying in the normal school in the nearby community of Cororo. Two of the middle-aged women interviewed owned and operated stores in the village while participating in their families’ agriculture ventures. The remaining participants worked almost exclusively in agriculture, occasionally weaving and selling products in Tarabuco.

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8 This table reflects my observations on how classes are perceived in Morado Q’asa. While the people of Morado Q’asa did not apply these labels as classes per se, they often outlined such a hierarchy. For instance, in Morado Q’asa as in much of the Andes, being a “professional” (in Morado Q’asa, “professionals” are almost always teachers) carries a great, almost mythical, weight. Merchants and shopkeepers hold second place in the hierarchy. They often serve as padrinos, or godparents, to children of agricultural families. The distinction between different agricultural “classes” is not as clear as the division between professionals, merchants/shopkeepers, and agriculturalists in general. These divisions are mainly marked by access to material goods.

9 International measures still would place the “middle classes” of Morado Q’asa, including “wealthy” agriculturalists and some merchants/shopkeepers, in situations of poverty.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Class</th>
<th>Education of Head of Household</th>
<th>Education of Children</th>
<th>Technology</th>
<th>Clothing</th>
<th>Food</th>
<th>Other Material Goods</th>
<th>Migrant Labor</th>
</tr>
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<tr>
<td>Teacher (Professional)</td>
<td>Tertiary education</td>
<td>Secondary School (SS) in Sucre; University Education (often for careers other than teaching)</td>
<td>TV(s); Radio(s); Cell Phone(s)</td>
<td>Western clothing for adult women; closed-toed shoes for children</td>
<td>Meat; Eggs</td>
<td>Flushable Toilets and Showers; Refrigerator</td>
<td>Usually unnecessary</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Merchant and Shopkeeper</td>
<td>Some SS or completed SS</td>
<td>SS in Sucre; University Education (often for careers other than teaching)</td>
<td>TV(s); Radio(s); Cell Phone(s)</td>
<td>Western clothing OR pollera for adult women; children usually wear abarcas</td>
<td>Occasional Meat (1-2 times a week); Eggs</td>
<td>Flushable Toilets and Showers; Refrigerator</td>
<td>Possible income from migrant labor, may be unnecessary</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wealthy Agriculture</td>
<td>Some primary school (PS) or none</td>
<td>Free SS in Cororo; tertiary education at normal school for several children</td>
<td>TV(s); Radio(s); Cell Phone(s)</td>
<td>Pollera for adult women; children wear abarcas in most situations</td>
<td>Holiday and Birthday Meat; Eggs</td>
<td>Flushable Toilets; Possible Showers</td>
<td>Income from migrant labor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Average Agriculture</td>
<td>Some PS or none</td>
<td>Free SS in Cororo; cannot afford tertiary education for majority of children</td>
<td>Possibly one TV; Radio; Possibly one cell phone</td>
<td>Pollera for adult women; children wear abarcas in most situations</td>
<td>No meat; Occasional Eggs</td>
<td>Toilet placed over hole in outhouse, no shower</td>
<td>Income from migrant labor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Poor Agriculture</td>
<td>Some PS or none</td>
<td>May or may not attend free SS; cannot afford tertiary education for children</td>
<td>No TV; possibly radio; no cell phones</td>
<td>Pollera for adult women; children wear abarcas</td>
<td>No meat; few eggs</td>
<td>No toilet; no showers</td>
<td>Little or no income from migrant labor</td>
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</table>
I conducted semi-structured interviews conducted with a conversational tone. All but two interviews were conducted in Spanish; the remaining two were conducted in Quechua. Sometimes interviewees and I would switch roles, and they would ask me about myself, my family, and my country. The questions asked evolved after every interview. Furthermore, when a theme was mentioned in several interviews, I began to bring up that theme in my questions in order to gain more perspectives. While this method allowed me to explore several issues in depth, it also presented limitations. By asking questions about language use, for example, I may have placed greater emphasis on Quechua than each interviewee may have otherwise expressed. At the same time, some of the most interesting findings of my study emerged unexpectedly when I asked a question expecting—based on my hypotheses—a certain answer and received a different one. References to discrimination especially surprised me. Based on my understanding of Bolivian politics, I had expected tales of mistreatment from time spent in Santa Cruz; instead, many interviewees told of incidents that had occurred much closer to home.

My interview questions focused on several categories: biographical information (usually an open-ended question like, “tell me about yourself”), perspectives on technology and communications (do you watch television? what kind of things do you like to watch?), questions about CJRD (what is el Cholo like? What is Richard like? What languages do they speak? Who wins?—provided the interviewee has already noted that the comedians structure their jokes on verbal sparring.) and inquiries about their own experiences with discrimination. When the situation allowed for a longer interview, I also inquired about politics and the upcoming presidential elections in October 2014. I always introduced CJRD into the conversation. I did so, however, after having repeatedly
observed the unprompted popularity of the show in the community in 2013. I observed physical reactions (laughter, nervousness, etcetera). Many people laughed after I mentioned the show and stated that they liked it. Others acknowledged the existence of the show yet shared their displeasure. The variety of responses and my prior observations in the community seem to indicate that my bringing up CJRD did not place much more importance on the show than it already held in the community.

**Surveys**

To supplement the interviews, I refer to two surveys: a “Migration and ICTs (Information and Communications Technologies)” survey that I conducted in Morado Q’asa in August 2014 (Appendix B), and a basic audience survey taken at a live performance of CJRD on August 3, 2014 in Sucre (Appendix C).

With my “Migration and ICTs” survey, I sought to gain a descriptive background on the extent of migration from Morado Q’asa, both to Santa Cruz and foreign countries. I also surveyed households about their possession of different communication technology: television, radio, computers, and cell phones. Initially, I set out to survey every fourth household in the community, defined geographically. This method presented some challenges. First, I used a map from 2009 that did not include all new homes. Furthermore, it was not always clear where one home ended and another began, as most homes in Morado Q’asa connect with a neighboring house. In some cases, I concluded that the house chosen was unoccupied, either because the homeowners were simply out of town, engaged in migration, or because they had abandoned the house permanently. Thus, I ultimately conducted the survey with roughly every fourth house, moving on to
the next house if after a few days I decided the original was unoccupied. I surveyed twenty-seven households. This survey appears in Appendix A.

For my “Migration and ICTs” survey, I asked seven questions to the member of the household who answered the door.\(^{10}\) First, I explained the purpose of the survey. The first four questions regarded technology: do you have a television/computer/radio/cell phone, and if so, how many? In hindsight, it would have been helpful to ask, as well, if the family owned a DVD player, but I did not inquire. The next three questions presented greater problems. If teenagers answered the door, I asked if they had any siblings in Santa Cruz, in other cities in Bolivia, or in another country.\(^{11}\) If older adults answered the door, I inquired about their children. Of course, this methodology posed problems when I could not figure out the age of my interlocutor. I usually asked about siblings or children, which in some cases may have led to people identifying family members engaged in migration who had never formed part of the household in Morado Q’asa. The questions were posed in either Spanish (thirteen) or Quechua (ten), depending on individual preferences. On four occasions I began the questions in Quechua and was directed to another member of the family, with whom I spoke in Spanish. I recorded the gender and approximate age of the person surveyed, as well as the language in which the survey was conducted.

I also conducted a basic audience survey at the live performance of CJRD in Sucre. I wandered around the auditorium and spoke to twenty individuals. I did not employ any controlled sampling method for choosing those individuals; however, I did try to choose a

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\(^{10}\) In a few cases, the person who answered the door directed me to someone else in the household. This often occurred when the person who answered the door was elderly.

\(^{11}\) I ultimately discarded the question about other cities in Bolivia (aside from Santa Cruz, which I asked explicitly), as I did not decide in the beginning whether or not to include university students in Cororo or Sucre in this measure.
variety of people: men, women, young people, older adults, women with polleras and wearing pants. I asked the chosen individuals where they lived, how many people accompanied them, and how they found out about the live show. While simple and rough, this survey allowed me to gauge the circuits through which the show was promoted—mostly radio—and reinforced my general impression that the show attracted families.

**Live Performance**

A live performance of CJRD in Sucre presented a serendipitous opportunity for me to observe firsthand the way an audience in Chuquisaca interacted with the program, as well as how the performers adapted their performance to a Bolivian context. Although the audience members came from places other than Morado Q’asa, my observations and survey seemed to indicate that many members of the audience came from similar geographic and cultural grounds.

**Overview of Chapters**

In this thesis, I approach CJRD as an inroad by which to consider the interplay between experiences of migration, national belonging, and interpersonal relationships in the construction and negotiation of ethnic identities. In Chapter One, I present a critical survey of the literature about audience reception and ethnic humor. I also consider the ways indigenous peoples have been conceptualized by the elites of Peru and Bolivia since the early twentieth century, and review the work of scholars who focus on how indigenous people fashion their own places in their communities and in the nation. Later in the first chapter, I profile the town of Morado Q’asa, Bolivia and introduce CJRD by examining the history of similar comedy forms in Peru.
In Chapter Two, I focus on different readings of *CJRD*. I examine the ways by which the comedians have intertwined their comedy with the political project of the Movimiento al Socialismo, or MAS, party in Bolivia. I also analyze common tropes used in *CJRD* and examine the construction of the characters both by the show’s creators and Peruvian media outlets. The lens then turns to Chuquisaca. I analyze the live performance of *CJRD* that I attended in Sucre. Reentering Morado Q’asa, I discuss interpretations of the show by people in the community. Though people demonstrated a diversity of interpretations, several common threads ran through the responses.

In Chapter Three, I build on the themes developed in Chapter Two by exploring other aspects of the lives of people in Morado Q’asa. I focus on the contradictions and tensions that arise from the circulation of people and ideas: daily trips of teenagers to a neighboring town for school; labor migration to distance cities and back; the interplay between a changing political and cultural climate; and the pervasive power differentials that permeate life. In Chapter Three, I also examine theories that have emerged regarding the relationship between national identities and indigenous identities and some of the local tensions produced by migration, many of which manifest in ethnic terms.

While laughter lies at the heart of comedy, humor does more than offer pleasure. It also engages and twists interpretations of reality. Likewise, viewers actively consider the content presented to them in comedy. They may relate the depictions to their own experiences or distance themselves from the representations provided. This work aims to reveal how a seemingly “commonplace” media production like *CJRD* continuously creates, challenges, and recreates representations of indigeneity; furthermore, by considering how viewers creatively engage the comedy within their own frames of
reference, this work seeks to understand new ways by which people conceive Quechua identities without the stigma of “Indianness.”
CHAPTER ONE
Life and Laughter in Morado Q’asa: Ethnicity and Ethnic Humor in an Andean Context

Exploring the media that individuals, families, and communities choose to consume in their free time, or to accompany them as they work, presents a lens through which one can view intimate aspects of society. Even as viewers’ geographic, economic, and sociological environments filter the programs available for them, individuals still exercise agency in choosing and interpreting the media that they consume. In a town like Morado Q’asa, where community members can access only one television channel and limited radio stations, the choices they make when purchasing music and videos reveal important facets of their preferences and priorities.

Considering this flow of interactions, exploring how people in Morado Q’asa interpret a popular ethnic comedy from Peru—one that they choose to purchase—proves informative to understanding how they negotiate their identities as Bolivians with Quechua heritage. In this chapter, I introduce the town of Morado Q’asa and examine its social and educational structure and geographic context. Furthermore, I present the program under focus, El Cholo Juanito y Richard Douglas (CJRD), revealing its unique blend of political activism, multiple representations of class and indigeneity, and humor. This study reveals the value of considering the reception of fictional forms of entertainment in an effort to understand the negotiation of ethnic identities. This value extends beyond the town and program featured here. Current studies of audience reception of media, especially studies of ethnic humor in its many manifestations,
however, tend to focus on European and North American audiences. This limited focus ignores the varied cases of peoples from the global South, whose circumstances and histories often collide with those of Northern viewers. Furthermore, audience research tends to focus on mainstream productions rather than works circulated largely through piracy.

The emphasis on Western audiences in studies of ethnic humor deprives the discipline of the richness of cases from other cultures, especially cultures with vastly different constructions of ethnicity. While placing boundaries around “ethnic groups” presents as questionable of a task in the United States and Western Europe as it does anywhere, ethnic humor research tends to focus on groups that can be directly linked to a certain nationality (i.e., British, Germans, Polish, Mexican, etcetera), religion (usually Jewish), or a subnational region with clearly-defined boundaries. 12 While African Americans, an ethnic group frequently studied in ethnic humor, do not fall into clearly defined national, religious, or regional categories, the traditional linkage between ethnicity and race in the United States still places relatively rigid—if artificial—boundaries around the group. The legal and cultural history of viewing race as binary in the United States means that discussions of African American humor may question how ethnicity is performed but not how the ethnicity itself is delineated. 13 In contrast, ethnic identifications in the Andes cannot be linked to external political entities or to a certain

12 Ethnic humor research often focuses on European nationalities and Jewish people. See Davies (1990), Rappoport (2005), and Apte (1985) in which these groups dominate the discussion.
13 Consider Banjo’s (2011) study entitled “What are You Laughing at: Examining White Identity and Enjoyment of Black Entertainment.” This study is predicated on a racial binary clearly defining who is a White audience member and who is a Black audience member, as well as who qualifies as a Black entertainer.
religion. Furthermore, ethnic identities and identifications across the Andes do not reduce simply to heritage or appearance.

In the next section, I explore several perspectives on audience reception and ethnic humor while critically examining the limitations of these perspectives when applied to the Andean context. Then, I trace the literature on the complexity of the construction of ethnicity in Bolivia, also touching on the situation in Peru. Scholars agree that ethnicity in the Andes cannot be reduced to phenotype, but rather, is a fluid construct that might incorporate geographic location, language, accent, socioeconomic status, education, gender, and profession—that is, social factors.\textsuperscript{14} The historical construction of ethnic identities in Bolivia forms a framework from which to consider how, with a background of shifting cultural politics that increasingly recognize indigeneity and in the context of migration and increasing circulation of media, the Quechua-speaking people of Morado Q’asa negotiate their identities—ethnic and others.

**Cultural Perspectives on Audience Research**

Audience research has evolved since its emergence in the 1920s, shifting focus from behavioral effects and propaganda to culture.\textsuperscript{15} Beginning in the 1960s and 1970s, scholars increasingly saw audience studies as a valuable tool for understanding human experience, as they recognized viewer agency.\textsuperscript{16} Alasuutari identifies three generations of

\textsuperscript{14} See Stroble-Gregor et al. (1994) de la Cadena (2000), and Pape (2009).

\textsuperscript{15} Ruddock, *Understanding Audiences* (2001), 41-48. The initial behavioral focus of audience research reflected both the positivist academic climate of the time as well as the political motivations of the state, which controlled research funding. Ruddock emphasizes that the United States and Western European governments had witnessed the importance of propaganda during World War I. They sought to understand how media could increase nationalist sentiments following the First World War. Then, as Europe simmered closer to conflict again, these states wanted to use media to inspire support for the war in their citizens. After the end of World War II, the same aims remained present in the Cold War context, although Ruddock emphasizes that state focus, at least in the United States, had expanded from simple propaganda to encouraging “socially-desirable” behaviors in their population.

\textsuperscript{16} Alasuutari, *Rethinking the Media Audience* (1999), 2.
culturally-oriented audience research: first, message-oriented “reception research”; second, an anthropologically-focused “audience ethnography”; and third, the hybrid “constructionist” phase of contemporary audience studies. The third phase “resumes an interest in programmes and programming, but not as texts studied in isolation from their usage as an element of everyday life.”

While sacrificing the clarity of the first generation and the thick descriptions of the second generation, the constructionist phase more accurately reflects the complex relationships between viewers and media.

In response to criticism about the value of audience research, Alasuutari states that questioning the existence of an interactive relationship between audiences and media is “roughly the same as to ask whether society has an impact on the individual.” I agree. If a program or song brings individuals, families, and communities joy or sorrow, anxiety or a common conversation topic, if it connects them with novelties from other countries or shows them luxuries from foreign lands to which they lack access, then that program or song has marked their lives. Ignoring the role of humans as members of audiences would erase a central part of many people’s daily experiences. Considering the other extreme, to treat people only as members of an audience and not also as members of many wider communities—as mothers, workers, peasants, students, females, indigenous, urban, migrants, or any combination or extension of these identities—implies, to echo Stephen Crook’s harsh critique of many audience research paradigms, minimization of the role of the social in the life of the individual. Such an essential part of human existence merits recognition.

17 Ibid., 7.
18 Ibid., 17.
Thus, in the spirit of the constructionist generation of audience research—now well underway—this research assumes the agency of individual viewers without disregarding societal tendencies and market limitations. People choose a certain program or form of media because they believe it will bring something positive to their lives, such as social connection, relaxation, information, humor, excitement or even prestige. At the same time, however, the viewer can only choose those media products which are available—and somewhat visible—within their cultural realm. Despite limitations in access, viewers maintain the independence required to internalize and interpret the show as they see fit. On a community level, the ways different individual interpretations and uses converge and differ reveal important aspects of the society. From this “active audience” orientation, scholars can consider complex relationships among audience members, society, and the media.²⁰

The first generation of audience research grew from the work of Stuart Hall, who established an “encoding/decoding” model. According to this framework, a message is “encoded” into the media product and then “decoded,” or interpreted, in various ways by the audience. Hall’s model represents one of the first to acknowledge that media do not simply flow, unquestioned, from their creators into their audience. Instead, Hall emphasized that media audiences interpret a program in different ways. Within Hall’s typology, audiences can decode the program through dominant-preferred, a negotiated, or oppositional readings. While audiences employing a dominant-preferred reading accept the hegemonic ideology encoded into the program, viewers may also choose to formulate more critical interpretations, either partially (negotiated reading) or completely.

(oppositional reading). Hall’s encoding/decoding model placed valuable emphasis on the interpretative agency of audiences, challenging other media reception paradigms that treated media as a stimulus that evoked certain “effects” in their viewers. In a broad sense, the theoretical orientation promoted by Hall and other active audience scholars contribute a spirit of viewer agency relevant to the study of audiences in places like Morado Q’asa. Living far from urban centers of power as part of an indigenous group that has experienced centuries of marginalization, the people of Morado Q’asa do not necessarily interpret media in perfect accordance with the hegemonic ideologies of “Hispanic” Bolivia.

Without denying the crucial foundation provided by Hall, his specific typology of the process of encoding/decoding is of limited use in connection to cases like Morado Q’asa. While Hall’s model distinguishes between comprehension and interpretation—that is, between denotation and connotation—he does not address circumstances where extreme differences in language abilities might lead to vast differences in comprehension among audience members. As I discuss in Chapter Two, some viewers of CJRD in Morado Q’asa evaluate the program solely on an audiovisual level, not because they disagree with the encoded message, but rather because they do not understand the language into which the message was encoded, Spanish.

Hall’s initial encoding/decoding model, formulated in 1980, also oversimplifies the encoding process by assuming that media production “encodes” ideologies of the dominant class. Hall later notes this limitation, recognizing that media production is a

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21 Hall, “Encoding, Decoding” (1999), 515-517.
23 Hall, “Encoding, Decoding” (1999), 512.
24 See Ross (2011) for a discussion of these limitations.
“contested and contradictory space.”

While arguing that, over time, media will demonstrate a general tendency to fall in line with hegemonic ideology, Hall specifies that individual productions may challenge this ideology in various ways. Building from Hall, other scholars revised his initial assumption that the values of the dominant class were necessarily encoded into the media product. These scholars acknowledged that the same diversity of messages that creators can choose to encode into their work, audiences can decode from it.

While Hall’s initial assumption that all media necessarily reflects the values of the dominant class suffers many limitations in studies of mainstream media, it is especially questionable in programs like CJRD that are produced and circulated in a non-mainstream media sphere. This limitation can be observed in Espiritu’s analysis of the reception of Korean dramas by young Filipino women. Following Hall’s model, she assumes that the dramas all express dominant capitalist views. Her recognition of the value of cultural affinity—or the similarities between Korean and Filipino culture—would have been enhanced by incorporating the alternate values of those cultures into her assessment of the ideology encoded in the dramas. Despite its theoretical usefulness, Hall’s encoding/decoding model offers only a partial inroad into cases such as the community of Morado Q’asa as audience of CJRD. Analyzing interviews of viewers from the community, I realized that individuals demonstrated vastly different levels of

26 Ibid., 263. This revised viewpoint echoes Althusser’s placement of “the communications apparatus” within his typology of Ideological State Apparatuses. Althusser argues that Ideological State Apparatuses help reproduce means of production through reinforcing hegemonic ideology. Crucially, however, he presents communications media as a site of struggle between dominant viewpoints and minority voices. Like Hall (1994), Althusser argues that though the hegemonic ideology dominates communications media in its totality, individual media products may challenge this ideology in unique ways.
27 See Ross (2011).
enjoyment, understanding, and critique. Only by integrating ethnographic and message-based perspectives can interpretations of *CJRD* shed light on the conceptualization of ethnic and other identities in Morado Q’asa.

**“Digital Democracy” in the Andes**

Furthermore, the informal market that links *CJRD* and its audience contrasts with the distribution patterns of mainstream media in most of the U.S and Europe. The informal media economy—also known as media piracy—links viewers and producers of the show. In addition, new information and communication technologies (ICTs) allow for creative negotiation of space to access non-dominant media.

Media in the Andes often function outside the hegemonic context of production by large corporations and circulation through official channels. The implications of this informal circulation of media result in two opposing positions. Some scholars praise what Stobart refers to as “digital democracy,” or the increased diversity of media products and levels of access by the poorer sectors of society to these products. Other scholars and industry leaders condemn media “piracy” for supposedly debilitating the creative process by robbing artists and producers of the income necessary to profit from—and thus continue—their craft. In Bolivia, the poorest and most unequal nation in South America and home of one of the most extensive informal economies in the world, informal media circulation deserves special attention. Thus, scholars of Bolivia and other Andean

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29 While media piracy clearly exists in the United States and Western Europe, it does not form the basis of the media economies of those regions. Furthermore, media piracy in the United States and Western Europe mainly involves the digital mode of transmission. In the Andes, the informal media economy circulates physical DVDs.
30 See Stobart (2010).
32 Ibid., 29. Stobart references a 2009 World Bank study declaring that Bolivia’s informal economy was the second most extensive in the world, second only to the informal economy of Georgia.
countries increasingly research media piracy in the region as a crucial component for understanding popular media in the region.

In his study of Quichua media in Ecuador, Floyd presents support for the “digital democracy” stance arguing that circulation of Quichua media operates under a different logic than the mainstream media market as a “symbiotic” structure in which piracy economically and culturally enhances society as a whole—especially artists, vendors, and the audience—and only harms the large, historically hegemonic media corporations. Informal media circulation benefits artists because they use the pirated DVDs and CDs as promotional materials and profit from live performances. The creators of CJRD use the same economic structure for profiting from their work. Rotondo, who includes CJRD in his study of Andean media, concurs with Floyd’s conclusion about the financial benefits of piracy to alternative performers, artists, and producers. Though these artists also attempt to sell their productions through the formal media market, piracy provides free advertising for their more profitable live performances.

The limited studies that deal with the flow of non-hegemonic media through piracy usually agree that this circulation encourages diversity in media. These studies, however, rarely focus on comedic genres. In the Andes, these studies revolve around indigenous music and community-based film. Most of the scholars studying these genres problematize the perception that these forms of media unquestionably provide “affirming” and “positive” representations of indigenous peoples who are otherwise

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33 Floyd, “Quichua Language Media Spaces” (2008), 36. Floyd cites the hegemonic media corporations in Ecuador as “international” corporations. Stobart considers the media economy in Bolivia with more specificity, highlighting that Bolivian labels controlled only 10% of the market while foreign labels dominated the rest (2010, 31). Thus, the corporations harmed by media piracy were mainly foreign, adding a nationalist argument to the informal media economy.
degraded or simply ignored by dominant society.\textsuperscript{36} While acknowledging the underlying political contradictions of indigenous media, however, scholars usually choose genres that are intended to represent indigenous people faithfully.\textsuperscript{37} As a comedy, \textit{CJRD}, however, falls into a different category of indigenous media. Viewers tend to have different expectations for comedy than they do for other forms of media. Mulkay juxtaposes a serious mode of communication and a “humorous” mode of communication. He emphasizes that while the former rejects “ambiguity, inconsistency, contradiction and interpretative diversity,” the latter relies on these elements.\textsuperscript{38} As humor forms an intimate part of everyday life in most societies, including the cultures of the Andes, most people are versed in the expectations of humor. Thus, upon viewing a program like \textit{CJRD}, viewers likely expect a certain exaggeration and twisting of reality for humorous purposes and thus tolerate those elements. \textit{CJRD} takes advantage of dominant stereotypes of the “Indian in the city” to generate humor. In \textit{CJRD}, stereotypical representations and insult-based humor dominate. It is through the ambiguity of these potentially negative representations that the show serves as a space for the negotiation of ethnic identities among Andean viewers.

\textbf{The Limited Realm of Ethnic Humor Research}

This complication leads to the difficult world of ethnic humor, a topic that involves complex overlaps between many academic fields and evokes great controversy in everyday life. Alternately celebrated or condemned as overly-sensitive devotion towards “politically correctness,” one dominant viewpoint holds that humor based on ethnic traits

\textsuperscript{36} See Floyd (2008), Zamorano (2009), García (2005), Schiwy (2009), and Stobart (2011).
\textsuperscript{37} See Stobart (2011) for a case study focusing on the complex intra-ethnic production politics of “indigenous” music.
should be interpreted as an insult toward the group at hand and as a danger to racial and
ethnic relations in society. Ethnic humor theorists, on the other hand, present more
complex and contradictory views on the contributions of ethnic humor to society. In the
next section, I consider the findings of such research, keeping in mind that these studies
are fraught with limitations that restrict their usefulness when applied to cases like CJRD.
These limitations include a focus on direct interpersonal jokes rather than mediated
narrative forms of comedy and a lack of research about and from the global South.

**Theories of Ethnic Humor**

Most scholars of humor, including of ethnic humor, agree that humor and laughter
are central components of human experience. Some theorists propose structural
explanations of humor, focusing on elements such as surprise and incongruity in both
language and content.\(^3^9\) Others prefer sociological explanations such as the “superiority”
view. The superiority perspective argues that groups make ethnic jokes about other
groups to emphasize the superiority of their own group and boost their “ethnic pride.”\(^4^0\)
The study conducted by Abrams and Bippus, which examines appreciation of gender-
based humor, supports the superiority perspective. Their study demonstrates that women
react significantly more favorably toward jokes directed against men than jokes directed
against women. Men also reacted more favorably toward jokes against women, though in
this case, the results were not statistically significant.\(^4^1\) The superiority explanation of
ethnic humor, however, loses credibility when considering the many cases in which
ethnic humor attributes generally derogatory traits to one’s own group. Some theorists,
such as Apte, explain this supposed contradiction as intragroup control, or creating

\(^{3^9}\) See Rappoport (2005), Mulkay (1988), and Davies (1990).
additional differentiation within the group to warn the members not to deviate too much from some group ideal.\textsuperscript{42}

While ethnic humor theory remains in its infancy, several case studies have generated interesting—and often contradictory—perspectives and nuances, especially regarding reception of humor directed at one’s own group by someone from the same group, by someone of another group, or directed at a different group. Cooper defines humor directed at one’s own group by someone within the group as “culturally-intimate humor.”\textsuperscript{43} He sought to determine the ways people viewing or listening to culturally intimate humor read the performances. He considered three different programs intended to appeal to Latino, Black, and gay demographics, respectively. He finds that Blacks and Latinos interpret the program intended for their “group” through dominant stereotypes, whereas gay men engage the stereotypes more critically while still enjoying the program. Cooper’s research implies a diversity of responses; no single reading of culturally-intimate humor exists. He touches upon one of the most dire obstacles facing the study of ethnic humor: the vast range of human experiences within people from a single “group.”

Despite this acknowledgement of diversity, Cooper focuses on class differences rather than challenging the boundaries of each ethnic group. He concludes that the program in question, social context, and group, all matter as the audience receives and interprets the program. Examining the production of Indian ethnic humor in the context of stand up comedy in Canada, Pahuta concludes that minority performers are forced to encode dominant values and stereotypes into their ethnic humor in order to gain access to and

\textsuperscript{42} Apte, \textit{Humor and Laughter} (1985), 143.
\textsuperscript{43} Cooper, “Culturally Intimate Humor” (2004), iv.
success in the mainstream market.\textsuperscript{44} To investigate whether the source of the ethnic joke—the ethnicity of the joke teller—matters in culturally intimate humor, Puga investigates Latino and European American responses to jokes told by either in-group or out-group sources. He determined that in-group sources did, in fact, correspond with more favorable appreciation of the ethnic humor than out-group sources.\textsuperscript{45}

\textbf{The “Ethnic” in Ethnic Humor}

My discussion of ethnic humor theories has relied on the minimalist terms in-group and out-group. These terms suggest a falsely stable and clear boundary between members of one ethnic group and another. In reality, the groups investigated in the studies cited—Blacks, US Latinos, Southeast Asians in Canada, European-Americans, and gender categories—are quite clearly defined in the context of their societies. Biological heritage and, to a lesser extent, phenotype, determine ethnicity in the United States. A baby born to a Black family in the United States will likely be considered Black her entire life. A child with grandparents or parents who migrated from India to Canada will be considered by most to be ethnically Indian through his life.\textsuperscript{46} Latino identities in the United States present a more complicated image considering the variety of national and racial backgrounds, but, like Indian identity in Canada, if people claim to be Latino, they usually trace their heritage to one or more specific Latin American countries.\textsuperscript{47}

\textsuperscript{44} Puga, “Limitations of Ethnic Humor” (2004), 79.
\textsuperscript{45} Puga, “Ethnic Identity and Humor” (1998), 78-79.
\textsuperscript{46} This assumption is implicit in the argument of Puga (2004). Despite arguing about the ideological implications of “Indian ethnic humor” in Canada, Puga experiences few problems in identifying comedians as “Indian” or “not-Indian” based primarily on national heritage.
\textsuperscript{47} By identifying these “deterministic” views on ethnic identification, I do not wish to suggest that the process of ethnic construction undertaken by individuals in the US and Canada is simple or straightforward. At the very least, however, in those places ethnicity can be artificially “reduced” to a minimalist definition based on heritage (in terms of nationality) and skin color (in terms of a binary conceptualization of Black and White.) In the Andes, shared nationality and ambiguous phenotypical markers make this reduction unthinkable.
In the Andes, heritage does not necessarily determine ethnicity, nor do babies born into a certain ethnic category inevitably maintain the same ethnic identity throughout their entire lives. Class, education level, geographic location, language, and dress all contribute as much and sometimes more to the external perception of ethnic identity than skin color, other phenotypical indicators or family history. This emphasis on the importance of social factors should not be interpreted as a negation of more innate characteristics like last name and skin color. On the structural level, heritage places socioeconomic limitations on the ethnic identities a person can express during his or her life. Place of birth and family history restrict an individual’s opportunities for educational and class mobility. Phenotype and family heritage also affect the expression of prejudice in interpersonal situations. Within these boundaries, the ethnic identities and identifications of individuals in the Andes have been relatively dynamic and fluid, thus enabling ethnic categories—indigenous, cholos, mestizos, and creole/white—to remain fixed in a socially determined, class-based hierarchy.

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48 See Nugent (1992), Bruce (2007), and de la Cadena (2000).
50 Many words have been used to refer to indigenous people in the history of Bolivia and in literature regarding this history. As I worked with a specific community—Morado Q’asa, Bolivia—in developing this thesis, I will use the community’s preferred terms and avoid those identifiers they consider derogatory. When possible, I will favor the identifier “Quechua.” When referring to native peoples of Bolivia as a whole, without ethnic distinction, I will prefer the term “indigenous,” respecting the people of Morado Q’asa’s almost unanimous opinion that the term “indio” (Indian) is derogatory. I will only use “Indian” or “indio” in direct quotations. The terminology used to denote ethnic groups and indigeneity in the Andes evokes great debate by scholars of the region. Many choose to use the word “Indian” because the term has historically appeared in published works about the Andes, as well as about the Americas in general. Others choose “Indian” because they believe the derogatory nature of the word highlights a history of oppression specific to the Americas (See Weismantel 2001, xxxiii). Ramiro Reynaga even suggests that use of the general term “indigenous” rather than “Indian” is a form of passive ethnocide (1989, 240). Ultimately, however, I have decided to show respect for the people who have participated in my study by avoiding a term that upsets them. Furthermore, I believe that this history of oppression can be revealed without using a racial slur in the academic narrative.
In contemporary Bolivia, however, the last two decades have seen profound social and political changes that challenge fixed social determinism of these categories, allowing increased political and ideological space for socioeconomic mobility without erasure of indigeneity. Meanwhile, Peruvian politicians have implemented more limited reforms aiming for greater multiculturalism within a neoliberal economic model. Within this context of shifting political policies regarding ethnicity, the people of Morado Q’asa live and negotiate their identities. Throughout this analysis of the historical constructions of indigeneity and ethnicity in Bolivia, I will return to the way these tensions and changes manifested among the Yampara people of Yamparaez province, Chuquisaca, the ethnic group with which the people of Morado Q’asa identify.

**Ethnic Identities and Identifications Throughout Andean History**

The colonial period in the Andes directed the trajectory of ethnic division in the Andes; however, throughout Peru and Bolivia’s two centuries of history as nation states, both political elites and common people have reshaped these categories. Beliefs of political and economic elites about indigenous peoples and *mestizos* help define state institutions such as taxation, land rights, and education. The ideologies embedded in these institutions create tangible relations of power in people’s lives, as individuals interact with each other and the state. At the same time, indigenous Andeans do not blindly adopt state ideologies but rather negotiate their own identities within the limitations imposed on them by relations of power in society. The following section considers the trajectory of elite ideologies regarding race and ethnicity in Andean history and their presence in educational systems. It then analyzes how individuals with limited
access to political and economic power negotiate, construct, and perform their identities on a micro level.

*The Andes During Tawantinsuyu and Colonial Rule*

When the Spanish slammed into Andean life in the sixteenth century, they encountered a society with complex ethnic structure. Tawantinsuyu, the empire of the Quechuas—commonly referred to as the “Inca Empire,” after the titles of its nobles—had spread over much of Bolivia, stopping at the impenetrable lowlands. As Larson asserts, “long before the Europeans invaded the Andes in 1532, Andean chiefdoms inhabited a world of constant flux, tension, and transformation during the dizzying expansion of the Inca empire, Tawantinsuyu.” Through a system of strategic colonialism, the Incas maintained control over vast numbers of ethnic groups. In Bolivia, the largest ethnic group that the Inca dominated was the Aymara. Before the Inca period, the Yampara people spoke Aymara, but throughout the Inca and colonial period, their language use shifted to Quechua. Now, no communal memory seems to exist of having spoken Aymara, at least in Morado Q’asa. Thus, colonization of southern Bolivia did not begin with the arrival of the Spaniards but shaped its history from the time of the prior political system. The demise of Tawantinsuyu and the imposition of new formal political structures of ethnic difference, however, redirected the trajectory of ethnicities starting in the late sixteenth century.

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52 Rostworowski de Diez Canseco argues that “empire” is an inappropriate label to apply to an Andean reality prior to the arrival of the Europeans. She affirms that the name of the Inca state, Tawantinsuyu, implies unity by referring to four equal regions, and that the word “empire” fails to capture this intended unity (1999, x).
During the colonial period, Spaniards manipulated and controlled ethnicity for their own benefit through Quechuanization of minority ethnic groups and the legal concretization of ethnic difference. Larson argues that the “binary discourses of race and space” shaped conceptualizations and politics of indigeneity from colonial times through the early Andean republics.\footnote{Larson, \textit{Trials of Nation Making} (2004), 16.} To facilitate administration and proselytization, Spanish colonial authorities pushed for Quechuanization, which partially explains the greater presence of Quechua than Aymara in modern Bolivia.\footnote{Klein, \textit{Concise History of Bolivia} (2011), 45.} During Viceroy Toledo’s rule from 1569 to 1581, the Andean portion of the Spanish Empire was divided into two parallel administrative republics: the “Indian” Republic and the Spaniard Republic,\footnote{República de indios, \textit{República de españoles}.} each conferring different rights and responsibilities. The indigenous people of the Indian Republic lived in communities called \textit{ayllus} with communal control of land. In exchange for the guarantee of the communal rights to the lands, indigenous people had to pay tribute and engage in the \textit{mit’a}, or obligatory labor—often in the deadly mines of Potosí. Toledo attempted to consolidate indigenous people into towns, known as \textit{reducciones}. Tarabuco, the capital of Morado Q’asa’s canton, was transformed from an indigenous community into a colonial \textit{reducción}.\footnote{Langer, \textit{Rural Resistance} (1989), 66.} Klein emphasizes that almost a century passed before Toledo’s reforms consolidated in the Andes; when they finally did, they left deep marks in the trajectories of ethnic identities in the region.\footnote{Klein, \textit{Concise History of Bolivia} (2011), 36; 62.}

\textbf{Post-Independence}

Following independence, a debate raged in the nineteenth century regarding indigenous tribute. This supposedly antiquated institution both forced indigenous people
to pay specific taxes and engage in forced labor while simultaneously guaranteeing communal land rights. The tension between these onerous duties and precious rights generated controversy among indigenous peoples and creole elites. During this time, much like today, migration could impact one’s ethnic identity and identification. Especially following the abolition of indigenous tribute and communal land rights in 1874, indigenous individuals could move to haciendas to work. At the turn of the nineteenth century, the end of indigenous property rights allowed for wealthy creoles to purchase former community lands and form haciendas. These former community members could migrate to larger towns and cities, like Tarabuco or Sucre, or remain living and working on the newly formed hacienda.

By the height of the hacienda system in Bolivia, in the 1910s, until the beginning of the Chaco War (1932-1935), migration shaped ethnic identities and reinforced the subordination of indigenous individuals by hacienda owners. The role of migration in ethnic transformation was also mediated by gender. Indigenous men, upon migrating to the city, often learned trades or worked as artisans. Divorced from the land and the hacienda, these men would enter the problematic intermediate categories of mestizo or cholo. During the early twentieth century, women usually migrated to towns and cities within the structure of the hacienda, working as domestic servants in the urban homes of hacienda owners. As domestic servants, women maintained their subordinated position and had fewer opportunities for socioeconomic or ethnic mobility. While the hacienda

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60 Ibid., 61.
61 Albó, Tres municipios andinos (2012), 208-209.
62 Ibid., 208-209.
63 Ibid., 213.
system endured longer in Peru than in Bolivia, the construction of ethnic identities through agricultural work and migration operated in a similar fashion.

Continued migration and resulting ethnic ambiguities during the twentieth century evoked intellectual debates regarding the nature and moral value of *mestizaje*—the mixing of indigenous and European peoples and cultures. Elite debates regarding *mestizaje* stemmed not only from discomfort about the biological mixing of people from “separate” races, but also from questions about the geographic and class characteristics of indigenous individuals.

**Racial Purity and Rejection of Mestizaje: the Discourse of Indigenismo**

In both Peru and Bolivia, the early twentieth century witnessed the elite discourse of *indigenismo*. *Indigenista* intellectuals reaffirmed indigenous identities while establishing a strict dichotomy between rural, “traditional” indigenous peoples and creole cities. Soruco Sologuren explains that in Bolivia during the 1910s and 1920s, following the abolishment of the indigenous tribute and the end of protections to *ayllu* lands, the *hacienda* system rapidly expanded. These changes drove migration, and many uprooted indigenous people poured into cities. Other indigenous people struggled against encroachment by *haciendas*, generating unrest in the countryside. This environment troubled elites, who tried to use a “paternalistic racial discourse” of difference to mitigate this threat.65 *Indigenismo* was the political and literary expression of this discourse, celebrating an imagined “pure” indigenous sector while stigmatizing indigenous people who migrated to the cities and entered an ambiguous ethnic category of the *mestizo* or the *cholo*.

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In Peru, intellectuals in Cuzco developed a similar discourse of *indigenismo* as a response to Lima’s centralist policies. These elites used *indigenismo* to argue for the political importance of Cuzco as the heart of historical Peruvianness. Like Bolivian *indigenistas*, the *indigenistas* in Cuzco celebrated rural indigenous people—placing special emphasis on the past—while excluding indigenous people from urban space and power. During this period, Peruvian socialist intellectual José Carlos Mariátegui famously equated indigenous peoples with rural life and agriculture.\(^{66}\) In line with his Marxist tendencies, Mariátegui argued that improved agricultural conditions would solve what he referred to as “the Indian problem.” Luis Valcárcel—later Minister of Education in Peru—denounced the ills of *mestizaje* and promoted the separate education of indigenous people to improve their lives in the countryside. This period witnessed supposedly ancient celebrations in the city, staged by the elite, while contemporary indigenous peoples were excluded from urban space.\(^{67}\)

**The Mestizo Nation: Workers and Neoindianismo**

Conditions in Peru allowed *indigenismo* to last longer than in Bolivia, where the Chaco War (1932-1935) revealed the need to integrate the indigenous masses into the nation as workers. The discourse surrounding the National Revolution of 1952 cemented this shift. Political elites attempted to incorporate “Indians” into a *mestizo* peasant class by dissolving highland *haciendas* and redistributing lands. Without a national trauma such as the Chaco War, in which poorly trained soldiers and communication problems between indigenous soldiers and their creole commanding officers suggested a need for

\(^{66}\) Mariátegui, *Siete ensayos* (2008), 44.

\(^{67}\) See de la Cadena (2000) for a historical examination of the staging of Inti Raymi.
greater national homogeny, 68 an *indigenista* ideology, strictly dividing agricultural indigenous people and urban creoles, endured in Peru well into the mid-twentieth century. However, the 1940s witnessed increased migration to cities from the countryside in Peru, about two decades after the first wave in Bolivia. Discomforted by this ethnically ambiguous mass in the city, divorced from the land yet not fully “incorporated” into urban life and practices, Peruvian elites stigmatized urban indigenous people as *cholos*.

Even as *indigenismo* entered official policy through the education system, 69 other Peruvian intellectuals questioned the strict division between “pure,” agricultural indigenous peoples and “modern,” urban creoles. Intellectuals such as José Uriel García instead promoted a *mestizo* Peru. This tendency, known as *neoindianismo* after García’s *El Nuevo Indio*, deemphasized race to argue for a “new” Peru that included both indigenous and European elements. 70 *Neoindianismo* persisted alongside *indigenismo* in Peru. While appeals to Peru’s apparently *mestizo* nature arose through the second half of the twentieth century, many commentators note that this *mestizaje* was generally interpreted as cultural, not biological. In other words, Peru was a *mestizo* nation because it contained indigenous and creole groups of people, which taken together composed the nation, rather than biologically *mestizo* individuals. 71

In post-Chaco War Bolivia, especially following the National Revolution of 1952, political elites considered integration of the indigenous masses into the state as crucial for national integrity. State discourse redefined all indigenous people as *campesinos*, and the state linked their wellbeing to the ability to own and work their own lands. During this

period, however, the term *campesino* became itself an ethnic term referring to indigenous people. Furthermore, by firmly linking an indigenous identity and a rural class identity, this myth of a *mestizo* Bolivia of workers meant that the ethnic identities of indigenous *campesinos* who migrate to urban areas became more ambiguous, as their official identities had been linked to the land. In Peru, a similar discourse developed with the Agrarian Reform of 1969. When announcing the reform, Peruvian President Velasco declared:

> the Agrarian Reform Law gives its support to the great multitude of peasants who today belong to indigenous communities and from this day forward—abandoning unacceptable racist habits and prejudices—will be called Peasant Communities.\(^72\)

By reclassifying indigenous people as *campesinos*, both the Peruvian and Bolivian states intended to overcome racial categories in favor of a nationalist conceptualization of the working class. In the decades following Agrarian Reform, however, the change in discourse did little to raise the standard of living and status of most indigenous people. In the 1980s and 1990s, and continuing until the present day, the Andean states began to yet again reconsider the indigenous people in the nation.

**Contemporary Andes: Divisions and Diversity in the Wake of Crisis**

Since the 1980s, both the Bolivian and Peruvian states have been confronted with intense crises that have exacerbated regional and class divisions. In Bolivia, these crises helped usher in new policies promoting diversity, especially education reform establishing intercultural and bilingual education. In contrast, such efforts in Peru have been more limited due to the country’s legacy of internal war. Two profound changes have occurred in the last forty years in Bolivia. Starting in the 1980s, debt crisis,

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hyperinflation, and the jarring effects of neoliberal austerity measures shook the Bolivian political party system that had been in place for the previous several decades, despite bouts of military populism.\(^3\) This instability allowed for increased mobilization around indigenous interests and identities, culminating in the 2005 election of Evo Morales, an Aymara politician with political roots in the Quechua-speaking Cochabamba valley. Furthermore, since the 1970s and 80s, the eastern city of Santa Cruz and the surrounding province of the same name have experienced a boom in size and economic power. Highland migrants have poured into the area, igniting tensions with the *cruceños*. Economic elites in Santa Cruz have called for regional autonomy against the socialist and pro-indigenous policies of Evo Morales.

The election of Evo Morales and the underlying political and social changes that preceded, accompanied, and resulted from it have added state support to indigenous movements, nations, and expressions of identities in Bolivia.\(^4\) Furthermore, many actors of this period express their own indigenous ethnicities in spaces that would previously have automatically transformed them into *mestizos*.\(^5\) Laws such as the Education Law Avelino Sĩñani-Elizardo Pérez of 2010—a continuation of a less extensive bilingual education reform from 1994—also try to affirm indigenous identities through traditionally *mestizo* actors such as teachers. As my observations and many conversations

\(^3\) Lucero, “Decades Lost and Won” (2010), 69.

\(^4\) Evo Morales is generally considered the first indigenous president of Bolivia. He rose to prominence and gained the presidency with the support of highland indigenous movements. In Bolivia, all indigenous languages are official languages. Bilingual education in Spanish and an indigenous language is mandatory for urban and rural students, regardless of native language. In addition, Evo Morales integrates strong indigenous symbolism into his administration, such as an inauguration ceremony at Tiwanaku, an ancient highland religious site. Of course, Evo Morales’ administration’s affirmation of indigeneity through cultural demonstrations still experiences many contradictions, especially regarding state encroachment on the land of small Amazonian indigenous peoples in the Eastern departments (Canessa 2014).

\(^5\) Brienen, “Clamor for Schools” (2011), 36. As Luykx (1999) explains, training as a teacher still presents several identity contradictions and crises for normal students from indigenous families. Still, contemporary Bolivia leaves more room for the expression of indigenous identities in the class room than Bolivia prior to the early 1990s.
in Morado Q’asa demonstrate, these formal shifts do not pass unperceived by people at the local level.

Simultaneously, the growing political power and economic influence of Santa Cruz adds another factor to the ethnic transformation and tensions of the present century. As Evo Morales proclaims nationalism, socialism, and reaffirmation of indigenous nations from the Andean stronghold of La Paz, the mestizo and creole economic elites of lowland Santa Cruz, with their wealth rooted in international business, argue for increased regional autonomy. This regional tension sometimes conflates with ethnic divisions through another set of identifiers: kolla and camba. The term kolla traditionally refers to people from the highlands, and, by extension, to Andean indigenous backgrounds. It derives from the Colla nation, a large, Aymara kingdom conquered and incorporated, along with other parts of modern day Bolivia, into Qullasuyu, the southernmost portion of Tawantinsuyu.\(^\text{76}\) In contrast, cambas are lowlanders. The term originally only referred to lower-class inhabitants of the Bolivian lowlands, but as Santa Cruz has gained economic power and found itself in greater conflict with the Andean regions, the middle- and upper-classes have coopted the term to refer to themselves.\(^\text{77}\) As I consider in the following chapters, the people of Morado Q’asa—and, I suspect, of other highland regions—are reinterpreting these terms to navigate the shifting environment.

In contrast, while Peru also experienced economic crises in the 1980s and 1990s, violence between the Shining Path and the Peruvian military greatly influenced the state’s agenda and its relationship to the Andean departments. Many of the clashes between the


\(^{77}\) Stearman, Camba and Kolla (1985), 20.
terrorist organization and the military occurred in those departments, costing the lives of thousands of indigenous Peruvians at the hands of both groups. The state implemented a national security ideology and tightened control over the Andean region. As García attests, this period “created a climate of terror that left little room for overt political challenges against the state.”78 She further contrasts experience of indigenous movements in Peru with movements in other Andean countries, explaining that fear dampened mobilizations for expanded indigenous rights and representation. Meanwhile, despite populist rhetoric, both the authoritarian regime of Alberto Fujimori and the democratic government of Alejandro Toledo implemented austere neoliberal reforms. Thus, rather than permitting space for indigenous mobilization to increase its influence in the government, as in Bolivia, crisis in Peru only tightened the hand of economic elites on the state.

Uncomfortable Ambiguities

The movement of people, politics, and ideologies challenges traditional ideas about ethnicity, especially biological and cultural mestizaje. For both the intellectual descendants of indigenistas and proponents of a class-based mestizaje, indigenous people who move to cities provoke ambiguity in elite thought. Scholars evoke the concept of “ambiguity” when considering mestizaje in the Andes. In his Mestizaje Upside-Down, Sanjinéz refers to the image of stereotypical indigenous strength fused with stereotypical European intelligence into a mestizo body as an “ideologically ambiguous proposal” and such ambiguous individuals, often referred to as cholos, as an “ambiguous margin.”79 Rivera Cusicanqui explains that socioeconomic ascent—which allows both identity

78 García, Making Indigenous Citizens (2005), 79.
79 Sanjinéz, Mestizaje Upside-Down (2004), 53; 177.
change but also, increasingly, the revalorization of indigenous cultures—presents “ambiguous cultural meanings.” Considering the Peruvian context, in his Laberinto de la choledad, Nugent refers to the terms mestizo or cholo not as steady identifiers, but rather as slippery indicators of who is a little better or a little worse on a race-based, hierarchical scale of cleanliness. De la Cadena develops this concept as “decency,” arguing that when elites cannot base their imagined superiority on skin color or economic status, they revert to appeals of high-class behaviors only acquired through elite upbringing.

The individuals involved, the majority of whom do not belong to the intellectual or economic elite, do not have the luxury of avoiding these ambiguities, nor of considering them from an academic distance. They must live within the complex limitations of power and submerse themselves in the murkiness of ethnic ambiguity. People of indigenous heritage—in urban areas and in rural communities, in the courts, the streets, and their schools—must negotiate their identities in a context that tries to affix them to a defined point in a hierarchical scale. They develop their place in their community and in their nation while carrying out interactions with others around them.

**Indigeneity, Mestizaje, and Local Actors**

Scholars increasingly consider the construction of ethnic and national identities by examining the immediate context and daily activities of individuals constructing and performing their own identities rather than simply examining the legislation or classification of ethnicity on a macro level by political or intellectual elites. Instead of focusing on state policy or intellectual movements, these scholars emphasize lower- and

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81 Nugent, Laberinto de la choledad (1992), 49.
82 De la Cadena, Indigenous Mestizos (2000), 47.
middle-class actors in popular spaces. For instance, several scholars focus on the complex performance of ethnic identities among market women. Others examine the ways schoolchildren, normal school students, and teachers negotiate the demands of intercultural and bilingual reform and the hegemonic legacy of the education system. Still others explore the production and consumption of both alternative and mainstream media. By examining grassroots mobilizations and local politics, other scholars challenge notions of identification and power at an intimate level. These scholars indicate that while lower- and middle-class indigenous people experience and even reproduce elite expectations, they also develop creative ways to interpret, perform, and resist the implications of dominant ideologies. Through interpersonal relationships, politics, educational institutions, production and consumption of media, and many other components of everyday life, people reinterpret their ethnic identities and their position within the nation. Through considering these different interpretative spaces, a theme of complex duality arises. From de la Cadena’s *indigenous mestizos* in the markets of Cuzco to Luykx’s Aymara teachers-in-training for whom *campesinos* represent both “us” and “them,” indigenous people often attempt to claim identities that reaffirm their heritage while rejecting elements of stigma. In keeping with Himpele’s observation of the close coexistence of indigenous dances and Hollywood posters in La Paz or Albro’s juxtaposition of “indigenous signs and stigma” in political discourse from peripheral Cochabamba, it becomes clear that so-called *mestizo* life in urban areas does not

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85 See Himpele (2008), Floyd (2008), and Stobart (2010).
86 See Albro (2010).
necessarily represent the rejection of indigenous cultural practices. Andean people wading through ambiguity frequently embrace methods of duality to find steady ground for their shifting identitarian practice.

**Interculturality in the Classroom:**

The classroom serves as a space in which micro interactions and state policy intersect, creating a potent context for teachers and students alike to negotiate their ethnic identities. Bolivia and Peru implemented different levels of bilingual, intercultural education policies as the twentieth century closed. Schools have always formed a space in which national ideology and ethnic identities collide and intertwine. With the increasing participation of indigenous individuals in the educational system both as students and teachers, this process has intensified. Education offers opportunities for socioeconomic mobility. At the same time, it reproduces entrenched power structures even as it encourages diverse expression and participation.

The educational system touches the lives of most people in Morado Q’asa either directly or indirectly. Thus it is especially important to consider the role of the education system and local schools in the negotiation of ethnic identities. The secondary and normal schools that the youth of Morado Q’asa attend explicitly proclaim the importance of the national through their names: Colegio Bolivia and Instituto Simón Bolivar. Children begin their official education in Morado Q’asa’s bilingual primary school. In the primary school, they learn in small classes of approximately twelve students each, all from Morado Q’asa. After graduating sixth grade, children continue their studies at Colegio Bolivia in the neighboring town of Cororo, where they come into contact—and conflict—

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with students who claim slightly different linguistic and socioeconomic backgrounds.\textsuperscript{90} Furthermore, Colegio Bolivia in Cororo de-emphasizes Quechua and instead focuses on a civic-minded curriculum taught in Spanish. In Cororo, many secondary school graduates continue their studies at the normal school, Simón Bolivar, which trains students to be bilingual educators. Many scholars have focused on the complex process of identity negotiation that occurs in the context of normal schools, especially those training intercultural, bilingual teachers.\textsuperscript{91}

In the education system in Bolivia, schools combine nationalist discourse—demonstrated in the morning routine of singing the national anthem before the flag, national literature, and school-organized community celebrations of patriotic holidays—with official affirmation of indigenous cultural practices. In Colegio Bolivia in Cororo, as in the normal school studied by Luykx, teachers appeal to Bolivian nationalism through contradictory methods, both exalting symbols of the nation and frequently making disparaging comments about Bolivia’s supposedly inferior place on a hierarchy of nations.\textsuperscript{92} Increasingly, inclusion of indigenous languages and cultural practices form part of a nationalist rhetoric, as actors wrestle with the implications of the “Plurinational” component of Bolivia’s new official title: the Plurinational State of Bolivia. While the incorporation of indigenous languages into the curriculum at every level of education represents greater recognition of Bolivia’s diversity, schools do not become “indigenous” institutions but remain marked by the homogenizing forces of the state. Even for Normal students of indigenous heritage—like many of the students at Simón Bolivar in Cororo—

\textsuperscript{90} See Chapter Three.
\textsuperscript{91} See Luykx (1999), Delany-Barmann (2010), and Lopes Cardozo (2011).
\textsuperscript{92} Luykx, \textit{Citizen Factory} (1999), 136.
the Normal becomes a space to drift between “solidarity” with and “social distance” from indigenous communities, as Luykx attests.\textsuperscript{93}

\textit{Between You and Me: Ethnicity and Power in Interpersonal Relationships}

Students negotiate their identities not only through interactions with the institution but also through interactions within the institution—especially with other students. Even in a canton like Tarabuco, where most people share Quechua heritage,\textsuperscript{94} minor socioeconomic differences often lead to conflict expressed in ethnic terms.\textsuperscript{95} In “Las mujeres son más indias,” de la Cadena examines ethnic hierarchy in seemingly intra-ethnic relationships. Focusing on gender relations within an indigenous community in the department of Cuzco, she concludes that “ethnic identities are constructed in interactions, according to the attributes that are recognized and are affixed—through conflict—in the relationship.”\textsuperscript{96} Markers such as language, clothing, and education help define those interactions. Zavala considers similar “intra-ethnic” relations in two Andean universities, focusing on classmates and teachers rather than on husbands and wives. She explores the nuances of ideologies behind the use of \textit{motoseo}, or Quechua phonetics in the pronunciation of Spanish words, by Andean students. Despite the fact that a majority of students and teachers in her study were bilingual in the sense that they both spoke Spanish and Quechua, those students who spoke Spanish with \textit{motoseo} were scorned by their teachers and professors. Furthermore, this stigma was expressed through other prejudices associated with ethnicity, such as “laziness” and “rurality.”\textsuperscript{97} Crucially, Zavala

\textsuperscript{93} Ibid., 141.
\textsuperscript{94} In 2001, Albó reported that 92.9\% of the people in the canton of Tarabuco identified themselves as belonging to the pueblo originario (roughly “indigenous” or “first people” group) Quechua.
\textsuperscript{95} I explore this conflict in Chapter Three.
\textsuperscript{96} “Las identidades étnicas se construyen en interacciones, de acuerdo con atributos que se reconocen y se fijan, conflictivamente, en la relación.” In de la Cadena, “Las mujeres son más indias” (1991), 9.
\textsuperscript{97} Zavala, “Racialization of the bilingual student” (2011), 398.
indicates that many students who spoke with motoseo had internalized the stigma, considering their accents a personal weakness that could be “overcome” by working harder at improving.\textsuperscript{98}

The continued stigmatization of markers of indigeneity, like accent or clothing, and the fact that many people with indigenous heritage reject such stigma, do not imply that all indigenous people seek to escape from indigeneity. Rather, individuals reinterpret the meaning of indigeneity, identifying with certain “affirming” characteristics while distancing themselves from markers that invite censure. In her book \textit{Indigenous Mestizos}, de la Cadena describes this process as “de-Indianization,” which she describes as “the process through which working-class cuzqueños have both reproduced and contested racism.”\textsuperscript{99} Through practices of de-Indianization, people of indigenous descent who have obtained a certain level of economic or educational success still celebrate particular aspects of their indigenous heritage while avoiding the stereotype of a rural, uneducated “Indian.” Many teenagers and young adults in Morado Q’asa engage in a similar process, accepting certain aspects of their indigenous identity while seeking to overcome stigma. This creative negotiation of ethnic identities that many scholars have noted on a local level contrasts with the discomfort with ethnic ambiguity expressed by many intellectuals and politicians who have attempted to fix ethnicity in national or universal terms.

The contrast between the categorization of ethnic identities by elites in Bolivian and Peruvian history and the complex negotiation of these identities by popular actors highlights the need to continue studying the intimate experiences of indigenous individuals on a local level. Elite conceptualizations of ethnic identities in Bolivia—

\textsuperscript{98} Ibid., 403.
expressed through literature and public policy—shift with the tensions of the times, and in the contemporary context of transnational media and high levels of migration, these tensions have not diminished. In the following two sections, I move from this broad overview into a realm of specificities—first of Morado Q’asa, the town in which I conducted this research, and then of *El Cholo Juanito y Richard Douglas*, the comedy show that gives the study its entry point and perspective. The specific details, I propose, do not conceal the importance of surrounding cultural and political contexts. Rather, examining these particular cases amplifies and personifies many broader tensions.

**Morado Q’asa, Bolivia: a Town of Many Migrations**

*Location and Population*

Morado Q’asa, the community that rests at the heart of this study, bears a name that reveals both its Quechua heritage and its connection with the Spanish-speaking cultures that surround it. The town’s name contains a Spanish adjective, *morado* (purple), and a Quechua noun, *q’asa* (hill), merged using Quechua syntax, with the adjective preceding the noun. The combined name, *Morado Q’asa*, refers to the small hill of reddish soil at the town’s center. Incorporated as a town in 1980, Morado Q’asa formed from the union between two smaller villages with Quechua names: Collchapampa and Pujyupampa. Like many villages and towns in Bolivia, in the last two decades, Morado Q’asa has experienced increased access to bilingual education and communications technology. At the same time, however, Morado Q’asa’s particular geographic location

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100 The people of Morado Q’asa and others familiar with the town refer to it both as “Morado Q’asa” and, more frequently, as simply “Morado.” From this point on, I will alternate the forms for stylistic purposes. Furthermore, Morado Q’asa has several spellings. I have chosen the one most often used within the town. Alternate spellings that appear on government and NGO records are Morado K’asa and Morado Ckassa.

facilitates increased contact with people from other places and with educational and economic opportunities.

FIGURE 3: Morado Q’asa, view from the primary school (Photo by author, 2013)

Nestled in the foothills of the Bolivian Andes, Morado Q’asa at first glimpse projects a deceptive image of isolation and stability. Understood in its regional and temporal contexts, however, Morado Q’asa displays great movement and integration. Despite its location in the Bolivian region known as *valle* (valley) the undulating hills and mountains on which Morado Q’asa sits still reach substantial heights. The town rests approximately 9,200 feet above sea level. Morado Q’asa is located in Tarabuco canton, Yamparaez province, department of Chuquisaca. Following the Agrarian Reform of

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102 Yapu and Torrico, *Tomo I* (2003), 44. Yapu and Torrico place the town of Cororo at 2,800 meters above sea level, or approximately 9,186 feet above sea level. Morado Q’asa is two kilometers away at a slightly higher altitude.
1952-53, the administration of Tarabuco canton became based on a peasant union system, the sindicato campesino. Each town and village is a union-community (comunidad-sindicato) under the auspices of the national peasant union, the Confederación Sindical Única de Trabajadores Campesinos de Bolivia (CSUTCB).\textsuperscript{103} In Tarabuco, all union-communities are administered by the Provincial Chapter of Tarabuco, which subsequently is divided into ten local chapters, including the Local Chapter of Morado Q’asa.\textsuperscript{104} Thus, Morado Q’asa occupies an intermediate position of influence in Tarabuco canton. With approximately 1,000 inhabitants,\textsuperscript{105} Morado Q’asa is one of the largest towns in the canton, with 220 families on the register.\textsuperscript{106} Despite Morado’s size and position as administrative head of a Local Chapter of the peasant union, neighboring Cororo and the canton capital, Tarabuco, overshadow Morado Q’asa.

\textit{Migration from Morado}

Furthermore, migration places the population of the town in flux. As many as 40% of the people officially considered “residents” of the town spend most or all of the year out of the town.\textsuperscript{107} Migration forms an integral part of the lives of most households. In July 2014, I surveyed twenty-seven families about migration in their households. Of the people surveyed, 74% reported that at least one of their household members lived in

\textsuperscript{103} (Central Union Confederation of Bolivian Peasant Workers). See Albó, \textit{Tres municipios andinos} (2012), 232.

\textsuperscript{104} Ibid., 234. “Provincial Chapter of Tarabuco” is an approximately translation of “Centralía Provincial de Tarabuco.” “Local chapter” is an approximate translation of “subcentralía.” The administrative structure of centralías and subcentralías, however, are specific to Bolivia.

\textsuperscript{105} Estimates of the population of Morado Q’asa vary widely, from 421 in the census of 2001, reported in Albó (2012) to 1,800, reported in Castellón Miranda (2014). This difference derives not from massive population growth between 2001 and 2014 but rather from differing conceptualizations of what it means to be a “resident” of Morado Q’asa. This disparity will be discussed further.

\textsuperscript{106} Castellón Miranda “Nuestra biodiversidad y cultura” (2014), 4. The number of families has been carefully registered on town records and is confirmed at every town assembly, which occur about monthly.

\textsuperscript{107} Ibid., 4. The term “resident” does not accurately describe many of these people, who actually “reside” in other places. These people, however, are still considered part of the town’s population, as immediate family members of property owners in Morado Q’asa. Albó (2012) also describes the practice of listing migrants as “residents” of their rural communities (275).
Santa Cruz de la Sierra, the largest city in Bolivia and the country’s business capital. Perhaps more surprisingly, 37% indicated that at least one family member lived in a foreign country. Of the twenty-one individuals involved in migration that comprised this 37%, all but two had migrated to neighboring Argentina, both to urban and rural locations. The other two had traveled to Spain and Chile, respectively. Though no household surveyed mentioned these destinations, conversations during my time in Morado Q’asa revealed that other households had family members in Brazil, Uruguay, and Paraguay.

Even considering the high volume of migration to the city of Santa Cruz, Morado Q’asa shares its closest links with Sucre. A cobblestone road runs through the town and connects it with the highway that leads to Sucre, the constitutional capital of Bolivia, though most branches of the national government operate in La Paz. The cobblestone road meets the paved highway to Sucre approximately thirty minutes south of Morado Q’asa by minibus at the municipal capital of Tarabuco. This town plays an important role in the daily lives of the people of Morado Q’asa because of its Sunday market. From Tarabuco, Sucre is approximately two hours away by public transportation. The relative proximity of Sucre allows people in Morado Q’asa to travel to and from the city in one day, connecting them to the government offices and markets of the capital without having to pay for a room to spend the night. Some of the wealthier inhabitants of Morado Q’asa send their children to university or even secondary school in Sucre to take

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108 Seven out of ten households who mentioned having any members currently in a foreign country indicated two or more members abroad, always in the same host country (Argentina).
109 Yapu and Torrico, *Tomo I* (2003), 44. The road from Morado Q’asa to Tarabuco is approximately twenty-two kilometers.
110 Ibid, 44. Tarabuco to Sucre is approximately 65 kilometers.
111 The economic capacity to give one’s children an urban secondary or university education is one of the key indicators of wealth among inhabitants of Morado Q’asa. The choice to send one’s child to secondary
advantage of the higher quality of education. Sucre does not attract many other community members as a destination for migration, as it does not have a reputation for good-paying, plentiful jobs.

In addition to seasonal and long-term migration, the people of Morado Q’asa work mostly in agriculture, with crops such as corn, wheat, potatoes, peach, figs, and lemons. Agriculture, however, is difficult in the region because of limited rainfall and a river that only contains water during the summer.\(^{112}\) When interviewed, many community members lamented the limitations imposed on agriculture by nature and the government’s unwillingness to help provide better irrigation to their fields. Like in most of Tarabuco canton, the people of Morado Q’asa suffer from high levels of poverty. In 2001, an estimated 61.1% of the canton lived in indigent conditions, with an additional 32.3% living in moderate poverty.\(^{113}\) Most people are subsistence farmers, though they sell the surplus. Thus, diet in Morado Q’asa consists of little protein for all but the wealthiest families: the occasional chicken is consumed during festivals. Potatoes, *choclo* (large corn cobs), *aji* (spicy pepper used in most recipes), purchased rice and noodles, and homemade bread form the basis of the local diet, as well as fruits such as figs, peaches, and lemons in season. A small percentage of wealthier homes have refrigerators; most people cook over firewood stoves or, occasionally, an old gas stove, when fuel is available. Many families also own herds of sheep and sell wool.

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\(^{112}\) Ibid., 44. Yapu and Torrico report that the neighboring town of Cororo only experiences 300 to 350 mm of precipitation per year, or approximately 11.8 to 13.7 inches. They also report that the dry season extends from February to November.

\(^{113}\) Albó, *Tres municipios andinos* (2012), 200. Statistics from the *Plan de desarrollo municipal* of Tarabuco. I was not able to access the original *Plan de desarrollo municipal* or a more recent report. I would estimate that the level of indigence has fallen since 2001. In Morado Q’asa, most homes now have access to running water (untreated) and electricity.
**AIOC Tarabuco: Redefining Indigenous Autonomy**

While the community members own their lands and coordinate production at the communal level, Morado Q’asa has never been part of an *ayllu*. Prior to the Agrarian Reform of 1952-53, the land on which Morado Q’asa is now located belonged to a small *hacienda*. In recent memory, three separate *patrones* (bosses) owned the *hacienda*. The first was notorious for mistreating the workers; the second presided over the land from afar, leaving it in a state of benign neglect. The last *patrón* was well liked, but people reported satisfaction when they obtained ownership and authority over the lands through the reform.\(^{114}\) Even so, traces of the *hacienda* remain in the town. The primary school and library are named after the final *patrón*, and the *hacienda* building still stands—slightly deteriorating, but still elaborate—about a half kilometer from the town.\(^{115}\) Recently, with financial assistance from a French couple, the inhabitants of Morado Q’asa have reclaimed the *hacienda* and began to refurbish it to serve as a community center. In addition, several other small *haciendas* surrounded Morado Q’asa.\(^{116}\) These *haciendas*, following agrarian reform, became the neighboring towns of Cororo and Vila Vila.

The heritage of the *hacienda* defines many of the political and social characteristics of Morado Q’asa and most of Tarabuco canton. The community grew under a legacy of colonial subjugation, yet the canton continues to affirm its indigenous identity. In 2009, Tarabuco transformed into one of the original eleven Indigenous Native Peasant

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\(^{114}\) Castellón Miranda, “Fundación de JUSIBA y del pueblo” (2014), 20 and personal correspondence.

\(^{115}\) Ibid., personal correspondence.

\(^{116}\) Langer, *Rural Resistance* (1989), 80-81; 85-86. Langer describes acts of resistance to repressive *hacienda* owners in Hacienda Vila Vila and Hacienda Cororo during the 1920s and 1930s, a period that witnessed the expansion of the *hacienda* system in the Tarabuco province. Indeed, the revolts in Hacienda Cororo were motivated by land grabs by the Rodriguez family, owners of the *hacienda*, who exploited the debts of indigenous communities and *hacienda* workers to claim those lands as payment. Despite not mentioning the *hacienda* that possessed the lands of modern-day Morado Q’asa, Langer’s chapter on Yamparaze provides fascinating context on the politics of *hacienda* expansion in the area and the spirit of resistance during the 1920s and 1930s.
Autonomous Regions, or AIOCAs (Autonomía Indígena Originaria Campesina).\textsuperscript{117} Albó emphasizes that, by pioneering the AIOC project, Tarabuco demonstrated that even regions that had lost the traditional form of indigenous organization in the Andes—the ayllu—through years of exploitation under the hacienda system could maintain their indigenous identities and engage them politically. Indeed, most indigenous people in highland Bolivia no longer live in ayllus.\textsuperscript{118}

Despite the absence of ayllus, the people of Tarabuco canton continue to identify as Quechua. In 2001, 92.3% self-identified as Quechua and 98.1% claimed to speak Quechua.\textsuperscript{119} Furthermore, in 2001, only a minority spoke both Quechua and Spanish: 29%.\textsuperscript{120} The people of Morado Q’asa still speak Quechua as a first language. Many middle-aged and elderly people only speak Quechua, though more men than women of that age also speak Spanish. The community has a bilingual primary school, and most children attend.\textsuperscript{121} All children and most young adults, male and female, speak both

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\item[\textsuperscript{117}] Albó, Tres municipios andinos (2012), 20-21.
\item[\textsuperscript{118}] Ibid., 20-21.
\item[\textsuperscript{119}] Ibid., 198-199. 92.9% of people identified as Quechua; however, no mestizo or cholo option was given. The people surveyed had to choose between the other indigenous peoples of Bolivia and “none.”
\item[\textsuperscript{120}] Ibid., 199. I suspect this percentage has increased considerably in the fourteen years that have passed since this survey was conducted, due to the strengthening of bilingual education in the region and the high birthrate. In Morado Q’asa, for instance, most people between about six- and thirty-years-old are bilingual.
\item[\textsuperscript{121}] Morado Q’asa’s primary school, which teaches children from kindergarten to sixth grade, employs a flexible model of bilingual education that resembles transitional bilingual education. The school’s director—a man who professed great pride in the bilingual nature of the school—explained to me that kindergarteners are taught mostly in Quechua. When he introduced me to the kindergarten class in 2013, he told the children, “no need to be afraid; you can speak to her in Quechua.” Throughout the kindergarten year and the following grade levels, the balance gradually shifts to Spanish. However, in the sixth grade classroom, I observed a situation in which students were free to use Quechua in most oral situations, but the teacher diverted from Spanish. Spanish occupied a formal linguistic space, used by the teacher in her lectures and by the students in their notes. Quechua, on the other hand, was freely used by the students both when talking to each other and in oral academic activities. For instance, students often responded in Quechua to a question asked by the teacher in Spanish. The teacher (also a native Quechua speaker, from Potosí) did not condemn this use but seemed to accept it as a natural part of the teaching environment. I observed one activity that highlighted the diglossic, yet seemingly free, relationship between Quechua and Spanish. The students were tasked with creating and presenting posters expounding upon themes of morality. They grouped together, discussing in Quechua what they would write on their posters. They then wrote the sentences in Spanish. Each group then presenting their posters, reading the sentences in Spanish
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Spanish and Quechua. Among one another, most inhabitants of Morado Q’asa prefer Quechua. In contrast, secondary students use Spanish to communicate with teachers, and most bilingual people use Spanish to communicate with visitors from other areas.

Like other inhabitants of Morado Q’asa, children and youth communicate with each other in Quechua. This preference extends to school grounds, where young people continue to speak to other youths from Morado Q’asa in Quechua even though they address the teacher and some other students in Spanish. Youth have greater fluency in Spanish than most adults in the community. Their use of code switching between Spanish and Quechua in the context of Morado Q’asa, however, is still quite limited. Most frequently, I observed code switching used to mark dialogue when young people told stories or gossiped about their day. They would narrate the story in Quechua, but they relayed the dialogue in Spanish. The only mode of communication in which teenagers in Morado Q’asa preferred Spanish over Quechua was text messages, or when verbally relaying the content of a text message to another person. When I asked one teenager about texting in Spanish, she indicated that writing felt more natural in Spanish. She noted, however, that her group of friends would also sometimes add a phrase in Quechua when they wanted to make a joke. Apart from texting, most communication between youths still occurs in Quechua, sprinkled with occasional instances of code switching. Thus, Quechua still forms the backbone of communication in Morado Q’asa for children, teenagers, and adults.

and explaining them in Quechua, with the exception of one girl who had recently arrived to the community from the city, and as such, was Spanish-dominant. After sixth grade, the students go to the secondary school in the neighboring town, where Quechua is relegated to intimate discussions between friends and academic exercises in Quechua class.

122 Curiously, the morado students in the secondary school use Spanish to communicate with the teacher in their Quechua class just as they do in the other classes.

123 While the primary school in Morado Q’asa provides bilingual education, like many such programs it focuses on literacy in Spanish, not Quechua.
Fortuitous Proximity: Morado’s Link to Markets and Education

The small town of Morado Q’asa, despite the humble socioeconomic status of the majority of its inhabitants, benefits from three unique characteristics. First, it lies thirty minutes by car or bus from the capital of its canton, the town of Tarabuco, which hosts a booming market on Sundays. Locals and tourists alike visit the Sunday market. Tourists seek artisanal weavings; local people use the market to sell surplus produce and shop for goods they do not make or grow. Many morado women—dressed in the cholita style of a gathered skirt (pollera) and a simple, fedora-style hat—go to Tarabuco every Sunday with their daughters to sell mote (large cooked corn kernels that accompany most every meal in the area), homemade bread, tarwi (beans), api (a hot corn drink), and other food goods to the local people who come to the market. In addition, most adult women older than thirty-five know how to weave. When extra cash is needed, they can sell a kama (woven blanket) to tourists in the Tarabuco market. While this market does not pull these women and families out of poverty, it allows them to earn a little extra money. The Tarabuco market also gives families access to technological goods such as cell phones, televisions, DVDs, CDs, and radios.

Second, the community is a thirty-minute walk away from the larger town of Cororo. Cororo, while still small and based in agriculture, hosts a secondary school—Colegio Bolivia—attended by morado teenagers, and the Instituto Normal Superior en Educación Intercultural Bilingüe (INS-EIB) Simón Bolivar, which trains bilingual teachers. The proximity of the normal school means that at least one form of higher education is more obtainable in Morado Q’asa than for the average child of indigenous

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124 “Normal school specialized in bilingual intercultural education.” See Delany-Barmann, “Teacher Education Reform” (2010), 188.
peasant parents in rural Bolivia. INS-EIB Simón Bolívar represents a path to a professional lifestyle and a low-middle class socioeconomic status. While not lucrative, the teaching profession still enables a higher standard of living than subsistence farming. In addition, the presence of INS-EIB Simón Bolívar probably encourages children to stay in school. Conversing with youth and parents in Morado Q’asa, I gathered that entrance in the normal school is the natural step following successful completion of secondary school. Cororo also possesses a slightly different social make-up than Morado Q’asa, leading to conflict between youth of the two towns. Indeed, aside from the capital, Tarabuco, Cororo was the only town in the canton in 2001 where the majority was bilingual in Spanish and Quechua (66%).\textsuperscript{125} The presence of the normal school and the frequency of attendance by morado youth complicate the process of identity negotiation within Morado Q’asa, as traditionally, the act of becoming a teacher ethnically transformed an indigenous youth into a mestizo.\textsuperscript{126}

Morado Q’asa’s third distinguishing factor is the presence of a small community library, Biblioteca Villa Zamora, established in 2005 by a Bolivian-American non-profit, Biblioworks, after a group of young people asked a Peace Corps volunteer to establish one. Before the creation of the library, young people had few resources for study, as the community does not have internet. The library has brought a steady stream of foreign volunteers into the community while giving children and youth a creative space to draw, socialize, and read. Indeed, it was by volunteering in this library that I first entered the community in 2013. As I completed my thesis fieldwork in 2014, I worked for a few hours almost every day in the library, reading with and supervising the children. The

\textsuperscript{125} Albó, \textit{Tres municipios andinos} (2012), 198.
\textsuperscript{126} Brienen, “Clamor for Schools” (2011), 36.
library provided space for me to give back to the community that had treated me with such tolerance and hospitality. Through the library, I also developed friendships with many children, teenagers, and parents—relationships that allowed for more honest interviews. However, not every person I interviewed participated in library activities.

These three factors—the nearby thriving market, the accessible normal school, and the library—in addition to high levels of migration, increase the mobility of townspeople. These influences also facilitate contact with people from outside the immediate area: with foreigners at the Tarabuco market and in the library; other vendors at the market; and normal school students from other parts of Bolivia. These factors slightly increase socioeconomic mobility by giving youth at least one path to a lower-middle class lifestyle through the teaching profession. In this context of constant movement, rooted in a tradition of various levels of colonization and adaptation, the people of Morado Q’asa negotiate their ethnic identities.

**Creative Connections: Communication Technologies in Morado Q’asa**

In addition to foreign and local land possession and redistribution, commerce, migration, and conquest, in the last few decades a new cultural force has appeared in Morado Q’asa: communication technology. Early in the twentieth century, a single telephone existed in the *hacienda*; by the mid-1990s when a few wealthier community members had purchased telephones (one sixteen-year-old informant described these early models as “adobe bricks”), the *hacienda* had been dissolved for over forty years. The first phones functioned poorly due to a lack of signal. Users had to hold the telephones up high to detect the weak signal available. Later, a cellular tower was built between Morado Q’asa and Cororo, and now the town enjoys a clear, consistent signal.

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While I do not have exact details on when radios began to appear in the town, I know that the main radio station accessible in the town, Radio ACLO Chuquisaca, began to broadcast in the 1970s. The first televisions entered the community in the late nineties and early 2000s. Initially, only the wealthier families owned TVs. Gradually, more families purchased televisions, though the poorest inhabitants still cannot afford television. In my “Migration and ICTs” survey conducted in August 2014, fifteen of the twenty-seven families surveyed (56%) claimed to own at least one television. One family—wealthy by the town’s standards, as store owners—owned two. Interviews revealed that televisions tend to be associated with young adults or adolescents. Older adults stated their preference for radio—or, in some cases, stated that they felt forced to prefer radio since their teenage children had taken possession of the family’s TV. The radio station ACLO Chuquisaca enjoys popularity in Morado Q’asa, as well as the clearest signal. ACLO broadcasts in both Quechua and Spanish, depending on the time of the day, with frequent code switching between Quechua and Spanish.

While radios in Morado Q’asa can only access a small number of stations, television programming is even more limited. The town only accesses one channel—Bolivisión. Mexican shows dominate Bolivisión programming. These shows include *El Chavo del Ocho* and *Chapulín Colorado*, classic comedies frequently rerun throughout much of Latin America, and popular telenovelas shown two or three years after their original broadcast on Mexican television. A sprinkling of telenovelas from Venezuela,

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128 “ACLO en la historia de Bolivia.” Radio ACLO Chuquisaca stands for “[Fundación] Acción Cultural Loyola.” This name reflects ACLO’s Catholic roots; however, it is rarely used now.
129 Code switching occurs in both predominantly Quechua and predominantly Spanish programs, especially in interviews where the program adapts to the speakers skills, style, and preference. Commercials are often multilingual regardless of the program.
130 The telenovela is a Latin American genre similar to the soap opera but of shorter duration (generally lasting a year or less).
Colombia, and US-based Spanish-language channels accompanies this Mexican selection. Three Bolivisión news programs—one early in the morning, another in the afternoon, and a third late at night—are the only national productions available on the channel. People supplement this limited, foreign programming with DVDs purchased in Tarabuco and Sucre. These DVDs provide a more local and varied range of programs, including the Peruvian comedy that helps to structure my analysis, *El Cholo Juanito y Richard Douglas*.

Different forms of media and technology weave in and out of daily life in Morado Q’asa. Early in the morning, before the sun rises, adults begin to wake. Many listen to early morning radio programs in Quechua that broadcast primarily from ACLO. As the sun climbs higher, teenagers and children prepare for school. In many houses, the sound of Spanish-language songs by popular artists from Mexico, Peru, and the United States fill the air, as well as the occasional Brazilian hit. After children climb the cobblestone hill to the school at its peak, and teenagers pile onto the small *trufí* (van) that serves as school bus to take them to the secondary school in Cororo, the town falls quiet. Women in *polleras* follow their herds of sheep and goats silently on the hills. Still, signs of media linger. Music leaks out of doors cracked open, from courtyards where women wash or cook, or from the radios that men and teenagers sometimes wear hanging from their shoulders. Radios accompany the men who help transform the *cancha* into a *coliseo*—from concrete soccer field to small coliseum—a project attributed to the government of Evo Morales.

As the small bus rumbles back into town around two or three in the afternoon, and the teenagers spill out into their houses, television finds its hour. In many houses with
TVs, the stream of Mexican telenovelas of the early afternoon serves as a backdrop to the afternoon’s activities and an inviting place of rest for the tired teen. Even so, local families have their favorite programs. During my stay in Morado Q’asa from July to August, 2014, a sixteen-year-old girl told me it would be best not to interview any of her friends around three o’clock because their telenovela would be starting soon. In general, the television serves as a backdrop that draws attention and provides noise to accompany the day’s activities. Favorite programs invite attention. Common shows play without eliciting much attention. Around five in the afternoon, family programs broadcast before the television returns to primetime Mexican and North American Hispanic telenovelas. Late at night, a dubbed drama from mainstream English-language television from the US plays, and finally, the circle closes with Bolivisión late night news.

This Bolivisión routine repeats daily, adding more North American shows and movies on the weekend before returning to Mexican-dominated programming. Morado Q’asa does not have internet—yet—but the teenagers of the town eagerly await it. In the year that passed between the first and second times I visited Morado, little seemed to change in the community except the models of adolescent cell phones. Cell phones have quickly become the most prevalent form of communication technology in the town, exceeding radios. According to my “Migration and ICTs” survey, twenty-four out of twenty-seven households owned at least one cell phone. Furthermore, unlike with televisions, different members of the household often owned their own cell phones. Of the households that reported to own cell phones, the average quantity per house was 1.8. While many of the phones serve only to make phone calls, adolescents have much higher expectations for their devices. Like most young people throughout the world with access
to technology, they want to text, listen to music, and watch videos. Many youth have phones with these capabilities, though only one young adult had a phone with basic internet.\footnote{I found that cell phones, while expensive, were highly valued among young people in the community. Thus, teenagers and young adults would sacrifice other needs and wants to purchase the desired cell phone.}

Cell phones provide one platform through which people in Morado Q’asa can access an expanded range of media. A trip to the Sunday market in Tarabuco or the Mercado Campesino (literally, the “peasant market”) in Sucre provides the opportunity to purchase pirated discs filled with music, videos, and movies, and to download music onto cell phones.\footnote{In Tarabuco and Sucre, owners of cell phones can purchase pirated songs at kiosks and use a cord to transfer the songs to their devices.} One media product often purchased or seen blasting from the TV at a video booth portrays two young men—one in suits and pressed shirts, the other in exaggerated indigenous dress—playing tricks on each other and conducting skits. Unlike the \textit{telenovelas} that fill the daily Bolivisión programming, this show originates in neighboring Peru and includes dialogue in both Spanish and Quechua. Once purchased, this show often forms the center of family and community gatherings and special dinners. Yet, in contrast with the indigenous media products usually studied in the Andean context, which attempt to reproduce indigenous and community cultural practices, \textit{CJRD} deliberately twists these cultural practices to create the contradictions innate in humor. It fuses local music forms with ethnic slurs and displays of discrimination. Despite this ambiguity, \textit{CJRD} forms an important part of the media sphere of the community.
Humorous Dichotomies: *El Cholo Juanito y Richard Douglas*

**Profile of El Cholo Juanito y Richard Douglas**

*CJRD*, created by and featuring Raúl Cconcha Quispe and Richard Enriquez, revolves around two young men, el Cholo Juanito, who dresses, speaks, acts, and identifies himself as a Quechua peasant who has moved to the “big” city (Cuzco, Peru); and Richard Douglas, a “city” man who distances himself from any rural or indigenous identity and instead identifies as an established urbanite. The ethnic difference between the two protagonists is performed mainly through contrasts in dress and speech. El Cholo Juanito always wears green, knee-length pants, a white, “Andean style” blouse and a patterned vest. He also wears *ojotas*, rubber sandals made of recycled tires—one (stereo)typical indication of peasant origin in the Andes. Finally, he wears a cartoon-like, pointy white hat that only slightly resembles the campesino *ch’ullu*. In contrast, Richard Douglas dresses in a variety of formal, Western-style outfits.

In terms of speech, *motoseo*, or a lack of clear differentiation in speech of the vowel pairs e-i and o-u common in the Spanish of Quechua speakers, characterizes the speech of el Cholo Juanito and other characters of rural origin in the show. In addition, el Cholo Juanito uses words stereotypical of the Spanish of Quechua speakers. He uses “papá” and “mamá” as titles, mimicking Quechua in which “tayta” and “mama” (the Quechua words for father and mother, respectively) are also used as titles, equivalent to “sir” and “ma’am.” While in the Andes, even monolingual Spanish exhibits certain characteristics from Quechua, these characteristics are exaggerated in el Cholo Juanito’s speech. Richard Douglas, on the other hand, usually does not demonstrate *motoseo* in his speech;

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133 “Cc” has the same sound as “q” in Peruvian standardized Quechua spelling.
134 In Chuquisaca, *ojotas* are frequently referred to as *abarcas*. The connotation is the same.
135 Zavala, “Racialization of the Bilingual Student” (2011), 393.
occasionally, however, it does enter his speech as part of the humor of the show. When Richard Douglas’s voice reveals motoseo, the show highlights the change to heighten the comical effect. While dress and speech provide the clearest, consistent ethnic differentiation, other indicators exist and are often manipulated to create humor. This ethnic contrast as well as the conflict and misunderstandings that arise from their interactions provide one source of comedy in the program; other topics frequently used for sketches and jokes are dating and relationships, and, less frequently, politics.

**Crisis and Comedy: the Growth of Cómicos Ambulantes in Peru**

*CJR*D is perhaps the most popular and globalized embodiment of a particular genre of Peruvian comedy. The genre to which I will refer as the “cholo genre” evolved, at least in part, from the world of the cómicos ambulantes who perform in plazas of towns and cities throughout Peru. Vich has traced the history of these comedians from their roots in the 1970s through 2000. According to Vich, Peruvian street comedy developed from the tradition of street mimes. His study indicates that the first modern street comedians, dressed as clowns, began to perform in the 1970s, when Peru was experiencing a military dictatorship that limited the rights of expression. Though Vich cites the 1980s as the decade in which street comedians began to proliferate due to economic struggles, increasing informality and inequality, many of the themes central in

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136 As I explore in greater detail in Chapter Two, many sketches revolve around rivalry between the two men to win the affection of a woman. In addition, the characters often swap accusations of homosexuality as insults. Unlike ethnic stereotypes that are often challenged within the show, stereotypes about gender and sexuality are rarely challenged. This thesis does not explore in depth the construction of gender in *CJR*D except as it relates to ethnic identities; however, it should be noted that the show operates from a masculinized, heteronormative perspective. Even so, one female viewer in Morado Q’asa praised the show for being less denigrating toward women than other comedies.

137 I am unaware of anyone ever officially naming the kind of comedy that revolves around a character referred to as el/la cholo/a ….

138 Wandering street comedians


140 Ibid., 37.
street comedy and, later, in CJRD, had their roots in the 1970s. Around this time, for example, comedian and orator Orlando Mendoza created the character of “el Cholo Cirilo.” Though el Cholo Cirilo was not the first instance of the “cholo genre,” Mendoza argued that it was unique. “Mine wasn’t an idiotized cholo like they showed on television,” he argued. “Mine was a cunning, resourceful cholo.”

Likewise, Richard Enriquez attested that their “cholo” character also differs from the typical one portrayed in the genre. He claimed that el Cholo Juanito was “a more natural, sweeter character, with whom . . . any person who has come from campesino roots can identify.” Thus, cómicos ambulantes merged their need to make a living with a critique of the social realities of inequality in their Peru. While in an interview, Enriquez Ventura and Cconcha Quispe argue that they are not cómicos ambulantes because their comedy style employs family-friendly language, they share roots with cómicos ambulantes. Upon creating their act, they performed on the streets of Juliaca, where both attended college.

The sociopolitical context of the duo’s early years mirrored many facets of Peru in the 1980s. In the early 2000s (and arguably, through the present), Peru suffered from the legacy of armed conflict between the terrorist group Sendero Luminoso and the military. Cconcha Quispe and Enriquez Ventura created their characters in this context of difficult societal reintegration and expanding neoliberalism that placed economic

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141 “El mío no era un cholo idiotizado como la hacían en la televisión; el mío era un cholo pendejo, hábil.” Ibid., 38
142 “...a un personaje más natural, más dulce, con que cualquier pública se identifica, no, que cualquier persona que viene de raíces campesinos se identifica con el Cholo Juanito…”
144 “Al sexto día.” “Del altiplano al mundo” (2014). They assert this difference due to the more family-friendly language they employ.
constraints on the population.\textsuperscript{146} When they first performed in Bolivia, in 2004, that country, too, found itself in social and political turmoil. The duo inserted itself in Bolivian politics at a MAS event in 2005, campaigning on behalf of the party’s presidential candidate, Evo Morales.\textsuperscript{147} The encounter was videotaped and appeared in the beginning of the third volume of \textit{CJRD}, accompanied by a narrator’s voice celebrating the pair’s international success. El Cholo Juanito claimed that he had come to Bolivia to meet his father, Evo, which he pronounced with Andean \textit{motoseo}. El Cholo Juanito and Evo Morales then embraced and shared a fraternal kiss, and El Cholo Juanito turned to the cheering audience: “very well, Father and Son, we are \textit{MAS} (more/\textit{Movimiento al socialismo})!”\textsuperscript{148}—a victorious affirmation of transnational, highland indigenous identity.

The popularity of \textit{CJRD}, therefore, was propelled forward by the social conditions of their country and the surrounding countries as well as the piracy of their DVDs, which spread throughout the Andes. Rotondo argues that through piracy, \textit{CJRD}, as well as other street comedians (cómicos ambulantes), became “\textit{ambulantes digitales},”\textsuperscript{149} or “digital wanderers”—a play on the Spanish name of street comedians implying that now comedians could wander with their humor through digital channels. It is unlikely that without digital piracy distant rural communities like Morado Q’asa would have ever been exposed to \textit{CJRD}. That form of humor certainly never finds its way onto Bolivisión, already saturated with Mexican \textit{telenovelas} and US dramas.

\textsuperscript{146} Ibid., 71.
\textsuperscript{147} Rotondo, “Peruwood” (2013), 85.
\textsuperscript{148} “Ahora bien, padre e hijo, ¡somos \textit{MAS}!” in Cconcha Quispe and Enriquez Ventura “Volumen 3” (2013). This line plays on the name of Evo Morales’ political party, MAS, \textit{Movimiento al Socialismo} (Movement Towards Socialism). Therefore, El Cholo Juanito declared that he and his “father,” Evo Morales, were both more together and represented the broader movement. I analyze this fascinating use of transnational indigeneity for a political campaign in Bolivia in the following chapter.
\textsuperscript{149} Rotondo, “Peruwood” (2013), 84.
Snapshot

Thus, political and digital developments both in the place of production—Peru—and of reception—Bolivia—brought the people of Morado Q’asa into contact with a popular Peruvian production, *CJRD*. In considering the way through which the people of Morado Q’asa interpret this particular show and the extent to which they relate it—explicitly or implicitly—to their lives, I hope to cast light on the dynamics of identity negotiation among the Quechua-speaking people of Morado Q’asa. Though local in scale, these snapshots highlight broader processes of self and group identification. The next two chapters demonstrate how ethnic group identification—and even, to an extent, political use of group identities—extend across borders as well as form new ideological divides within the nation. They note how media helps facilitate and express these extended identifications. At the same time, Chapter Two and Three explore how, even considering these transnational links, people continue to perceive enduring connections to the nation.
CHAPTER TWO
Transnational Dialogues: Interpreting *El Cholo Juanito y Richard Douglas*

“Scandal” in Chuquisaca

Dressed in a poncho of the signature indigenous style of Tarabuco, beer in hand, Raúl Quispe Cconcha (el Cholo Juanito), sings in Quechua. Richard Enriquez Ventura (Richard Douglas), on the harp, accompanies him from across the room. The scene seems like it could fit neatly into a volume of *El Cholo Juanito y Richard Douglas* (*CJRD*), as the group of people surrounding the pair laughs along with their antics.

A picture of Evo Morales on the wall and the presence of Esteban Urquizu, former governor of Chuquisaca, also chatting and laughing, reveal that this video does not come from a new *CJRD* production. Rather, the video is the object of a recent political scandal. Recorded in June 2012 and leaked in December 2014 by *ERBOL*, a Bolivian media network, this eight-minute video ignited controversy regarding the behavior Urquizu, former governor and candidate for reelection in March 2015. Some newspapers and observers accused the governor of impropriety and corruption for casually drinking and joking with the Peruvian comedians in a government office. President Evo Morales, however, defended Urquizu—his fellow MAS politician—arguing that the appearance of the video prior to the March election suggested a “dirty
“... war” against the candidate.\textsuperscript{150} Morales also suggested that accusations of impropriety showed disregard for indigenous cultural practices, calling the celebration a \textit{ch’alla} and comparing it to a diplomatic toast.\textsuperscript{151} Likewise, Urquizu defended himself by evoking the ceremonial nature of the event in a framework of indigeneity, protesting:

if it is a crime to receive an indigenous brother in government offices and toast him with four cans of beer, well, I suppose it’s an error on my part as an authority…[Raul Cconcha Quispe] is a Quechua friend. He is an indigenous friend.\textsuperscript{152}

Urquizu’s defense of the celebration rested on his assertion of Raúl Cconcha Quispe’s Quechua identity as well as his characterization of the event as a parallel political ceremony performed in accordance with local Quechua protocol. By wearing a piece of clothing of marked indigeneity in Tarabuco (i.e. the poncho woven in the local style), Cconcha Quispe aligned his own Quechua identity as expressed through the Peruvian \textit{huayno} with Esteban Urquizu’s rural \textit{tarabucoño} identity. Interestingly, one article describing the “scandal” made a point of emphasizing the governor’s footwear: rubber \textit{abarcas}.

The political stir caused by the leaked video of the meeting of Governor Urquizu with Cconcha Quispe and Enriquez Ventura underscored the show’s political and social relevance in Chuquisaca, where it ignited debate about the appropriateness of indigenous practices and representations in government spaces. Urquizu’s characterization of

\textsuperscript{150} “\textit{Guerra sucia}” in Melgarejo and Donoso, “Presidente no ve anomalías” (2014).

\textsuperscript{151} A \textit{ch’alla} is a common practice in Andean indigenous cultures. It involves dedicating liquid—often alcohol like beer or chicha— to the \textit{Pachamama}, or Earth Mother, by pouring a portion on the ground and consuming the rest. \textit{Ch’allas} are performed both during everyday life and in ceremonial events.

\textsuperscript{152} “Cholo Juanito hará campaña” (2014) in \textit{Página Siete}. “Sí es un delito recibirle a un hermano indígena en la Gobernación y hacerle brindis con cuatro latas de cerveza, bueno, será mi error personal y como autoridad. ... Es un amigo quechua. Es un amigo indígena.”

\textsuperscript{153} “Filtran video” (2014) in \textit{Página Siete}. As described in Chapter One, \textit{abarcas}, called \textit{ojotas} in Peru, are strong ethnic markers. Rural indigenous people in the highlands tend to wear these rubber sandals. Wearing \textit{abarcas} as opposed to closed-toed shoes marks an individual as \textit{campesino}, poor, and likely indigenous and thus carries a strong stigma.
Cconcha Quispe as an indigenous brother and friend demonstrates the political engagement of transnational indigeneity in the Andes. Furthermore, Urquizu declared that the Cholo Juanito would tour with him during his campaign for reelection in rural Chuquisaca.154

Urquizu and Morales’ defense of the celebration with Cconcha Quispe and Enriquez Ventura was unique because it simultaneously appealed to their shared indigeneity and to the pair’s status as visiting foreign artists. By referring to beer consumption as a ch’alla, Urquizu and Morales referenced a shared cultural code among Andean indigenous peoples—both Quechua and Aymara—while justifying the event based on international norms for the treatment of diplomats. The discourse surrounding this event, therefore, emphasized the similarly dual nature of identity among the comedians and highland indigenous Bolivians, who despite their different national origins shared certain ethnic cultural practices.

Many people in Morado Q’asa viewed the comedians through a similar lens as that of their former governor. Bilingual inhabitants of Morado recognized the Peruvian origin of CJRD yet also felt like they shared aspects of their Quechua identities with both comedians. This chapter actively engages, develops, and questions the idea of “cultural proximity,” a concept that I argue explains some of the appeal of CJRD in Morado Q’asa and other parts of Bolivia, as well as some of the critiques it received. La Pastina and Straubhaar define cultural proximity in media as the idea that “audiences will tend to choose to watch television programs that are closest, most proximate or most directly

154 The articles all mentioned the character “el Cholo Juanito’s” future participation in Urquizu’s campaign tour, not the comedian who portrays him or his partner, “Richard Douglas” (Enriquez Ventura).
relevant to them in cultural and linguistic terms.”\textsuperscript{155} While they argue that national productions frequently provide the greatest cultural proximity and are thus preferred, other factors may encourage a sense of cultural proximity with media products from other nations with “historical, ethnic, religious, linguistic, geographical and other similarities.”\textsuperscript{156} Highland indigenous people in Peru and Bolivia, though they may speak different languages (Quechua or Aymara) or different dialects of those languages, and though they find themselves divided by a national border, share many historical experiences. Prominent among these similarities are colonialism, marginalization, and rural-urban migration. The creators of CJRD attempt to establish pan-Andean cultural proximity with its viewers. As both a recorded and live production, CJRD modulates levels of Quechua use. The recorded volumes feature dialogue in Spanish with touches of code-switching with Quechua. In live performances, the comedians increase the integration of Quechua for shows in heavily-Quechua speaking areas and minimalize it for performances directed at mainly Spanish- or Aymara-speaking audiences.

The depiction of a rural migrant in an urban area also presents proximity of class to many—though certainly not all—viewers. It reflects the experience of migration and the accompanying cultural tensions pervasive in Peru and Bolivia. In this chapter, I explore the ways the creators of CJRD engage these various proximities. I also consider the extent to which some viewers in Morado Q’asa accept, qualify, or reject the potential similarities between the show and their own lives. Through exploring the role of cultural proximity in the appeal—or lack of appeal—of CJRD to viewers in Morado Q’asa, in this

\textsuperscript{155} La Pastina and Straubhaar, “Proximities” (2005), 273.
\textsuperscript{156} Ibid., 273.
chapter I investigate aspects of the construction of Quechua, pan-Andean, and national identities, as well as the relationship between these forms of identification.

For example, while many viewers identified CJRD with Peru, some viewers in Morado Q’asa mistakenly believed that CJRD was a local production. These viewers—monolingual Quechua speakers—based this belief on the duo’s form of Quechua, their music, and their dances. A few people criticized the show, rejecting the assumption of cultural proximity and replacing it with accusations of misrepresentation and exploitation. Like any media product, CJRD evokes a multiplicity of reactions and interpretations. These interpretations shed light on different ways of interpreting national and ethnic identities.

This chapter places CJRD in dialogue with the people of Morado Q’asa and other Quechua-speaking chuquisaqueños. I begin with an analysis of the show’s content and the perspectives of its creators. This examination demonstrates one possible interpretation of the show—one that originates in a Peruvian context. As the analysis enters Bolivian social and political space, it becomes clear that the Peruvian and Bolivian contexts overlap and intertwine. In the second section, I analyze a live interaction between the show and the people of Chuquisaca in the context of the August 3, 2014 performance of El Cholo Juanito y Richard Douglas: ¡En vivo y en directo! in Sucre. In the third section, I turn to the perspectives of viewers from Morado Q’asa. I examine how their viewpoints correspond with and differ from the intention of Cconcha Quispe and Enriquez Ventura.
Peruvian Perspectives

_Last Names and Lovers: Performing Ethnic Identities_

According to its creators, Raúl Cconcha Quispe and Richard Enriquez Ventura, _CJRD_ exists to entertain Andean people through humor by using family-friendly characters. Enriquez Ventura argues that the appeal of _CJRD_ derives from a light-hearted representation of urban-rural conflict. From this base, the comedians create sketches that play off the ambiguous backgrounds of their characters, their friendly competition for romantic partners, and verbal sparring in which each character attempts to outsmart the other by inventing creative insults. Furthermore, they integrate music and dance into the program—not always for comedic purposes. They also incorporate politics into the humor, usually adding an ethnic tinge to political jokes.

The first official volume produced by the duo opens with El Cholo Juanito’s backstory, explaining how he migrated from his village to the “big” city of Cuzco. This episode places ethnicity at the forefront of the program’s plot and humor. The show begins as if it were a news report, though the narrator speaks in a jocular tone. Several mug-shot style stills of Juanito appear while the narrator reads the text on the screen: “He is el Cholo Juanito! Alias: the llama’s armpit. Wanted: because his species is endangered. He has to go to his town to reproduce. Hometown: native of Chacachaca. Species: _Llama sapiens erectus._” The screen quickly changes; the same mug-shot style photo appears, with a clearly superimposed red-and-white sash, the colors of the Peruvian flag. The

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voice continues: “He is very dangerous because he wants to become president.”

The “wanted” style introduction transitions to a more traditional narrative, explaining that Juanito had lived in his town until experiencing a romantic rejection from a cholita. Heartbroken, he packed his bags, left his mother, and came to Cuzco to try his luck.

This opening reflects the political tensions of the time in Peru. Cconcha Quispe and Enriquez Ventura began performing as el Cholo Juanito and Richard Douglas on the streets of Juliaca, Puno, in the early 2000s. The pair released the first volume of CJRD during the presidency of Alejandro Toledo, a man who came from a rural background and utilized indigenous symbols to attempt to establish legitimacy. Toledo was alternately mocked by his opponents and celebrated by many of his supporters as the “Cholo Toledo.” From the outset, the show highlights the tensions of ethnicity in politics. Later in the first volume, the characters establish an even more direct connection between Juanito and his fellow “cholo,” President Toledo. Richard Douglas begins the sketch, pompously addressing the audience surrounding him. El Cholo Juanito interrupts. Richard Douglas, indignant, asks Juanito, “don’t you know who you are talking to?” Richard Douglas proceeds to introduce himself as “Richard Douglas Smith, from Lima,” and begins to name “family members.” El Cholo Juanito criticizes the character of each of Richard’s supposed family members and creates his own, distinctly more indigenous, list of supposed relations:

Richard Douglas (RD): Do you remember Alberto Fujimori?
Cholo Juanito (CJ): Ex-president of Peru; he stole money.

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159 Ibid. “¡Y es muy peligroso porque quiere llegar a ser presidente!”
160 I cannot find an exact date for the production of the first video, but in the video, the characters state that Toledo was Peru’s current president.
161 Unlike future volumes of CJRD, “Volume One” is merely the recording of a live street routine performed by Cconcha Quispe and Enriquez Ventura rather than the scripted “drama” format of later productions.
162 Ibid. “¿tú no sabes con quién estás hablando?”
RD: That’s my uncle! Vladimiro Montesinos Torres!
CJ: Vladimiro Montesinos Torres is in jail…
RD: That’s my godfather! Godfather, my godfather! Shushes CJ. Nothing more needs to be said.
CJ: Godfather, godfather…
RD: Laura Bozo?
CJ: Television hostess, and through TV she hasn’t covered…
RD: My cousin! My cousin.
CJ: Your family?
RD: My family!
CJ: Your family is just a bunch of thieves. Damned thieves. My family is actually important.
RD: Let’s see then? Who is in your family?
CJ: Do you know Valentín Paniagua?
RD: Of course, ex-president of Peru.
CJ: Hits chest. My dad!
RD: Your dad?
CJ: My dad!
RD: Let’s see, who else is in your family?
CJ: Do you know Alejandro Toledo?
RD: Alejandro Toledo Manrique?
CJ: Yes.
RD: Current president of Peru?
CJ: My brother!
RD: My brother…who else is in your family?
CJ: Do you know Paulina Arpasi?
RD: Of course, the cholita congresswoman from Puno!
CJ: She’s my wife dammit! Look here, my wife!
RD: Your wife?
CJ: Do you know Raul Romero?
RD: Raul Romero? Host of América Televisión?
CJ: He’s my son, my son.

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163 Ibid. The English translation conceals the distinct phonetic patterns of Richard Douglas and el Cholo Juanito. In the Spanish transcription and additional references to the show, the spelling reflects Juanito’s nonstandard phonetics.

El Cholo Juanito (CJ): Ex-presidente del Perú, se ha robado la plata.
Richard Douglas (RD): ¡Ese es mi tío! Vladimiro Montesinos Torres!
CJ: Vladimiro Montesinos Torres está en carcel…
RD: ¡Ese es mi padrino! Padrino, mi padrino. No se habla más.
CJ: Padrino, padrino…
RD: ¿Laura Bozo?
CJ: Conductora de televisión, y mediante la televisión no se ha tapado…
RD: ¡Mi prima! ¡Mi prima!
CJ: ¿Su familia?
RD: ¡Mi familia!
CJ: Puro rátiro no más su familia. Rátiro carajo, mi familia si es importante.
RD: ¿A ver? ¿Quién es tu familia?
CJ: ¿Usted conoce a Valentín Paniagua?
In a later episode, Cholo Juanito states his full name as “Juanito Mamani Quispe Álvarez Mendoza Fuentes de la Vega Toledo,” reiterating this apparent connection with Peru’s president.\textsuperscript{164} Indeed, unnaturally long, invented last names often serve both as a comedic tool and as markers of identity. The characters use last names to assert their lineage, to challenge the ethnic claims of the other, and to align themselves with well-known politicians and celebrities. This strategy also constructs a sense of proximity at live shows as the comedians change the list of supposed relations to reflect prominent individuals from the country where they perform. For instance, on other occasions el Cholo Juanito has stated his name as “Juanito Mamani Quispe Álvarez Mendoza Fuentes de la Vega Morales” to refer to the president of Bolivia and “Juanito Mamani Quispe Álvarez Mendoza Fuentes de la Vega Correa” to refer to the president of Ecuador. Thus, the choice of last names serves a double function. It highlights the characters’ ethnic

\begin{itemize}
  \item RD: Claro, ex-presidente del Perú.
  \item CJ: [Hits chest] ¡Mi papá!
  \item RD: ¿Su papá?
  \item CJ: ¡Mi papá!
  \item RD: A ver, ¿quién más es tu familia?
  \item CJ: ¿Tú conoces a Alejandro Toledo?
  \item RD: ¿Alejandro Toledo Manrique?
  \item CJ: Sí
  \item RD: ¿Actual presidente del Perú?
  \item CJ: Mi hermano!
  \item RD: Mi hermano...¿quién más es tu familia?
  \item CJ: ¿Tú conoces Paulina Arpasi?
  \item RD: Claro, ¡cholita congresista de Puno!
  \item CJ: Mi mujer carajo! Que aprendas, mi mujir!
  \item RD: ¿Tu mujer?
  \item CJ: ¿Tú conoces Raul Romero?
  \item RD: ¿Raul Romero? Conductor de América Televisión.
  \item CJ: Mi heju es, mi heju.
\end{itemize}

\textsuperscript{164} Concha Quispe and Enríquez Ventura, “Volumen 5” (2013) This string of last names contains references to other figures, in addition to President Toledo. The name “de la Vega” likely alludes to Garcilaso de la Vega, a mestizo author (with a Spanish father and Quechua mother) who chronicled the culture and history of the Incas during the early Colonial period. The names “Mamani” and “Quispe” are markedly Andean.
identifications as well as pulls the characters into the national context of the country where they perform.

Ethnic identities in CJRD function as more than inroads for commentary about politics; rather, they form the base of the duo’s sketches. Tension between geographic origin and expression of ethnic identity often emerges, as Juanito questions Richard’s qualifications for his declared non-indigenous urban identity. In the first volume, after Richard Douglas declares himself “Richard Douglas Smith,” Juanito laughs and slyly challenges this assertion, stating, “your real name is Anastasio Pirq’a Tawka Tawka P’icha Ojota; why are you lying?... You don’t remember us growing up together since we were little...in the [rural, indigenous] community?” Richard Douglas responds angrily, offended by the claim that he has rural rather than urban roots, and that he was born with a Quechua name, rather than an Anglicized one. By playing with last names, childhood stories, and lists of relatives, Juanito seeks to topple Richard Douglas’ fragile place of creole “superiority.”

This sketch in “Volume One” references political figures; in a later sketch, however, without naming specific politicians, the duo directly features racism and abuse of political power by performing a public trial. One YouTube video of the second half of the fifth volume, which contains the trial sketch, has drawn almost two million views by the time of this writing (March 2015). The sixth graders of Morado Q’asa chose this particular skit to reenact at a town celebration. In this sketch, Richard Douglas plays

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165 Cconcha Quispe and Enriquez Ventura, “primer cd” (2013). CJ: “Ah, tu nombre verdadero es Anastasio Pirq’a Tawka Tawka P’icha Ojota. ¿Por qué mentes?... ¿O no te recuerdas chequititus hemos crecido...en la comunidad pe?.”
166 In November, 2014, this video had 1.4 million views (compared to almost two million in March 2015) indicating that the hundreds of thousands of people are still seeking out and viewing this episode.
167 See Introduction for a detailed description of this event.
the town judge, and el Cholo Juanito plays a comunero, or indigenous villager. Both men plan on running for mayor of the town. Richard Douglas tries to use his power as the judge to eliminate his competition, and he bribes other villagers to accuse Juanito (falsely) of robbery and rape. During a public trial conducted in the central plaza of a rural village, Richard Douglas charges el Cholo Juanito with successively graver offenses. Throughout the trial, Richard attempts to denigrate el Cholo Juanito. For instance, when Juanito asks where he should sit, Richard replies: “on the ground, on the ground, on the ground, like the Indian that you are! Sit down on the ground; that’s your place!”

El Cholo Juanito responds that the judge should have bought a bench for him, to which Richard responds sarcastically: “because you give me so much money?” Without missing a beat, Juanito retorts, “and you rob so much money.” The skit progresses in this manner, with el Cholo Juanito twisting the situation to reveal the plot against him.

During the trial, the judge blatantly abuses his authority. For instance, after el Cholo Juanito points out aspects of his corruption, the judge kicks him until he withdraws the accusations. Furthermore, the judge dictates the record of the trial to his secretary, inventing incriminating details about Juanito’s behavior during the trial. Finally, el Cholo reveals the conspiracy. He confronts the judge and the false witnesses. The community viewing the trial turns against the judge and beats him. The final scene of the video shows Richard comically wrapped in bandages in the hospital, whimpering in pain.

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168 “En el suelo, en el suelo, en el suelo, como indio que eres. ¡Ahí es tu lugar!” in Cconcha Quispe and Enriquez Ventura. “Volumen 5” (2013).
169 “¿Tanta plata que me das?” In ibid.
170 “¿Y tanta plata lo que robas?” In ibid.
While this sketch from the fifth volume contains the clearest political critique of any volume of *CJRD*, it also demonstrates some of the central elements of humor in *CJRD*. Ethnicity serves both as a backdrop to the plot and a point of conflict. The pair verbally spars, with Richard Douglas using Juanito’s ethnicity to humiliate him, and Juanito twisting the situation to his advantage. The humor throughout the trial in the fifth volume reveals and ridicules the abuses of power by politicians against indigenous communities. The plots of other *CJRD* sketches, however, focus on interpersonal rather than institutional struggles. While retaining the background of ethnic differences, the other volumes center on jokes regarding sexuality, relationships, and finances.

During the first sketch of the fifth volume, for example, Juanito and Richard compete to impress a young female fan. This sketch demonstrates how ethnic tensions colored by socioeconomic differences underscore apolitical humor in the show as well as political humor. It also features the integration of music and dancing along with humor. Monolingual Quechua speakers in Morado Q’asa referenced these latter elements—rather than the comedy—as the greatest appeal of the show. The songs serve both as a mode of entertainment and an emblem of the ethnic identifications of the two characters. In this sketch, Juanito and Richard go to the young female fan’s house to serenade her. Juanito shows up singing an indigenous *huayno*, accompanied by a backup quintet of musicians dressed in colorful embroidered vests and *ch’ullus*. Richard then rolls up on a stage constructed on the back of a truck. The truck sports four speakers, a drummer, and a...

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171 The figure of the rural judge as exploiter of indigenous peoples is a common trope in nineteenth and early twentieth century Peruvian literature. The judge features prominently in Clorinda Matto de Turner’s early *indianista* novel, *Aves sin nido.*

172 Of course, this appreciation of the music and dance partly derives from the inability of monolingual Quechua speakers to understand most of the dialogue. Despite the predominance of Spanish, monolingual Quechua speakers can understand some aspects of humor, especially physical humor (facial expressions, falling, seduction, etcetera) and the few jokes made in Quechua.
guitarist. Richard begins to sing and dance a famous Mexican *cumbia*, using a microphone and the sound equipment to drown out Juanito’s *huayno*. The two characters banter and alternate performances. El Cholo Juanito presents the young woman with a small present; Richard then pulls out two large boxes as gifts. This sketch exemplifies how the show weaves the contrast of the character’s ethnic identities and socioeconomic statuses into comedy related to other themes, such as dating.

The representations of characters in *CJRD*, even when not explicitly referring to ethnicity, echo the complexities of the discourse surrounding *mestizaje* in Peru. *CJRD* sets up a surface level of ethnic dichotomization. Richard Douglas speaks Spanish from Lima, the political and economic center of Peru; el Cholo Juanito combines Quechua and Spanish and speaks the latter with *motoseo*. Richard Douglas wears the suits and dress shirts of an urbanite; el Cholo Juanito sports the *ojotas*, woven pants, and vest of a *campesino*. Richard Douglas’ name is English; el Cholo Juanito’s name not only is a Spanish diminutive but also bears the derogatory label *cholo*. Despite these dichotomies, however, the show repeatedly demonstrates the ambiguity characteristic of the idea of *mestizaje*. The skits question Richard Douglas’ origins and el Cholo Juanito’s supposed lack of intelligence. Even jokes that seem simply interpersonal rather than racial echo questions of ethnicity, such as frequent quips about personal hygiene: each character, for instance, often claims that the other does not change his underwear or his bathwater. While jokes about cleanliness and mild bathroom humor are common in comedy, especially in children’s humor, the ethnically-charged context of *CJRD* gives accusations of uncleanliness an ethnic dimension. Since both characters exchange these

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insults, jokes regarding uncleanliness in CJRD question the stereotype that “indios” and “cholos” are “dirty.”\textsuperscript{174}


While not denying the centrality of ethnicity to their humor, Cconcha Quispe and Enriquez Ventura frequently pinpoint the role of class rather than ethnicity in their program. This focus may correspond with the framework of the interviews where they express such beliefs. For instance, \textit{Panamericana TV}, a national channel that broadcasts from Lima, conducted two in-depth reports on the comedians for the program “Al Sexto Día.” Host Olenka Zimmermann and reporter Jane Mori, both creole limeñas, celebrated Cconcha Quispe and Enriquez Ventura as successful Peruvians while distancing themselves from the Andean context where CJRD enjoyed greatest popularity. Their report framed CJRD as a show that the habitual audience of “Al Sexto Día” had likely heard mentioned but did not watch. Likewise, Zimmermann and Mori spoke of—and not to—CJRD’s fans, implying that they did not expect CJRD’s Andean viewers to also watch “Al Sexto Día.” Their report explained that CJRD appealed mostly to rural audiences, providing them with a “simple, popular satire—the kind of satire that warms the hearts and souls of the men and women of rural farms (la chacra), managing to exchange the sullen face of poverty for lots of smiles.”\textsuperscript{175} While this condescending statement reflects the positive reception of the show in much of the Andes, it understates the cultural and political significance of the satire. Furthermore, it distances the viewers

\textsuperscript{174} Nugent, \textit{Laberinto de la Choledad} (1992), 46.
\textsuperscript{175} “sencilla sátira popular, esa que calienta el corazón y el alma de los hombres y mujeres de la chacra, logrando cambiar el rostro adusto de la pobreza por muchas sonrisas.” in “Al Sexto Día,” “Del altiplano al mundo” (2014).
of “Al Sexto Día” from CJRD’s Andean fans by delineating their space (the chacra) and their struggles (cold and poverty).

Indeed, Zimmermann and Mori even subtly distinguished between the identities of the comedians and their campesino audience. According to Mori, Cconcha Quispe and Enriquez Ventura “are two comedians who know how to bring joy to the heart of rural people (pueblo campesino)…”176 because they “grew up understanding the traditions of the Andean people, which nowadays identifies itself in the characters they embody.”177 Mori portrayed the comedians as informed outsiders to rural life in the Andes. As cusqueños, they “understood” rural traditions. The reporter did not, however, place the comedians into the same indigenous, rural social group of the duo’s imagined fans. A clip of Cconcha Quispe changing out of his normal clothes and assuming character—swapping closed-toed shoes for ojotas and black slacks for the Cholo’s woven, green pants—reinforced this distinction. The subtle construction of distance between the comedians and people of rural, Andean Peru created on “Al Sexto Día” contrasted with Cconcha Quispe’s indigenous paternal and maternal last names and the clips of him conversing fluently in Quechua with fans. During one such conversation, Cconcha Quispe, in character, joked with an elderly woman in Quechua while Mori stood to the side, a slightly quizzical expression on her face.178 In contrast, my interviews in Morado Q’asa suggested that, while Mori and Zimmermann viewed such interactions with fans as

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176 “dos artistas cómicos que han sabido alegar el corazón de un pueblo campesino.” In ibid.
177 “crecieron entendiendo las tradiciones del pueblo andino, el que hoy en día se identifica mucho con los personajes que interpretan.” In ibid.
178 In many interviews with Raúl Cconcha Quispe and Richard Enriquez Ventura, the comedians slip in and out of character. They alternate serious responses in which they comment on the production and content of their show with jokes in which they assume the characters’ voices and personalities.
evidence that the duo appealed to the culture of rural, indigenous Andeans, many campesinos perceive them instead as a demonstration of shared culture.

Later in the interview, Cconcha Quispe and Enriquez Ventura shifted focus back to the social and political activism of their program. The comedians emphasized many markers of indigeneity, such as geographic origin, clothing, and speech patterns, without explicitly mentioning ethnicity or race. Enriquez Ventura explained the show as “the struggle between two classes.” He argues, “I represent urbanites, from the city, that always underestimate the peasant man, and that [underestimation] exists in our society, right?”179 In their interviews appearing on “Al Sexto Día,” the comedians replicated Mori and Zimmermann’s subtle distinction between their own ethnic identities and the identities of CJRD’s audience. They focused on the impact of their comedy on people from rural areas and the similarities between their characters and rural people rather than emphasizing their own shared roots. In other interviews, however, Cconcha Quispe shared more about his own origins, explaining: “I come from a humble family; I never met my father. Ever since I was a child, I’ve done peasant theater (teatro campesino), because sometimes the situation forces you [to work].”180 Such interviews with Cconcha Quispe and Enriquez Ventura reveal the centrality of class in their comedy and complicate the simplistic presentation by “Al Sexto Día” of CJRD as light-hearted entertainment for the “downtrodden.”

Tellingly, the Lima-based “Al Sexto Día” focused more on the impact of the performance in Bolivia rather than Peru by presenting CJRD as a cultural ambassador to

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179 “la lucha de dos clases... yo represento a las personas citadinas de la ciudad que siempre subestiman, no, al hombre campesino, y eso existe, no, en nuestra sociedad.” In ibid.
180 “Yo vengo de una familia humilde, no conoci a mi padre. Desde niño hice teatro campesino, pues a veces la situación te obliga.” In “Estoy en mi casa” (2010).
the neighboring country. “Al Sexto Día” contrasted the failure of the show in Lima—from which it broadcasted in a short-lived, nationwide program in 2010 called *El Cholo Juanito y Richard Douglass: La Vecindad*—with the success of *CJRD* videos in Andean areas. While acknowledging *CJRD’s* popularity in Andean Peru, Mori and Zimmermann considered *CJRD’s* demographic more clearly embodied in Bolivia. Indeed, Cconcha Quispe explained that the success of their DVDs in Bolivia slightly predated the show’s widespread popularity in Peru. The impression given by the presenter’s discourse, however, is of a superficial celebration of their compatriots while ignoring Cconcha Quispe and Enriéquez Ventura’s potential self-identification as indigenous Peruvians.

“Al Sexto Día” introduced Cconcha Quispe and Enriéquez Ventura’s encounter with Evo Morales in 2005 as a sign that the Peruvian duo “already had an entire country [Bolivia] in their pocket.” The event, however, contained greater political undertones than “Al Sexto Día” suggested. While Mori and Zimmermann, as Peruvians, considered the event a national endorsement by the Bolivian politician of the Peruvian comedians, the event could also be constructed—perhaps more naturally—as an endorsement by Cconcha Quispe and Enriéquez Ventura of Morales, the current Bolivian head of state. Furthermore, by including Evo Morales in the skit as the “father” of el Cholo Juanito, the duo was able to enact a transnational, Andean indigenous identity for political purposes. Evo Morales played along, embracing this support and taking advantage of the pair’s popularity and indigenous ethos. That identity transcended

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181 The spelling of “Douglas(s)” differs between the televised show and the videos released by the duo.
183 Ibid.
184 “ya se había metido a todo un país en el bolsillo.” In “Al Sexto Día,” “Del altiplano al mundo” (2014).
national borders, as Cconcha Quispe, a Peruvian, proudly stated a Bolivian campaign slogan: “somos MAS.” It also generalized beyond specific ethnic identification to mobilize a pan-Andean indigeneity, as Morales, the “father,” is Aymara, and el Cholo Juanito, the “son,” is Quechua. Furthermore, this instance would not be the only one in which Cconcha Quispe and Enriquez Ventura have fused their show with a Bolivian political project. In December 2014, after the “scandal” described in the beginning of this chapter, Esteban Urquizu explained that el Cholo Juanito would campaign on his behalf as he sought reelection in March 2015. Urquizu directly appealed to Cconcha Quispe’s indigenous identification and clout when describing him as “an indigenous friend, a Quechua friend.”

**Shifting Proximities: From Quechua to Pan-Andean**

Thus, Cconcha Quispe and Enriquez Ventura consciously build their humor on themes of class and indigeneity; furthermore, they connect these themes to real-life political mobilization, as in the two MAS campaigns mentioned above. In addition to the political campaign, live performances of *CJRD* demonstrate how the two comedians modulate use of language and other cultural representations to establish a sense of pan-Andean proximity with their audience. When performing before audiences comprised mostly of Quechua speakers, Cconcha Quispe and Enriquez Ventura make greater use of the language than they do in their DVDs. For instance, in a 2013 performance in rural Apurímac, Peru, el Cholo Juanito spoke to the audience about half the time in Quechua, regularly switching between Quechua and Spanish.\(^{185}\) The cheers, verbal responses, and laughter of the audience indicated that many people present understood the Quechua and found el Cholo Juanito’s words hilarious. In contrast, their 2005 performance in La Paz,

\(^{185}\) Cconcha Quispe and Enriquez Ventura, “Feliz 27 Aniv. Fuerabamba” (2013).
Bolivia—a city mostly inhabited by Aymara or Spanish speakers—was conducted almost entirely in Spanish.\(^{186}\) Even so, they established cultural proximity with the audience through an occasional word in Aymara and cultural references shared between Quechua and Aymara cultures. For instance, during the 2005 performance in La Paz, the duo made the following joke predicated on shared understanding of Andean fauna and each animal’s relative significance in Andean beliefs:

RD: So many [of you] have come, have paid for your ticket, just to see a llama? I don’t understand; you’re all cra—
CJ: Wait a second! Wait a second! You’re not just going to come here and confuse me with a llama! Take a good look at me! I’m not a llama!
RD: Not a llama? What are you, then?
CJ: (looking smug) I’m a vicuña.\(^{187}\)

Richard Douglas begins by calling el Cholo Juanito a llama, a pervasive insult used by creoles and mestizos from both Peru and Bolivia to denigrate indigenous people as less than human by equating them with Andean-dwelling animals.\(^{188}\) El Cholo Juanito twists the insult around by identifying himself as a vicuña. While still an Andean animal, the vicuña holds much higher status in both Quechua and Aymara societies. Unlike the llama, an animal used for food and to transport cargo, the vicuña is not consumed but rather prized for its fine wool. By evoking shared cultural beliefs and traditions alongside and within their humor, Cconcha Quispe and Enriquez Ventura strengthen their images as indigenous comedians with pan-Andean appeal in Aymara regions of Bolivia. Like

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\(^{186}\) This performance was recorded and sold as the official “Volumen 2.”
\(^{187}\) RD: ¿Tantos han venido, han pagado su entrada, simplemente para ver una llama? Yo no entiendo. Ustedes están lo—"
CJ: ¡Un momento! ¡Un momento! Tampoco va a venir acá a confundir, ¿cuál llama? Mirami bien. Yo no soy llama.
RD: No eres llama? ¿Qué cosa eres?
CJ: Yo soy vecuña.
\(^{188}\) Bruce, *Nos habíamos choleado tanto* (2007), 11. Bruce tells of an incident (though without giving the date) in which a prominent politician argued that “llamas and alpacas” should not be allowed to vote.
Bolivian president Morales, they engage symbols of indigeneity that encompass both major indigenous groups of the Andes, Quechua and Aymara. At the same time, in more homogenous Quechua contexts, they heighten cultural proximity through greater integration of Quechua dialogue.

In 2014, I had the opportunity to attend a live performance of CJRD in Sucre. During this performance, I observed a similar process by which the comedians established cultural proximity with the audience through music, dance, language, and culturally-specific references. Furthermore, this live performance allowed me to observe the local audience’s immediate reactions to the different elements of humor by the comedians and to perceive how various elements of Peruvianess and transnational indigeneity were performed, emphasized, or de-emphasized in one Bolivian context.

(De)Constructing Dichotomies: ¡En vivo y en directo!

Popular Appeal

Walking through the historic center of Sucre on a chilly July morning, surrounded by whitewashed buildings and painted tiles, I spotted a dirty, brightly-colored piece of paper on the ground. Picking it up, to my surprise I saw the smiling faces of el Cholo Juanito and Richard Douglas, announcing a live performance by the comedians in Sucre on August 3, 2014. The worn paper declared the imminent arrival of “los más grandes del humor peruano”— the greatest Peruvian comedians.

Still grinning from my unexpected stroke of luck, I headed back to the hostel where I was staying for a few days before traveling to Morado Q’asa. I searched online for some indication of the upcoming show, but found nothing. Nor did I find any mention of the show in Sucre on CJRD’s official Facebook page, although the comedians did
occasionally announce shows through that medium. Perplexed, I sought other evidence that the show was more than a hallucination of an eager scholar.

The next day, I wandered through the busy DVD section of the *Mercado Campesino*, a popular market located a bus ride away from the center of the small city. Amidst the buzz of Spanish and Quechua chatter, I realized that here—not online, nor in the touristy, elite center of Sucre—evidence of the upcoming show abounded. I saw flyers taped to light posts and larger posters on the walls of shops. The advertisements’ distributors knew where to find their audience. Later, at the show, I learned that many had found out about the performance through the radio—further evidence that the performance was directed toward the popular classes, with greater access to the popular market and the radio than to Facebook or Google.\(^{189}\)

The profile of people pouring into the university auditorium where the performance was to be held confirmed this impression. Most families included at least one woman dressed in a *pollera*—a common marker of indigenous identity.\(^{190}\) Both Quechua and Spanish filled the air. Children bounced around the room. Women and children carried baskets of bread and candies to sell to the incoming audience. Others sported armfuls of balloons. The opening performances began.

First, a dancer emerged, dressed in a colorful outfit, and began to woo the audience by performing a scissors dance (*danza de las tijeras*). This dance represents a powerful symbol of Peruvian indigeneity.\(^ {191}\) The scissors dancer fused his art form with

\(^{189}\) See “Audience Survey” in Appendix C (170).

\(^{190}\) The cost of the tickets, however, should be noted. Adult tickets cost forty bolivianos each (roughly six dollars at the time), a steep price for a working-class family. While children’s tickets were substantially less expensive, thus explaining how people could afford to bring large families, the ability to attend the show indicated a certain level of disposable income.

\(^{191}\) Bush, “Staging lo Andino” (2011), ii. Bush analyzes the history of the *danza de las tijeras* and the different meanings it has acquired over the years. He emphasizes that, though now the dance has been
humor, and the audience responded with enthusiastic gasps and cheers. Next, a young comedy duo in the style of CJRD followed, announced as “el Cholo Pablito y sus Amigos.” Their presentation received loud, dissatisfied complaints from the audience. Next, a juggler on a unicycle performed acrobatic tricks. For more than two hours, the opening performances continued, and people grew more and more restless, calling for el Cholo Juanito. “We want our money back!” shouted a man behind me.192

Around 6:30PM—two and one half hours after the announced beginning of the performance—el Cholo Juanito and Richard Douglas finally emerged. The audience forgot their protests, transforming them into cheers. The two comedians, along with two other cast members, solemnly walked out into the center of the basketball court, their heads bent like medieval priests in prayer, silver hoods covering their faces. Suddenly, an energetic Brazilian sertanejo began to blast. One by one, they flipped off their hoods. The audience screamed as the third actor flung off his hood, revealing Richard Douglas. Their voices grew even louder as the final member removed his hood, and there stood el Cholo Juanito. The four danced for a few minutes as the Brazilian song transformed into a similarly upbeat Andean tune. Finally, the music stopped and the comedy began.

**The Cholita and the Mamacita: Soliciting Ethnic Dichotomies**

Following the initial dance, Raúl Cconcha Quispe, Richard Enriquez Ventura, and their two backup cast members performed a series of skits. Then, they asked for the participation of the audience, requesting a mamá from the audience who knew how to dance. The comedians’ interaction with the audience members and the accompanying skit contained the greatest concentration of explicit ethnic themes and references of any

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192 “¡Que devuelvan la plata!”
sketch during the show. This skit provided an opportunity to analyze the way the duo use ethnicity to evoke laughter from their audiences, the audience’s responses, and the responses of two local women participating on-stage. Like much of CJRD, this skit first established, then broke down, a dichotomy that had detrimental implications for the more indigenous character, revealing the ambiguities that complicate clear ethnic distinctions.

After the pair requested the participation of a mother from the audience, a girl ran up, pulling her young mother by the hand. The woman wore dark pants and a pink blouse. After making flirtatious remarks to the woman, feigning surprise that a woman so young and attractive was also a mother—“more like mamacita,” they interjected—they asked for another mother to join them. Another girl ran up in the same manner as the first, pulling her similarly-dressed mother behind her, but the duo brushed them away. Richard Douglas turned to the audience and declared: “I want a mamá who is a cholita!” El Cholo Juanito echoed, “mamá cholita!” They located a mother in the audience who had stood up to volunteer. This woman wore a pollera and was carrying a baby on her back. She began to approach them. “Leave your wawa (baby), leave him!,” el Cholo Juanito protested. The pair flirted for a moment with the cholita mother as well, and the skit began.

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193 All signs indicate that the women were really members of the audience, and not actresses planted there as part of the skit. I have seen videos taken at other performances by CJRD during this tour. During this section, the comedians always request women from the audience, and the women who participate are always different. Unlike other skits that the comedians perform using the same jokes in every performance, the duo ad-lib their lines during this sketch according to the women’s particular characteristics: single or married, baby or child, and age differences. Furthermore, the comedians also interact with the women’s families in the audience.
194 RD: ¡quiero una mamá que sea cholita!
   CJ: ¡mamá cholita!
195 “Déjá tu wawa, dejalo.”
This skit played on the ethnic dichotomy the duo had established through their selection of women. During the first half of the sketch, the women were instructed to imagine that their husbands and all other men in Sucre had died; they had to choose either Juanito or Richard to marry. Each man tried to convince the women to accept his “proposal.” During the second half, the women competed in a dance-off for the grand prize of a free picture with el Cholo Juanito and Richard Douglas. During both halves of this sketch, the comedians engaged ethnic expression to create humor. The resulting interactions between the women, the comedians, and the audience both constructed and challenged an indigenous-mestizo dichotomy.

The act of requesting that one woman be a cholita demonstrated the underlying ethnic themes of the skit, which presume that ethnicity is a ripe field for humor. This assumption is hardly surprising; after all, the characters’ personas take advantage of ethnic distinction to generate humor in most of their sketches. However, by proposing this dichotomy, the two comedians demonstrated awareness of the specific sociocultural context in which they were performing. They assumed that both women spoke Spanish—having requested the cholita in Spanish—and they proceeded to toe the line between what would engage, amuse, or offend the mostly indigenous audience before which they were performing.

While playing on the relationship tensions that often provide fodder for jokes, the first part of the audience participation sketch alluded to and challenged the historic importance of marriage in ethnic transformation. Indeed, Richard Douglas appealed not to his own personal qualities as a potential partner but rather to the racial status his

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196 The audience could also purchase a picture with the duo for fifteen bolivianos following the show. During the performance, members of the crew went around the stands, selling tickets for the photo line.

197 See de la Cadena (2001).
paternity would confer to the women’s hypothetical offspring. When the mestiza woman chose el Cholo Juanito, Richard Douglas used a racial slur to challenge her choice. “She’s crazy, right? Do you want to have children or guinea pigs?” This question suggests that by marrying Juanito, the woman would bear indigenous children, symbolized by the cuy, or guinea pig, an animal raised and consumed in the Andes as a delicacy. Accepting defeat in the fight for the mestiza, Richard turned to the cholita, trying to convince her to choose him and “improve your race.” Yet again, Richard appealed to notions of whitening through marriage. According to his logic, while a supposedly interracial marriage between el Cholo Juanito and the mestiza would “degrade” her offspring, a marriage between Richard and the cholita would “improve” hers. Despite this offer, the cholita also chose Juanito.

While Richard appealed to a notion of racial hierarchy, Juanito’s responses—and the women’s choices—pointed out the ambiguity behind the supposed racial dichotomy. El Cholo Juanito urged the women to “not focus on appearances,” adding slyly as he pointed at Richard, “that outfit is only rented.” Juanito’s comment challenged Richard’s claims to superiority through his supposed “white” or “mestizo” identity. At one point, Richard suggested to Juanito that he speak to the cholita in Quechua. Juanito acquiesced, and the young woman responded shyly, causing the audience to burst into laughter. Afterward, however, Richard turned to the mestiza woman and asked her if she spoke Quechua. She said that she did, and Richard greeted her in fluent Quechua, to which she responded, her words pronounced with a similarly native accent. This explicit use of Quechua added further ambiguity to the racial dichotomy constructed by choosing

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198 “Loca estás ¿no ve? ¿Tú quieres tener hijos o cuy?”
199 “...mejorar tu raza”
200 “nonca te defes ingañar por la apariencia...porque ¡esa ropa es alquilada no más!”
a woman in cholita dress and another in mestiza dress, and by Richard’s racist comments. In a way, it mitigated the insults by demonstrating that despite the different forms of dress and speech, the four shared cultural proximity. This use of Quechua also echoed the observations of the people of Morado Q’asa, most of whom acknowledged that both characters spoke Quechua.

The second section of the sketch, the dance-off between the two women, reestablished the dichotomy. First, the audience heard a cumbia—a type of music typically identified with Richard Douglas in CJRD. The mestiza danced confidently to the music, and the cholita made a few small movements. Second, a more indigenous zapateo sounded, and the cholita began to dance more confidently, following the rhythm of the music. The mestiza woman danced along as well, her steps as tentative as the cholita’s during the cumbia. The competition was to be decided by the audience’s applause. Both women received enthusiastic clapping, but the cholita ultimately won. As in the DVDs, changes in musical genre were used to mark different ethnic identities. Rather than the cumbia being portrayed as overshadowing the more indigenous zapateo, as occurs in “Volume Five,” the two musical styles complemented one another, each highlighting the supposed dancing “strengths” of one of the women.

This sketch ultimately served to make Richard Douglas’ earlier racist remarks about indigenous people seem ridiculous, as well as to reinforce a sense of cultural proximity by the inclusion of multiple forms of popular music and the Quechua spoken by all four members of the sketch. The women’s choice of el Cholo Juanito over Richard Douglas reflected the general explanation of the resolution of the show’s many conflicts given by the viewers I interviewed in Morado Q’asa. El Cholo Juanito might be
“simpler” and “humbler”—the two most common words used to describe him—he might even make himself seem foolish, but he proves his intelligence by always finding a way to twist the conflict to his advantage.\textsuperscript{201}

\textit{Music and Dance}

After this sketch, a more musical portion of the performance began. During the musical section, the performers reinforced a sense of shared culture, as Richard Douglas and Juanito alike played along to popular Andean and Latin American tunes. The audience showed greater enjoyment of Andean hits compared to more foreign selections. For instance, Marc Anthony’s popular salsa piece “Vivir mi vida”—a song frequently played on Spanish language radio in Miami at the time—received only perfunctory applause. When Chilean artist Américo’s \textit{cumbia} song “Lejos de ti” began, however, the crowd erupted in cheers.\textsuperscript{202} The music continued late into the night, combining foreign music with local songs, as el Cholo Juanito sang and Richard Douglas accompanied on the harp.

By attending the live performance of \textit{CJRD} in Sucre, I gleaned a more nuanced look at the complex relationship that Raúl Cconcha Quispe and Richard Enriquez Ventura are able to forge with their audiences. While proclaiming their Peruvian nationality, they maintained cultural proximity with the audience through the Quechua language, familiar music and dances, and an intricate manipulation of assumed ethic and social roles. Indeed, while the audience members laughed at most jokes, they seemed to react most favorably to those that echoed their own intimate cultural experiences.

\textsuperscript{201} “[más] sencillo”; “[más] humilde.” In Spanish, both of these terms have greater socioeconomic connotations than their English translations. A person who is “[sencilla]” and “[humilde]” is generally a poor person.

\textsuperscript{202} I regularly heard this song on Bolivian radio both in 2013 and 2014.
From this analysis of the performance of *CJRD* in Sucre, we now reenter Morado Q’asa. This program comes to the people of Morado laden with meaning. Do efforts of cultural proximity appeal to viewers in Morado Q’asa to the same extent that they were enjoyed by the audience in nearby Sucre? Do the people of Morado Q’asa detect the same political content that Cconcha Quispe and Enriquez Ventura intended? Do they perceive other political meanings in the show? Or, like the Peruvian show “Al Sexto Día” suggests, do they simply enjoy the familiarity and the laughter as a distraction, a source of rest?

**Beyond Laughter: Interpreting *El Cholo Juanito y Richard Douglas* from Morado Q’asa**

In this section, I consider several different, overlapping readings of *CJRD* by the nineteen people I interviewed in Morado Q’asa. These interviews suggested that people perceived the show as providing—on multiple levels—social critique, relaxing humor, and familiar cultural representations. Furthermore, those criticizing the show based their critique on a failure of one of those three categories, excluding one man who focused on the implications of the show as a commercial product.

**Humor and Entertainment**

Many people interviewed framed their enjoyment of *CJRD* in terms of laughter and release. Most often, people commented that the show made them laugh. Lidia Rojas (forty-four), while claiming to hardly ever watch television due to her busy schedule, praised the calming effect of the show: “it kind of helps to clear the mind. It’s nice; watching these things gives you clarity. If you are worried about something, like a

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203 Refer to Appendix A (168) for a profile of the individuals interviewed. Refer to “Methodology” in the Introduction for a breakdown of my interview methods.
problem, when you watch it, your mind becomes clearer and you forget.”204 Following the same logic, fourteen-year-old Soledad claimed that she no longer liked the show because the jokes had become repetitive. These responses emphasize the importance of understanding humor in its behavioral context. In other words, for the ideological content of the show to be interpreted, the program must first fulfill the implicit promises of its genre: comedy. Most Morado Q’asa residents with proficiency in Spanish have gained familiarity with different genres through the variety available on Bolivisión, their sole television channel.205 For example, they expect news programs to use a serious style to impart information about national and international occurrences. They expect telenovelas to provide romance and complex depictions of interpersonal relationships. They have developed a series of expectations about comedy shows like the Mexican classic, El Chavo del Ocho, which broadcasts daily in the early evening. They accept caricature-like exaggerations in comedy and expect to laugh.206 Building on this understanding of Bolivisión programming, I propose that, as a comedy, people evaluate CJRD based primarily on its ability to make them laugh. They permit certain exaggerations and contradictions if they evoke enough humor.207 As I discuss later in this chapter, however, not all viewers accept all contradictions.

204 “...es un poco para despejar la mente...Lindo por eso...o sea yo al ver esas cosas te despejas un poco. Si tienes alguna preocupación, así, un problema, al ver eso te despejas tu mente, te olvidas...”.
205 Though according to my “Migration and ICTs” survey (Appendix B, 169), only 56% of households own a television, those morado residents who do not own a TV frequently visit neighbors’ homes to watch.
206 These descriptions about expectations of television genres derive from discussions about television with interviewees. The interviews revealed that Spanish-proficient people with whom I spoke possessed a solid level of media literacy. They generally identified the national origins of programs—often spontaneously—and justified their favorite types of programs based on what they liked about the genre rather than the specific show. Most Quechua monolinguals with whom I spoke claimed to enjoy CJRD but not Bolivision’s daily programming. They explained that they did not understand the latter, and many found that the moving images uncomfortable, experiencing headaches or sore eyes from viewing.
At this point, I must make a caveat regarding humor. Among those interviewed, monolingual Quechua speakers did not comment on the comical content of *CJRD*; rather, they all expressed enjoyment of the familiar singing and dancing featured on the show. Unlike many Spanish-proficient viewers, who situated *CJRD* into a comedic genre, aligning it with shows like *El Chavo del Ocho*, most monolingual speakers of Quechua aligned it with local artistic productions. Sara Rodriguez de León (fifty-five) referred to this genre as “*culturitas*” (cultural productions), short videos containing local songs and dances performed in typical dress. Monolingual Quechua respondents like Rodriguez de León referenced these artistic elements rather than humor. Indeed, the show contains moments of humor accessible to non-Spanish speakers, such as jokes in Quechua and nonverbal humor. Although I observed Sara Rodriguez and her husband, both monolingual Quechua speakers, laugh at such aspects of humor while viewing the show, Rodriguez de León attributed her enjoyment of the show to song and dance, not humor. This positive appraisal of the program by many monolingual Quechua speakers indicates a sense of cultural proximity based on shared art forms. Indeed, Rodriguez de León erroneously noted that the pair was from Sucre. I believe that this mistake indicates a

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208 Most monolingual Quechua speakers shared that they did not really enjoy television in general. They said that it made them sleepy. A few women added that the moving images hurt their eyes. One woman complained that she did not understand much of what was said on television, as it was all in Spanish. Most of these same women, however, did say they enjoyed *CJRD*. One primary function of the singing and dancing in *CJRD* may be to widen the appeal of the show to viewers who may not understand the jokes, but who enjoy music.

209 Several other Quechua monolinguals shared views similar to those of Sara Rodriguez de León in conversations outside my formal interviews. Thus, though Rodriguez de León is the only individual mentioned by name in this paragraph, her views were shared by others.

210 For example, slapstick, exaggerated crying, and seductive body language.
sense of cultural proximity felt by many people in Morado Q’asa to the two comedians.  

**Origins of Conflict**

Many people in Morado Q’asa, however, viewed CJRD as more than an ideologically-neutral source of humor and entertainment. In addition to noting how the show’s humor made them feel, many people explained the program’s content in relation to the interpersonal conflict between Richard Douglas and el Cholo Juanito. They understood this conflict to be based on socioeconomic differences between the two characters, especially clothing, geographic origin, and language use. Their perception of this conflict highlights the way these categories contribute to understandings of ethnic identities.

On one level, several individuals—both adults and adolescents—interpreted the conflict between Richard and el Cholo Juanito through the lens of the show’s fictional format. They emphasized the actors’ friendship. Rubén León Rodríguez (twenty-one) described the duo’s humor in terms of a game between equals: “at the end, they’re together…. They discriminate one other, but then they stop.” Others focused on the mischievous nature of the antics of both Richard and el Cholo Juanito. By recognizing the complementary nature of the pair’s verbal sparring, the observers showed awareness of the cooperation required between the actors to produce the show. Without other remarks by these same individuals, these comments about the friendliness of the duo’s word play and shared insults may have seemed to overlook the political, ethnic, and social tensions that permeate the insults. While acknowledging the amicable relationship

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211 I explain this sense of proximity further in Chapter Three, when I explore the generation of new meanings of the regional identifiers *kolla* and *camba.*

212 “al final están juntos también...se discriminan, después, ya no.”
between the actors, however, many of these same individuals commented on the intrinsic conflict in CJRD’s content.

**Clothing: To Be or To Make Believe?**

Many community members—including some who emphasized cooperation between the actors—described the ethnic tensions behind the slurs and insults exchanged in the show. They explained that Richard denigrated el Cholo Juanito, usually citing Richard’s attitude toward el Cholo’s clothing.²¹³ Manuel León Rodríguez (twenty-five) expounded, “[Richard Douglas] already has money, at least, [we see it] in his clothing. He’s always making fun of el Cholo Juanito…because of his clothing.”²¹⁴ Fourteen-year-old Maritza Montesinos agreed; “[Richard] always would laugh at him when he was out…because he was humble (*humilde*), you know, with his green pants.”²¹⁵ Héctor Hernandez, a middle-aged father, first highlighted Richard’s shoes and then explained, “Richard goes around very ‘changed’ (*bien cambiado*). He always wears a suit, whereas el Cholo doesn’t wear suits.”²¹⁶ These comments about clothing hint at a more permanent indicator of ethnicity: rural origin. El Cholo Juanito wears clothes characteristic of those who live in rural towns, whereas Richard Douglas wears urban, frequently professional, outfits. At the same time, however, these comments underscore the socioeconomic nature of Richard’s treatment of Juanito; clothing may be a strong marker of ethnic identity, but it is also inherently performative and mutable. As Manuel Léon Rodriguez emphasized,

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²¹³ Respondents’ references to clothing were usually offered spontaneously, in response to open ended questions such as “what is Richard/el Cholo Juanito like?” (¿cómo es Richard/el Cholo Juanito?) and “what is the relationship between the two of them like?” (¿cómo es la relación entre los dos?)

²¹⁴ “[Richard Douglas] ya tiene dinero no por lo menos en su vestimenta. Siempre está defraudando al Cholo Juanito... por su vestimenta....”

²¹⁵ “cuando iba a pasear no ve siempre se burlaba [el Richard del Cholo] porque era humilde pues como con su buzo color verde.”

²¹⁶ “zapatos...bien cambiado anda el Richard...como con traje así anda pues. Mientras el cholo no pone trajes.”
Richard Douglas’ style of clothing indicates that he “already has money.” Richard Douglas’ clothing marks his current socioeconomic status and gives him a supposed legitimacy to belittle el Cholo Juanito. Meanwhile, the emphasis on clothing reveals that Richard Douglas can only uneasily and partially conceal his past. Thus, by attacking the way el Cholo Juanito dresses, Richard Douglas leaves himself vulnerable to el Cholo’s counterattacks against his claim to superiority. Likewise, several people in Morado Q’asa perceived Richard’s clothing-based dominance as tenuous and disingenuous.

Language: Knowledge Versus Use

While comments on clothing revealed a socioeconomic way of understanding the discrimination exhibited in CJRD, emphasis on language focused more clearly on indigenous identities. While geographic origin and socioeconomic status cannot be easily disentangled from identifications with indigeneity, language was the first marker most people in Morado Q’asa used to affirm their ethnic belonging as Quechua. Many times, people told me: “we are Quechua, because we speak Quechua.” The only person to affirm cultural practices as the principal indicator of indigenous identity had learned Quechua as a second language.

Comments on conflict related to language expression in CJRD focused both on the use of higher and lower status forms of Spanish and the use of Quechua. At the same time, however, interviewees placed less emphasis on language choices than I would have expected, especially considering the centrality of motoseo in CJRD. In general, I found that teenagers (secondary school students) recognized el Cholo Juanito’s use of lower-status Spanish as a source of ridicule by Richard. Older, Quechua-dominant bilinguals (most with only some primary education), however, did not acknowledge the

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217 Emphasis added.
implications of the different forms of Spanish spoken by the two characters. Instead, they indicated that both characters spoke the same way. These different levels of awareness likely stem from the more nuanced understanding of Spanish that adolescents and young adults possessed compared to older adults. In school, young people learn standardized Spanish grammar. While the young people of Morado Q’asa still speak a form of Spanish characteristic of both Quechua-Spanish bilinguals and Spanish-monolinguals of the Andean region, they do not speak with motoseo. Less-educated adults do. While most people with some proficiency in Spanish likely can perceive which forms of Spanish hold greater stigma, youth are regularly confronted with a normalized notion of what form of Spanish is “proper” and “improper” and how their own speech and that of others—like el Cholo Juanito—fall in the continuum.

Use of Quechua, likewise, invited somewhat ambiguous interpretations. On the one hand, one man, Ruben León Rodriguez (twenty-one), suggested that Richard would mistreat el Cholo Juanito partially because of his use of Quechua. He explained: “Richard discriminates against [el Cholo Juanito] when he speaks Quechua, you know, [calling him] ‘cholito.’”218 On the other hand, the majority of interviewees asserted that both Richard Douglas and el Cholo Juanito spoke Quechua. Middle-aged Quechua monolingual Sara Rodriguez de Léon went as far to explain that both characters spoke a form of Quechua originating in Sucre.

218 “Y el Richard pues lo discrimina cuando habla quechua pues;’cholito.’” The local significance or impact of the term “cholo” in Morado Q’asa evaded me throughout my fieldwork in the town. Most people with whom I spoke did not acknowledge using or clearly understanding the word “cholo.” Instead, they suggested it was merely a nickname (“apodo”). Most also agreed that one of the most offensive insults was the word “indio.” However, one young woman vehemently insisted that cholo was a synonym to indio and was equally as offensive. She also added the term “campesino” to her list of synonymous insults. With this context, it is difficult to understand why Rubén León Rodriguez pointed out the name “cholito” as evidence of the discrimination Richard Douglas demonstrated when Juanito would speak Quechua. I suggest, without certainty, that the use of the diminutive form “cholito,” in infantilizing Juanito, makes this term seem particularly derogatory to León Rodriguez.
These perceived ambiguities of language use—especially compared to the clear differentiation in terms of dress—expressed by the viewers of Morado Q’asa imply a sense of ethnic proximity to the show felt by many people in the morado audience. The perception that, despite appearances, both el Cholo Juanito and Richard Douglas speak a form of Quechua similar to that spoken in Chuquisaca has endowed the show with a level of linguistic-based cultural proximity for the people of Morado Q’asa. Despite its Peruvian origin and the potentially derogatory comments about their group by one of the characters, many viewers in Morado Q’asa accepted, at least on one level, that the conflict occurred within an intra-ethnic sphere. That is not to say that they do not view one or both characters as a potentially oppressive “Other,” as I explain at length in the following chapter. This idea of interethnic conflict displayed in an intra-ethnic framework in fact echoes Apte’s suggestion that ethnic humor, when used within a certain ethnic group, serves as an indication of proper and errant behavior for people in that group.\footnote{Apte, \textit{Humor and Laughter} (1985), 143.} This sense of ethnic proximity—heightened by linguistic proximity—might also help explain why even potentially conflictive or negative representations were not perceived as offensive by many viewers in Morado Q’asa.

As discussed in the first chapter, however, the boundaries between in-group and out-group can fade and shift. While people in Morado Q’asa explained that both actors had Quechua heritage, the extent to which they accepted each character into an ethnically-Quechua sphere varied by individual viewer. Furthermore, they did not always evaluate their proximity to the characters in terms of Quechua heritage. Some referenced the characters’ Peruvian nationality, an identity not shared by the people of Morado Q’asa. In general, however, I propose that the occasional use of Quechua by both
comedians reflects one of several ways by which the comedians—rather than the characters—create a sense of cultural proximity perceived by many people in Morado Q’asa. In the context of this new interpretative sphere, new in-groups and out-groups form and new narratives of oppression and resistance emerge. These narratives generally operate with the understanding that the conversation occurs among “ourselves” rather than representing an affront from an aggressive Other.

**Personal and Distant Realisms**

Viewers in Morado Q’asa acknowledged a certain realism in CJRD while expressing this understanding through their expectations of the show as a comedy. Luz Flores (thirties), a Spanish-dominant elementary school teacher, described this social realism as follows:

[El Cholo Juanito] transmits his lifestyle through jokes...his lifestyle, what happens to him, what has happened to him, he takes that and makes it into jokes. ...It’s not so abstract; it’s realistic. ...he shows his own reality, ...transmitting what he lives on a daily basis. He wants [to show] people what he lives, what he suffers...for example, just in some jokes, you can note the discrimination. [You can also note] the economic factor; he doesn’t have a good economic status.²²⁰

Flores’ comments highlight that, within the space provided by the characters, their struggles seemed realistic. In Flores’ case, she did not connect the experiences of el Cholo Juanito to her own life, only going as far as to suggest that some people might see their lives reflected in the character. As a middle-class professional and non-native Quechua speaker, Flores’ slight distance from the indigenous character is understandable.

²²⁰ “...su vivir [del Cholo Juanito] lo transmite en chiste. ...su forma de vivir lo que le pasa, lo que le ha pasado, eso lo convierte en chiste. ...no es tan abstracto, es realista. O sea, su propia realidad lo muestra (sic). ...lo que vive diariamente lo transmite. Quería [mostrar] a la gente lo que vive, lo que sufre, lo que por ejemplo hay se ve no más que en algunos chistes la discriminación se nota eso. El factor económico, no tiene buen nivel económico.”
In contrast, other viewers related the conflict in the show to their own environment. Manuel León Rodríguez directly equated this discrimination with a familiar experience in Bolivia. When asked if there were people in Bolivia who treated others like Richard Douglas treated el Cholo Juanito, Manuel responded with a tinge of bitterness in his voice:

there are many, many, so many, you know? For example, people from the countryside also travel—let’s say, in search of money, to support themselves—to the city and when they return, they themselves discriminate against people in rural areas…that is to say, the children of peasants (*campesinos*) also discriminate against the others. Let’s say I come from a poor family, and I go to Santa Cruz, and I end up having some things, and I return; let’s say, I am discriminating against the others, those who don’t have anything. That’s what people do here in Bolivia; that kind of thing happens often, yes.\(^{221}\)

Manuel’s comments not only demonstrate the realism of the conflict depicted in *CJRD* in a Bolivian context, but also its intra-ethnic character. He argued that socioeconomic ascent was obtainable, yet at the same time, problematized the social consequences of economic success in a rural context, where those individuals who have been “transformed” by migration then discriminate against their (former) fellow *campesinos*.\(^{222}\)

Manuel León Rodríguez likely felt these tensions in his own life. He had migrated to Buenos Aires, Santa Cruz, and the mines of Potosí during secondary school and after graduating. He then returned to Morado Q’asa and enrolled in the normal school, where he studied to be a teacher of Quechua and Spanish language classes. Despite sharing that

\(^{221}\)“*hay harto, hay harto, hay harto pues… Por ejemplo, la gente del campo también viaja a—digamos, para buscar dinero no, para sustentar la vida—a la ciudad y vuelve, ellos mismos están discimmando a los que están en los campos. …Como decir que yo estoy viiniendo de una familia pobre y me voy a Santa Cruz y me voy a tener algo y vuelvo, como decir estoy discriminando a los otros, a los que no tienen nada. Así hacen aquí en Bolivia, muchas veces pasa eso. Sí.*”

\(^{222}\)See Rockefeller, *Starting from Quirpini* (2010), 63-65 for a discussion of the symbolic role of acquiring a bicycle in the process of internal differentiation, tension, and discrimination between returning migrants and others.
teaching was his passion and being close to graduating with his teaching degree at the end of 2014, León Rodriguez explained that he would still like to migrate to another country and work as a laborer for a limited period of time to earn money and “have something” in Bolivia. He considered migration a way to achieve a certain level of economic stability from which he could later comfortably practice his chosen profession, language education. León Rodriguez expressed envy of his older brother’s “success” in Spain. Like many morado residents his age, Manuel León Rodriguez found himself in an ambiguous ethnic position in Morado Q’asa. Lacking the “self-improvement” (superación) he perceived others achieving through migration and not yet fully a “professional,” Manuel still distanced himself from his rural Quechua heritage. When asked if he felt more Bolivian or Quechua, he responded, “Bolivian. Quechua is just the context.” Even so, he criticized those people who had migrated, earned money, and returned with the idea that they were better than others. During my time in Morado Q’asa, I heard a group of young people criticizing a young woman who had gone to work in Santa Cruz and returned “changed” (cambiada), putting on airs of superiority because of the money she had earned in the city. Their critique echoed Manuel León Rodriguez’s observations about Richard Douglas and revealed the delicate space of ethnic negotiation in which he and other young people in Morado Q’asa find themselves.

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223 “tener algo” León Rodriguez later explained that he wanted to have enough money to build a house for himself and purchase a vehicle.
224 He was still a student when I interviewed him; he has since graduated.
225 “Boliviano. Quechua es el contexto no más.” Manuel León Rodriguez’s case is particularly interesting because, while his statements placed distance between him and his community, he also demonstrated strong academic interest in Quechua. His reference to the Quechua as “context” utilized the same analytical framework as is taught in the normal school. León Rodriguez argued, for instance, for a return to a “purer” form of Quechua, without Spanish influences, claiming that Bolivians do not speak Quechua properly anymore. See Luykx (1999) for an analysis of the negotiation of ethnic identities by normal school students, like Manuel León Rodriguez, in an Aymara-speaking region of Bolivia.
Alternate Readings

Not every morado viewer, however, interpreted Richard Douglas’ treatment of el Cholo Juanito as a performance of “superiority” from someone with similar ethnic origins. While she also considered the program realistic, Manuel León Rodríguez’s younger sister, Marina (sixteen), condemned it as “insulting” because of its portrayal of rural people, a category in which she included herself. In contrast with her brother, who distanced himself from campesinos even as he spoke about the discrimination imposed on them by those who had returned from migration, Marina felt personally insulted. She explained, “he says, ‘I am from the city, and you are an Indian.’ It’s as if they were insulting us even more when they say that el Cholo is an ‘Indian’…”226 She argued that the show was a poor portrayal of indigenous people, attesting that “even if a peasant (campesino) is ignorant, he has principles…”227 Rounding out her criticism of the show, Marina claimed that in the verbal sparring between Richard Douglas and el Cholo Juanito, Richard would always win. She connected this victory to what she considered the real-life domination of “those from the city, who dress well.”228

Marina offered the most critical interpretation of the content of CJRD that I heard in Morado Q’asa; while not everyone I interviewed claimed to enjoy the show, the few who said they disliked it (two adolescent girls and an elderly woman) cited stylistic reasons. One adolescent explained that the jokes were funny initially but had grown repetitive; the other expressed dislike towards the use of slapstick humor. Elena Barrios,

226 “Él dice, ‘yo soy de la ciudad, y vos eres un indio.’ Es como si nos estarían insultando a nosotros más al decirle que el Cholo es un indio…” Marina’s statement stresses the “us” (nos estarían insultando a nosotros).
227 “Un campesino que sea ignorante sabe lo que son los valores…”
228 “Los de la ciudad, los que visten bien pues.”
an elderly, Quechua-dominant bilingual, simply claimed that she found it boring along with all other television shows. Most people I interviewed did not share Marina’s belief that the indigenous character always ended up defeated. Rather, the majority asserted that el Cholo Juanito’s superior intelligence and cunning always triumphed in the end. This interpretation, which praised el Cholo Juanito’s intelligence despite the stigma of his dress and speech, seemed to reaffirm identities more firmly rooted in rural, indigenous practices.

Despite claiming to enjoy the show, Manuel León Rodriguez presented a unique critique of the program, focusing not on the content but rather on the implications of the popularity of the DVDs in Bolivia as a foreign product. He expressed discomfort with the Peruvian artists earning money off of the Bolivian public with jokes. Manuel criticized what he perceived to be a lack of gainful cultural production in Bolivia. According to León Rodriguez, Bolivians were “sleeping.” He argued, “we can’t just stay quiet; we have to participate. We have to produce, not just watch and go along with that.”229 With these nationalist sentiments, León Rodriguez departed from his previous comment relating the interactions between Richard and el Cholo Juanito to those between migrants and peasants in Bolivia. He shifted his focus instead to the national level, and there, he finds himself unsatisfied.

León Rodriguez’s comments reflect a double consciousness of and from the groups to which he belongs. W.E.B. Du Bois first proposed the concept of double consciousness in regards to how African Americans in the US see themselves, as Black and

229 “durmiendo…no hay que ser callado, hay que ser partícipe. Hay que producir. No simplemente hay que ver, hay que conformarse con eso.”
simultaneously full citizens of the United States—two identifiers that did not coincide during Du Bois’ time. In his *The Souls of Black Folk*, Du Bois wrote:

> a peculiar sensation, this double-consciousness, this sense of always looking at one’s self through the eyes of others, of measuring one’s soul by the tape of a world that looks on in amused contempt and pity. One ever feels his two-ness,—an American, a Negro; two souls, two thoughts, two unreconciled strivings; two warring ideals in one dark body…

Other scholars developed the concept of double consciousness in the context of post-colonial nations, postulating that post-colonial subjects may view themselves and the world both through the perspective of the colonizer as well as the perspective of their marginalized group. In this way, León Rodríguez identifies himself, on one hand, with rural people who are discriminated against by ethnically-changed returning migrants. He sees this experience mirrored in *CJRD*’s characters. On the other hand, he aligns himself with his nation, Bolivia, in opposing foreign domination of the Bolivian economy, as symbolized by the success of the Peruvian comedy within Bolivian borders. As I discuss in Chapter Three, many other people in Morado Q’asa demonstrated similar relationships to double consciousness.

**Comedy and Critique: Discussion of the Reactions of Morado Q’asa Viewers**

The immediate reactions and interpretations of people of Quechua heritage in Morado Q’asa to *CJRD* reveal several layers of identification and differentiation. First, the people with whom I spoke emphasized the importance of *CJRD* making them laugh. When comedy grows stale, viewers lose interest. Second, the reactions of monolingual Quechua speakers demonstrated a sense of cultural proximity beyond humor; that is, the music and dance resembled popular styles in Chuquisaca. Third, viewers perceived the

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231 Qtd. in ibid.
socioeconomic and ethnic inequalities between the two characters and, to varying extents, linked these inequalities to realistic circumstances in their lives and the lives of those around them. The majority perceived both Richard Douglas and el Cholo Juanito as coming from a Quechua background similar to their own, marked most clearly by both characters’ knowledge of Quechua. However, respondents differed in their beliefs regarding the implications of this conflict. Most praised the superior intelligence of el Cholo Juanito. Several decried Richard Douglas’ racism and elitism. One young woman extended her critique of Richard Douglas’ behavior to encompass the attitude of the entire show. Finally, in one case, a viewer criticized CJRD not for its content but rather for the economic inequalities implied by the show’s popularity in Bolivia, arguing that Bolivian viewers were being exploited by simply consuming a Peruvian product as opposed to producing one of their own.

**Connections and Tensions Across Borders**

This chapter examined the ideas of the show’s creators, as well as the interpretations of its viewers in Morado Q’asa. It also considered a live interaction between CJRD in Chuquisaca. By analyzing each of these interpretative spaces, I have considered the extent to which meanings generated were shared between the Peruvian creators and the chuquisaqueño viewers. I observed that—on a general level—the creators of CJRD and the audience in Morado Q’asa tended to interpret the show similarly, by prioritizing humor. Furthermore, the majority saw the conflict between Richard Douglas and el Cholo Juanito as rooted in socioeconomic inequality and, to a lesser extent, ethnic differences, performed especially by differences in clothing and language use. At the same time, the people of Morado Q’asa expressed a multiplicity of
other readings of *CJRD*. One viewer denounced the show as a pejorative portrayal of indigenous people. Another criticized the economic inequalities highlighted by the success of a Peruvian production in Bolivia. Monolingual Quechua speakers prioritized audiovisual elements—music and dance—in their understanding and enjoyment of the show. In general, viewers in Morado Q’asa tended to combine their understanding of Richard Enriquez Ventura, the actor, with Richard Douglas, the character, to soften the potentially hurtful effects of his ethnic insults. Enriquez Ventura, on the other hand, described Juanito as the “rural” character and Richard as the “urban” one, implying an ethnic difference that went beyond current place of residence.

These findings indicate a high sense of cultural proximity felt by the people of Morado Q’asa toward *CJRD*. By expanding the frame of analysis and relating their interpretations of the program with their views about other aspects of their own lives, however, the relationship between national borders, Quechua identity, and regional identity grows complex. Chapter Three thus considers the construction of national, regional, and ethnic identities with a particular focus on the generative uses of the terms *kolla* and *camba*. As explored in the next chapter, people in Morado Q’asa used the term *camba* with normative force, to define how people of Quechua heritage should not behave.
CHAPTER THREE:
Neither Indio nor Camba: Negotiating Shifting Boundaries of Quechua Identities

Because I Am!

“Why do you speak English?,” Yhasmín, a stubborn and mischievous nine-year-old girl asked me. I answered her with a question of my own. Looking at her with playful intensity, I inquired, “why do you speak Quechua?” She responded in a matter-of-fact tone. “Because I’m Quechua.” Intrigued by her answer, I added, “and why do you speak Spanish?” Yhasmín’s bemused stare revealed that she considered this question equally obvious. “Because I’m Bolivian!”

The more I considered Yhasmín’s responses to my lighthearted questions, the more I realized that her answers revealed a certain dual identity, a connection between understanding and use of language and broader people groups. These connections permeated Yhasmín’s world, becoming self-evident truths. These responses, however, were hardly inevitable. Yhasmin could have responded that she spoke Quechua because her family spoke Quechua, or because she lived in Morado Q’asa, a Quechua-speaking town. She could have explained that she spoke Spanish because her teachers taught her the language in school, or because she felt she needed to speak Spanish to succeed in life. She did not choose those explanations, however. Without much reflection, Yhasmín responded to my questions about her language use with matter-of-fact declarations of group identities, one ethnic (“I’m Quechua”) and one national (“I’m Bolivian”).

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233 Y: ¿Por qué hablas inglés vos?
JN: ¿Por qué hablas quechua?
Y: Porque soy quechua.
JN: ¿Y, por qué hablas castellano?
Y: ¡Porque soy boliviana!
Yhasmín’s explanations would seem to indicate a sense of a dual identity that encompasses both the ethnic and the national.

As I remembered the first day I met Yhasmín, a year before, this apparently balanced duality became more complex and problematic. I met Yhasmín my first day as a volunteer at Biblioteca Villa Zamora, Morado Q’asa’s library. Nervous and eager to practice my Quechua, I started to chat with eight-year-old Yhasmín. “I don’t speak Quechua; I’m from Tarabuco. My family just comes here sometimes,” Yhasmín insisted.234 Surprised, I switched to Spanish and inquired about her age, to which she responded that she was ten. As the days passed, it became clear that Yhasmín was neither from Tarabuco nor a monolingual Spanish speaker. In fact, as she grew comfortable with me (and saw that the other children were speaking to me in Quechua), she openly spoke Quechua. I met her mother, a monolingual Quechua speaker, and her stepfather, a Quechua-dominant bilingual.

In this first encounter, then, Yhasmín attempted to raise her status before me, a foreigner, by presenting herself as more Hispanic, more urban, and older. Though the following year she would express dual identities by declaring herself Quechua and Bolivian, the way she introduced herself to me revealed her perception that being just “Bolivian”—that is, not speaking Quechua—would endow her, in a foreigner’s eyes, with greater social status than admitting she spoke the language, in the same way that adding two years to her age made her feel more secure. Such quotidian interactions underscore the pervasiveness of perceived social status in the expression of ethnic identities. Even a

234 “No hablo quechua. Soy de Tarabuco. Mi familia viene de visita no más.” Yhasmín’s limited experiences outside of Tarabuco canton likely led her to claim she was from the town of Tarabuco (where, despite her insistence, Quechua is widely spoken) rather than from a truly Spanish-dominant city like Santa Cruz.
young girl who had barely traveled outside of her own canton perceived the delicate power differentials between aspects of her identity. When feeling insecure—such as in the presence of a foreign stranger—she identified with a group that would endow her with greater power in her society. When comfortable, however, she recognized and even proclaimed both identities. By the time we had the conversation that opened this chapter, she had known me for over a year. Yhasmín was aware that—perhaps contrary to her general perception of outsiders—I held Quechua in great regard and enjoyed speaking the language with her and other children. Yhasmin identified as both Bolivian and Quechua, but subtly acknowledged that the two identities would not be perceived as equal by everyone she encountered. Thus, she revealed and concealed different parts of her identity in accordance with the way she perceived her audience.

The “Other” Next Door: Local Negotiations of Ethnicity

These conversations with Yhasmín echo a common theme expressed by scholars of ethnicity in the Andes: that interpersonal relationships provide a potentially conflictive space in which each member of the interaction performs his or her ethnic identity. Micro-level interactions do not determine the relative power embedded in the identities. Subtle inequality structured into institutions like schools frame many daily interactions. Furthermore, even as they may resist some implications of power hierarchies, individuals often internalize and reproduce these differentials. Through these interactions, however, people experience such struggles on a daily basis.

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When I began my fieldwork in 2014, I naively imagined that inhabitants of Morado Q’asa experienced ethnic tensions primarily while engaged in migration. I assumed that their daily lives in Morado Q’asa and other parts of Tarabuco canton represented—if not a harmonious and unchallenged Quechua base—at least a relatively homogenous indigenous respite from greater ethnic divisions in Santa Cruz. Without denying the tensions and deep ethnic conflict that confront the people of Morado Q’asa when they migrate, the most present ethnic divisions that people shared occurred between Andean individuals in local interactions. This chapter considers the way people from Morado Q’asa experience ethnic tensions among themselves—especially with returned migrants. It also examines how ethnicity forms a central axis of conflict between secondary students from Morado Q’asa and their classmates from Cororo, where the secondary school is located.

I do not wish to suggest that these tensions are somehow greater than those experienced during migration. My emphasis on youth relations and Colegio Bolivia, the secondary school, derives partially from the close relationships and trust I developed with many young people in Morado Q’asa, especially young women. Furthermore, I argue that the ethnic conflict experienced in the context of the secondary school mirrors the struggles of migration. For the students of Morado Q’asa, attending secondary school can be considered a “daily migration.” The language employed by morado inhabitants to describe their relationships with other Andean people, both returned migrants and cororeños, reinforced this impression. In this chapter, I examine how residents of Morado Q’asa adapted the Bolivian regional identifers kolla and camba to explain conflicts that

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238 As mentioned in “Methodology,” these relationships derived from my own gender and appearance (as I am twenty-one-years-old and look several years younger in the eyes of many people, to the point that I was frequently mistaken for a secondary school student in Morado Q’asa and Cororo).
arose from those relationships. I demonstrate that many people in Morado Q’asa have adapted these terms to interpret conflicts they experience with people from Chuquisaca who distance themselves from Quechua identities.

**Kolla and Camba: Region, Racialized**

As outlined in Chapter One, the term *kolla* refers to Bolivians of the Andes, whereas the term *camba* refers to lowlanders, especially lowlanders from the department of Santa Cruz. These terms are deeply rooted in Bolivian history. Both originating from indigenous languages, they came into use during Bolivia’s colonial era.\(^{239}\) Although initially eastern elites used the word *camba* as an epithet to refer to lower-class indigenous and mestizo peasants of the lowlands, around the mid-twentieth century middle- and upper-class cruceños adopted the term as a positive identifier of lowland heritage.\(^{240}\) From the second half of the twentieth century until present day, the terms have evolved to embody an ethnically-tinged regional division between the Andean highlands of western Bolivia (the *kollas*) and the lowlands of eastern Bolivia (the *cambas*).\(^{241}\) They have acquired a series of political, ethnic, racial, regional, and linguistic implications.\(^{242}\)

In her study of the portrayal of *kollas* in a *camba* comedy, Swinehart outlines each identifier, highlighting the assumptions made about the stereotypical *kolla* and *camba*. The stereotypical *kolla* has Aymara or Quechua heritage, comes from the Andean highlands, supports Evo Morales and the MAS party, and speaks in a distinctively

\(^{239}\) Swinehart, “Enregisterment of Colla” (2012), 82.
\(^{240}\) Ibid., 82.
\(^{242}\) Swinehart, “Enregisterment of Colla” (2012), 83.
“Andean” way. According to the stereotype, this speech is marked by semantic and phonetic patterns from highland indigenous languages; in addition, kollas utilize the nonstandard vos (you) with verbs conjugated in accordance with the standard tú in all forms but the imperative. On the other hand, the stereotypical camba has European ancestry, comes from the lowlands, supports autonomy and traditional parties, and speaks using full voseo like Argentines, without pronouncing the “s” sound at the end of most words, like the speech characteristic of many Caribbean nations. While these terms acquire ethnic and linguistic connotations that correlate with regional origin, they are often used to evoke heavy prejudice. Indeed, when Swinehart analyzed online responses to the camba comedy, she found that commenters added the expletive mierda (shit) to kolla more than any other modifier; furthermore, commenters accompanied the term kolla with adjectives denigrating lower classes, such as pobre (poor) and barato (cheap).

Like Swinehart in her study of a comedy produced in the lowlands, most scholars that focus on contemporary Bolivian regionalism, expressed through the kolla/camba division, base their discussions in the lowlands. The lowlands, also known as the Media Luna (half moon) region, are dominated by Santa Cruz but also include Pando, Beni, and Tarija. Chuquisaca is also occasionally included in conceptualizations of the Media Luna, as I discuss in the following section. This focus rightfully reflects the complex and tumultuous relations between Andean and lowland individuals as increasing numbers of highlanders migrate to Santa Cruz. Furthermore, Santa Cruz and the other Media Luna departments promote a project of regional autonomy frequently referred to as Nación

243 Ibid., 86.
244 Ibid., 86. These patterns can be noted in the Spanish used by many interviewees from Morado Q’asa.
245 Ibid., 86.
246 Ibid., 94-95.
Camba (Camba Nation) by its most fervent activists. Proponents usually frame regional autonomy on economic grounds, especially their openness to globalization and the export of the lowlands’ rich natural resources. They frame their proposed economic policies in opposition with the efforts of the MAS government of Evo Morales to nationalize those resources and its discourse against globalization.\(^{247}\) Scholars emphasize that demands for camba autonomy spill from the political to the interpersonal as many lowlanders form negative images of a kolla “Other” that has invaded “their city,” dirts public spaces with informal markets, wears indigenous clothing, gets drunk on chicha (corn beer), and steals jobs from cambas.\(^{248}\) Scholars also reference how kollas in Santa Cruz construct their identities and perceive the cambas that they encounter in the city.\(^{249}\) While contemporary political divides justify this focus on the context of Santa Cruz, the meanings constructed in the lowlands do not necessarily coincide with those used by highland peoples such as community members of Morado Q’asa in Chuquisaca.

**Chuquisaca: the Media Luna Borderlands**

People in Morado Q’asa reinterpret the terms kolla and camba in a department that holds an ambiguous position in the regional divide. Frequently cited as part of the Media Luna region, many parts of Chuquisaca—including, I would argue, Morado Q’asa—remain firmly part of the Andean highlands.\(^{250}\) This ambiguity stems partially from Chuquisaca’s geographic position as it includes both mountains of the Andes and lowland plains. Geography alone, however, cannot explain Chuquisaca’s unstable

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\(^{250}\) Assies (2006), Schroeder (2007) and Lopes Cardozo (2011) place Chuquisaca in the Media Luna. In contrast, Kirshner (2010) includes Chuquisaca as one department from which kolla migrants to Santa Cruz originate. Webber (2010) also does not include Chuquisaca from the Media Luna region.
position between the “Highland Departments” and the “Media Luna.” Centellas address this apparent lack of clarity, highlighting how Chuquisaca’s capital, Sucre, formed the stage for many clashes between MAS supporters and opponents early in Morales’ first presidency.\(^\text{251}\) He emphasizes the pervasive efforts of many *chuquisaqueños* to reclaim Sucre as capital of Bolivia, a position that it lost in practice if not in law at the close of the nineteenth century.\(^\text{252}\) Crucially, Centellas demonstrates through the person of Savina Cuéllar, a Quechua woman who served as governor of Chuquisaca after defecting from MAS, that Sucre’s resistance to many elements of Morales’ government does not indicate a rejection of indigeneity.\(^\text{253}\) These factors—along with the fact that these sentiments centered in Sucre, not the entire department of Chuquisaca—indicate that while Chuquisaca presents a complex nuance of Bolivian regionalism, it would be erroneous to include contemporary Chuquisaca as part of the *Media Luna*. Indeed, a majority of *chuquisaqueños* self-identify as indigenous, mostly as Quechua.\(^\text{254}\)

Thus, regional themes and struggles simmer in Chuquisaca. In this context, many people in Morado Q’asa perceived interpersonal rivalries with other *chuquisaqueños* using the traditionally regionally-linked terms *kolla* and *camba*. Furthermore, many viewed these rivalries as analogous to the relationship between the protagonists of *El Cholo Juanito y Richard Douglas* (*CJRD*). They generalized the terms *kolla* and *camba* to understand conflict tinged in ethnic tones, applying them on local and international scales. As individuals in Morado Q’asa acquired economic and educational capital through migration and education, they demonstrated an increasingly double

\(^\text{252}\) Ibid., 161.
\(^\text{253}\) Ibid., 167. For instance, Savina Cuéllar wears a *pollera* daily and often makes speeches in Quechua.
\(^\text{254}\) Ibid., 169-170.
consciousness. They affirmed solidarity and belonging with their Quechua speaking families and neighbors in Morado Q’asa while rarely challenging the stigma imposed on “Indians.” They established tenuous identities through which they affirmed Quechua heritage while avoiding being identified as either an “Indian” or a camba.

**Daily Migrations: Ethnicity and Conflict in Cororo’s Colegio Bolivia**

**Composition of Colegio Bolivia**

Colegio Bolivia, located on the main road in Cororo, educates children and young adults between the ages of twelve and nineteen from Cororo and several surrounding communities. Recently, it has inaugurated a free school bus service to the closest villages, including Morado Q’asa, eliminating the approximately thirty minute walk to Cororo. It also hosts an internado, or boarding facility, for students from more distant communities. While students at Colegio Bolivia come from eight different communities, students from Cororo and students from Morado Q’asa form the two largest groups. Conflict often breaks out among youth from the two communities, manifesting in insults and occasional physical fights.

At first glance, the students of Colegio Bolivia appear phenotypically similar to one another. The majority of students have Quechua heritage. Most students wear jeans or athletic pants to school under their white guardapolvos and carry identical backpacks provided by the municipality. Only a few girls—most of whom live in the internado—wear polleras and long braids. Before class, students freely chat in Quechua or Spanish, depending on their town of origin and that of their friends. As the bell rings and students disappear into their classrooms, Spanish begins to take over. In contrast to Morado Q’asa’s primary school, teachers conduct their lessons almost entirely Spanish. While
some teenagers may whisper among themselves in Quechua, they address teachers in Spanish. The students take thirteen subjects, approximately five per day. This dizzying rotation of subjects includes a Quechua course taught approximately three times per week. This class—a curious performance of an urban, Spanish-dominant woman teaching a room of mostly native Quechua speakers basic Quechua grammar—is also taught in Spanish. The Quechua teacher also teaches English courses. When I asked sixteen-year-old Marina León Rodríguez about the contradiction of a non-native Quechua speaker teaching Quechua to native Quechua speakers, she shrugged off my confusion. She explained that the position made sense, as the teacher had studied languages like English and French in the university. In the academic sphere of the school, then, Quechua occupies a marginal position, despite its inclusion in the curriculum. It is reserved for formal language courses that hardly take advantage of many students’ intimate understanding of the language.

In my discussions with them, teachers shared a sense of frustration and isolation. Many teachers expressed belief that students and their families lacked motivation, despite being “good people.” Many morado students, in turn, accused some of their teachers of lacking vocation. Most faculty members only lived in Cororo during the week, returning to their homes and families in Sucre for weekends. This separation between their home community and work community likely made identifying with their students more difficult. Teachers clearly distinguished themselves from their students’ community.

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255 These subjects include mathematics, physics, biology, chemistry, English, (Spanish) language, Quechua, physical education, visual arts, social science, geography, music, and religion.
256 In 2013, I spent many days in the school accompanying the English and Quechua teacher to her courses.
257 This placement of Quechua corresponds in many ways with the use of Aymara in the Normal where Luykx (1999) conducted her study. In that Normal as in Colegio Bolivia, the indigenous language was relegated to language classes (152). Luykx describes how the Aymara classes often included basic dialogue exercises typical of “any first year language class” that did not engage the majority of the students’ native knowledge of Aymara (153).
Despite the teachers’ tendency to lump their students into one category, the students hardly form a homogenous population.

**Social Differences Between Cororo and Morado Q’asa**

Every weekday, teenagers from Morado Q’asa enter into the social realm of Cororo. Only two kilometers away, the differential development of the two towns has led to division and conflict among students from both towns who often expressed tensions in ethnic and regional terms. Before beginning my discussion of the differences between the two towns, it is important to emphasize that my writing does not reflect the perspectives of people from Cororo. While several other sources corroborate the demographic differences between the two towns, my examination of interpersonal conflict in Colegio Bolivia focuses on the viewpoints and interpretations of students from Morado Q’asa, as my research centered on that town.

The conflicts I describe should not be understood as *cororeño* aggressors bullying victims from Morado Q’asa. As the two largest social groups in the school, “morados” and “cororeños” hold a relatively high level of social influence among other students. *Morado* teenagers have been known to instigate clashes and use racist arguments to demean the other group. Furthermore, most *morado* youth belong to a relatively coherent organization within Morado Q’asa known as JUSIBA (Juventud Sin Barreras) that plans social activities and sporting events to benefit the community. Thus, conflicts among teenagers from the two towns should not be conceived as racist victimization of

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258 Though I have not investigated the matter, I would hypothesize that the most vulnerable to such individualized bullying would be the *pollera*-wearing girls from the distant communities who live at the *internado*. These girls lack the strength in numbers of the *morado* teenagers and their indigeneity is marked by their clothing as well as their language.

259 I examine the use of racism by both groups further in this chapter.

260 Youth Without Barriers.
rural, indigenous youth by a more Hispanic, urban group. Rather, such conflicts display how rivalries between two strong groups can be expressed and exacerbated through the insertion of regional and ethnic terms that mirror broader power differentials.

During the first half of the twentieth century, the area that would become Morado Q’asa and Cororo experienced similar social conditions. Small haciendas controlled the lands of both communities until the Agrarian Reform of the early 1950s, which dissolved the haciendas and distributed most of the land among community members. In Cororo, this transfer was incomplete. Rather than be returned to the community, the old hacienda building and its surrounding lands were transformed into the normal school. The creation of the normal school then generated conflict among members of the community who considered the old hacienda and its lands to be rightfully their own.

Despite conflict with cororeños, the new normal school changed the profile of the town. Whereas in the first half of the twentieth century, both Morado Q’asa and Cororo were inhabited by people of Yampara descent who spoke predominantly Quechua and who dressed in a style typical of Tarabuco, the hand of the state in the Normal and the influx of outsiders to the Normal gradually changed the cultural expression of many cororeños. As noted in Chapter One, Tarabuco and Cororo were the only two towns in Tarabuco canton to have a majority bilingual population in 2001. Thirteen years later, many cororeño teenagers claimed not to speak Quechua or to speak it with less than a

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261 The town of Cororo was incorporated immediately following Agrarian Reform in 1953 (Yapu and Torrico 2003, 53). As explained in Chapter One, Morado Q’asa was formed in 1980 by the union of two smaller towns that remained following the end of the hacienda. In this section, “Cororo” and “Morado Q’asa” should be understood to refer to the locations where those towns currently stand even prior to the incorporation of the towns under their current names.

262 Yapu and Torrico, Tomo I (2003), 58.

263 This style differs from contemporary cholita clothing (fedora-style hats, polleras, and light-colored, embroidered blouses with rubber abarcas.) A few elderly men and women in the town of Tarabuco and the surrounding area still wear the older style. In Morado Q’asa, people have a few decorative articles of tarabuqueño clothing, typically worn during festivals for dances.
native ability. Rather, they communicated with one another in Spanish. In contrast, *morado* youth speak Quechua with each other and with their families. Clothing presents a less striking difference than the linguistic contrast. Most adult women over thirty in Cororo and Morado Q’asa wear the *pollera*, which slowly replaced *tarabuco*no clothing over the twentieth century. Youth tend to wear jeans, sweatpants, and athletic clothes.

The presence of the normal school not only brought in outsiders to Cororo but also spurred the rapid development of the town’s primary and secondary schools. Though Morado Q’asa has its own primary school, it experienced slower growth compared to the primary school in Cororo.264 These differences did not go unperceived by many townspeople of Morado Q’asa. Fourteen-year-old Maritza Montesinos, when asked what she would change about Morado Q’asa, wished for a “nice [primary] school like the one in Cororo.”265 Indeed, compared to the rugged, half-adobe, half-brick primary school in Morado Q’asa, the school in Cororo seems fancy, with two floors made of brick, clean glass windows, and murals adding splashes of color to the walls. The primary school sits on Cororo’s central plaza, which also hosts the normal school and the church. Several people in Morado Q’asa expressed desire for a similar plaza. Cororo also hosts a small, bright blue ENTEL Telecommunications center, with computers connected to the internet—a rarity in the area.

Despite the relative material privilege enjoyed by Cororo, *cororeño* students live similar lives to those of the teenagers in Morado Q’asa. Like the residents of Morado Q’asa, *cororeños* struggle to provide for themselves on small plots of land with little irrigation. Likewise, an estimated half of the town must supplement its income with

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265 “*Una escuela bien como de Cororo.*”
seasonal or permanent migration.\textsuperscript{266} When they migrate, \textit{cororeños} likely experience similar prejudices and struggles as those experienced by the people of Morado Q’asa because they share highland phenotypical and linguistic traits. Furthermore, regardless of many \textit{cororeños’} stated preference for Spanish, they still speak the language in a phonetically and syntactically Andean style. Despite these apparent similarities, \textit{morado} and \textit{cororeño} students often clash and express their conflict through ethnic and regional insults.

\textit{Fighting Words: Ethnic and Linguistic Conflict in Colegio Bolivia}

Conflict between \textit{cororeño} and \textit{morado} youth often sprang from the use of Quechua by the latter. In addition to the linguistic differences that sparked them, the resulting fights often touched on other ethnic themes. Both \textit{cororeño} and \textit{morado} students took the offensive in questioning the other person or groups’ ethnic identities or expressions. Debates about the use of Quechua tended to disintegrate into attacks about appearance, clothing, and heritage. Curiously, the most immediate expression of these differences was usually an accusation of being \textit{kolla}, to which the \textit{morado} teenagers often responded with the epithet \textit{camba}. In these contexts, the terms \textit{kolla} and \textit{camba}—traditionally regional if also racialized identifiers—were divorced from their geographic determinism to privilege their ethnic and social implications. The \textit{morado} teenagers explained that they interpreted these words as insults, yet slowly were appropriating the term \textit{kolla} as a positive self-identifier.

Fights and arguments provide a rich space in which underlying currents of prejudice often bubble to the surface, even when sparked by disagreements that may not seem intrinsically ethnic. The participants of arguments, by the nature of the exchange,

\textsuperscript{266} Yapu and Torrico, \textit{Tomo I} (2003), 48.
attempt to negotiate power differentials with the objective of exerting dominance. In her study of altercations between female market vendors and their clients in Cuzco, for example, Seligmann argued that when debates about price or product quality shifted from civil haggling to verbal sparring, both parties drew from their own assessments of relative status to demean the other person. Certain clients attacked the market women as “filthy Indians” or “insolent Indians,” whereas market women, in turn, would challenge the social position of supposedly higher status clients by calling them “mule women” or insinuating that their social position was illicitly or insufficiently acquired.267 In CJRD, similar ethnic slurs emerge in the protagonists’ arguments. In the comedy, as in the cusqueño marketplace, both parties attempt to dislocate their opponent from their tenuous social status to assert their own dominance. While the individual with greater social power on societal level (typically, the mestizo) may have an advantage in such altercations, Seligmann argues that this inequality does not prevent the indigenous person from using ethnic and racial themes to displace him or her.268

Likewise, conflict between morado and cororeño youth compromised the illusion of ethnic homogeny in the rural Andes as both groups attacked each other along ethnic lines. According to fourteen-year-old Soledad Díaz, fights between morado and cororeño teenagers often began when someone would question another’s use of Quechua or Spanish. Frequently, teenagers expressed these differences by calling the offending individual camba or kolla. When I asked Soledad if kolla in this context was an insult, she explained, “yes, you feel really bad. You feel awful when they insult you like

267 Seligmann, Peruvian Street Lives (2004), 129-136. “Mule women” is used to denigrate the women’s “mixed” heritage as mestizas, equating them with mules, which are hybrid animals born from the mating of a horse and a donkey.
268 Ibid., 123-124.
that.” Maritza Montesinos, also fourteen but in a different grade from Soledad, shared an incident in which the *morado* teenagers responded to their *cororeña* classmate’s pretension by questioning her inability to speak Quechua:

My classmate was speaking like a camba, just because she’s from Cororo. And we said to her, “if you’re from Cororo, why can’t you speak Quechua?” we said. And my classmate, the teacher’s daughter, said to us… “well, who told you all you could speak Quechua?” She said it like that, humiliating us…. She said something weird to us.

In this exchange, Quechua serves as a point of contention. Maritza considered her classmate a camba because the young woman was acting as if she were superior because of her more “Hispanic” origins. Exasperated, the *morado* students questioned this elitist attitude toward their language. When they challenged her, however, the *cororeña* questioned their right to speak Quechua. This argument centers on language, yet it is expressed primarily through terms that historically refer to regional, not racial, differences. Furthermore, one of the terms, camba, usually refers to a region in which neither *cororeños* nor *morados* feel at home, Santa Cruz.

Indeed, many of the arguments mentioned between *morado* and *cororeño* students involved *morado* teenagers challenging the legitimacy of the *cororeños’* claim to non-indigenous identities. By contesting their classmates’ claims, however, *morado* students both resisted and reinforced power structures that stigmatized rural Quechua speakers. On the one hand, the *morado* students’ passionate defense of their native language should not be taken for granted. Many scholars studying schools in the Andes note a certain passive

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269 “Sí, te sientes muy mal. Feo te sientes cuando así te insultan.”
270 “Mi compañera estaba hablando como una camba porque es de Cororo no más. Y nosotros hemos dicho, ‘si eres de Cororo, ¿cómo no vas a poder hablar quechua?’ hemos dicho. Y mi compañera, su hija de la profesora, nos ha dicho… ‘a ustedes quién les dice que cuando hablan quechua,’ así nos ha dicho, nos ha humillado como… algo raro nos ha dicho...” (Emphasis mine.) According to Maritza, the “algo raro” (something weird) was a curse word she refused to repeat.
complicity on the part of students who speak indigenous languages. Yapu and Torrico, for instance, observed that young indigenous girls wearing polleras quietly retired from their place of play when approached by another group of girls wearing Western clothes and speaking Spanish.\textsuperscript{271} Zavala has analyzed how university students in Peru from the rural Andes place the responsibility on themselves to “cleanse” their Spanish of its Quechua influences.\textsuperscript{272} These studies do not deny the agency of the Quechua students, who may have asserted Quechua identities in other spheres and who, in any case, found themselves more isolated and in a much harsher environment than the morado teenagers. These studies do, however, provide a vivid contrast with the case at hand—one that underscores how significant morado students’ explicit defense of their language and critique of their classmates who do not speak it truly is.

At the same time, the arguments recounted to me by morado youths reinforced the stigma imposed on “Indians” even as the morado students asserted their pride in their language. After Maritza’s cororeña classmate insulted her and a group of morado teenagers by asking, “who told you all you could speak Quechua?” Yheni Acosta Martínez, a twelve-year-old morado girl, shot back by accusing the cororeña of being even more “Indian” than they. Yheni mocked the cororeña’s supposedly wind-burned face, an insult meant to mark her origin in the frigid altiplano.\textsuperscript{273} Yheni’s comment seems to contradict the morado girls’ fervent defense of Quechua identity by denigrating the other girl because of another marker of Quechua indigeneity. Pointing out the cororeña’s indigenous origins, however, followed a common strategy in such arguments: by

\textsuperscript{271} Yapu and Torrico, \textit{Tomo I} (2003), 96-97. The contrast between this behavior and the reactions of morado teenagers when confronted with more “hispanicized” youth groups is especially interesting because Yapu and Torrico were describing play in Cororo, in the early 2000s.

\textsuperscript{272} Zavala, “Racialization of the Bilingual” (2011), 400.

\textsuperscript{273} Despite being raised in Cororo, the girl was apparently born in Potosí.
“exposing” the other girl’s background, Yheni branded the cororeña as a hypocrite. Yheni’s comment reveals a sense of de-Indianization—acceptance of indigenous cultural practices while rejecting “Indianness.” Most young people in Morado Q’asa proudly claimed to be Quechua and rooted this identity in the Quechua language. Simultaneously, they expressed faith in economic progress through education and rejected the term indio as a racial slur. Yheni Acosta, then, could attempt to mark the cororeña as an “Indian” without implicating herself within this structure, because to her, speaking Quechua did not necessarily classify her as an “Indian” with all its stigma.

Even as they accepted some tenants of a power structure that denigrated indigenous people, the girls clearly expressed pride in their language and heritage. Soledad even explained that they had grown to accept the insulting term kolla. She stated:

> Since they call us that so much, we’ve grown used to it. Now, when they call us kollas, we say, “yes, I am a kolla.” …We can’t complain about our language, because we speak Quechua. We also speak Spanish, but we don’t call those who speak Spanish cambas. …They’re people too, so we treat them normally.  

Other girls’ reports do not back up Soledad’s assertion that the morado youth do not call people who speak primarily Spanish cambas. Her statement, however, does reflect her desire to demonstrate pride in her language and her community despite insults from her classmates. Maritza Montesinos shared another story of a cororeña who hid the identity of her mother because she was ashamed that her mother wore a pollera and had eye

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275 “...ya que mucho nos dice ya somos acostumbrados. Ahora cuando nos dicen kollas, ‘si soy kolla’ decimos... No podemos quejarnos de nuestro idioma porque hablamos quechua. También hablamos castellano pero a los que hablan castellano no los decimos cambas. ....porque son también personas les tratamos normal.”
problems. Maritza questioned the other girl’s behavior, explaining, “[it’s] normal [for a mother to wear a pollera]. Why would we be ashamed?”

The basis for the arguments among students at Colegio Bolivia in Cororo echoed the way viewers in Morado Q’asa explained the ethnic conflict between el Cholo Juanito and Richard Douglas, even to the extent that they used the terms kolla and camba to interpret these tensions. At first glance, the ethnic contrast may appear sharper in CJRD than between students at Colegio Bolivia. As discussed in Chapter Two, the people of Morado Q’asa understood the conflict between the two characters as rooted in ethnic expressions such as clothing and language. Likewise, the teenagers of Morado Q’asa and Cororo argued about language use from an ethnic perspective. As in CJRD, the morado students questioned the legitimacy of a strict contrast between the individuals involved in the altercation. Just as Richard Douglas insults el Cholo Juanito for speaking Quechua and speaking Spanish with Quechua-derived phonetics and syntax, while using Quechua himself at times, the teenagers in Morado Q’asa insisted that the cororeños should be able to speak Quechua, as well. In terms of clothing, CJRD portrays two characters with markedly different clothing styles. In Colegio Bolivia, morado and cororeño youth dress similarly, but clothing still enters their arguments charged with ethnic implications. Students tend to expand their frame of reference to their mothers.

**Distant Migrations: Acquired Capital and Changed Ethnic Performance**

This glimpse into Colegio Bolivia in Cororo underscores how interpersonal conflict can acquire the prejudices and language of ethnic division, and how small

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276 I did not clarify this comment with Maritza. I believe, however, that “having eye problems” serves to mark an individual as poorer since they cannot afford the medical care necessary to heal their eyes. Eye problems such as cataracts are common among middle-aged and elderly women in the area.

277 “Normal. ¿De qué vamos a tener vergüenza?”
differences in the performance of ethnic identity can be utilized as weapons in interpersonal conflict. Similar tensions arise among morado residents and individuals from Morado Q’asa who have migrated to other areas, gained capital in the form of education, money, “worldliness,” or linguistic abilities, and then returned to the town. Furthermore, many viewers of CJRD in Morado Q’asa considered the conflict between Richard Douglas and el Cholo Juanito analogous to their own experiences with those who had returned to Morado Q’asa after migrating.

The social structure of Morado Q’asa is marked not only by the town’s agricultural activities but also by migration. Not only did approximately three-quarters of morado households report having at least one family member in the lowland city of Santa Cruz, but also many of the people I interviewed had engaged in migration. Eleven of the nineteen people I interviewed had migrated at least once. With the exception of sisters Maritza (fourteen) and Raquel (eighteen) Montesinos, who had migrated to a rural eastern town with their parents as children, the rest migrated to work. Four of the ten had migrated to Argentina, including Yheni Acosta Martinez’s father, Luis Acosta (forty), who had also worked in Brazil, Chile, Uruguay, and Paraguay. Lidia Rojas (forty-four), a shopkeeper, while not engaged in labor migration, regularly traveled to sell her family’s produce. Siblings Marina (sixteen), Rubén (twenty-one), and Manuel (twenty-five) León Rodríguez had all migrated to Santa Cruz during their secondary school summers. Many secondary students travel to Santa Cruz for work during the summer break; some even making the arduous eighteen-hour trip by bus during the two- or three-week winter break.278 As I observed a class in Colegio Bolivia during the last day of school before

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278 Winter vacation is officially two weeks long; however, if the local government determines that the weather is still “too cold” for school by the end of the second week, a third week is added.
winter break, I was reminded that labor migration is common and even expected among young people. The teacher urged her students to remember to read even as they relaxed over break. She then qualified her statement, acknowledging that many would have to travel to Santa Cruz to work but encouraging them to still try to read in the evenings.

In light of the prevalence of migration in Morado Q’asa, many community members—including those who have migrated—expressed a critical viewpoint regarding how people who return from migration should behave. While most young people shared a desire to earn enough money to build a house, they also criticized those who, upon migrating and acquiring relative wealth, used their status to make others in Morado Q’asa feel inferior. These beliefs create a form of social control that subtly monitors the way returning migrants relate to their hometown. At the same time, these criticisms of migrant behavior invite contradictions. It is conceivable that the same people who condemned the young migrant who returned to Morado Q’asa acting “superior” may themselves be criticized for their own perceived changes in behavior after migrating. While some forms of tension between the people of Morado Q’asa and returning migrants do result from arrogant behavior by the latter, behaviors akin to “flaunting” newly acquired goods may merely represent possession of the benefits of migration that most young people claim they too desire. Thus, migrants must negotiate the narrow territory between “acting like cambas”—that is, rejecting their rural, indigenous origins—and “legitimately” seeking the material benefits that most people, migrants or not, desire.

The Experience of Migration

The people of Morado Q’asa migrate both out of necessity and ambition. Luis Acosta, a forty-year-old father of four, blames poor infrastructure and irrigation in the
countryside for the need to migrate. Acosta had migrated seasonally to Santa Cruz to work in construction for over a decade, and he built a house in the city. When I asked him why he did not live permanently in Santa Cruz, he responded that his family and his plot of land (terrenito) were in Morado Q’asa; furthermore, he cited financial limitations: “it’s expensive in the city, yes. To live there, you need to have a profession. If you don’t have a profession, you almost can’t provide for yourself. That’s how it is.” Still, migrating endowed Acosta with a few luxuries. His family owns two televisions, one of which he purchased in Santa Cruz and brought home. Others, like Manuel León Rodríguez (twenty-five), considered migration the best method for quickly accumulating capital and creating a better quality of life back home. For many, migration represented a seasonal activity or a temporary period in life. Alfonso Yampara (mid-thirties) explained that he had lived and worked in Santa Cruz for ten years, yet had returned to Morado Q’asa to marry. Like Acosta, Yampara explained his decision to return to the community instead of staying in Santa Cruz in terms of family and land.

Unlike Acosta and Yampara, many other people born in Morado Q’asa decide to settle in Santa Cruz. As Acosta attested, relocating permanently to Santa Cruz implies a certain level of means and status. Still, families remain connected and relocated family members of Morado Q’asa residents often return to visit, bringing their children with them. The children often do not speak Quechua and speak Spanish with the unique accent of cruceños. Children of people from Morado Q’asa also relocate to Sucre. The people

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279 “cara, sí, en la ciudad siempre pues. Para vivir allí tienes que tener profesión. Si no tienes profesión casi no se abastece pues. Así es.” Acosta’s faith that “having a profession” allows one to live in Santa Cruz contrasts with Manuel León Rodríguez’s belief that migrating and working in construction would pay better than teaching. Acosta’s comment reflects how being a “professional” is typically portrayed in the Andes, as an almost mythical source of status and the benefits of urbanity.

280 Owning multiple televisions is a rarity in Morado Q’asa. Of the twenty-seven households featured in my “Migration and ICTs” survey (Appendix B, 169), only one owned multiple televisions.
who move to Sucre usually do not go to work—as Sucre has a reputation for a poor job market among people from Morado—but rather to study. Townspeople with greater means frequently send their children to secondary school or college in Sucre, and the children often remain in the city after graduating.\footnote{Two of the shopkeepers I interviewed had children in secondary school in Sucre. Luz Flores, a primary school teacher, had one daughter attending secondary school there as well. None of other people I interviewed had children in secondary school in Sucre, although one elderly woman (a wealthier agriculturalist) had several children in college in Sucre.} Tensions arise among morado residents and those who live elsewhere when the latter come to visit because of real or perceived pretentious behavior by the returning migrants.

**Migration, Ethnic Transformation, and Discrimination**

Many of the comments Morado Q’asa residents made about Richard Douglas’ markers of urban ethnicity also stem from their beliefs about the ethnic transformations that accompany migration. Just as many morado viewers perceived Richard Douglas’ urban clothing as an acquired marker of socioeconomic status, non-Indianness, and a sign that he had “already” earned money, many people in Morado Q’asa viewed migrants as having acquired a level of success available to most young people through work outside the community. Socioeconomic advancement through migration was perceived by many to be universally available despite the reality that family obligations, economic means, and circumstances (among other factors) in the place of migration place different limits on morado residents. This imagined access to self-improvement (superación) through migration cements the belief that the elitist attitudes of those who have acquired capital or status through migration are unjustified.

Richard Douglas’ urban, professional clothes mark his acquired capital; in the case of Morado Q’asa, many Morado residents linked clothing changes with migration.
Unlike in *CJRD* and some earlier studies of migration,\textsuperscript{282} women rather than men typically undergo this change. Eighteen-year-old Raquel Montesinos portrayed Santa Cruz as a catalyst of ethnic transformation: “some [young women in Morado Q’asa] were *cholitas* and then they changed to always [wearing] pants. …Every [time] *cholitas* travel, going from here to Santa Cruz and coming back from there, they arrive wearing pants.”\textsuperscript{283} Furthermore, even though the seemingly inevitable shift in ethnic expression is displayed on the bodies of women, men involved in migration also participate in this process through their interactions with female family members. Raquel Montesinos’ younger sister Maritza attributed her own early abandonment of the *pollera* to her older brother’s influence, explaining, “my older brother sent me a pair of sweatpants, and I put them on.”\textsuperscript{284} Maritza’s statement implies a sense of permanence, indicating that once the decision to replace the *pollera* with a pair of pants has been made, young women rarely return to their old quotidian style.

While, as Maritza and Raquel Montesinos affirmed, most women under thirty in Morado Q’asa do not wear *polleras* on a daily basis anymore, the young women overstated the inevitability of this metamorphosis through migration. Many women from Morado Q’asa, especially older ones, visit Santa Cruz without abandoning the *pollera*. Even when young women choose to wear pants daily rather than a *pollera*, they still don the skirt for festivals. Indeed, Maritza Montesinos wore an expensive embroidered *pollera*, with her hair in braids, to perform a dance during the festival described in the introduction of this work. Thus, the *pollera* remains a powerful symbol of Quechua

\textsuperscript{282} See de la Cadena (1991).
\textsuperscript{283} “Algunos eran *cholitas* y después han cambiado a pantalones todo. Cada que viajan así las *cholitas* van de aquí a Santa Cruz y de allá llegan de pantalón.” Raquel Montesinos was responding to a question about why middle-aged adult women wear the *pollera* and young women and girls wear pants in Morado Q’asa.
\textsuperscript{284} “…mi hermano mayor me ha mandado *buzo* y me he colocado.”
identity that young women strategically reclaim, even as they describe its absence from everyday life as natural and inevitable.\textsuperscript{285}

Even considering the complexity of women’s choices to wear certain form of clothing, the ease by which these young women made matter-of-fact statements about the transition from \textit{pollera} to pants—often catalyzed by migration—reinforced the impression that migration has deep ethnic implications that stir under the surface of awareness yet frequently break into waves of conflict. In his discussion about the importance of studying how national ideologies are reproduced and negotiated in the intimate lives of people lacking positions of relative social power, Canessa writes: “the metropolitan and the marginal are constantly collapsing into each other.”\textsuperscript{286} Likewise, when migrants return “home” or their children visit their extended families in rural areas, these two realms collide within the community. \textit{Morado} residents perceive the returned migrants as flaunting their wealth and priding themselves not only on having more but also on having “improved themselves” in comparison with other \textit{morado} residents. Through migration, ethnic tensions and even racism are felt within the family, a sphere that one might consider intuitively, if erroneously, to be relatively homogenous.

When expounding on a comment she made regarding the racism of people in Santa Cruz, Lidia Rojas (forty-four) gave an example of her own family’s attitude in Santa Cruz: “some relatives of ours, through their way of behaving [and] their words, act like those who have a lot, just because of the fact that they have [possessions]…. They

\textsuperscript{285} Van Vleet (2005) describes a similar situation in which a young woman only wears pants in her daily life yet makes great economic sacrifices to purchase fine \textit{polleras} to dance during festivals, especially Carnival. This choice indicates the enduring importance of the \textit{pollera} as a marker of being Quechua despite her choice to wear other clothes in her everyday life.

\textsuperscript{286} Canessa, “Nation on the Margins” (2005), 7.
show off that they have a lot of things.” For Rojas, her own family represented the most present manifestation of cruceño racism rather than the stereotypical camba of European descent who scorned Andean people and fought for departmental autonomy.

At first glance, Lidia Rojas’ use of the term “racism” may seem contradictory. In a literal sense, Rojas described economic elitism, not discrimination based on a biological concept of race. Her idea of racism within her family, however, corresponded with a conceptualization of ethnicity in which, as often stated in the Andes (and elsewhere in the Americas), “money whitens.” Many scholars qualify the saying by arguing that economic advancement does not erase the pervasive marks of geographic origin, skin color, or family name. Even so, all else equal, the implications of financial differences can be felt and expressed as ethnic difference. Within Rojas’ family, for example, the members in Santa Cruz who have money think of themselves as “whiter” than their rural relatives, like Lidia Rojas. Within that relationship, they use their money to justify an attitude of superiority, just as returning male migrants may consider their non-migrant wives to be more “Indian” than they. Likewise, Rojas, as a storekeeper with a daughter in an urban secondary school, likely would consider herself less “Indian” than other women in Morado Q’asa, as expressed silently by her clothing. Apart from the teachers, Lidia Rojas was one of the only women over forty in Morado Q’asa who did not wear a pollera on a daily basis.

287 “Unos parientes que tenemos. Son, su forma de ser de ellos, sus palabras, son más algo así como los que tienen, por el hecho que ellos tienen, o sea, fomentan que tienen mucha cosa.”
288 See Nugent, Laberinto de la choledad (1992), 83; Bruce, Nos habíamos choleado tanto (2007), 101; and Tucker, “Sounding Out a New Peru” (2005), 140; among others.
A sense of ethnic difference seems to grow as generations pass. Soledad Díaz described a fight between *morado* teenagers and the Sucre-born grandchildren of *morado* residents who had come to visit their families during the holidays. She related:

some guys from Sucre came [to visit during the holidays] and called us *kollas.* …Their grandparents were from here. They said it like that to us! They said that to us so harshly. We threw rocks at them. Who do they think they are? They’re *kollas* too. Everyone here is a *kolla.*

In this account, Soledad expressed indignation about the visitors’ attempts to insult the *morado* teenagers by calling them *kollas.* While accepting the label, Soledad and her friends reacted violently to the insults by throwing rocks at the offenders. As in the interaction between Maritza, Yheni, and the *camba*-like *cororeña,* Soledad’s statement challenged the others’ claims of superiority and difference.

These examples seem to indicate that Morado Q’asa residents, like social subjects everywhere, construct their ethnicities in an ever-changing fabric of interpersonal interactions. One’s place in this ethnic milieu shifts depending on the status of the other interlocutor. These shifts occur within boundaries imposed by appearance, economic achievement, language use, clothing, and many other markers. They correspond with power structures at a societal level in which the more “Indian” member of an interaction—the less urban, less “Hispanic” individual—finds him or herself in an inferior position compared to the more “Hispanic,” more urban individual. Even within the same generation, these differences can be interpreted as ethnic. In the second generation born and raised outside of the community, these differences cement still further.

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291 “Unos chicos han venido; eran de sucre y nos han dicho kollas…sus abuelitos de aquí [eran]. ¡Así nos han dicho! Grave nos han dicho. Con piedras los hemos botado. ¿...qué se creen? También son kollas. Todo el mundo aquí es kolla.”

They Who Are Not “Us”: Adapted Uses of Camba

Most people in Morado Q’asa considered children born in Santa Cruz of migrants from the community as cambitas, or little cambas. Since the 1970s and 80s, the word camba has been thought to refer to ethnically mestizo or creole people from Santa Cruz, an eastern lowland department. Despite acknowledging the ethnic meanings that have grafted onto this term, most scholars privilege the regional meaning.293 My interviews suggest, however, that people in Morado Q’asa use this term to delineate their own identities. They interpret rejection of the Quechua language and shame about indigenous cultural markers such as the pollera or rural life as expressions of camba behavior. I propose that this adapted conceptualization of the term camba used by people in Morado Q’asa builds a sense of oppositional unity. It is a way to express Quechua identities in a context where the meaning of indigeneity is increasingly unclear. In 1999, Luykx wrote:

new subject positions have appeared, into which indigenous people are moving in increasing numbers. They now face the question of what it means to be indigenous within social categories that were previously incompatible with that status.294

This ambiguity, present in 1999, increasingly faces the young people of Morado Q’asa.

To respond to this uncertainty, they construct a group identity whereby the definition of “us” is partially “not camba.”

The term kolla stands opposite the term camba. The people in Morado Q’asa identified themselves as kollas but considered the term a prejudiced imposition similar to the epithet indio, though softer. While some people claimed to have accepted the identifier kolla, they preferred to identify as “Quechua.” They explained this Quechua

293 See Stearman (1985) and Swinehart (2012). Also, see Kirshner (2010) for a notable exception. Kirshner discusses more ethnically-inclusive vision of the camba in which autonomist sentiment, rather than regional or racial origin, is emphasized.
294 Luykx, Citizen Factory (1999), 145.
identity in opposition to *camba* behavior. Many people in Morado Q’asa presented Quechua people as individuals who, regardless of their economic activities or geographic location, have retained the language and do not put down indigenous or rural people of lower socioeconomic status; that is, Quechua people are Quechua speakers who do not behave like *cambas*.

**Andean Cambas: Local Reinterpretations**

Most scholars investigate the construction of the *camba* and the *kolla* in the context of Santa Cruz. In that context, both terms exude heavily ethnic tones. According to such studies, the grandchildren of highland migrants, despite their birth in the lowlands, their lowland accents, and their attendance of lowland schools, remain *kollas* because of their highland origins and their “typically indigenous” physical features.²⁹⁵ Few studies have considered the use of the terms in the Andean region. With that background, therefore, I was surprised to hear how local conflicts rooted in ethnicity were often expressed in terms of a *camba/kolla* division, even when all parties involved had indigenous origins and resided in the Andes.

In the anecdotes discussed in this chapter, local adolescents used the terms *kolla* and *camba* to assert difference between themselves and their peers. On one hand, they showed awareness about the place of region in these epithets. Soledad Díaz explained that the Sucre-born youth who visited their grandparents in Morado Q’asa were *kollas*, just like them, and thus had no right to use the word as an insult against residents of Morado Q’asa. At the same time, some of Soledad’s *morado* peers argued that *cororeño* students were *cambas* because they did not speak Quechua. Furthermore, in the imaginary of Morado Q’asa, the children of *morado* migrants in Santa Cruz do become

cambas. In contrasts, cruceños would likely not bestow that label upon the children of migrants.

“They’re Just Cambas”: Essentializing the Other

When I asked them, “who is a camba?,” most people in Morado Q’asa responded in terms of linguistic or geographic difference. The term camba represented a suspicious “Other,” someone who did not speak Quechua and, in some cases, someone who opposed political changes considered favorable to rural and Quechua people. In fact, inhabitants of Morado Q’asa defined cambas more frequently based on their perceived inability to speak Quechua than geographic origin. While this emphasis on language perhaps reflects the extent to which the geographic component has been ingrained into the meaning of the term, camba, the generalization of camba to refer to people from other places beyond Santa Cruz indicates that language ability, by itself, was an important component of being camba. Other people did emphasize geography. The way Leticia Paz (mid-fifties) described her Santa-Cruz born grandchildren’s shifting identities, for example, illustrates the interplay of geography and language in determining who is a camba:

JN (author): Do you have grandchildren in Santa Cruz?
LP (Leticia Paz): I have two.
JN: Two. Do they know how to speak Quechua?
LP: They used to know how to speak it.
JN: They used to know? And now they don’t?
LP: Not any more.
JN: Why?
LP: They’ve already become cambas. They’re becoming cambitas. They were cambitas, you know.
JN: Why?
LP: In Santa Cruz, they were cambitas. Now a little bit… they’re becoming [cambas] again, you know?
JN: Why is that happening?
LP: [What happened] is that they used to live with me. When their moms went to work in Spain, they were living with me [in Morado Q’asa]. Not anymore.\footnote{JN: ¿Tienes nietos en, en Santa Cruz?  
LP: Tengo dos.  
JN: Dos. ¿Saben hablar quechua ellos?  
LP: Sabían hablar.  
JN: ¿Sabían? ¿Y ahora no?  
LP: Ahora ya no.  
JN: ¿Por qué?  
JN: ¿Por qué?  
LP: En Santa Cruz. Cambitas eran. Ahora un poco ya. Otra vuelta se está volviendo, ¿sabes?  
JN: ¿Por qué así?  
LP: Es que vivía conmigo pues. Hasta que vaya sus mamás a trabajar a España, vivía conmigo pues. Ahora ya no.  
(Leticia Paz was a Quechua-dominant bilingual, and her speech reflects patterns typical of such speakers).}

For Leticia Paz, her grandchildren’s birth in Santa Cruz identified them as cambas, at least temporarily. When they moved to Morado Q’asa to live with her, the children learned to speak Quechua and became less camba. When their mothers returned from Spain and the children moved back to Santa Cruz, however, they “forgot” Quechua and became cambas once again. Thus, to Paz, becoming a camba is process that involves linguistic and geographic elements that work together.

Leticia Paz’s vision of her grandchildren’s identities as shifting along with their linguistic abilities and geographic location corresponds with a negative view she and others in Morado Q’asa expressed about cambas. Earlier in our conversation, Paz had stated that cambas are “bad.” Others shared discomfort about certain camba practices, especially their tendency not to greet others in public despite their reputation as outgoing.\footnote{Of course, “not greeting others” is a symptom of life in almost any large city.} Furthermore, they often addressed racist attitudes they believed that cambas held regarding the current president, Evo Morales. Furthermore, several interviewees emphasized that cambas’ perceived prejudice towards Morales stemmed from their general negative attitudes towards indigenous people from rural areas. When I asked
Rubén León Rodriguez (twenty-one) to tell me about the people in Santa Cruz, where he had recently lived and worked for sixth months, by means of response he offered only the statement: “they’re just cambas.” León Rodriguez’s statement suggests that the word camba is laden with meaning yet hard to define. *Camba* is the answer. It is not the question.

**Transnational Kollas: Cultural Affinity and Political Engagement**

The people of Morado Q’asa find themselves in a historical period in which the meaning “nation” and the place of indigenous peoples in it are once again the source of much contention and debate. Perhaps now more than at any other time in Bolivia’s history as a nation, however, official state discourse seems to affirm the identities of highland indigenous peoples and communities. Bilingual and intercultural education (EIB) has now been embedded in the education system beginning in the early 1990s, with varying results. Despite all its contradictions, bilingual and intercultural education informs the imaginary of the primary school in Morado Q’asa: the inclusion of Quechua into the curriculum and class life no longer represents a key place of debate but rather an expected part of the educational process.

At the same time, the vestiges of centuries of subjugation of indigenous peoples, stigmatization as “*indios*” with the category’s embedded connotations of backwardness, illiteracy, rurality, and uncleanness; an overwhelmingly creole-mestizo state apparatus, and policies of ideological erasure of indigenous peoples are not undone after a decade of

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298 “*Cambas son pues.*” The “*pues*” at the end of this sentence is difficult to translate. It serves to reaffirm the statement that precedes it. In Andean Spanish, “*pues*” corresponds with the Quechua suffix “*á,*” which has the same effect. This sentence translates to something like, “they’re *cambas*, obviously,” “they’re just *cambas,*” or “well, they’re *cambas.*” León Rodriguez’s statement implies that upon hearing the word *camba*, I should understand exactly what he meant.

299 See for example Luykx (1999); Delany-Barmann (2010); and Lopes Cardozo (2011).
pro-indigenous discourse and multicultural policies with uneven implementation. My research does not attempt to evaluate the extent to which the government of Evo Morales has achieved its economic, social, and cultural aims, nor analyze the contradictions innate in those aims. Rather, I consider Morales’ government only as it is felt and perceived in the lives of people in Morado Q’asa. They assert highland indigenous identities while distancing themselves from the specters of indio and camba identities.

**Perspectives on Evo Morales’ Presidency: Stability with Change**

Many Morado Q’asa residents expressed conditional satisfaction with the presidency of Evo Morales based on his tangible support of rural people, his self-presentation and biography as an indigenous man of popular extraction, and their perception that Bolivia has experienced fewer problems with Morales as president compared to previous leaders. Many qualified their praise with disclaimers of affiliation with a variety of other parties but proceeded to acknowledge that they would probably vote for him in the upcoming October 2014 election. Their initial opinions, however, reflected a pessimistic view of Bolivian politics in general. They considered Evo Morales preferable to other candidates because, as Manuel León Rodríguez (twenty-five) stated, “up until now, the government of Evo Morales hasn’t had very many problems. When another [new president] comes in, there are always problems.”300 Other morado residents echoed León Rodríguez’s cautious views about electing someone else who might disrupt the tenuous stability they felt that their country had experienced during Morales’ administration.

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300 “Hasta ahorita como esté el gobierno de Evo Morales casi no hay muchos problemas. Cuando entra otro, siempre hay problemas.”
Beyond these somewhat pessimistic expectations about Bolivian politics, many *morado* inhabitants expressed genuine satisfaction with the assistance provided by Morales’ administration to the working and rural classes and Evo Morales’ political identification as an indigenous person. They identified tangible benefits from Morales’ presidency in their own community. In August 2014, the concrete *futsal* field (*la cancha*) was being demolished and transformed into a covered *futsal* stadium, or *coliseo*.301 Most *morado* residents attributed this project to Evo Morales. The construction brought wage jobs to many men in the community and pleased the youth, as their social life in the town revolved around gathering to play sports and participating in regional soccer tournaments. They contrasted observable projects, like the new *coliseo*, with the lack of interest shown to rural areas by former presidents. Furthermore, one woman, Roxana Martinez de Acosta (late-thirties) mentioned appreciation of the conditional cash transfers she received to support her children.302

*A Discourse of Diversity: Evo Morales’ Cultural Politics*

Interviewees also mentioned the cultural politics and nationalist discourse of Evo Morales’ presidency, attributing an increased visibility of Bolivia’s cultural diversity to Morales’ influence. Evo Morales, elected president of Bolivia for the first time in 2005 following a series of short presidencies and civil unrest, constructed a discourse highlighting his own indigeneity and promoting a form of Bolivian nationalism that acknowledged the ethnic diversity within the country’s borders. The title of Morales’ personal introduction to the Bolivian Constitution of 2009 clearly summarizes this

301 *Futsal* is a popular sport in Bolivia and elsewhere. Similar to soccer, it requires fewer players and can be played on a smaller field.
302 Martinez de Acosta, a woman in her late thirties with four children under thirteen, including a baby, cited Bono Juana Azurduy, a program directed at pregnant women and their newborn children.
discourse: “para que nunca más seamos excluidos” (so that we may never again be excluded). Morales, wearing a suit of alpaca wool created to fuse Aymara designs and fabrics with Western business attire—though always without a tie—stands smiling next to the text.\textsuperscript{303} Morales’ two page introduction constructs a vision of a “before” when “[we], the Quechua, Aymara, Guaraní sisters and brothers, as well as other brothers [and sisters] from the lowlands” did not have access to all public spaces or the benefits of citizenship, alongside a “now” when these spaces had opened to indigenous peoples.\textsuperscript{304} As in the title, Morales includes himself in the excluded groups, always using the word “we” and the associated verb form. Morales claims to work for the “people…the oppressed, marginalized majority – embodied by himself… [that] blurs the differences within the popular sector, because it shifts the focus to what distinguishes [the people] from the elite.”\textsuperscript{305} Through this seemingly inclusive construction of the Bolivian people and his self-inclusion with the historical oppressed sector, Morales has promoted a new form of Bolivian nationalism.

Morales’ nationalist discourse falls in line with his proclamations of plurality. He cites a history of extraction of natural resources both during colonial times and neoliberalism that has compromised Bolivian sovereignty to the interests of wealthier nations.\textsuperscript{306} Morales frames his economic projects to nationalize natural resources in terms

\textsuperscript{303} Salazar-Sutil, “Study in Political Dress” (2009), 75. Salazar-Sutil analyzes the various ways Morales constructs his political identity as indigenous, Andean, and popular. He features this suit, Morales’ football jerseys, and striped sweater, arguing that Morales’ choices in clothing strategically reinforce the president’s discourse of ethnic plurality and support for the popular classes.

\textsuperscript{304} “Antes, las hermanas y hermanos quechuas, aymaras, guaraníes y otros hermanos de tierras bajas...” Morales, “Para que nunca más” (2008), 4. The “we” is implicit in the verb that repeatedly follows, “podíamos.”


\textsuperscript{306} Ibid., 195-197.
of Andean indigenous values: defense of the *Pachamama*, or Mother Earth.\(^{307}\) This discourse has not lacked contradictions, however, especially regarding indigenous peoples of the eastern lowlands. In 2011, mobilization against the construction of highway traversing TIPNIS,\(^ {308}\) a national park and recognized territory of several lowland indigenous groups, revealed inconsistencies in Morales’ (pluri)nationalist discourse. In this case, Morales sided with Andean migrants to the lowlands—themselves also indigenous—who supported the road rather than the lowland indigenous peoples who opposed the encroachment on their territories.\(^ {309}\) This incident underscores that Morales’ celebration of indigeneity privileges some forms of indigenous identification—especially Andean ones—while reproducing past marginalization towards other forms.

While this work does not seek to assess the extent to which Morales’ actions in office have coincided with his discourse, understanding Morales’ use of indigenous symbolism and his celebration of the popular provides context for interpreting how many people in Morado Q’asa align themselves with Morales. For instance, primary school teacher Luz Flores (thirties) echoed Morales’ distinction between a close-minded “before” and an open-minded “now” in which Bolivia recognized and celebrated its cultural diversity through media:

Channel Seven always shows...cultural programs with dances [and] festivals from every group of our [nation], how everything is different. ...Then, those programs allow us to respect and value our cultures a little bit more, as genuine cultures. There’s a need to promote that. *Before, it wasn’t like that.* Everything was like a little box of matches. You didn’t let your culture go out, whereas *now it isn’t like that.* In that aspect, *things have been changing, things have been improving*.... Now other cultures

\(^{307}\) Ibid., 197.
\(^{308}\) “*Territorio Indígena Parque Nacional Isiboro Securé*”
\(^{309}\) Canessa, “Conflict, Claim and Contradiction” (2014), 164-165.
are valued more and one’s own culture is also treated with greater worth. Because we were forgetting…

While Flores does not directly attribute this greater respect for diversity in Bolivia to the presidency of Evo Morales, the process she described corresponds with the cultural discourse employed during his presidency.

**Highland Nationalism: Privileging Andean Indigeneity**

Likewise, *morado* residents frequently praised Morales’ nationalist discourse and its implications for highland Bolivians, especially people like themselves who lived in rural areas. They echoed the message of economic nationalism proclaimed by Morales’ government that asserted that the administration’s policy kept Bolivian wealth and resources in Bolivia, for the benefit of Bolivians. They juxtaposed Morales’ economic policies with the ideology of eastern *cambas*, adding an ethnic component to the debates regarding political economy. Manuel León Rodriguez explained that former governments ignored the countryside in favor of the city and related this bias to current *camba* rejection of the president on ethnic lines. According to León Rodriguez, “[the former government] did not remember the *campesinos*. It would give anything to the city but nothing ever came to the countryside….They do not like [Evo Morales] because he is a *campesino*. The *cambas* do not like him.”

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310 “Canal Siete demuestra siempre... programas de cultura de las danzas, de las festividades, de cada población de nuestra [nación], como es diferente. Entonces eso...nos permite un poquito respetar y valorar culturas como cultura genuino hay, como, promociona de eso. Antes no era, todo era como una cajita de fósforos. No dejabas que tu cultura salga hacia afuera...mientras ahora no es así. En ese aspecto, se ha ido cambiando, se ha ido mejorando...Ahora se valora la cultura ajena y también revalorizando la propia cultura. Porque nos estábamos olvidando...” (Emphasis mine).

311 This message reaches Morado Q’asa through the schools and through government-produced commercials on Bolivisión. For instance, in July and August of 2014, a series of commercials connected nationalization of energy resources to a government program that would distribute laptops to secondary schools. On one occasion, I saw that commercial while watching television with a group of teenagers, who asked each other—half skeptically, half longingly—if the program would extend to their school.

312 “No se recordaba de los campesinos...a la ciudad le daba cualquier cosa pero al campo no llegaba nada....No les gusta porque es campesino. A los cambas no les gusta.”
term *campesino* has acquired since National Revolution in 1952,\(^{313}\) León Rodriguez subscribed to a dichotomous political perspective in which rural, highland peoples—represented by Evo Morales—stand against lowland urbanites, the *cambas*.

Likewise, when discussing the racism of people in Santa Cruz, Lidia Rojas brought the president into the discussion, stating: “they can’t stand the current president. They discriminate against him some, right? He’s an indigenous person, let’s say, he is a man that is from a province... and they can’t accept that *someone like that* is the president.”\(^{314}\) She further argued that Evo Morales’ election represented an increasingly merit-based system of opportunities for people without access to traditional forms of status—wealth and education. According to Rojas, “Nowadays, people don’t always have to be a professional...[based on] their abilities they can take any position...”\(^{315}\) The comments made by both León Rodriguez and Rojas affirmed the ethnic connotation embedded in the word *campesino*. After labeling Evo Morales an “indigenous person,” Rojas qualified her statement explaining that Morales “is from a province.” León Rodriguez and Rojas supported Morales’ policies but attributed *camba’s* attitudes toward the president to their prejudice.

Luis Acosta and Roxana Martinez de Acosta directly related this sense of *camba* racism against Evo Morales with the way Richard Douglas treats el Cholo Juanito. After discussing *CJRD* and politics with the couple, Luis Acosta added, “it’s like how the


\(^{314}\) “*Ahora el presidente actual que está, no lo quieren ver pues, ni en pintura. Algo lo discriminan, ¿no es cierto? Es indígena, digamos, es un hombre que está de una provincia...ellos no...pueden aceptar que esa clase de gente esté en la presidenta.*”

\(^{315}\) “*la gente, hoy, la gente no siempre tiene que ser profesional...su capacidad, puede entrar en cualquier lugar...*” Traditionally, being a *professional* implied being “improved” (*mejorado*) through education, often accompanied by an ethnic shift to a more Hispanic category, such as *mestiz*.
cambas discriminate against Evo...since he’s dark skinned (moreno).”316 Martinez de Acosta immediately interjected, finishing her husband’s sentence: “they call him indio.”317 Her husband echoed her words. In fact, when we first began talking about CJRD, Luis Acosta immediately began to laugh and referenced el Cholo Juanito’s jokes about Evo Morales being his father. It is interesting that people described the relationship between Richard Douglas and el Cholo Juanito much in the same way that they interpreted camba disapproval of Evo Morales.318 While many lowland inhabitants traditionally disliked Morales and the MAS party for several reasons—economic policy, a sense of exclusion from the nation as well as racism—people in Morado Q’asa focused on the easterners’ perceived prejudice against the president.

Many residents of Morado Q’asa concurred with the nationalist discourse used by Evo Morales, a form that intertwines highland indigenous peoples and the Bolivian state. I propose that this perceived intimacy between highland indigenous identities and the state—in opposition to the urban, “whiter” cambas in the eastern part of the country—allowed some morado residents to fit el Cholo Juanito, as well, into this framework. Indeed, Concha Quispe and Enriquez Ventura have inserted themselves into the Bolivian political sphere through their participation in Bolivian political campaigns. The association of Peruvian comedians with a Bolivian political project rarely created a contradiction with the nationalist discourse because it engaged transnational highland identities. Some morado residents considered Peru a country that shared cultural similarities with Bolivia. When I asked Luz Flores if she liked CJRD, she laughed and

316 “Como a evo le discriminan con los cambas.... Como es moreno...”.
317 “Indio le dicen.”
318 Like most stark divisions, this stereotypical camba disapproval of Evo Morales was partly imagined, if pervasive. In a startling turn of events, the department of Santa Cruz went to Morales during the October 2014 election.
said she did. Then, she spontaneously volunteered, “they’re Peruvians. …Peru and Bolivia are similar, no? They have the same cultures…. And physically [similar] too, Peruvians look like Bolivians. There’s not much difference.” She identified her country with the neighboring country in terms of cultures and the physical appearance of its people.

In some cases, this identification extended to application of the appropriated term referring to highland Bolivians: kolla. Rubén León Rodríguez (twenty-one) explained: “el Cholo acts like a kolla in that he knows how to speak [Quechua]. Here, in Santa Cruz, they call people who speak Quechua kollas…. Just like that, el Cholo feels proud when he speaks Quechua.” With this comment, León Rodríguez pulled el Cholo Juanito into a Bolivian interpretative space in describing the way the character performs his Quechua identity. While recognizing the origin of the term, León Rodríguez equated el Cholo Juanito’s experiences to those of other people labeled kollas, including himself. In this same statement, however, León Rodríguez suggested that Richard Douglas was “like a gaucho, like an Argentine.” While Rubén León Rodríguez presented el Cholo Juanito in terms that heightened the character’s cultural proximity to León Rodríguez’s own position (as someone labeled kolla), he chose to identify Richard Douglas with a distinctly foreign label: the Argentine gaucho.

This sense of physical and cultural proximity between Bolivia and Peru helps partially to explain while many people in Morado Q’asa identify with el Cholo Juanito and Richard Douglas despite their nationalist cultural politics. While Manuel León

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319 “…parecidos no casi, Peru [y] Bolivia. Tienen las mismas culturas… Y físicamente también, los peruanos son parecidos con los bolivianos. No hay mucha diferencia.”
320 “el cholo Juanito [se presenta] pues como kolla…que sabe hablar [Quechua]…aquí en Santa Cruz dice Kolla a los que hablan quechua…. Así el Cholo se siente orgulloso pues cuando habla quechua.”
321 “como gaucho, como argentino.”
Rodriguez’s criticized Bolivians for purchasing foreign products rather than producing their own, most people recognized that CJRD was a Peruvian show yet treated that detail as an obvious and rather unimportant factoid. In many ways, people of Morado Q’asa expressed a greater sense of closeness to the Peruvian comedians than to the rejected camba. By identifying the perceived cultural proximity between Peru and those in Morado Q’asa, I do not wish to suggest that a sense of Quechua identity has superseded national identity. Rather, many people in Morado Q’asa understood Bolivianness to include self-identification as part of a highland indigenous group, as expressed through official discourse. Just as Morales claimed that nationalizing natural resources defends the Pachamama (Earth Mother), a belief present in both Quechua and Aymara cultures, many residents of Morado Q’asa perceived coherence between national and indigenous identities that embraced multiple Andean groups yet excluded the camba “Other.” They portrayed cambas as Bolivians who did not defend national sovereignty and who reject highland indigenous beliefs and practices. In the face of other situational pressures, however, they might choose to temporarily cast aside identification as Quechua, such as eight-year-old Yhasmín when she pretended she did not speak Quechua.

**Between Power and Pride: Constructing Quechua Identities**

Why would Yhasmín insist she did not speak Quechua upon meeting me, only to proudly state “I am Quechua!” a year later? Why would Yheni defend her right and that of her classmates to speak Quechua by accusing her opponent of being a wind-burned “Indian” from Potosí? Why would Manuel León Rodriguez censure those who return from migration flaunting their money yet simultaneously state his longing to travel, work, and “have something” like a car or a house? Why do many people in Morado Q’asa
accept the participation of Peruvians in a Bolivian political project wrapped in nationalist discourse without sensing a contradiction?

These people—and many other young residents of Morado Q’asa—seem to color their understandings of themselves as Quechua people by simultaneously accepting some of the tenets of pervasive social hierarchy in Bolivia while also taking advantage of an official discourse that celebrates indigeneity as a crucial part of the nation. They distance themselves from the historically stigmatized figure of the “Indian” yet also from the figure of the *camba* that they have constructed. As the examples presented here demonstrate, however, people distance themselves from one stigma only to collide with another. This process points to a “double” consciousness akin to that proposed Du Bois, Gramsci and later post-colonial theorists.322 This concept in the context of post-colonial philosophy maintains that hitherto colonized peoples can sometimes interpret their experiences through the lens of the colonizer and simultaneously with the insights stemming from their own cultural experiences, languages, and worldviews. Likewise, young people in Morado Q’asa view themselves and those around them through at least two lenses. The first represents the pervasive discourse of “progress” through education, achievement, and Hispanicization that has coursed through Bolivia in different forms for several centuries, and that a decade of reforms and uneven discourse cannot erase. The second lens, however, represents pride in Quechua cultural expression and heritage

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322 In his *The Souls of Black Folk*, published in 1903, Du Bois introduced the concept of double consciousness to explain the striving of Black people in the United States to be both Blacks and citizens of the United States (Du Bois’s thought is outlined in Eze, “On Double Consciousness,” published in 2011.) Gramsci proposed a similar concept but named it “contradictory” consciousness. In Gramsci’s thought, an individual may act in one way (perhaps pro-worker activities) yet still maintain beliefs of the hegemonic class (*Prison Notebooks* 1999, 641). In his *Black Skin, White Masks*, Fanon engages the idea of double consciousness among Black people of the portions of the Caribbean colonized by France, emphasizing how one might see him or herself as French in the Caribbean and as Black in France (2008). Several scholars have developed and used the concept of double consciousness in the context of the Andes, including de la Cadena (2000) (though she uses Gramsci’s “contradictory consciousness.”)
legitimated through recent changes in state discourse and experiences in the bilingual education system.

“De-Indianized” Indigeneity

Like most indigenous people in Bolivia, morado residents reject the label “indio.” In addition to rejecting the label, however, they reject what they perceive as the negative traits of a hypothetical “indio.” This process has been observed elsewhere in the Andes.⁴²³ While in some cases, people identify as mestizos or mestizas to distance themselves from the stigma of “Indianness,”⁴²⁴ the people of Morado Q’asa did not choose this label. While many young people demonstrated a sense of pride in “self-improvement” (superación) through education, none identified as mestizos. Rather, they demonstrated pride in Quechua cultural practices and language and based on this pride—regardless of their profession as farmer, student, shopkeeper, or teacher—they identified as Quechua. Even so, people used the epithet “indio” to demean others. They also perceived urban areas and foreign countries as sites of yearned-for economic progress.

If they remained only within the framework of de-Indianization, or rejection of being indios, however, this process of superación might lead the young people of Morado Q’asa to reject completely the Quechua language and Quechua cultural practices, or at least, to seek to obscure them. Following the path of superación away from “Indianness” might lead them to a camba lifestyle, where they would only speak Spanish and use their economic and educational gains to legitimize their social position. The people of Morado Q’asa, however, condemn camba-like behavior just as they distance themselves from indios. This behavior reflects a lens of identification and interpretation in which

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identifying as a Quechua person holds value and is legitimized by the political discourse of the day.

…Just Don’t Be a Camba

At the same time, the ambiguity inherent in this process evokes subtle yet pervasive attitudes about how people who have earned money and status through migration or professionalization should treat others in Morado Q’asa. A migrant or professional must not become a *camba*, a transformation that many *morado* inhabitants claim regularly occurs, especially with the children of migrants. Residents of Morado associate behaviors such as arrogance, distain for rural life, and ridiculing or “forgetting” Quechua as *camba*.

I propose that it is partially through proclaiming Quechua identities while firmly rejecting *camba* behaviors that people in Morado Q’asa make sense of this situation of double consciousness. For the people of Morado Q’asa, a *camba* is not only an autonomy-minded *mestizo* or Creole from the eastern departments. Rather, *cambas* are also people who—despite their rural Andean background—reject their Quechua heritage and demean those who retain it. A *camba* is not only someone who obtains relatively greater material wealth from becoming a professional or migrating, but also someone who uses that wealth to claim superiority over *campesinos* despite coming from the same background. The term *camba*, then, acquires a normative connotation. More than a regional identifier of *cruceños*, for the people of Morado Q’asa a *camba* can be from Cororo, Sucre, Argentina, or Peru. *Cambas* can even be from Morado Q’asa, if they adopt *camba* attitudes and behaviors.
Cautious Categories: Establishing Proximity and Distance

Exploring the attitudes of *morado* residents to the policies and person of Evo Morales also provides some insight into their practices of self-identification and of conceptualizing Others—in this case, *cambas*. As many conflicts between *morado* and *cororeño* students in Colegio Bolivia of Cororó reveal, the term *camba* is not only used to refer to people who live in Santa Cruz. Rather, *morado* students applied it to *cororeños* who displayed arrogance towards those who spoke Quechua or wore a *pollera*. The rejection of the *camba* also served to censure family members who acted superior because of acquired capital from migration or education. According to many people in Morado Q’asa, a *camba* was a hypocrite, someone who forgot their origins and demeaned others—just as Richard Douglas insulted el Cholo for the way he dressed and spoke. In addition to attitude, language ability helped determine whether someone of Andean descent counted as a *camba*. The children of migrants became *cambas* as they lost their ability to speak Quechua. Thus, while the term *camba* was used in Morado Q’asa to refer to someone from Santa Cruz, it transcended its characteristic regional determinism.

Considering these reinterpretations of the term *camba* and the assessment of *camba* attitudes toward Evo Morales’ political project places added weight to the insertion of Cconcha Quispe as el Cholo Juanito into Bolivian politics. When discussing politics, interviewees focused on their perception that *cambas* held prejudiced opinions of the president. From this framework, many people in Morado Q’asa expressed cultural proximity to el Cholo Juanito as a fictional representation of an indigenous Peruvian, and to the semi-fictitious participation of the actor—in character—in Bolivian political campaigns.
The circumstances discussed in this chapter—“daily migrations” of young people between Morado Q’asa and Cororo; long distance migrations between Morado Q’asa and other Bolivian cities; and community members’ perception of Morales’ political and cultural discourse—all represent spaces wherein people and ideas circulate and sometimes collide. Throughout these processes, the people of Morado Q’asa construct ethnic identities in affirmation and opposition to each other and to a broad set of linguistic, historical, political, cultural, and ethnic discourses. In each of these situations, most people exalted an identity that included Quechua language and cultural practices as crucial components. Above all, they sought to negotiate between the perceived stigma of being an “Indian” and hypocrisy of being a camba.
CONCLUSION
Beyond Binaries and Across Borders

The people of Morado Q’asa find themselves in a situation of dizzying movement. They migrate to eastern Bolivia and to other countries. Young people travel daily for school. Even their televisions unite them with people and ideas from distant places. In this dynamic context, they construct identities as Quechua people, seeking to avoid the stigma historically associated with “Indianness” while affirming their heritage. A crucial part of this process involves deciding how they relate with those they encounter either in person or at a distance through media. Several themes have emerged from my analysis of El Cholo Juanito y Richard Douglas (CJRD) and the perception of the show among residents of Morado Q’asa: especially, cultural proximity, shifting internal divisions, and double consciousness. These themes provide theoretical inroads to micro-constructions of ethnicity in the Andes and the possible role and function of ethnicity-related media in society. Above all, they shed light on the creative and complex interpretive processes by which individuals delineate shifting boundaries of group identities.

Cultural Proximity Across Borders

Many people in Morado Q’asa identified with the cultural context of CJRD despite the show’s Peruvian origins. Residents considered both el Cholo Juanito and Richard Douglas as participants in a realm of intra-ethnic struggle even as each man performed—and exaggerated—his identity in vastly different ways. Despite the border that splits the Peruvian Andes from the Bolivian Andes at Lake Titicaca, most people underscored the similarities between Peruvians and Bolivians or disregarded nationality as an existing but mostly irrelevant difference. Furthermore, Cconcha Quispe and
Enriquez Ventura mobilized this proximity and their visibility as popular Andean icons to participate in Bolivian political campaigns in support of Evo Morales and the MAS party. In fact, many people in Morado Q’asa expressed a greater sense of cultural identification with the Peruvian comedians than with *cambas*, Bolivians from the eastern departments or *chuquisaqueños* who behaved like *cambas*.

This sense of cultural proximity highlights the need to further study the ways ethnic identities interplay with national identities at the transnational level. In this case, we see Peruvians and Bolivians identifying with each other *as indigenous Andeans*. Furthermore, this identification does not occur at formal international gatherings of indigenous rights activists but rather on the intimate and casual level of popular culture. At the same time, the existence of these intimate connections formed through the expression of shared cultural practices in popular media validates broader political action, such as the involvement of Cconcha Quispe and Enriquez Ventura in political campaigns. Most people in Morado Q’asa will never take part in an international congress of indigenous peoples. Partially through media products like *CJRD*, however, people of Quechua heritage like the residents of Morado Q’asa can rediscover and reclaim connections with other Quechua-speaking people long separated by an international border.

By choosing to purchase and view *CJRD*, people in Morado Q’asa access a media product produced in a much more similar culture to their own compared to the environment where their limited television selections were produced. On Bolivisión, their one television channel, viewers in Morado Q’asa see images from Mexico, Colombia, and the United States. The Spanish they hear on television borrows many words from
English but few—if any—from indigenous languages of the Andes. Thus, in seeking to purchase CJRD in the market, they choose familiar representations. Unlike the actors of telenovelas, the comedians in CJRD resemble the people of Morado Q’asa physically and speak similar forms of Andean Spanish, with frequently inclusion of Quechua words and phrases. Viewers in Morado Q’asa observe familiar cultural practices and relatable struggles. Even monolingual Quechua speakers, though they cannot entirely understand the verbal humor, reported enjoyment of local music and dance styles in the show. “¿K’achitu tusun’i?,” recalled one monolingual Quechua speaker with a smile—“they dance so beautifully, isn’t that right?” It is this intimate identification that allowed MAS politicians to work with Cconcha Quispe and Enriquez Ventura in transforming this familiarity into political capital.

**So, Who Mocks Whom?**

Even as many people in Morado Q’asa identified with the show as a whole, their various interpretations of the conflicts played out in CRJD’s skits revealed a series of expectations about how socioeconomically mobile people of Quechua heritage should act. Most people interviewed identified both characters as Quechua, but criticized Richard Douglas for supposedly abandoning his Quechua background and using this transformation to demean el Cholo Juanito. Even so, most morado viewers praised—with a tone of complicity—el Cholo Juanito’s ability to twist Richard Douglas’ insults to his own benefit. Ultimately, most agreed that el Cholo Juanito humiliated Richard Douglas by revealing the hypocrisy of his arrogance and the precarious nature of his “new” identity.
Not every viewer concurred that el Cholo Juanito revealed his intellectual and moral superiority by the end of every sketch. One young woman considered the show demeaning towards herself and others like her because of the “insulting” attitude Richard Douglas maintained towards el Cholo Juanito—namely, calling him *indio* and denigrating him because he was a *campesino*. Nor did she consider el Cholo Juanito’s ability to alter situations to his advantage a sign of intelligence, arguing instead that the show wrongly portrayed *campesinos* as uneducated. Juxtaposing her interpretation with those of other *morado* viewers underscores *CJRDiD’s* implicit and explicit ambiguities, imparted both by its comedic genre and by the slippery nature of ethnic identities and identifications in the Andes.

**Implications for Ethnic Humor Research**

My interviews with Morado Q’asa residents revealed that most people shared awareness about the role of *CJRDiD* as a media product. Most of my interlocutors considered the skits holistically, focusing not only on the characters’ behavior but also on their implied attitudes and abilities. Perhaps most importantly, many people highlighted their cooperation with each other to produce the show, and Richard Enriquez Ventura’s ability to speak Quechua. Thus, many perceived that regardless of specific details of the conflicts, the show originated from an ethno-culturally familiar sphere. To most, conflict resolution held greater importance than the stereotyping and ethnic slurs that marked the plot as it progressed. These factors seem to indicate that most Morado Q’asa viewers evaluated the show based on the implicit promises of its genre, as a comedy. They expected the comedians to exaggerate representations, to use words ironically, and to twist the plot in unexpected ways.
At the same time, scholars of ethnic humor must also consider the diverse forms of enjoyment that ethnic comedy imparts. The first time someone showed me an episode of *CJRD*, my attention latched to the use of slurs and blatant stereotypes, and rightfully so, as these elements form a central part of the show’s conflict. Frequent viewers, however, tend to view the show holistically. Ethnic humor scholars, then, must also consider the less striking elements incorporated in each program. For instance, *morado* viewers appreciated various aspects of *CJRD*. The show provided familiar, popular audiovisual features—music and dance—as well as physical humor and slapstick comedy. It fused these elements with verbal and situational humor. Both comedic and non-comedic elements helped establish proximity with viewers. For many viewers, the non-comedic elements framed the entire program as an intimately Quechua production, perhaps dampening possible negative reactions to the portrayal of prejudice in the comedic portions. For other viewers, however, the show inadequately established proximity.

As discussed in Chapter One, scholars of ethnic humor tend to evaluate the reception of ethnic humor from relatively fixed categories of in-groups and out-groups. The diverse interpretations of *CJRD* shared by the people of Morado Q’asa, however, indicate that the theoretical wealth of ethnic humor lies precisely in exploring the fluidity of groups involved. Different individuals in Morado Q’asa perceived and evaluated *CJRD* in diverse ways partially because they employed different definitions of “us” and “them”—the boundaries of group identities—as well as different normative beliefs about how people who fall into these shifting groups should act. Some of my interlocutors privileged national origin as a sign of proximity. Teacher Luz Flores, for example, sensed
that Peruvians and Bolivians were culturally and physically “almost the same” yet did not identify with the socioeconomic struggles of el Cholo Juanito. Flores’ response contrasts with Manuel León Rodríguez interpretation. León Rodríguez, who was also entering the teaching profession, identified with el Cholo Juanito on an ethnic and socioeconomic basis yet rejected the fact that Peruvian comedians were profiting by selling their comedy in Bolivia. León Rodríguez, then, sensed ethnic but not national proximity.

The interpretations of Flores and León Rodríguez reflect only two possible processes of identification and delineation engaged by people of Morado Q’asa when viewing CJRD. Most morado viewers focused less on the program’s Peruvian origin and instead related the show’s conflicts to struggles experienced between themselves and other Andean Bolivians of Quechua heritage. Within this context, many viewers labeled Richard Douglas as a socioeconomically mobile person of Quechua heritage who flaunted his status and mistreated Juanito, a person of a similar background but who had not acquired the same wealth and status as Richard.

**Dismantling Ethnic Dichotomies…**

When considered holistically, most Morado Q’asa residents associated CJRD with interpersonal conflicts experienced among themselves and people with similar ethno-cultural heritage. These conflicts were especially present during the “daily migrations” of morado youth to the neighboring town of Cororo, where they attended secondary school, as well as during encounters among residents of Morado Q’asa and returning migrants. This interpretation roughly corresponds with the broader strategy of creating and destroying socio-cultural binaries that the CJRD comedians use to produce humor. For instance, in Chapter Two, I discussed an audience-participation sketch enacted during a
live performance of *CJRD* in Sucre. The comedians purposefully selected female audience members who seemed to fit the categories of “*mestiza*” and “*cholita*.” As the skit progressed, however, they dismantled this simplistic dichotomy through the use of Quechua by all program participants; through the shared rejection of Richard Douglas’ racist comments about indigenous people; and by demonstrating a symmetrical equality between “indigenous” and “*mestizo*” dance styles.

Likewise, most Morado Q’asa viewers rejected the idea that el Cholo Juanito and Richard Douglas came from contrasting backgrounds. Rather, they emphasized that Richard Douglas’ outer signs of ethnic difference—usually, his clothing—had been acquired by accumulating wealth. Despite the differences in clothing, they highlighted the two characters’ similar ethno-cultural backgrounds by emphasizing that both spoke Quechua. They directly related the show to interpersonal tensions felt among themselves and other Andean Bolivians. Furthermore, students frequently associated Richard Douglas’ treatment of el Cholo Juanito with the pompous attitudes of their *cororeño* classmates who pretended that their parents were less indigenous, or who censured the *morado* students’ use of Quechua. Other students and many adults equated Richard Douglas’ behavior with that of returning migrants who believed that acquiring money, possessions, or education would make them “better” than their rural family members or former neighbors.

**...And Engaging Double Consciousness**

The ways in which Morado Q’asa residents understood these intra-ethnic and intra-communal tensions points to the central argument that I have developed from this research. Morado residents, especially young people involved in secondary or tertiary
education or migration, affirmed their Quechua identities through two different lenses: one that rejected the stigma of “Indianness,” and the other that censured the hypocrisy of the “camba.” This process of situating oneself and others represents a sense of double consciousness. The first viewpoint seems to adopt an ideology coherent with centuries of ethnic hierarchy in Bolivia through which the creole-mestizo elite marginalize indigenous peoples as uneducated, dirty, and backwards. The second viewpoint aligns itself, however, with the contemporary, quickly shifting political climate in Bolivia in which identifying as indigenous has imparted new if still limited social and political capital, and rejecting indigeneity—being a camba as many in Morado Q’asa interpret such attitude—often implies an anti-national sentiment.

In agreement with the first viewpoint, many people in Morado Q’asa, especially young people, distanced themselves from the “Indian” stereotype, displaying instead great faith in the perceived power of education and urbanity. These factors, according to many young people, presented a clear path to “self-improvement.” The real-life experiences of many students and migrants, however, challenged this faith, as they discovered that the teaching profession offered meager salaries, and that migrant labor did not provide enough income to live in the city. Still, the trust in professionalization echoed a view that associated progress with the achievement of an urban, professional lifestyle and abandoning the characteristics of rural, indigenous life. Furthermore, some morado youths explicitly used “indio” as an insult and attempted to brand others with the stigma of “Indianness” even as they affirmed Quechua identity.

Even as they expressed faith in migration and education, many Morado Q’asa residents distanced themselves from characteristics they considered camba-like. These
attitudes corresponded with state discourse in contemporary Bolivia that frequently links Andean indigeneity with national identity.\textsuperscript{325} They partially extricated the label *camba* from its regional heritage, as a marker of *cruceña* identity, to censure those individuals who flaunted possessions or rejected Quechua heritage in their quest for “progress” and social ascension. According to this perspectives, *cambas* can have indigenous or European heritage and come from an Andean village, a lowland city, or even a foreign country. Crucially, however, the *camba*—laden with negative connotation—rejects Quechua language and cultural practices while denigrating those who do engage in those practices, especially if they are of a lower socioeconomic status. By rejecting *camba*-like behaviors, then, the people of Morado Q’asa created a sense of internal control in the community and a sense of solidarity linked to the indigenous aspects of their individual and collective identities.

Many people in Morado Q’asa navigate between the stigma of “Indianness” and abandoning their heritage. This complex process involves many small shifts, even within a single conversation. Overall, however, my observations, interviews, conversations in Morado Q’asa suggested that many people negotiate these ambiguities with a desire to maintain their language and cultural practices even as they study and migrate. It is possible that the contemporary Bolivian state, through mechanisms such as intercultural and bilingual education, indigenous autonomy, and discourse of plurality, may provide a context in which these efforts are validated. For instance, Lidia Rojas proudly stated that Evo Morales represented an increasingly merit-based formal sector in which leadership in indigenous communities could translate into political success on a national level. In this

\textsuperscript{325} Chapter Three explored instances of this discourse in the campaign and policy of Evo Morales, Bolivian president elected in 2005 and still in office at the time of this writing (March 2015) following reelection in October 2014.
political context, many people in Morado Q’asa perceived that accepting or even proclaiming Quechua heritage could coexist with education and power. Shows such as CJRD provide interpretative space onto which people can project their discomfort and fears about their place in society along with pride in their heritage. The show also serves as a reminder that questions of identity run throughout society at multiple levels. Seeping into homes, performed in community, and circulated across borders of all kinds, ethnically charged media mirrors the continued relevance of ethnicity in everyday life. The pervasiveness of discrimination in interpersonal relationships allows ethnic conflict to accompany dance and music in establishing proximity. Through its constant questioning of the ethnic dichotomies that “justify” this discrimination, however, CJRD renders the ethnic-based prejudice of Richard Douglas baseless and comical in the eyes of many viewers.

**Future Directions: Connections and Identities in a Global Era**

As this work reveals, alternative media circulated through the informal economy can provide unique insight into how people construct their identities and conceptualize the identities of others. As suggested by the term “digital democracy,” the informal media economy creates an alternative form of media globalization in which media products radiate not only from traditional production powerhouses like Hollywood or Mexico City, but also from areas that lack a strong media industry, like Andean Peru. People in places like rural Bolivia have increased access to representations in media that resemble their culture and circumstances. Popular media, then, represent a rich field in which future researchers may examine how people relate to others across borders. In the context of the Andes, it would be interesting to explore the reception of a show such as CJRD in a city
such as Santa Cruz, where inter-ethnic tensions are likely more salient than intra-ethnic ones.

This work also hints at an increasing sense of connectedness at the local level between Peru and Bolivia. Future research could cross the border and consider the attitudes held towards Bolivians both by politicians and common people in Peru. Do these proximities result in a change in regional foreign policy? Furthermore, what national implications may the willingness of some Andean Bolivians to identify more closely with Andean Peruvians than Bolivian lowlanders hold for Bolivian internal and external affairs?

Finally, for those concerned with the vitality of the Quechua language and Quechua cultural practices, Morado Q’asa provides a complex but encouraging case study. Rather than preferring Spanish over their native Quechua, many young people passionately defended Quechua before classmates who challenged their use of the language. They celebrated their own bilingualism. Their willingness to identify as Quechua even as they sought socioeconomic mobility through processes that traditionally required the abandonment of indigenous practices indicates a shift in which indigeneity may increasingly coexist with social, economic, and political power. Future studies should continue to consider the practices and ideologies of young people both in urban areas and towns like Morado Q’asa. Indeed, individuals can and do embrace aspects of globalized modernity—such as foreign media, material aspirations, and education in a hegemonic language—while still maintaining indigenous identitarian practices on a daily basis. Furthermore, they engage globalization to identify with others across borders in terms of life experiences, class, language, and indigeneity.
## APPENDIX A:
### Profile of Interviewees

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Pseudonym</th>
<th>Age</th>
<th>Gender</th>
<th>Language</th>
<th>Education</th>
<th>Class</th>
<th>Foreign Migration</th>
<th>Internal Migration</th>
<th>Language of Interview</th>
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<td>F</td>
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<td>Santa Cruz</td>
<td>Spanish</td>
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<tr>
<td>Alfonso Yampara</td>
<td>30s</td>
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<td>QD-B</td>
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<td>M/S</td>
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### Abbreviations:

- **Language:**
  - QM: Quechua Monolingual
  - QD-B: Quechua-Dominant Bilingual
  - B: Bilingual (similar fluency in both languages)
  - SD-B: Spanish-Dominant Bilingual

- **Class:**
  - Av. Agr.: Average Agriculturist
  - W. Agr.: Wealthy Agriculturist
  - M/S: Merchant/Storekeeper
  - Teacher

- **Education:**
  - IP: In process (currently enrolled)
  - C: Completed
### APPENDIX B:
Migration and ICTs (Information and Communications Technologies) Survey

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<th>Household #</th>
<th>Family Composition</th>
<th>TV</th>
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<th>Cell Phone</th>
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**APPENDIX C:**

*El Cholo Juanito y Richard Douglas: en vivo y en directo: Audience Survey*

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<th>#</th>
<th>Where from?</th>
<th>Number of people in party</th>
<th>How did they hear about the show?</th>
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<td>Television/Radio</td>
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BIBLIOGRAPHY


