Contents

Roma[1] and Czechs: Mindful of Difference

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This essay applies theory and method developed over the past two decades by a number of cognitively- and psychologically-oriented social scientists to explore antipathy between Czechs and Roma in the present-day Czech Republic. It investigates how Czech understandings of personhood and otherness are variously organized, acquired, and practiced. Although ethnic hatred continues to be a problem in the Czech Republic, recent findings in psychological anthropology advise against assuming that it is reproduced wholesale from one generation to the next—nor even one instant to the next. The main source of data is the narratives of twenty-five young Czechs, who recall their earliest childhood encounters with Roma. I use their stories to explore the early learning of ethnic categories and formation of affects and motives, based on both the regularities they experience as members of Czech society and the unique circumstances of their individual lives.

Prologue

The following synopsis of Czech-Roma interrelations was broadcast on Radio Prague on March 16, 2010:

> *The conditions in which the Czech Republic's Roma minority lives have not improved in the last decade. In fact, many of the groups working with Roma say their situation in society and their relationship with Czechs are in a downward spiral. Unemployment is higher than 80%. High debt is rampant. This*

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[1] The term "Rom" (plural, Roma) means "man" in Romany and was adopted by the Roma Union in 1971 as a substitute for the pejorative "gypsy." There are an estimated 300,000 Roma in the Czech Republic—roughly ten percent of the population—and tensions between Roma and Czechs have existed since the sixteenth century.

> *combination has fostered social exclusion and a breeding ground for crime and drug use. In turn, violent crime against Roma communities has become more extreme.*

Introduction

Following recent trends in psychological anthropology, this essay combines ideas from cognitive science and psychoanalysis—an approach Nuckolls (2001) calls "Deep Cognition"—to take a fresh look at ethnic conflict between Czechs and Roma in the Czech Republic. A shift of analytic focus from the objective structural and socio-political to the subjective is worthwhile because it provides richer accounts of people's motives and actions than other approaches currently employed in social science (Frank 2006; Nuckolls 2001; Ortner 2001). Both cognitive science and psychoanalysis are interested in human development and enculturation within particular cultural groups, and how such processes shape human cognition, emotion, perception, motivation, and mental health. In addition, both fields are interested in the way mental representations of the self and other people are constructed and encoded, which is of particular use for understanding interpersonal functioning. Briefly, cognitive science focuses on information-encoding and information-retrieval and provides a theory of thought by way of organized knowledge structures—so called schemas and scripts—that offer ready-made pathways for processing sensory information (Westen 2001). Simply put, learned patterns of information become properties of the mind—with neural correlates—subsequently used to interpret and reason about objects, persons, and events. People's schemas reflect the values and normative expectations of their social group, and these are subsequently maintained through selective processing of information (Monroe, Hanken, and Van Vechten 2000). In short, a thought is a schematically organized perception.

Psychoanalysis, too, offers a theory about the creation of consciousness by way of unconscious structures related to affective and motivational processes, emphasizing the emotional significance of information. It posits a "subjective unconscious" by which unconscious feelings and fantasies shape, constitute, and give partial meaning to conscious feeling and experience. In contrast to cognitive science, which often compares the human brain to a computer and thought to information processing—a distinctly objectivist and rationalist position—psychoanalysis concludes that feeling states do not simply mirror external

events; that we have subjective, not mechanical experiences of the external world (Chodorow 1999:40; Bruner 1992; Elliott 2002). In fact, according to psychoanalytic theory, subjectivity or "psychic reality" is created through transference, a process whereby we use unconscious experiences and feelings from the past to give partial meaning to the present. One type of transference is projection, whereby we put feelings, beliefs, or parts of our self onto an "other." "I am angry at John" becomes "John is angry at me" (D'Andrade: n.d.) Another type is introjection, whereby aspects or functions of a person or an object are taken into the self; for example, when children take in attitudes of parents, teachers, heroes, and other significant people in their lives (Chodorow 1999:15). In either case, cognitively-oriented social scientists now agree that interpersonal encounters are more accurately understood as inter-subjective encounters, characterized by transference and counter-transference on the part of the interlocutors, and that the psychic conditions of self-organization at any moment—that between an ethnic Czech and a Rom, for example—involve powerful fantasies and anxieties that shape each person's self experience (Elliott 2002). Nancy Chodorow's use of the term "interfantasy" to describe such encounters seems particularly apt (1999:58).

The two fields thus agree that there is an unconscious. Cognitivists, however, emphasize implicit, procedural knowledge, while psychoanalysts are more interested in affects. Practitioners of both fields agree that knowledge systems tend to begin organizing during specific sensitive developmental periods and that childhood-derived systems of knowledge influence the construction of adult propositions. Further, selfhood is dynamic; every person's self is the outcome of ongoing micro-historical processes—specifically, our social relations—that characterize the constitution of the mind (Toren 2001). Self, Naomi Quinn states, is "the totality of what an organism is physically, biologically, psychologically, socially, and culturally" (2006:362). Ultimately, as the psychological anthropologist and psychoanalyst, Douglas Hollan explains, consciousness of ourselves and other things emerges by way of "a complicated series of feedforward and feedback loops within a broad and open system of information exchange [that] encompasses the synaptic structure of the brain, intrapersonal processes of memory and symbol formation, and interpersonal self-other configurations as organized and shaped through familial, social, and historical processes" (2000:539). Psychoanalysts label what goes on in a person-to-person or intersubjective encounter, transference and countertransference; a relationship between

information and internal models of self and other, leading to a unique, contingent, emergent creation of intersubjective and intrapsychic meanings (Hollan 2000: Chodorow 1999). Hollan explains that our many and varied engagements in the world are "organized around self-other configurations that slip into and out of awareness depending upon the interpersonal matrices from which they emerge and with which they become engaged" (2000:546). So, again, the mind is never a mere reflection of outside events; rather, "impressions of the world are constructed out of numerous and varied perceptions and self-states" influenced by cultural and linguistic variables as well as "the creative and imaginative capacities of individuals" (2000:542).

It will be surmised from the above that my approach relies on a dualistic notion of culture as a set of common understandings manifest as act and artifact (Bohannan 1995; Brumann 1999). It is in two places at once: inside someone's head as understandings, and in the external environment, embodied as a psychological state and a social construction that includes intrapersonal and extrapersonal meaning (Strauss and Quinn 1997:16). In the present example, racism is a belief that resides in some people's heads; the discriminatory actions of racists constitute its public or material dimension. One way in which culture is transmitted from one person to another is when someone witnessing a racial act accepts and adopts its premise. Subsequently motivated by this newfound understanding, she then goes on to commit her own act of racism. Alternatively, the same person may recoil from the action and reject its premise, thereafter becoming an advocate of racial tolerance. Culture's internal or private dimension—personal understandings or beliefs that constitute one's psyche—makes it a differentiating device; an indicator of personal webs of meaning; hence, of a distinctive individual orientation (Quinn 2005c). Its external or public dimension—symbols, structures, and processes that shape and constrain our behaviors—makes it a collective phenomenon, an aggregating device (Strauss and Quinn 1997).

Theory of Mind and Social Relations

A fresh approach to ethnic conflict (as well as racial and national conflict) like the one I'm proposing is timely because many orthodox, so-called materialist or objectivist explanations of ethnicity and ethnic conflict ignore a great deal of information. Consequently, their explanations are unsatisfying. Framed mostly in terms of modern, large-scale, sociopolitical processes that cite economic decline and the loss of a

way of life as causes of ethnogenesis[2]—reflecting only culture's outside locus—they frequently downplay the fact that social forces are supported by affective and emotional mechanisms that operate on both conscious and unconscious levels. One consequence of this is that they suffer from what is sometimes termed "groupism"—the tendency to assume that every member of a group has the same ideas and expresses them by the same means (Brubaker 2006; Kusserow 2004; Winant 2000).[3]   Groupist accounts, in other words, assume that culture is shared, or evenly distributed, among members of a group (Brumann 1999; Hannerz 1992). Such monolithic views, in turn, lead to a presumption of collective common purpose, which seriously mischaracterizes motivation as a product of cultural codes and categories rather than of actors' purpose and desire. Consequently, human agency is reduced to little more than the socio-culturally mediated capacity to act, with resistance to power and/or utilitarian individualism being the most commonly cited examples of action (Frank 2006; Nuckolls 2001:182). In short, so-called objective or

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[2] Wilmsen and McAllister et al. (1996:vii), are representative of this approach, as when they insist that "ethnicity is always politically constructed and may arise anywhere and at any time, not only when erected for its own purposes by an oppressive regime but more frequently when individuals perceive a need to join in a consolidation of security through shared identity in the face of economic, political, or other social forces."

[3] The neglect of subjectivity is rooted in methodological principles adopted a century ago (Hirschfeld 2000; DiMaggio 1997). Then, social scientists were reluctant to portray culture as the aggregate of individual subjectivities—a strategy known as methodological individualism—due to the lack of method that would permit inferences about mental functioning. Only external aspects of culture—so-called social facts—were deemed amenable to direct measurement, and a strategy of methodological collectivism was followed. The psychological facts of individuals—belief, desire, will, a sense of self, and the ability to reason about means and ends—were left to psychologists. Twentieth-century social scientists, however, gradually came to see that methodological collectivism discounted actors with individual minds, implying as it does that persons and selves are socially or culturally determined. The critique of method subsumed the various forms of constructionism (cultural, social, political), which conceal the true explanation behind people's actions, namely, their beliefs and desires (Chodorow 2000; Shweder 1995). In implying that history inheres in social structures, institutions, ideologies, collective representations, cultural models, or social constructs, objectivist or materialist arguments like those mentioned above give short shrift to subjectivity—to motivation, emotion, and actors' personal histories (Toren 2001:157). This oversimplification is what caused E.P. Thompson (1978) to famously decry the telling of history without a subject. It's not that social formations don't contribute to shaping, organizing, and provoking modes of thought and feeling; it's that people don't sort neatly into homogeneous groups whose putative members share collective intention. We are not socio-culturally determined.

materialist accounts of ethnic conflict are psychologically reductive. Missing from them is sufficient consideration of the interior domain of human life—individuality, personal idiosyncrasy, quirkiness, and difference (Frank 2006)—and of the tension that exists between such inner, personal, and outer, public worlds. In this paper, I take the side of an increasing number of analysts from many academic disciplines who favor the problematization of psychological functioning, for I agree wholeheartedly with Roy D'Andrade that "any attempt to explain things at the social and cultural level always assumes an account of psychological processes" (D'Andrade:n.d.).

As has already been alluded to, and as will be further investigated below, Deep Cognition solves many theoretical and empirical problems and enables us to better understand ethnic and racial conflict and other behaviors—chief among them, the problem of the relation between culture and action, or motivation. It does so by probing the way people think and feel—and also the way they feel about what they think (Luhrman 2006). The focus on thought-feeling, or subjectivity, helps to broaden understandings of ethnic and racial conflict such as that between Czechs and Roma. As used above, the adjective "deep" implies that the brain draws on and integrates both conscious and unconscious systems of knowledge by way of a kind of parallel processing (Nuckolls 2001:184). Conscious knowledge, sometimes referred to as explicit knowledge, comprises schemas of cultural images, words, and action scenarios. Unconscious knowledge, also known as implicit and/or subconscious knowledge, comprises knowledge of procedures, as well as representations of childhood interpersonal relationships and related affects that are not consciously brought to mind, but which, nonetheless, shape forever one's impressions, including one's sense of self, as well as one's expectations of others. Research on memory reveals that knowledge of both types is stored in "associational networks," the contents of which vary according to people's experiences. For example, affective associations—feelings, wishes, and fears—may be associated with representations of abstract concepts, situations, or people. Such affects may become activated along with other forms of information when part of the network is primed by something in the environment or by thought processes that touch on the network.

Consciousness, according to this model, results from feedback and feedforward loops between the two cognitive subsystems whose units of information are "associatively connected" or "networked" in the course of learning and never erased (Hollan 2000; Westen 2001; Nuckolls 2001).

The two subsystems comprise what Hollan calls (2000:539) a "self-system," by way of which self-awareness is constructed out of one's ongoing engagements with the world, including, of course, those of the interpersonal variety, such as those between Czechs and Roma. D'Andrade labels this construction of consciousness "appraising", which he describes as a signal of match or mismatch of perceived events to schemas that represent one's expectations of the world based on his early learning and personal experience (D'Andrade:n.d.). This system uses sensory input and feedback from different inbuilt networks to produce information about whether or not one is in familiar territory. Normally, this happens automatically, without consciousness. Sometimes, however, we encounter the unexpected and suddenly we experience a sensation or feeling, what D'Andrade calls a "felt appraisal." Felt appraisals generate a combined feeling and thought, or affect, that vividly informs one about one's relation to the world and moves one to action. Accordingly, in social encounters, one's sense of self "emerges in interaction with other people whose behavior deeply affects its constitution" (Hollan:2000:541). Drew Westen (2001), another proponent of Deep Cognition, cites research on associative memory that supports the model. To wit, a great deal of implicit knowledge is stored along networks of association as we unconsciously observe regularities in our experiences. In any social encounter feelings, wishes, and fears associated with representations of people become activated unconsciously along with other forms of information as one part of the network is primed by something in the environment or by thought processes that touch on the network. This is Hebb's Rule: neurons that fire together at one time will tend to fire together in the future (Siegel 2001:26).

I demonstrate the efficacy of the analytical framework I've presented thus far with a text I came across on the internet (Czechkid for Teachers) in which a thoughtful, yet bewildered Rom teenager encounters a young Czech mother carrying an infant in one arm, a suitcase in the other, while being followed by two other small children at a tram station in Prague. At the outset of his soliloquy he notes, *"She was Czech, she looked nice, about twenty-five years old."* The Czech family and Rom teenager all disembark at the same stop, where a long steep staircase to the outside awaits. The young man wants to offer his help; perhaps he could hold the children's hands as they climb the stairs? Whether he's motivated by chivalry or sympathy, the reader isn't sure, although he states that *"Roma tend to be very courteous among themselves."* Still,

however, he hesitates as a raucous debate takes place in his head, the text of which gives readers a glimpse into the workings of his mind:

> *How should a black gypsy address this Czech woman, who probably has prejudices against Roma people and against foreigners in general, especially late at night in a deserted underpass? What would she say? She would say, 'Well, thank you very much, that's very kind.' Or might she think I wanted to chat her up? Or perhaps she would think worse things? What would I do if she started to scream when I approached her and offered her help? Or am I interpreting the whole thing badly? How much negative and defamatory stuff is written about the Roma people?*

Here we see a rich example of subjectivity as the young man constructs a host of thoughts based both on real experience and sheer conjecture. Psychoanalysts refer to this as the emotional construction of selfhood: "individuals structure themselves out of present and past relationships as mediated through intense desires, identifications, and repressions" (Elliott 2002:6). Not knowing what the woman is actually thinking, he infers and surmises, constructing a fantasy that has its basis more in his own knowledge and emotions than on actuality. His interpretations momentarily meet his deep needs for connection and validation. As described above, the thought process involves transference and projection. He is aware that some Czechs feel hatred and fear toward those whose skin color is similar to his. Being a young male, he is also aware of the possibility that any female-directed gesture on his part might be misconstrued. Nonetheless, he is hopeful that this particular kind-looking woman will be different; that she will give him an opportunity to show that he is different; that he is kind and trustworthy, and that she will be appreciative of his help. Why he finds her "nice looking" is unclear. Perhaps she appears upright; perhaps he is physically attracted to her. He feels culturally and personally obligated to offer assistance and is feeling guilt even before he makes his decision. He seems to want simply to be able to express his feelings naturally, to be free of the agonizing ambivalence that he feels deprives him of his humanity. This encounter represents an opportunity to change people's opinions, indeed, to change himself. Ultimately, however, he withdraws due to the insecurity he feels which is based on the knowledge he has accumulated about such cross-cultural encounters. His calculations seem to have convinced him that the

odds of his good deed turning out badly outweigh those of it turning out well. And instantly he feels regret and shame:

> *Just after midnight I had suddenly found myself in a situation in which there might be an explosion of prejudices. A whole minute went by. I went around her, as though not intending anything, as though I hadn't noticed her plight. Like an impolite animal on two legs, I simply continued along the entire platform, leaving the suitcase, children, and her behind. I ran down the concrete steps, taking two by two, and then up the other side, until I was amongst the houses. A cold wind blew from the underpass. Perhaps this woman hadn't had any prejudices. . . . If you don't have such prejudices, dear woman, then I really did you an injustice and failed you. And your children. And myself. In these night hours, I buried my courtesy. Today and now, I promise: Whenever I find myself again in such a situation, I shall certainly offer my assistance, regardless of how the other person reacts. And then my courtesy will certainly return to me.*

I have more to say about this particular incident below. For now, however, let me simply repeat that cognition is not as straightforward as the popular analogies to computing or information processing might suggest. Far from being a simple computation or decoding, meanings are elaborate interpretations evoked in a person by an object or event. Interpretations draw upon culture as well as people's experiences and feelings from the past to give partial meaning to the present (Hollan 2000:541; Chodorow 1999:14). An analysis of ethnic conflict that attends to cognition, emotion, and motivation avoids groupism—i.e., assumptions of mass intersubjectivity—and enables us to understand ethnic conflict in ways that are far more satisfying than the more typical approaches that focus on the role of large-scale socio-political processes. For example, we can more fruitfully address the following issues: Are all Czechs racist, or just some of them? Which ones are, and why these particular ones? Do they hate all Roma, or just some? Again, why? How can we account for similarity and difference? More generally, what makes people political? What makes them value social relations?   We cannot answer these questions with standard social theories. Understanding the intricacies of

cognition, however, enables us to better appreciate the complexity that exists in any society.

The remainder of my argument will proceed as follows: in the next part of the paper (Part III), I will discuss the background of this project, how I became interested in Czech-Roma antipathy, and how I conceived a strategy for investigating the problem. In Part IV, I will share excerpts from seven of the student narratives I collected, narratives which, I believe, clearly support a methodological and theoretical focus on discourse analysis and subjectivity as critical research strategies in any study of ethnic conflict. The data in this set of narratives also enable me to sketch a portrait of Czech ethnopsychology—the way, that is, that most Czechs understand such psychological issues as mind, self, body, and emotion. As Poole observes, "Concepts of the person and ideas of folk psychology are mutually implicated in descriptions and explanations of the culturally significant lineaments of human thought, feeling, and action" (1985:184).   Although I am not ordinarily an ethnographer of Czech culture, I draw upon Ladislav Holy's (1996) rich insights to explore Czech cultural models of personhood, self, and other, so as to understand how many Czechs assess the social world. I will also discuss child development and socialization, the process by which some, but not all, Czech children acquire these models. Following up on this discrepancy, in the fifth part of the paper, I will explore additional data that illustrates intra-cultural variation. Finally, in Part VI, I will bring the discussion to a conclusion.

Background and Method

My deep probe of Czech-Roma ethnic conflict is possible only because of an unusual source of data I collected as a visiting professor at Palacky University, in Olomouc, Czech Republic, in 2002. Assigned to teach a class in race and ethnicity that semester, I decided to exploit what I assumed my students already knew well, namely, the acrimonious social relations between Czechs and Roma. My hope was that my students' empirical familiarity with ethnic conflict would facilitate their theoretical mastery of this complex social problem. As lessons got underway, I was encouraged to find a classroom full of critical thinkers, all of whom were 23-24 years old at the time, which would have made them all between 11 and 12 when the Soviet Union and Warsaw Pact collapsed. As will be seen, such dating is helpful for understanding how my students experienced themselves and how they understood others at the time of my

visit.   Having but a cursory understanding of the Czech-Roma issue myself, mostly of the macro, socio-political, objective sort, I was desirous of more of an "emic," or insider's, perspective of the situation. So, I decided to begin the class by asking the students to recall for me, in writing, their first encounters with Roma; the first time, that is, that they became aware that their society made distinctions between its various members on the basis of ethnicity. Their accounts were to take the form of two-to-three pages of first-person narrative, and students were urged to avoid academic jargon and theoretical speculation.

With this simple strategy in place I hoped to be able to take the class quickly beyond mechanistic explanations of ethnic conflict and to gain insight into the kinds of encounters that occurred between Czechs and Roma. By eliciting personal narratives I hoped to discover the connections between cultural and mental processes and thereby gain insight into ordinary motivation. I hoped to discover in my students' reasoning the mental structures—schemas and affects—used by Czechs like my students to interpret Roma.[4] My reading was guided by the following questions: Who were the actors—what was their age, their gender, their socioeconomic status? What everyday plots developed between Czechs and Roma? How did Czechs and Roma enter into the imaginations of one another? And how did things typically go wrong? What did the people involved in the interactions think and feel?[5] And finally, can social theory capture this complexity?

The twenty-five accounts of Czechs' "formative encounters" with Roma that I collected—a total of sixty pages of written narrative—turned out to be chock full of psycho-cultural information that changed my own theoretical orientation dramatically, showing me that there was no such thing as a typical Czech, a typical Rom, or a typical encounter. To the contrary, there seemed to be, rather, an infinite number of possible dramas, each depending on the particular self-other interpersonal matrix that plays out when one person engages with another (Hollan 2000:541).

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[4] Incidentally, I believe that my students' writing in a second or third language was not entirely disadvantageous as some might expect. I believe it limited their ability to evade or soften events, and that as a consequence, they wrote with more honesty.

[5] Ironically, I was most curious about the very existential conditions I was least adept at explaining. An economic anthropologist, I had been trained to look for structural explanations of identity politics, usually by way of quantitative data. In fact, like most social scientists of my generation, I had been admonished to eschew psychology because of its methodological limitations and its inability to connect external and subjective aspects of culture (DiMaggio 1997).

Before I get to the analysis I would like to discuss the methodology by which I make sense of my data. The method I employ is the "cultural analysis of discourse," which its inventor, Naomi Quinn, describes as an effort to reconstruct, from spoken or written language, the underlying cultural assumptions that shape our thoughts and our ability to reason (2005a:3-4). Quinn frequently cites socio-linguist, Charlotte Linde (1993), who has been eliciting and analyzing life stories throughout her career. Linde asserts that personal narratives contain a great deal of psycho-cultural information; they express who we are and how we got that way, in short, how we construct selves. She says that we use stories to enhance and communicate this sense of self and negotiate it with others. As we do so, Linde argues, we stake our claim to membership in a group and try to show that we are worthy members (see also O'Nell 1996:146). Strauss and Quinn (1997:9 assert that such information goes a long way in clarifying issues of identity and interpersonal relations, for it testifies to the fact that identity is neither predetermined and fixed nor entirely constructed and fluid. This perspective offers vital insight for understanding ethnic conflict between Czechs and Roma.

With its focus on individuals, this method breaks with the customary methodological collectivism of conventional social science. One advocate explains that "the point is not that one individual's knowledge structure represents all of culture in the microcosm, but that social action is the result of a process by which public events are turned into private representations and acted on, thereby creating new public events, and we need a better understanding of how this happens" (Strauss 1992:16). Quinn believes that eliciting copious amounts of discourse or talk via extended interviews or other means enables the cognitively oriented social scientist to discern the cultural meanings that organize the thoughts of the interviewee or raconteur and also the way the interviewee or raconteur reasons about various things; how, in short, people frame and reflect upon their every experience prior to taking any particular action. Bloch (Hirschfeld 2000:621) agrees that the basis of cognition can be discovered in the analysis of the style and contents of narrative, while DiMaggio (1997:266) and Strauss (1992:16) call discourse analysis an ingenious technique that allows strong inferences of mental structures, which are key to connecting external and subjective aspects of culture.

Expounding on the rationale behind the method, Quinn (2005a) explains that there is much about culture that cannot be articulated by its users. People come by their knowledge both as a result of formal teaching and real life experiences, and in the latter case, people's explanations for

their own actions often remain ambiguous. A methodological focus on discourse, she argues (2005a:4), allows us to reconstruct what actors know and how they know it, as well as what knowledge they lack, and the ways in which they do not or cannot know—information from which researchers can deduce the reason for their actions. Strauss concurs, saying that "some feeling states are imperfectly conveyed by verbal description, but if we are to attempt to understand others' lives from their point of view, their words are indispensable" (1992:16). Insight into the thought process, especially in regard to motivation, can help us extend our understanding of agency beyond such simplistic notions as the socio-culturally mediated capacity to act (Frank 2006:282).

The Data

In this section, I present seven excerpts of what I call my students' "formative encounters of Roma" to illustrate both the quality and utility of this data for analyzing social relations along the lines I discussed above. I believe these data illustrate the process by which many young Czechs internalize cultural models—archetypes—of both Czech and Roma personhood by virtue of constant exposure to and regular participation in Czech society. How, that is, they define and subsequently discern normal and abnormal behavior and come to emulate or eschew it, as the case may be, while learning, too, that the word *cizinec* applies to people who exhibit non-Czechness, a situation that often provokes a feeling of unease.[6] For editorial reasons, I'm limited to these few examples, so I have attempted to select carefully those passages that best illustrate the cognitive science-psychoanalytic synthesis that I am advocating in this article.   In the interest of protecting people's identities, all of the names used below have been changed.

Excerpt 1: Jana

My first experience of seeing gypsies was in Slovakia. I remember traveling there and seeing a real gypsy village. It was always so interesting to look, if only for a moment,

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[6] Cizinec is a derivation of "cizi," foreign, which has a number of meanings ranging from alien, unfamiliar, different, to strange. Above all, says von Kunes (1999:84), what is cizi is hard to identify with.

from the passing train. It was a round village with the houses—if you could call them that—made of mud and wood somehow. I always wondered why they didn't fall apart. In the middle of the village there was always a fire burning, and it was very lively. There were naked kids running around, with muddy hands in their mouths, watching the train. Sometimes we got to see women with long skirts and scarves cooking on the fire or washing clothes in a brownish pond beside the village, apparently the only water available. Lightly dressed men brought wood to keep the fire going. The village seemed to be constantly in motion—people, pigs, and hens—and there was mud and rubbish all around. From my point of view, this was an unlivable place and if I ever misbehaved, my parents would tease me, saying that if I didn't stop, they would sell me to the gypsies.

Excerpt 2: Katka

I had a good overview from the window in my bedroom and I could watch them. There was a fireplace in front of their house. Gypsy women preferred to cook outside in a big pot which was much bigger than the biggest one in our kitchen was. One day we had some visitors and I called them to come to my bedroom to see the gypsies. We could see the water in the big pot boiling and then an old gypsy woman came out of the house and threw a few big pieces of bloody meat into the pot. This happened when I was eight years old and we had bought our first pet—a black poodle called Betty. It took a long time to persuade my father to buy her. I was a shy child and did not have many friends, so Betty meant a great deal to me. My father told me and my sister not to leave Betty in the garden alone. He told us that some gypsies eat dogs. He visited a gypsy village in Slovakia and saw them killing and then eating a dog. I became afraid about Betty. I did not want my dog to be eaten up by those gypsies. I became worried and angry. Every time I had to pass their house, I ran. I wished they would disappear or move away.

What can one deduce from these narratives? Let me offer a few preliminary observations beginning with the obvious. Czech society is highly segregated. Entire regions, as well as many cities and towns are ethnically homogeneous, as are many institutions.[7] So, for many Czechs, a glimpse from a passing train or a distant bedroom window is as close as they will ever come to Roma. In fact, many of my students reported that they didn't encounter "others" until well into childhood. Such children might be described as ethnically "aschematic," in the sense that they lack schemas for national and ethnic categories other than their own, and scripts for interethnic relations (Baldwin 1992). Consequently, they do not yet distinguish; they do not yet discriminate. They don't know yet what to make of the difference they observe; what to feel; how to react. They simply do not have the mental faculties to categorize ethnic others. Indeed, in the narratives above, there is ample evidence of a prior curiosity, amusement, amazement, and even the suggestion of sympathy for the odd strangers.   There is also evidence of ambivalence and anxiety—of simply not knowing how to interpret the scene—although we can see ethnocentric parents seizing the opportunity to shape their children's impressions by way of inculcating negative affects, namely, contempt and fear, which may be recalled or transferred later in life when Jana and Katka find themselves in the presence of ethnic others. Strauss and Quinn (1997) tell us that isolation and provincialism act as "centripetal forces" on culture, social organization, and history itself. That is, they act to preserve the socio-cultural status quo for the simple reason that isolated people don't attain new information that might disconfirm their assumptions.   In the absence of social interaction, meanings cannot be contested and renegotiated (Ortner 2001). Cultural models of self, other, and relations between self and other remain static and antagonistic. Those Czechs who experience little diversity firsthand are likely to remain biased, unable to see that their perspective is an aspect of their selves rather than an essential quality of Roma (Bohannan 1995:38). National culture and traditions, aspects of culture's public or external dimension, thus have a profound centripetal effect on how people experience themselves, as well as how they understand others.

There's another lesson here, as well; one that concerns cultural transmission. We can discern in Jana's and Katka's narratives the outside-

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[7] Among the Roma, 75% of working-age adults are unemployed, 80% of Roma children attend remedial schools, and there is a near complete absence of Roma representation in government (Slavikova 2011).

inside flow of culture; that is, someone who has internalized public—in this case, nationalist—discourses, will come to share, to a certain extent, such meanings. When people behave according to these now-personal meanings, they publicly manifest the meaning whereupon any witnesses may confirm—or alter—their own cultural understandings of the nation. Of course, there are other discourses circulating in Czech society, such as those that center on human rights and Roma rights.

Tellingly, when I tried to discuss segregation and discrimination in class, I drew the immediate ire of students who simply didn't want to consider structural inequalities or their possible role in perpetuating them. Most attributed high unemployment among Roma to laziness, rather than to discrimination, and low achievement in education to a lack of intellect and/or ambition, not to the fact that Roma children are often placed in special schools because they do not speak Czech. Some students became quite heated in defense of themselves and even more strident in their denunciations of Roma, and to my dismay, a few of them even quit the class. One observed *"I must confess that if I meet a Rom now, I am rather suspicious."* And she went on to say, *"But I am not a racist. . . . I simply refuse to be called a racist, and I believe the majority of Czechs aren't racists. Hope so."* (Excerpt C). Another stated that *"what the white people don't like is that in spite of their long stay in our country, gypsies still can't speak Czech, and they still don't simulate our way of life; they have too many children but they don't work; they only come for the social benefits."* And she added, *"I don't know if relations between us and gypsies will be better, but I hope so"* (Excerpt K).

In addition to outright denials like these, there was a good deal of scapegoating in the data, not only of Roma themselves, but also of Communists, Soviets, and Westerners. One student observed, *"It seems that Roma are one of the greatest problems in the Czech Republic nowadays, at least in the eyes of other countries. It is difficult to say what I think about them because my opinions are much shaped by the media. I would probably be called racist or xenophobic if I say they are just dirty, uneducated thieves. It's just not politically correct"* (Excerpt M).[8]

Similar sentiments were voiced by other students:

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[8] The frequently invoked charge of political correctness provides additional evidence of my students' defensiveness and overall ambivalence about Czech attitudes toward minorities.

> *"A negative view of Gypsies was extended by the consensus that was present in the Czech majority. According to it, Gypsies were dirty, lazy, slapdash, and thieves. Hardly anyone realized that the mutual distrust and misunderstanding came for the faulty Communist policy that did not solve the problem and caused segregation and isolation of Gypsies"* (Excerpt F).

> *"Another aspect of communist policy resented by the majority was social welfare which promoted a higher birth rate in the Gypsy community—while the average Czech family has two or three children, Gypsy families often have four, five, or even more"* (Excerpt N).

Having only recently regained their sovereignty, my students—like many of their compatriots—were in no mood to hear Czech national culture being disparaged, even in the context of European Union membership in which discussions of human rights were common. They were fed up with outsiders' criticisms and prescriptions, and they became defensive—even hostile—with those who did not see the Roma issue their way. Suddenly, in class, I became a villain. A cizinec. But though I was saddened that our initial esprit de corps was gone, I was even more puzzled by my students' sudden unwillingness to question things; after all, in most other ways, they were astute, evenhanded, and compassionate.

The turn of events provoked a change of approach, causing me to become what Quinn (2005a:6) calls a methodological opportunist; that is, one who seeks data by unconventional means. Taking a cue from a variety of researchers such as Jan Penrose (Harrison 2006:53) and Michel Foucault (Scheper-Hughes 2001:73), I considered the possibility that the particular stereotypes that people hold of others in fact reveal much about the way they wish to define themselves; that stereotypes actually testify to the repressed fears, longings, and insecurities of the in-group; that the search for scapegoats constitutes a way of emphasizing the normalcy of the in-group; and that the kind of scapegoat that people invent depends on the particular behavior that members of a society are most concerned to disavow (see also Obeyesekere 1984:108). By this deeper logic, Roma serve as a repository for Czechs' disowned and frightening aggressive feelings, while Czechs, themselves, are idealized and seen as good and admirable (Sherwood 1980). In fact, Ladislav Holy (1996) confirms this when he writes that Czechs have a history of desire to be acknowledged

by other Europeans for their cultural achievements. Such recognition hasn't been forthcoming, he says, because of foreign domination, first, by the Hapsburgs, then, the Germans, and most recently, the Soviets.

Other commentators express similar thoughts. Historian Jiri Staif (2005) asserts that Czech self-understandings have been influenced by the writings of nineteenth century Czech historians, whose interpretations of history reflected (1) the Enlightenment conviction that the telling of history not be confined to political events, but that it should also consider the history of civilization and progress; (2) the Romantic Period's notion that history was about nations—unique ethnic wholes occupying a territory; and (3) the classical German philosophy bias that regarded the state as the highest form of civilization. Journalist Jan Culik (2000) writes that modern (i.e., 19th century) Czech society defined itself defensively against the mostly Germanic world as a narrow, homogeneous, enclosed community, an attitude that strengthened during decades of communism, when the regime exploited Czech nationalism to foment xenophobia against those who came from the outside world. This history promotes a profound sense of inadequacy and a national identity crisis. Viewed in a new light, scapegoating can be seen as what Quinn calls a "task solution" (Strauss and Quinn 1997:122).   This permits racists to displace their own negative thought-feelings onto Roma; as such, scapegoating serves to rationalize and justify Czech hatred and disgust, and this is one reason for the durability of identity (ethnic) conflict.

Returning to the data, in both excerpts, we obtain a phenomenological account of cultural difference. In Number 1, the narrator, Jana, identifies many of the material or objective markers that distinguish Roma in the eyes of Czechs: the circular village, the houses of mud and wood, the fire, the naked kids with muddy hands, the women in long skirts and scarves, the brown pond, the lightly dressed men, the wood, pigs, hens, mud, and rubbish. Her mention of these various objects indicates that none of them are part of the "cognitive background" of ordinary Czechs—the things that most Czechs learn implicitly by virtue of the objective and practical regularities in their own society; the implicit knowledge that constitutes the habitus of most Czechs (D'Andrade:n.d.; Strauss and Quinn 1997:24). Jana's observations affirm Paul Bohannan's (1995:21) observation that in the process of learning culture, people come to regard the particular version of it that they learn—i.e., their own culture—as a part of the natural world; the world they take for granted; the world they become enchanted by. By logical extension, that which is not natural is unnatural, and that which is unnatural is likely to be considered

fascinating or dangerous. Such appraising, of course, is a crucial aspect of humans' evolutionary design. It is what has made our species so successful. Commonplace things evoke no conscious response, nor do they arouse any feeling, and people go about their business efficiently.[9] But because they are unfamiliar to her, she is aware of them; she is conscious of them. That is, they evoke feelings or affects in her. And what feelings are they? At this stage, the young girl is curious; her gaze is full of fascination. At the same time, one senses that she is confused about the social implications of what she sees; not yet having a firm conviction—and/or perhaps accommodating contradictory beliefs, e.g., a distaste for deviance, but also compassion for suffering people—she "wonders" about the dirty, shivering people living in hovels, information that does not match her expectations. Young Jana experiences fascination and disgust simultaneously; sympathy tinged with surprise; anxiety. We see much the same thing in the second narrative where the narrator, Katka, recalls the outdoor kitchen, the big pot, the fresh meat. Katka is alternately anxious, indignant, amused, smug; in a word, ambivalent. As both girls mature, however, they will learn to be consistent in their assessments by observing and associating with other competent Czechs.

This mental tallying of contrast between familiar and exotic objects all adds up for the phenomenologically-inspired anthropologist for whom external objects are the source of meaning. For such analysts, meaning is the essential property of the cultural object alone, and intentionality is simply a mental state directed toward or deriving from objects or entities outside oneself. Psychoanalytically-inspired anthropologists have a very different view of how the mind works; that it is meaningfully influenced by unconscious thoughts, affects, and motives. (Clarke 1999; Chodorow 1999; Paul 1989). For them, perception is less a process of decoding than one of transference; less a reflection of reality than a refraction of it. Everything and everyone we experience, we experience from the unique perspective of idiosyncratic selves: we have subjective impressions derived from multiple and personal schemas and affects; not "real" in any sense. Rather, they are distortions, personal fantasies, in fact, more reflective of personal subjectivity than of any object's presumed "essence."

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[9] Regarding efficiency, cognitivists speak of the "cognitive economy" by which they mean the managing of one's mental resources, including time, effort and specific processing tools. Performance declines when one performs tasks that require more resources than are available but stereotypes decrease the information processing load (Macrae and Bodenhausen 2000).

The implication here is that there is no such thing as an external enemy; Czech-Rom interpersonal/intersubjective relations are organized around the habitual patterns of interaction and expectation each interlocutor has used in previous significant relationships from as long ago as early childhood (Paul 1989; Hollan 2000). Accordingly, all perception of an enemy is a projection of the ego as the enemy (Clarke 1999; Sherwood 1980). With this theoretical insight, we move beyond deterministic theories that prioritize public or extrapersonal meanings, and we become more aware of intrapersonal meanings and their associated affects—in short, of subjectivity and intersubjectivty—as the co-determinants of consciousness (Strauss and Quinn 1997). Consciousness is equivalent to an interpretation rather than a computation; the product of intrapersonal meaning and extrapersonal meaning.   It involves an identification of the object, person, or event, expectations regarding it, and, often, a feeling about it and a motivation to respond to it (7). And the transactional nature of social interaction becomes clearer: our encounters are the emergent products of transference and countertransference (Hollan 2000; Chodorow 1999).   Thus, meaning-making or "making sense" is equivalent to an interpretation evoked in a person by an object or event at a given time (Strauss and Quinn 1997:6).   As mentioned previously, D'Andrade labels this construction of consciousness an "appraisal". Appraisals such as these compel the agentive self to make decisions, to take action. Excerpt Number 2 illustrates the development of affective personal meanings related to ethnicity. Katka begins to associate Roma with feelings of fear, anger, and contempt, negative affects that lead to prejudice against and avoidance of Roma. One gains more insight into this development in the following three excerpts—numbers 3, 4, and 5—wherein we see that the naïveté and ambivalence of the children are replaced by a greater decisiveness and the result is less acceptance of difference.

Excerpt 3: Vitek

The first time I remember Roma was in Prague. I was five years old when we made a trip there. We sat in a subway train and two men got in and sat right opposite me. They smelled very bad. I asked my Mum why they smelled and if they were brown from the sun. She said they were gypsies and that that was their normal color, and they did not wash themselves. I asked her why they did not wash, and she

said that they were not used to washing and that they did not mind their bad smell. So in my child's brain, gypsies were connected with smelling bad. And this memory I have had for nearly twenty years.

Excerpt 3 retraces five-year-old Vitek's newfound ability to distinguish people by way of the formation of an idiosyncratic model of Roma. Interestingly, his appraising of others includes olfactory information; below, we will see that knowledge can be encoded in other sensory modalities as well—visual, haptic, kinesthetic, auditory or gustatory (Throop 2003). Vitek's trusted mother, though seemingly sympathetic to the Roma men's plight—she does not condemn them— nonetheless does not think her young son is quite ready for a lesson in Czechoslovakian political economy. So, she opts for a simple, non-political explanation—lackadaisical gypsies, dirty and smelling badly, but living life as they choose—and we see how this representation becomes an enduring aspect of Vitek's problem solving or reasoning; how, that is, it comes to constitute a significant aspect of his personality or self-system. To wit, for the next twenty years he associates Roma with filth and a lack of self-respect, a conviction that arouses disgust and promotes a sense of superiority that presumably develops further into a sense of ethnic and national identities. The cognitivist adage that "ethnicity is not a thing in this world but rather a perspective on it" (Brubaker 2004:17) is clearly illustrated through this and the next example.

Excerpt 4: Petr

I come from a little village in North Moravia where there were no gypsies at all, but that doesn't mean that I did not come across any of them. I recall two early impressions. One was that they were the source of jokes, like, 'Do not be lazy like a gypsy,' or, 'You are as filthy as only a gypsy can be.' I thought of them as strange people who eat squirrels and cats, and I imagined fat, loud women in tattered dresses and dirty kids playing in the mud. And if I ever met any, I would not look into their eyes because I thought there was something wild and devilish inside. My parents would never allow us to play with gypsy kids.

Excerpt 4 offers more evidence of the mediating role of cultural and personal knowledge in organizing sensory inputs. Negative connotations of Roma were formed by way of oft-heard jokes during early learning, and thereafter reinforced by people's ordinary speech acts and routine practices.[10] Roma were objects of ridicule and not to be taken seriously. Petr overlearned the negative stereotype to the point of automaticity, such that any ontological alternatives to this racist fantasy were out of the question. Since then, this understanding has continually influenced Petr's assessments and actions. Any residual curiosity from early childhood is seemingly all gone. He has become another Czech adult who will have nothing to do with Roma, testimony to the fact that the oppressive representation of Roma is widely distributed in the Czech Republic.

Excerpt 5: Helena

When I was eight years old, I was going to school with only white children and I thought that dark-colored people only lived in Africa. One day, we were told that a new student would be coming the following week. Living in a small village, where life moves slower, meeting someone new brought great excitement. The day arrived, and what a surprise it was when our teacher introduced Erzika, a dark-colored girl. When she sat down at her desk every single eye in the class was gazing at her. When we had our break, all of the children went to her desk and asked her who she was, where she came from, and why her skin was a different color. The questions might sound silly, but we were very interested little kids. There was no prejudice, no hatred or mean looks. We were innocent children who just wanted to find out about our new friend. We didn't know that some people prefer the white race or that some dislike gypsies. Even though she was shy, Erzika seemed like a nice person, the same as the rest of us, only with a different color of skin. The next day, however, the behavior of several children suddenly changed. They were mean to Erzika, making fun of the way she looked and calling her

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[10] Joking behavior is much studied in anthropology. Among other things, jokes are related to social control and the management of conflict (Goody 1977).

*names. I didn't understand how they could behave so
horribly towards her or how they could change overnight.
A few years later, I talked to my parents about this incident
and they explained to me that what probably happened was
that, when the children went home and told their parents
about the new student, the parents undoubtedly told their
children many reasons why gypsies do not belong in our
society. Their parents taught them to hate someone who
had been a friend and the children's behavior changed.*

Here, Helena reveals an abrupt change of behavior among some of
her eight-year-old classmates. Again, the scene is a remote, ethnically
homogeneous village, and the children are naïve in matters of ethnic
identity. But the unexpected arrival of the dark-skinned Erzika prompts
some of the children's parents to impart a critical lesson in ethnic labeling
(Rogoff 2003; Quinn 2005c). Very quickly—overnight, in fact—some of
the children learn that their new classmate belongs in a separate category
from themselves and that as a "gypsy" she does not warrant their
solicitousness, but rather their scorn.[11] It is a message that will be
repeated again and again, both explicitly and tacitly, until a model of
personhood is constructed along the lines described by sociologists Alena
Nedomova and Tomas Kostelecky.[12] A typical Czech, they write,

is represented by a Czech-speaking person of Czech
citizenship and Czech origin, living in the same
town/village or at least not far from his/her birthplace, has
a close relationship with his/her place of residence and not
willing to move anywhere, especially not far from his/her
home country. . . . This person has no personal experience
with living abroad [so] it is not surprising that his/her

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[11] One wonders how the shy Erzika dealt with this situation—did she transfer to a
remedial school as some of my other students in similar situations reported? And did she
internalize or come to identify herself with the distortions of her classmates, much as the
young Rom described in section two did? Projective identification occurs when negative
feelings are forced into others with the result that the recipient is induced to feel or act in
ways that originate with the projector (Clarke 1999).

[12] Notions of Czech self and Rom other are purveyed by way of popular culture, of
course, as well as by national historiography (Staif 2005), the theater (Lemon 1996), and
television productions of various kinds, e.g., post-Czechoslovakia debates (Leudar and
Nekvapil 2000).

> attitudes towards foreigners generally (and immigrants in
> particular) can be described with words such as "fear,"
> "caution," or "mistrust." [1997:81]

This notion of ethnic or national typicality is important for this
essay; recall from above that cultural models inform our judgment and
that our social encounters are mediated by memories of previous self-other
configurations (Hollan 2000). It becomes critical to know, then, what
constitutes the average Czech's cognitive background with regard to the
category of person. We must try to understand the standard or model of
proper personhood against which Eva, Honza, and other Czechs are
assessing their sensory input. In addition to the information provided by
Nedomova and Kostelecky, Czech sociologist Jiri Musil (1998) provides a
glimpse into Czech national character vis-à-vis those of its Central
European neighbors:

> In comparison with Hungarians and to a certain extent with
> Austrians, Czechs are more restrained and careful. Czechs
> are also more skeptical, selective, and serious—they tend to
> weigh different aspects of an issue. Czechs are also
> considered to be very practical and to be the hardest
> working out of these three nations. . . . [These] are
> basically bland characteristics which—even when spiced
> up with the typical Czech sense of humor and irony—do
> not particularly attract or provoke anyone. Everything is
> somewhat unpronounced. The Czech mentality carries
> within it a strange, albeit understandable, paradox. All of
> the revolutions and shocks of modern Czech history, the
> pettiness of some Czechs and the bravery of others, led to
> the formation of a mentality that has no clear edges or
> contours. . . . Restraint linked with stubbornness have
> crystallized into thought processes, attitudes, values, and
> lifestyles that are relatively stable and functional.

A more detailed description of what Czechs expect of a person is
provided by social anthropologist Holy, a one-time Czechoslovak, who
lived much of his life in exile in Great Britain. Holy returned to his
homeland to conduct a study of political subjectivity leading up to the
breakup of Czechoslovakia in 1993. Among other things, he was struck
by the fervent nationalism of his erstwhile countrymen, and the particular

ethnoconcept of Czech personhood. Czech national identity, he says, differs qualitatively from the identities that individuals assume on the basis of their achieved statuses:

It is 'superordinate to most other statuses, and defines the permissible constellation of statuses, or social personalities, which an individual with that   identity may assume.' It is an imperative identity 'in that it cannot be disregarded or temporarily set aside by other definitions of the situation.' It resembles gender identity or identity determined by one's age in that it too is seen as something naturally given. When talking about Czechness on the whole, people mentioned three criteria: having been born in the Czech lands, speaking Czech as one's mother tongue, and having been born of Czech parents. Whilst some of them mentioned all three criteria, most were of the opinion that having been born in the Czech lands and speaking Czech were not enough to make one a Czech. Hardly anyone thought that those gypsies or Jews who were born in the Czech lands, and who sometimes spoke only Czech, were Czechs, and most people asserted quite strongly that 'someone who speaks Czech is not necessarily a Czech: a Czech-speaking gypsy is not a Czech.' Many people spoke of 'Czech gypsies' or 'Czech Jews,' but particularly as far as gypsies were concerned they vehemently denied the possibility that they could become Czechs. 'A gypsy will always remain a gypsy' was a phrase I heard many times. [1996:72]

Elsewhere, Holy constructs an archetypal character he calls "the little Czech man"—in Czech, *Maly Cesky Clovek,* or *MCC*—to depict the average Czech. The MCC, Holy reports,

is not motivated by great ideals. His lifeworld is delineated by his family, work, and close friends, and he approaches anything that is outside it with caution and mistrust. His attitude is down-to-earth, and he is certainly no hero . . . . The little Czech as the ideal member of the nation has roots in national mythology. The Czech nation survived three hundred years of oppression not because of its heroes but because of the little Czechs who were the nation. . . . The little Czech, the representative of the everyday and the ordinary, is the role model, and what is important about him as a role model is that he lacks individuation. . . . The reluctance to individuate persons is manifest in the Czech custom of addressing people by their occupational roles. . . . What this usage emphasizes, however, is not one's role in

> the complex division of labor but the denial of
> individuation and the stress on identity deriving from
> category membership. It is an expression of the importance
> of the collective (in this case the categorical) identity over
> the personal one. [Holy 1996:62]

It can be seen throughout this analysis that labels necessarily imply some similarity among those within a given category and some difference between members of one category and members of another. As such, they encourage thinking in terms of in-groups and out-groups; that is, they abet political subjectivity.[13] Without them, as can be inferred from the above, there is no object of general hatred (Greenberg, Kirkland, and Pyszczynski 1988). Something else that can be inferred from Helena's account is that along with learning the distinguishing criteria or the objective markers— skin tone, hair color and texture, surname and given name, language proficiency, clothing, posture—the newly discriminating child may also experience the pleasure of discovering the ability to torment or "make fun of" his/her adversaries. As mentioned in the introduction, sometimes inflicting pain compensates somewhat for an individual's own angst. There's a "deep motive" at work here; one unrelated to the usual motivation implied in structures of cultural knowledge (Nuckolls 2001; Quinn 2005a). Helena's classmates and/or their parents may be projecting some of their own anxieties onto Erzika, experiencing their own proscribed aggression as hers, perhaps, and thus perceiving her as threatening (Clarke 1999). "Deep motivation," Nuckolls and others explain, is related to identity conflict resulting from childhood experience and includes the agent's desire to master the environment, control his/her actions, seek self-realization, or manipulate power relations (Nuckolls 2001:182; Quinn 2005a).

The next excerpt, Number 6, provides more evidence of the role of labeling and the acquisition of cultural models of self and other—us and them—and scripts for relations between them. It also suggests another

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[13] Expounding on political subjectivity, Rahimi (2011) notes that the subject is political in its very subjectivity: both in the sense that it engages in an ongoing act of subjugating/conjugating the world into meaningful and temporal patterns, and in the sense that it is subjugated/conjugated by the local meaning system in order to become a social subject. Meaning is always political because it is always the representation of a specific 'interest'. This of course does not have to be the conscious 'interest' of a specific group or class, as in the interests of the state or the ruling class, but it is always an interest, and always the interest commonly shared by a 'group of people.'

deep motive common to children, that of not disappointing their parents, which recalls Quinn's (2005c:480) observation that "the dread of losing parental approval or the need for parental approval provides strong motivation well into adolescence and beyond (Quinn 2005c:480).

Excerpt 6: Eva

My prejudices were built quietly by the general view of society I grew up in. And as I grew older, I suddenly realized there were some stereotypes I had adopted from the many trifling events and deceptive words and gestures that instilled in me and many others a prejudice toward people we didn't even know. There is one Slovak word, 'ciganit,' which means `to lie; to cheat.'  It is derived from the word `cigan,' and that means `gypsy.'  Every time I lied or cheated, my parents called me `cigan,' and I knew I did a bad thing and was ashamed of myself. But this simple phrase didn't only show me that I acted wrong. It also indicated that there are some people who lie and cheat all the time and are therefore bad. I became distrustful of this group of people, although I didn't know any of them.

In Excerpt 6, Eva describes the role of public culture, including what she calls "trifling events and deceptive words and gestures," in propagating and perpetuating stereotypic cultural models of Roma. She's referring to the daily social practices and attendant social patterns, the material culture, and the public discourse to which she has been exposed throughout her life. All of it has resulted in the buildup or internalization of a great deal of tacit knowledge, or habitus, that informs her reasoning about people like and unlike herself. Her account attests to the flow of cultural meaning from outside to inside to outside again; specifically, her internalization of public culture leads to personal feelings of aversion and subsequent acts of prejudice. Anthropologist Christina Toren (2001), studies cultural transmission among Fijians and is especially interested in how children become particular adults. She notes that history inheres in the living persons whose actions make social structures, institutions, ideologies, and cultural models material (157). By this she means that our practices objectify or instantiate cultural beliefs such that when others observe us, they learn what various things signify as well as how to behave in typical situations. The effect of this process, says Toren, is that

"children come to constitute the categories in whose terms adults represent what they know of the world" (170), which is seen again and again in narratives such as Eva's. Here, as in the previous excerpt, the ethnic label, *cigan*, routinely employed by Eva's parents, seems to have condensed many of the myths associated with Roma into a single word with the capacity to evoke a variety of feelings and intentions (Greenberg, Kirkland, and Pyszczynski 1988:77). Young Eva's understanding of Roma is conditioned by parental authority by way of shame and fear and is therefore highly emotionally charged. It is associated with feelings of self-worth, as well with treachery and depravity; feelings that are likely to lead to anxiety and a lack of empathy and prejudice (Sherwood 1980).

In sum, Eva has an understanding of what a normal person should be like; a personal or idiosyncratic model of personhood based on her own life experiences. Roma do not accord with her model. The conviction that they are lesser human beings, that they are somehow defective, constitutes part of Eva's self-system (Hollan 2000; Quinn 2006) and is probably similar, though not an exact replica, of that of many of her countrymen, each of whom is exposed to similar public culture but has had his/her own personal experiences with Roma. According to the model of Deep Cognition described above, she will use this model, this mental structure with its attendant affects, as an interpretive tool with which to organize perceptions and affects and to reason about the people she encounters. It will constitute one of the many critical models that form the cognitive background against which sensory input pertaining to the social world will be appraised.

As mentioned, Excerpt 6, like all those preceding it, highlights the critical role played by Czech parents in rearing children to be the kinds of adults who will be valued in the community. All demonstrate that the emotional interaction between a child and his/her primary caregivers is fundamental to self-organization. That is, the creation of self is achieved partly by incorporating others' attributes, generating templates or models for understanding future relationships, such as those between Czechs and non-Czechs that are under review (Nuckolls 2001:189). Another way to put this is that we recall things the way in which we learn them, with similar emotional salience. Here I highlight the shift of focus in psychoanalytic theory from the strictly intrapsychic or subjective realm to the interpersonal or intersubjective realm. This post-Freudian move away from problems of drive regulation and toward relationship difficulties is attributable to the mid-20th century realization that interpersonal distortions are built into the self and reproduced in the social order.

Anthony Elliott explains, for example, that "the reproduction of the patriarchal and social order of modern societies is no longer understood as merely rooted in sexual repression and the denial of passion. Rather, repressive social conditions are traced to various pathologies that underlie human relationships" (2002:25). Later, he adds that "the distortions and traps of the imaginary order shape all interactions between the self and others, [ranging] from family interaction, through school, early adulthood, the work environment, and human relationships more generally" (35). The learning of ethnic cultural models being discussed here resembles Quinn's findings on the acquisition of cultural models of marriage by American girls and women who come to understand and perform the role of wife by way of lifelong exposure to culturally-specific understandings of marriage. She concludes that

> when particular ideas about human relations, about role obligations, or about types of people have force for us, rather than just being possible interpretations of the social world, it is because as children and young adults we have been socialized by means of appeals to these very ideas. We have been taught it is our role, our nature, the way we should be treated and treat other people. [Quinn 1992:121]

As with marriage relations between women and men, so too, I argue, with ethnic social relations. All of the narratives, but especially number seven (below) provide insight into how such lessons or what Barbara Rogoff calls (2003) "guided learning" proceed. Parents employ frightening tactics; sarcasm; emotional blackmail. Their efforts are constant, emotionally arousing, backed by rewards and punishments, sometimes even violence (Quinn 2005c). And they are effective: unfamiliar objects that formerly elicited wonder subsequently give rise to consistent and strong negative affects of anxiety, anger, disgust, and contempt. These affects are critical components of subjectivity and eventual motivation; the very affects that motivate discrimination, segregation, and violence.

Excerpt 7: Honza

Czech parents play a decisive role in shaping the opinions and attitudes of their children. From the very beginning, Czech kids are taught to hate gypsies. They are told,

> *`Avoid those lousy gypsies;' `Beware of your pocket, they will steal your wallet;' `Do not talk to them;' `They are making children in order to suck our money;' `They are so stupid, they cannot even speak Czech.' This kind of propaganda is heard in most Czech families—including mine. My attitudes toward gypsies came from the emotions of a little child who was not capable of critical thinking. There is still some prejudice due to those first negative encounters.*

Intra-Cultural Variation: Individuality and Personality

To this point, I've created the impression that Czech society is homogeneous, that a particular form of culture is evenly distributed among all Czechs. It appears that as a result of child socialization all Czechs are racists; that they all regard Roma as inferior human beings. Such stereotyping is mistaken, of course; cultural understandings are not simply transmitted intact from generation to generation and uniformly shared among all members of a society. Children don't merely acquire ready-made meanings proffered by adults. Deep Cognition enables us to understand "intra-cultural variation" (Chodorow 1999) by confirming that Czechs don't all feel the same way about themselves, nor do they bring the same understandings—or fantasies—about others to their encounters with Roma. Accordingly, not all Czechs are ultra-nationalists, nor are they all paranoid. Many people, in fact, are highly critical of their society, and many empathize with—and even defend the rights of—Roma. As explained above, the reasons for this might include variations in subjective experience due to differences in the infant-caretaker relationship, as well as variations in intrapersonal understandings due to the different personal experiences of public culture attendant on structural differences in Czech society (Kusserow 2004). By way of the argument presented above, varying self-systems, comprised of varying senses of self and varying models of personhood, appraise the world differently and arrive at differing interpretations, and hence, at differing intentions. So, in cross-cultural encounters with Roma, not all Czechs experience ambivalence followed by anxiety-triggering defense mechanisms; all Czechs do not project personal hostility onto Roma. In the next two excerpts, I demonstrate that the negative cultural model of Roma and the feeling of patriotic pride, though widely distributed, are nonetheless not universally distributed throughout the Czech population. Rather, Czech individuals,

each embodying what Strauss (1992) calls a personal semantic network, think, feel, and behave variably toward Roma.

Excerpt 8: Veronika

I was born in Prague under a totalitarian system and at a time of little hope for change.   My father studied philosophy and economics at the university, while my mother worked in the library. We lived in a small flat in a beautiful old house in a predominantly gypsy neighborhood called Smichov. We shared a bathroom with five gypsy families living there. We were the only "whites" in the place, and I played every day with our neighbors. My best friend was a girl called Zdenka and when my parents went out at night I spent the night at our neighbors' house and had dinner with them and played all night with my friends. At that time I didn't realize they were any different from us. I didn't know anything else. Both of my parents love all that is different, and I was raised this way, too.

Excerpt 9: Lenka

My first experience with gypsies was in my hometown and was generally positive. Since childhood, I have lived in a block of flats next to a gypsy family. I met them all the time growing up and never knew they were of a different origin. No one in the house ever had problems with them. They had regular jobs, their children attended school, and they were quiet and respectful neighbors. I only became aware of the existence of gypsies in the 1990s due to racial tension between Czech authorities and the gypsies over the construction of a wall on Maticni Street in Usti nad Labem. Gypsies took the opportunity to flee our country, in order to seek asylum in Canada, Great Britain, Belgium, and Sweden. This incident ruined the image of Czechs in the West and made Maticni Street a headline issue.

These two accounts demonstrate the efficacy of the cognitive-psychoanalytic paradigm to explain cultural complexity (Hannerz 1993). Veronika and Lenka experienced a different kind of upbringing in

comparison to those of the narrators of the preceding accounts. They did not live apart from Roma, nor were they deluded by racist diatribes. Rather, their parents were trusting and pluralistic. As children, both girls were unaware of any social difference and were completely at ease in the presence of Roma. "Rom" and "Gypsy" were not salient cognitive-emotional categories for either of them, and as a consequence, relations between their families and their Roma neighbors were amicable. The interesting note, of course, occurs in the second narrative, number nine, where Lenka notes that the nationalist discourse unleashed by the collapse of the Warsaw Pact has an impact on her understandings of herself and other Czechs and of Roma. Her new perspective includes national consciousness and pride, as well as doubts about the loyalty and integrity of Czech Roma. This remodeling of her personal understandings highlights the capacity of Deep Cognition to accommodate the dynamism of the human experience.

Conclusion

Paul Bohannen known more for his work in economic anthropology, observed late in his career that "in the process of learning culture, people come to regard the particular version of it that they learn—their own culture—as a part of the natural world" (1994:21). To counteract bias, he offered, people need to "correct for their own culture as they observe other cultures," which, he further advised, "requires an unusual capacity to see one's own culture as an attribute of one's self rather than as part of the essence either of one's self or of the natural world" (ibid.38). His comments call to mind social attribution theory, which asserts that when people make decisions on attribution, they consistently succumb to cognitive distortions of two types: (1) the self-serving bias, which occurs when positive events are attributed to the observer's dispositional traits and negative events are attributed to situational factors; and (2) the actor-observer bias, which occurs when the same negative event is attributed to situational factors when it involves the observer and to dispositional traits when it involves an observed actor (Monroe, Hankin, and Van Vechten 2000). At first glance, social attribution theory appears to be in line with much of what has been discussed here. Specifically, it implies that cognition contains a projective element; hence, it locates explanation of prejudice in the imaginations of Czechs. It understands, in short, that "ethnicity is a perspective on the world, rather than a thing in it" (Brubaker (2004). In this final section I

would like to reconsider attribution in the context of my earlier findings. I set up my concluding remarks with the last of my narratives.

Excerpt 10: Karel

First time when I could find that there was something wrong with our society's relationship to Gypsies was when I started my first year at school. Jirka (a Rom) *attended the same classroom as I did. All of us in the class were ordinary children—full of life, curious, and also cruel— and we started to make differences. One day, there was an ordinary break. We used to leave our class to meet other pupils from other classes. There was a corridor and at its end was a door half made of glass. All of a sudden, somebody decided to take off his sandal and throw it at another boy. This boy then did the same and after a while there were about fifteen people playing this game. Jirka was among them. Everything would have been all right if someone had not hit the glass of the door. All the boys ran away instantly and waited to see what would happen. The noise of the broken glass brought a teacher to our class. She asked who had broken the glass since it was obvious that it must have been somebody from our collective. All the boys knew who had done it.   But then something happened that really surprised me. The absolute silence was broken by the boy responsible for the broken glass. He said, `Jirka.  Jirka broke the glass.'  This was a cruel and cool-hearted lie.  The reaction of the others was immediate and shocking:  `Yes. It was Jirka,' they claimed. Why him? Why did the boy who broke the glass blame Jirka? Was it just because he knew that Jirka belonged among the rascals? Or had the boy already noticed that the teachers see Jirka through their fingers[14] because he was Gypsy? I wish I knew. Jirka himself did not get a chance to prove his innocence. Actually, no one would have believed him. The teacher who had already had a suspicion towards*

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[14] I'm told by a native speaker of Czech that if one looks through one's fingers at someone, it means that one doesn't like him/her; that one doesn't think highly of him/her because s/he is different from oneself; in addition, one thinks that one is better than him/her (Luci Skřítek Krejčíková personal communication).

> *Jirka easily accepted the cruel lie to be true. Jirka had bad luck.   I remember the boys, content with the result of 'investigation.'   They were laughing at him.   I realized something and it lodged deeply in my mind: Jirka was someone who to be friends with meant that others would not be friendly to me. After that, Jirka became a target of our ridicule. He had to play a role he had not chosen. We `the majority' cast him in that role. Finally, at the end of the first term it was decided he was going to leave because he failed. He was sent to a special school. Was it better for him? I do not know. One more thing: The one who broke the glass and blamed Jirka, became at the age of sixteen one of the skinheads. Matter of chance? I do not think so.*

Several things merit brief comment in this example. Most remarkable is that the teacher commits the actor-observer bias when she attributes the negative event—the broken window—not to situational factors, but rather to Jirka's character. Her response might also be considered evidence of the self-serving bias, because she never considers the possibility that such mayhem could have been caused by a Czech like herself, leaving the blame to the only Rom in the classroom. Many of the young children—the actual perpetrator more so than the rest—are already knowledgeable of the Roma stereotype and skillful in scapegoating Roma. They, too, understand the actor-observer bias, and they know implicitly that their teacher is influenced by it and apt to make assumptions accordingly. Karel's remark that *"no one would have believed [Jirka]"* provides evidence of this. Such intersubjective knowledge plays an important role in the children's reasoning and decision-making process. Thus, social attribution theory would appear to offer a solid explanation for much of what transpires in this and many of the foregoing narratives**.**

Yet, without specifying the cognitive structures and affective processes attendant on the mental representations of self, other, and relations between them—without, that is, operationalizing more recent insights of the cognitive revolution—its conclusions can only remain partial and, therefore, unsatisfactory. Closer scrutiny, in fact, reveals that social attribution theory repeats many of the errors that have been criticized elsewhere in this paper. It presents a monolithic view of Czech society. It assumes that all Czechs hold the same understandings of self and other, and that they all have identical feelings, which, in turn, assumes

that childrearing has been a uniform experience for all Czechs (Briggs 1998). Together, these assumptions lead one to conclude that all Czechs have the same subjective experiences and that they are equally biased and hateful. But as was the case with narratives 8 and 9, Karel's narrative reveals that many of these inferences are inaccurate. For while there appears to be consensus and contentment among the boys in the classroom, Karel himself is initially shocked by the dishonesty and lack of compassion shown by his classmates. Surely, his upbringing was different; surely, the values of compassion and truthfulness were stressed more in his family, even if he soon comes to the realization that *"Jirka was someone who to be friends with meant that others would not be friendly to me."* That is, his understanding of himself and of Roma deepens, and he soon joins the majority in tormenting Jirka, although it is apparent that he feels guilty in doing so. Jirka, meanwhile, is ridiculed and shunned for the rest of the first term, and subsequently sent to a special school, an outcome that fortifies the models of Czech, Rom, and relations between them. And so, once again, we come back to the issue of agency, and we see that social attribution theory, like many other social science accounts, does not venture far enough into the interior domain of human life; into subjectivity (Frank 2006; Luhrman 2006). Consequently, its account of meaning-making and motivation falls short. The remedy is to exploit what psychology has to offer and to recognize thereby that "individual members of society have different feelings, different personalities, different dispositions, both over the course of time and at any one moment" (Luhrman 2006:347).

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Indigenous Politics, *Sumak Kawsay*, and Community Tourism: A Case Study from Amazonian Ecuador

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This essay explores the relationship between visions of the ideal society that emerge from social movements and local, small-scale socio-economic and cultural projects that might contribute to achieving these ideals. It discusses the concept of *sumak kawsay*, a term meaning "living well" in the Kichwa language, which has been used in Ecuador to refer to a holistic concept of well-being involving economic, environmental, and social factors. *Sumak kawsay* originally emerged in the discourse of Ecuador's indigenous movements, and the country has incorporated the concept, along with its Spanish-language version of *buen vivir,* into its most recent constitution in 2008. *Buen vivir* has also been included in Bolivia's 2009 Constitution. I contrast *sumak kawsay* with past development strategies and examine the case of the Waira Churi, a Kichwa music and dance group turned tourist and cultural center in the Amazonian region, whose experience with community tourism seems to exemplify the *sumak kawsay* ideal. I argue for greater consideration of small-scale indigenous collective economic projects and suggest that community-based tourism can play an important role in making *sumak kawsay* possible in indigenous communities.

Introduction

Anthropologists have devoted considerable intellectual energy to analyzing the wave of political organizing led by indigenous peoples in Latin America beginning in the 1980s and 90s (e.g. Jackson and Warren 2005; Conklin 1997; Ramos 1998, 2003; Rogers 1996). As leaders of "new social movements," Latin American indigenous activists placed ethnic identity at the core of their political struggles and recruited global support for their causes by emphasizing the "middle ground" they share with environmentalists arising from the connections between their

indigenous identities and the lands they inhabit (Brysk 1996, 2000; Cepek 2008; Conklin and Graham 1995; Selverston 1995; Yashar 1998). Together with transnational allies, indigenous groups opposed state-led development strategies that threatened their lands and undermined the lifeways that shaped their value systems for generations. At the same time, they put forth new ideas for improving the wellbeing of their communities without undermining their preferred forms of sociality and exchange or causing serious destruction of their natural environments.

In the case of Ecuador, indigenous activists at the national level resisted development policies they understood as incompatible with their ways of relating to the environment and each other. They promoted instead a holistic notion of wellbeing referred to as *sumak kawsay*, which means good, beautiful or harmonious living in Kichwa, the most widely spoken indigenous language in the country. [1] The indigenous movements' vision of *sumak kawsay* implies a balance between all aspects of daily life, including socioeconomic conditions, social relations, and the environment (Gualinga 2002:1). The Confederation of Indigenous Nationalities of Ecuador (CONAIE), frequently invokes *sumak kawsay* as a goal of the indigenous movements, and in 2011, the CONAIE and other indigenous organizations hosted a "Meeting of Peoples and Nationalities for Sumak Kawsay," which included sessions on "interculturality," "plurinationality," and "recovery of the peoples' sovereignty" (CONAIE). This ideal of human wellbeing as defined through the interconnectedness of material fulfillment, harmonious relationships, and environmental health provides a radical contrast to notions of the "good life" based on dualistic understandings of the nature-culture divide (Cortez 2010) and the individualistic pursuit of wealth and "hedonistic happiness" (Radcliffe 2012:243).

When Ecuador's current president Rafael Correa, a left-leaning U.S.-trained economist, came to power in 2007 under the banner of a "Citizen's Revolution," he and his supporters promoted *sumak kawsay* as a development model that would allow the country to move beyond the neoliberal capitalist strategies of the past. Prior to Correa's government, multiple regimes had failed to deliver on promises to chart a new course for the country. In contrast, Correa's government has followed through on many of its commitments to increase public investment in social programs

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[1] *Sumak kawsay* is usually translated as "living well" or "good living" in English. In Spanish, *sumak kawsay* is most often translated as *buen vivir*. Throughout South America, other indigenous peoples also have similar concepts in their own languages (e.g., *suma qamaña* in Aymara).

(healthcare, education, housing, etc.), halt and/or reverse the privatization of state industries, increase taxation on foreign corporations, and strengthen regulation of the economy. In 2008, the Ecuadorian people approved by referendum (69% in favor) a new constitution to implement these reforms and guide the Citizen's Revolution toward a new path for the country. *Sumak kawsay* appears in the preamble of this document as a central objective of the state: "We women and men, the sovereign people of Ecuador…hereby decide to build a new form of public coexistence, in diversity and in harmony with nature, to achieve the good way of living, the *sumak kawsay*" (2008 Ecuadorian Constitution). *Sumak kawsay* also appears throughout the body of the constitution. For instance, in Section II, Article 14: "The right of the population to live in a healthy and ecologically balanced environment that guarantees sustainability and the good way of living (*sumak kawsay*), is recognized."

Here I provide an example of what *sumak kawsay* might mean for indigenous people at the local level and examine the relationship between ideals emerging through political activism and projects envisioned by local actors. I relate the experience of an indigenous Kichwa music and dance group turned community tourism provider in Amazonian Ecuador called the Waira Churi whose experience with community tourism appears to exemplify the ideal of *sumak kawsay*. Since the 1990s, the group has sought to maintain Amazonian Kichwa traditions while earning money to support the wellbeing of its members.

Based on this case study, I argue that scholars and activists ought to pay attention not only to the broad transformations that social movements and alternative approaches to development can bring about, but also to the political, economic, and cultural potential of small-scale, locally initiated projects such as community tourism. I suggest the need to consider not only how *sumak kawsay* has been articulated as an ideal of contemporary indigenous movements and a guiding principle for Correa's "post-neoliberal" regime, but also how indigenous peoples at the local level are actively designing their own small-scale projects in ways that make "living well" possible.

I begin by providing a brief history of the region where the Waira Churi live, focusing specifically on various efforts to "develop" Ecuador's Amazonian region (often referred to as the "Oriente") through colonial incursions, state-sponsored colonization and agricultural intensification programs, and oil extraction. I then provide a brief description of the area today, followed by a discussion of recent debates among scholars and activists about *sumak kawsay*. Then, I describe my methodological

approach and relate the experience of the Waira Churi, situating their project in the context of the rising popularity of community tourism among indigenous peoples. I question the simplistic idea of cultural performance for tourists as necessarily inauthentic or based on "invented traditions" and explore the role tourism has played in the group's history, including both the benefits and challenges they have experienced. I end with a reflection on the possibilities for envisioning collective efforts at multiple scales to achieve *sumak kawsay*.

A Brief History of Rukullakta

The Waira Churi live in the community of Rukullakta, which is located approximately 160 kilometers (100 miles) southeast of the Ecuadorian capital of Quito, just north of the town of Archidona and eight hundred meters (2,624 feet) from the road that today links Quito to the city of Tena, capital of the province of Napo. The first experiences of indigenous people from Rukullakta with Europeans and their ideas of "progress" began in 1542, when Spanish explorers Gonzalo Pizarro and Francisco de Orellana passed through the region in search of "El Dorado," a mythical paradise where they hoped to find an abundance of gold, silver, and cinnamon (Whitten 1981:5). Their journey was the first European quest for wealth in the Amazon region (Hemming 2009). Eighteen years later, in 1560, Captain Bartolomé Marín founded Archidona as the first Spanish colonial headquarters in the Amazon. It became a Jesuit mission town used to reach indigenous groups along the Napo River, a tributary of the Amazon River (Muratorio 1991:19). Archidona, along with two other small colonial towns—Baeza and Ávila—was also established to collect cotton as tribute from Kichwa-speaking Quijos people, the ancestors of Rukullakta's current inhabitants (Hemming 2009:46).

Local residents resisted the colonial incursion. In 1579, Quijos warriors led by Chief Jumandy and shaman-warriors Beto and Guami rebelled against the Spaniards. They opposed the forced labor, violence, and associated processes of cultural assimilation. The rebels killed colonists, burned settlements, and cut down trees that the Europeans had planted (Hemming 2009:46-47). The acts served as symbolic acts of defiance against foreign efforts to destroy the social and cultural fabric of Quijos society. More than four centuries later, the colonial experience and the rebellion led by Jumandy continue to play a central role in the political consciousness of Ecuador's Amazonian Kichwa people (Uzendoski 2006).

Contemporary indigenous resistance began in the mid-twentieth century. In the 1960s and 70s, Ecuador's ruling military juntas initiated what historians refer to as the "Developmentalist Era." During this time, the Ecuadorian state played a pro-active role in promoting economic growth and industrialization. A critical element of the program involved transforming the country's agricultural system from a series of large, underproductive feudal estates in the Andean highlands to a more efficient capitalist agrarian economy (Waters 2008). With this goal in mind, the national government passed the first land reform legislation in 1964, creating the Ecuadorian Institute for Agrarian Reform and Colonization (IERAC in Spanish). The IERAC was charged with administering land redistribution and, importantly, turning the Oriente into a "productive" region.

The way in which IERAC officials defined "productive" land, however, was based on Western, capitalist attitudes toward the natural environment. They viewed land not under intensive cultivation, especially if held communally, as "useless" or "vacant" (*tierras baldías* in Spanish), an idea that has long been used in Latin America to justify dispossessing indigenous peoples of their lands (e.g. Cambranes 1985; Sanders 2003). Indigenous residents, in contrast, perceived their lands as sources of important cultural, economic, and spiritual resources. Their lifeways depended on horticulture, hunting, fishing, and gathering, which did not mark the landscape in the same way as large-scale agriculture and, most importantly, were not primarily oriented to commodity production.

State officials moved to transform the Oriente through a combination of "colonization" and intensive development projects (Whitten 1981:14). Colonization involved granting land titles to migrants from the highlands and coast, with the condition that they use the land for market production. The national government also promoted the cultivation of African palm oil trees, the expansion of cattle ranching, and the extraction of oil through various incentive and subsidy programs (Bebbington et. al 1993:184). These practices led to significant increases in deforestation and population growth. According to one study, "Between the years 1965 and 1985, the amount of land planted to crops increased from negligible levels to 225,000 hectares, doubling between 1983 and 1986 alone. Over the same period, pastures increased from 226,000 to 484,000 hectares, and the population of the lowlands increased at a rate of 4.9 percent annum between 1974 and 1982" (Bebbington et al. 1993:184).

Study Location in Ecuador

Faced with the prospect of losing access to the lands where their families had lived for generations, some indigenous people in the Oriente decided to turn their land into pasture for cattle ranching in order to gain access to official land titles (Perreault 2003; Bebbington et al. 1993). Leaders of Rukullakta's Saint Peter Cooperative (now the Pueblo Kichwa de Rukullakta, or PKR), formed in 1965, were among those who adopted this strategy (Erazo 2013). Nevertheless, Rukullakta residents experienced significant challenges with this new way of relating to the environment and each other. According to the founder of the Waira Churi, Carlos

Salazar, residents were not adequately prepared for the shift to cattle ranching: "We needed technical advising, and at that time there was none. So, since we are people of the rain forest, we didn't know how to raise cattle, and they all died" (Interview, January 8, 2010). The lack of technical training provided by government programs served as a major impediment to gaining long-term benefits from cattle ranching.

Collective cattle ranching also entailed a fundamental re-shaping of social relations among Kichwa people in the region. The *minga* (reciprocal labor exchange) has historically been the main form of collaboration and typically involves individuals or groups laboring on collective projects such as building houses or clearing gardens for family or friends in exchange for food and drink, especially manioc beer (Uzendoski 2004). Yet, according to Juliet Erazo,

> As indigenous collective organizations sought land title and development funding from the state and development groups, participation in most *mingas* went from being a practice that reaffirmed one's desire to continue in a reciprocal relationship with family and friends to an activity that was required due to one's membership of a communal land management organization. [2011: 1024]

Leaders also faced other challenges in implementing collective economic projects. For instance, they struggled to prevent cattle from the cooperative's herd from being slaughtered for weddings or fiestas, as many cooperative members viewed the animals as more valuable as objects to be circulated in exchange relationships than as a means to accumulate capital for the collective (Erazo 2013).

Large collective economic endeavors thus constituted a significant departure from the forms of sociality and exchange that indigenous residents had historically maintained. Former president of the PKR, Nelson Chimbo, explains, "Our fathers did not initially create an organization that was our own. Instead, they copied something that came from outside" (Interview, January 12, 2010). Describing the cooperativist model as "foreign, not our own," he argues that this approach led to the failure of many community projects. The possibility of losing their land thus pressured indigenous peoples to adopt organizational forms and economic practices that departed significantly from the ways they had historically related to one another. While PKR leaders, as well as many rank-and-file members, supported the idea of "organized living" that

collective efforts on a larger scale implied, they also recognized the difficulties involved in translating support for access to land into communal economic projects (Erazo 2010, 2013).

At the same time, state policies led to greater integration of Kichwa peoples in the Rukullakta area into national Ecuadorian society. For instance, most PKR members historically had residences both in the more densely populated western portions of the organization's territory and in the more sparsely populated eastern portions, where their larger gardens and hunting areas were located (Erazo 2011). During the developmentalist period, when the Saint Peter Cooperative was first forming, Cooperative leaders successfully convinced many indigenous residents to spend greater amounts of time near the administrative center in Rukullakta, which is in the western part of PKR territory. While more consistent residence near administrative centers allowed leaders to more effectively recruit members for collective projects, one of the main reasons most members shifted their residence patterns was to take advantage of expanded educational opportunities. This was the case for the Waira Churi, who began spending greater amounts of time in their homes in Rukullakta in order to allow their children to attend schools in town. A major result of this gradual shift in residence, however, was an increased reliance on the cash economy to meet basic needs and in some cases more rapid cultural assimilation, as young people spent larger amounts of time in Archidona interacting with non-indigenous people. For the most part, then, development on indigenous lands in the form of "colonization" and "agricultural modernization" led to increased deforestation, social conflict, and varying degrees of culture change, including greater dependence on the monetary economy, among Kichwa people.

Perhaps the most extreme example of the deleterious consequences of state-led development strategies in Ecuador, however, is the oil industry. Large-scale oil drilling began in Amazonian Ecuador in 1972, when Texaco began commercial extraction near the northern Amazonian town of Lago Agrio. In the decades that followed, oil operations blossomed into Ecuador's largest export industry and the main source of government revenue (currently 30-40%). Yet, the oil industry has brought about a series of negative consequences for indigenous peoples. Soils and rivers have been polluted from frequent spills, loud noise from machinery has scared wildlife away, deforestation and colonization have increased due to the construction of new roads, and many individuals have suffered

debilitating and even fatal health conditions associated with exposure to petroleum wastes (Bebbington 1993:184; Hurtig and San Sebastián 2004).

Due to the negative consequences of oil production, many Ecuadorian indigenous groups have fought against its expansion. Sawyer (2004) provides a vivid ethnographic account of the resistance of the Organization of Indigenous Peoples of Pastaza (OPIP) to oil operations in the 1990s. The PKR has also recently been brought to the forefront of the struggle. On October 8, 2008, the Ecuadorian government signed a thirty-year contract with Ivanhoe Energy Ecuador, the Ecuadorian subsidiary of Canadian company Ivanhoe Energy Inc., to conduct oil operations in the region. The PKR, after convening open assembly meetings in all seventeen constituent communities, firmly and officially declared its opposition to the contract. Moreover, it protested the exclusion of local people from the decision to allow the foreign company to conduct operations. On September 23, 2010, the PKR filed a complaint with the Inter-American Commission on Human Rights arguing that their rights to property, participation, information, and judicial protection under the Charter of the Organization of the American States and the Inter-American Convention on Human Rights (IACHR) had been violated. The PKR's petition to the IACHR was due to the "disrespect provoked by the concession given to Ivanhoe and the effects this has had on [the organization's] collective rights" and "in defense of its rights and its model of development" (Varela). Despite the challenges associated with resisting an industry that provides a large portion of the national government's budget, the majority of Rukullakta's leaders remain opposed to the government's efforts to permit Ivanhoe to operate in the area without their consent and firmly reject the extractivist approach to development represented by the oil industry.

In many ways the experience of Rukullakta epitomizes the challenges many indigenous peoples around the world face today. The legacy of colonialism remains fresh in the political consciousness of indigenous leaders, and the need to maintain control over their lands remains at the core of their activism. At the same time, many Rukullakta residents increasingly depend on the monetary economy to meet their basic needs. While horticulture still provides a large portion of Rukullakta residents' regular food supply, most residents require some source of cash to purchase commodities they need or desire, such as school supplies, clothes, soap, cooking supplies, radios, stereos, and televisions. Some residents migrate to major cities in the Oriente (Tena, Puyo, Coca, Lago Agrio) or other regions of Ecuador to seek employment, whether

temporary or long-term. Yet, since less than twenty percent of PKR residents have a high-school education and barely one percent has a university education, for most Kichwa people the options for gaining access to cash are limited primarily to agriculture, construction, or work for oil companies (Pueblo Kichwa de Rukullakta 2008). According to the PKR's most recent management plan in 2008, 80% of its residents live below the poverty line, defined as monthly incomes of less than $483.10, and 17.5% live in extreme poverty, defined as annual incomes of less than $679.

An Alternative Model: *Sumak Kawsay*

As Ecuador's indigenous peoples have reflected on their experiences with "development," many have argued for the need to consider new ideals for society. The concept of *sumak kawsay,* as discussed above, refers to a more holistic notion of well-being than the concept of development implies. Indigenous and non-indigenous activists and scholars have widely discussed the different possible interpretations of *sumak kawsay*, as well as the extent to which it represents a true departure from the paradigm of development. Eduardo Gudynas (2011, 2014) argues that *sumak kawsay*, or buen vivir, is an inherently plural concept that can embrace multiple meanings, combining some aspects of "classical ideas of quality of life" with indigenous ideas of "fullness [of] life in a community, together with other persons and with Nature." For instance, he describes critical development studies, radical environmentalism, and feminist perspectives as three approaches from non-indigenous traditions that can make positive contributions to buen vivir as an alternative to development (Gudynas 2011).

Other scholars have examined the difficulties associated with the implementation of *sumak kawsay* or buen vivir as a political project that might move beyond development. Catherine Walsh (2010) argues that institutionalized uses of *sumak kawsay* are based in practice on alternative understandings of development from the West, such as Amartya Sen's capability approach and ideas of sustainable human development. Sarah Radcliffe highlights the challenges of overcoming neoliberal governmentality, and the historical exclusion of indigenous peoples from political participation, in Ecuador's buen vivir development regime (2012:245). Atawallpa Oviedo Freire (2014b) similarly suggests that voices from the indigenous grassroots have not been sufficiently taken into account in implementing Ecuador's national development plan based

on buen vivir. He writes, "Native peoples are not even asked if they want to live in 'cement prisons.' They are simply told that that is development and progress" (Oviedo Freire 2014b: 209).

Concerns with the lack of involvement of indigenous peoples in the implementation of the political project of buen vivir have led some activists and scholars to make a distinction between *sumak kawsay*, as the original ideal envisioned within indigenous movements, and buen vivir, as the government strategy that has appropriated this concept as part of development plans based on similar logics as conventional development (Oviedo Freire 2014a). As Arturo Escobar (1995) has argued, development discourse tends to represent non-Western or non-capitalist societies as backward and deficient and in need of external intervention to "catch up" to so-called developed nations, which are used as the yardstick for progress. Josef Estermann (2014) builds on Escobar's reasoning and argues that in order for *sumak kawsay* to be possible, there must be paradigmatic shifts that move beyond development's ethnocentrism and take non-Western philosophies seriously. He argues, for instance, that buen vivir, like development, is rooted in a linear conception of time, and that *sumak kawsay*, due to its basis in Andean philosophy, is fundamentally non-teleological and embraces a more cyclical notion of time (Estermann 2014: 70). Likewise, according to Estermann, *sumak kawsay* requires the incorporation of Andean principles of relationality, including correspondence (the interconnectedness of the cosmic and everyday spheres of life), complementarity (especially in regards to gender), and reciprocity (Estermann 2014: 66-70). Gudynas (2014) describes this interpretation as the "substantive use" of buen vivir, in contrast to its "generic" or "restricted" uses, and he argues that it is imprudent to try to draw clear lines between authentic and inauthentic versions of *sumak kawsay* or buen vivir, since these concepts are part of an on-going process of construction. While I agree with Gudynas that multiple interpretations of *sumak kawsay* can contribute to moving beyond development, I argue that the case of the Waira Churi provides an example of the sort of small-scale, culturally appropriate initiatives that might fit with a more substantive conception of *sumak kawsay*.

Methods

My discussion of the Waira Churi is based on a total of fifteen months of participant observation between 2010 and 2014, yet my primary period of fieldwork on this topic was in January 2010. During the primary

period of fieldwork on this topic, I lived in Rukullakta with the Waira Churi and carried out several semi-structured interviews with members of the group, PKR leaders, representatives of the bilingual education system in the area, and one cultural activist from the provincial office of the Ministry of Culture (see Jarrett 2011). I conducted an additional month of participant observation with the Waira Churi in January 2011. I returned to Ecuador in September 2011 as a Fulbright grantee to conduct research on traditions associated with the holly tree *Ilex guayusa*. From September 2011 to July 2012, I lived with the Waira Churi, and the group's president, Edmundo Salazar, was one of my two main collaborators. Finally, I lived with the Waira Churi from May-July, 2013, and June-July, 2014, while continuing further research on guayusa.

Community Tourism

Community tourism has the potential to provide indigenous peoples with access to cash, which they require to meet their needs, while maintaining the sort of balanced social and environmental relations implied by the notion of *sumak kawsay*. While conventional forms of tourism have existed in the Oriente for decades, indigenous peoples in Ecuador now promote "community tourism" as a new model, based on the idea that local people should be the main beneficiaries when tourists come to encounter indigenous peoples and learn about their environments and cultures. The goal of community tourism is for income to directly support local livelihoods, allowing community members to engage in economic practices that do not degrade their lands. This strongly contrasts with past development strategies, which have relied on large-scale economic projects involving intensive exploitation of natural resources and ethnocentric notions of "productivity" that systematically undervalue indigenous value systems.

To be sure, many anthropologists have critiqued alternative forms of tourism, such as ecotourism and community tourism. James Carrier and Donald Macleod note that many non-conventional forms of tourism, such as "ecotourism," can be used to refer to a wide range of activities in practice, thus sometimes making these terms more of an advertising strategy than a true commitment to environmentally sustainable or socially responsible operations (2005:316). Others suggest that tourism can perpetuate colonial relationships between locals and visitors, distort "authentic" cultures, and lead to a loss of intrinsic value and meaning attached to cultural heritage (Errington and Gewertz 1989; Garland and

Gordon 2009; Ingles 2004:239). Most of these are legitimate concerns that deserve critical attention. Nevertheless, the case of the Waira Churi indicates the importance of considering the particular context in which a group begins to work with tourists, the reasons why tourism remains a source of considerable interest for indigenous peoples, and the strategies different groups have used to maintain control of their tourism operations.

Ecuador already has a large tourism industry and the infrastructure—inexpensive and reliable public transportation, diverse options for tourist lodging, and a relatively stable political system to ensure security—needed to attract visitors from around the world. In fact, tourism is the country's third largest economic activity, following oil and banana exports (Pacheco and Serrano 2007:80). In the Archidona area, tourism is an especially attractive option due to its proximity (about a thirty-minute trip on a public bus) to Tena, the provincial capital and a hub for domestic and foreign tourists coming to visit the Oriente. Most of the major high schools and universities in the area offer specialties in tourism management, and it is common to see signs for community tourism destinations on major roads in the region. Many of these small-scale projects are run by individual families or communities, who see tourism as an opportunity to supplement their incomes.

In order to recognize and support community-based tourism projects, the Ecuadorian government passed a law in 2002 that gave community tourism operators the same legal recognition as established private tourism companies. This action upset the existing dominant players in the industry but laid the foundation for community tourism as a viable option for indigenous groups. The law also recognized the Plurinational Ecuadorian Federation of Community Tourism (FEPTCE) as the entity responsible for defining what constitutes community tourism and regulating community tourism projects (Ballesteros and Carrión 2007:15). The FEPTCE has defined community tourism as, "any solidary tourist activity that allows for the active participation of the community from an intercultural perspective, the appropriate management of the natural environment, and the valuing of cultural heritage, based on principles of equitable distribution of local benefits" (Solis Carrión 2007:31). Although this ideal can be difficult to achieve, many indigenous peoples in the Oriente see community tourism as a promising means of gaining income while being able to remain in their communities and maintain many of the daily practices that they find meaningful.

The Case of the Waira Churi

The Waira Churi group was founded in 1990 by Carlos Salazar. Carlos was born in a small community near the parish of San Pablo de Ushpayaku, a few kilometers from Archidona. When he was four years old, his mother died in a nearby river, and his father quickly remarried. After his mother passed away, he enrolled in boarding school at the Josephine mission in Archidona. When he completed his studies, he began working as a Kichwa-speaking catechist and interpreter for Spanish-speaking Josephine priests from Italy. His job required that he travel to distant rural communities throughout the Oriente to deliver Catholic teachings to Kichwa-speaking residents. Carlos is an eloquent speaker, both in Spanish and Kichwa, and a charismatic but serious man, and he quickly gained the trust and respect of many families throughout the region. He had always enjoyed music, and as a child he learned to play numerous Kichwa instruments, such as the *pingullu* (a narrow vertical flute made from palm wood), *llawta* (a horizontal flute), and the *turumpa* (a mouth bow made from bamboo and plant fibers).

During his visits as a *catequista*, he saw that residents of more isolated communities maintained many of the music and dance traditions and other rituals that were commonplace when he was a child, and he became interested in reviving interest in these practices among Kichwa people around Archidona, where they were less common. After he retired, he decided to create a traditional music and dance group with his three sons that would keep this heritage alive by performing at community fiestas and events in and around Archidona. He chose to name the group the *Waira Churi*, or "son of the wind," in recognition of his difficult but formative childhood.

The group now includes his wife, his three sons and their families, and two of his daughters and their families, all of whom live in or near Rukullakta. His other daughters, who live in other communities, sometimes participate when they come to visit, and a few distant relatives and family friends have been a part of the group for varying periods of time. In 2003, the group officially established itself as a legal entity, the "Waira Churi Association of Autochthonous Music and Dance," with a president, vice-president, secretary, treasurer, coordinator, dance and music leader, tourist promotion officer, and a "social issues" officer. These positions, which were established as part of the requirements for state recognition of the group as an association, generally rotate every year, though some leaders have remained in their roles for multiple years

at a time. During my time with the group, there were usually between five and ten participants at any given performance or tourist activity. Member participation is voluntary, though leaders typically attempt to persuade those available on the day of a performance to attend. Involvement of individual members can fluctuate based on the state of their relationship with other members, whether or not they have stable jobs or school commitments, and based on their general level of interest in participating on that particular day.

Over the years, the Waira Churi gained recognition in the local area, winning multiple annual dance competitions in Archidona and Tena and developing a reputation as one of the most "authentic" Kichwa cultural groups in Napo. Their use of local materials to make their outfits (bark skirts, animal tooth necklaces, beaded tops, face paint made from plant dyes) and instruments (flutes, drums, and other percussion instruments from palm trees, plant fibers, turtle shells, bee's wax, and wild game hides) and their adherence to a strict stylistic standard for their dances, led them to be seen as worthy representatives of traditional Kichwa culture. Due to their increased visibility through successful public performances, they have made connections with a variety of local political and cultural leaders, some of whom send visitors to their residence in Rukullakta to see the group perform or invite them to events in cities and towns throughout the region.

At first, Carlos remembers, "We didn't even think about having tourists come." Yet, over time visits became more common, so the group decided to more seriously consider community tourism as a means of gaining additional income. In 2009, they officially changed their name from the Waira Churi Association of Autochthonous Music and Dance to the "Waira Churi Tourist and Cultural Center." They now receive numerous tourists every month for anywhere from an afternoon to a long weekend. While the frequency and quantity of visitors can fluctuate considerably, most months they have between one and three presentations. Weekend-long visits are more rare, occurring once every few months usually. By receiving visitors at their "center" (their residence) in Rukullakta, the Waira Churi allow outsiders to learn about Kichwa culture, expanding on Carlos's original vision of preserving and celebrating Kichwa expressive culture through music and dance to include a variety of other cultural experiences.

The Waira Churi offer demonstrations of local food and beverage preparation, where visitors can learn how to make *chicha*, a traditional drink made from manioc, peach palm, or plantains. They also sometimes

invite visitors to early morning guayusa tea and late-night ayawaska ceremonies. During guayusa ceremonies, participants drink gourds full of highly caffeinated guayusa tea and elders tell stories and play music. Ayawaska ceremonies allow participants to drink an extract from the hallucinogenic *Banisteriopsis caapi* vine and receive ritual cleansings. While ayawaska ceremonies can be deeply personal, private affairs, and among some Amazonian groups are highly structured, the Waira Churi do not seem to mind if visitors participate occasionally and are generally open about the practice. Nevertheless, they do not identify themselves specifically as providers of "ayawaska tourism," which has become popular among some groups in the region.

While the majority of their visitors come to the Waira Churi's center in Rukullakta for dance presentations and brief cultural demonstrations, some tourists accompany Carlos and his family to their secondary residence near the community of Parayaku, about an hour drive on bumpy roads in a pick-up truck from Rukullakta. At the Waira Churi reserve, visitors go on guided hikes in the forest, learn how to garden and set hunting traps, fish in the river, swim in the waterfalls, and sleep in houses made entirely from local materials.[2] The Waira Churi also participate actively in community events in Rukullakta, Archidona, and other nearby communities and towns. They have also performed in Tena and Quito for government ministers, foreign ambassadors, and other political leaders.

For most of the group's members, dance performances and tourism are not their main source of income. Nonetheless, these activities do generate supplementary income for members in a flexible manner, and the group's work has generated numerous additional benefits for its members. Active use of the group's primary forest reserve for tourist activities provides an added incentive to avoid more intensive uses for this portion of their land. Sharing traditions with others has led many group members to take great pride in their cultural identity. Finally, the Waira Churi's work as a cultural center has promoted Kichwa ethnic unity, and income from tourism has allowed the group to resist occasional offers to work as "consultants" for oil companies, which often pursue cultural leaders to help them convince communities to accept their activities.

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[2] Many houses in Rukullakta are now built with concrete blocks and zinc roofing.

Although in a less structured way than the Pueblo Indians (Sweet 2009), the Waira Churi have been able to exercise a great deal of agency in determining the conditions (timing, price, activities provided) of visits to their community. For instance, while many other groups rely exclusively on referrals from private tourist lodges, the Waira Churi have established numerous contacts with personal friends in Quito, Tena, and around the country who periodically bring visitors. They have thus often been able to negotiate the terms of potential visits with these interlocutors and sometimes even negotiate directly with tourists. They do have relationships with nearby lodges that sometimes send visitors or request that they come to perform, but because they have developed an independent reputation as a premier cultural center in the area, they are not dependent on single contacts for the success of their group. Additionally, as mentioned above, since the group does not have strict participation requirements for members, individual members for the most part have the freedom to decide their individual level of involvement at any given time.

Economic Benefits

Being able to receive a greater proportion of tourist dollars has allowed members of the Waira Churi to double or even triple their monthly incomes, which can sometimes be as low as $40 or $50. The money is always distributed to all participants. Each household head (male and female) receives an equal amount, and children who contribute receive a somewhat smaller portion. One of Carlos's daughter-in-laws explained that the money is typically used to pay for basic necessities—buying clothing and supplies for the children, providing food for the family, funding improvements in their home. She also told me that she often loans some of this money out interest-free to other women in the community, who come asking for help when they find out the group has recently had visitors. The informal distribution of these funds through social networks in the community further increases the multiplier effect of community tourism. It also reflects the importance of reciprocity within Kichwa communities, where access to cash is often sporadic and social relationships are maintained through ties of mutual support, the most obvious manifestation of which is the minga. As mentioned above, reciprocity is a key principle of *sumak kawsay* (Estermann 2014).

Moreover, a variety of people in the area benefit indirectly from the Waira Churi center. These include the owners of local stores in Rukullakta and Archidona, transportation companies (taxis, bus cooperatives), and hardware stores (when members of the group construct new buildings).

Environmental Benefits

Community tourism has also helped the Waira Churi to preserve their lands. In my conversations with visitors to the Waira Churi's reserve in Parayaku, their primary motivation is to see the rainforest, learn about Kichwa culture and ethnoecology, and to support local people. Since healthy forests and adequate natural attractions are critically important to the success of their project, the Waira Churi have preserved a significant portion of their land. They maintain thirty hectares (approx. 75 acres) of their nearly seventy hectares (approx. 170 acres) in Parayaku as an old-growth forest reserve, complete with three waterfalls, numerous streams, and dozens of large trees. The reserve allows them to offer a diversity of experiences for tourists, but it also benefits their livelihoods by serving as their main source of medicinal plants, game to hunt, and wild foods to collect. The rest of their land consists of *chakras* (horticulture plots), where they grow medicinal plants, subsistence crops such as manioc and plantains, as well as gardens where they grow cash crops (cacao and coffee). The extra income from tourism provides an incentive to conserve their reserve area and avoid planting new gardens or raising cattle in this area. Work in community tourism thus allows the Waira Churi to lead fulfilling lives without having to compromise their culturally, spiritually, and economically valuable natural places.

Renewal of Cultural Pride

Likewise, community tourism has instilled a sense of cultural pride in the Waira Churi as urbanization and ethnic discrimination have led some other Kichwa people to view their heritage as a barrier to a meaningful, satisfying life. Beth Conklin (1997) describes two ways in which the performance of cultural traditions for outside audiences promotes Amazonian peoples' self-esteem and pride. First, the opportunity allows them to celebrate their distinctiveness. Secondly, the act of donning traditional dress and body paint links them to the totality of their ethnic history (Conklin 1997:725). A song by Carlos, one that the Waira Churi

often perform, reflects this sense of connection to ethnic history and hope for cultural renewal.

Rukuyaya kawsaymanta (The Life of a Grandfather)

> Thinking about the life of an elder, day and night, we live sad and cry
> Grandfather taking his blowgun, hunting birds and feeding the family, having lost him, we live sad and cry
> Grandmother cooking manioc and chili pepper and feeding the family, having lost her, we live sad and cry
> Grandfather walking the forest paths, playing his flute, having lost him, we live sad and cry, we play our music with sorrow
> In Napo Province, the elders played the flute and drums and lived to dance
> As their children, we all live playing and dancing the *mestizo* way
> Today, we come together, examining our elders' ways and dancing their music

The nostalgic tone of Carlos's song reflects a dual sorrow—first, at the loss of his own elders; second, at what he understands as a vanishing way of life. While he recognizes his group as part of a new generation in a novel sociocultural context, he ends by re-affirming the value of looking to the past for enduring values. By performing *Rukuyaya kawsaymanta* for both Kichwa and non-Kichwa audiences, Carlos continually reestablishes his connection to a way of a life he sees as meaningful and beautiful, the quintessential *sumak kawsay*. Through community tourism, he re-creates this ideal and makes it possible in a new historical moment by sharing his knowledge and skills with Kichwa and non-Kichwa alike.

While many anthropologists express concern about the tourist gaze leading to the "invention" of traditions or diminishing the value of previously meaningful rituals and customs, the Waira Churi case seems to fit with Conklin's analysis of cultural performance as a means for local peoples to connect with their ethnic history. Furthermore, in contrast to the pessimistic view some anthropologists have of indigenous peoples' relationships with outsiders, Li's description of these connections seems more appropriate in the Waira Churi case. These relationships seem to appear more often as "complexity, collaboration, and creative cultural

engagement in both local and global arenas, rather than simple deceit, imposition, or reactive opportunism" (Li 2000:172-173). As Carlos's son and current Waira Churi president, Edmundo Salazar, put it, visitors "*nos dan más ánimo* [energize, inspire us]."

Young members of the Waira Churi explain how participation in the group has made them feel more comfortable in self-identifying as Kichwa and speaking the Kichwa language. One of the young people told me how many of his friends were ashamed to speak Kichwa at school for fear of being ridiculed and perceived as inferior by fellow classmates, but his association with and participation in the Waira Churi has given him more confidence in expressing his ethno-linguistic identity. The case of the Waira Churi, then, suggests that community tourism can play an important role in making possible the ideal of *sumak kawsay* by improving participants' economic and environmental wellbeing and affirming the value of their cultural identities.

Promotion of Indigenous Solidarity

Finally, the Waira Churi's experience with community tourism carries strong political significance. As Esteban Ruíz Ballesteros and Doris Solis Carrión suggest, "For indigenous organizations and associations...community tourism has a noticeably political dimension, since it becomes a means for recognition and self-administration of their territories and resources" (2007:12). Some indigenous groups hope that community tourism can make up for the loss of potential income from allowing oil operations on their lands. The Waira Churi's work in tourism, as well as many of their other subsistence practices, would be directly affected if Ivanhoe Energy began large-scale operations in the area, especially since some of the proposed drilling sites lie upriver from the waterfalls on their land.

Some Waira Churi members have explained to me that, because of their reputation in the area as respected cultural leaders, representatives from the company have even offered them jobs as consultants in hopes that they might convince communities to authorize operations. As Susana Sawyer notes, influencing local political and cultural leaders through job offers or direct payments is one of many strategies oil companies use to divide communities in opposition to their activities. She writes,

> The strategies of penetration are all exactly alike: breaking
> community unity, corrupting local leaders, fomenting

dependency and paternalism through gifts of crumbs, negotiating unilaterally with the community, providing monetary [community] works, instigating denigrating campaigns against provincial and regional Indian organizations, and militarizing the [oil] Block" (2004:71).

Community tourism has provided the Waira Churi with additional income needed to resist these offers and allowed them to publicly promote Kichwa ethnic pride, an important symbolic blow to the company's efforts to divide communities that remain in opposition.

Challenges

Notwithstanding their undeniable achievements, the Waira Churi have experienced some difficulties in implementing their community tourism project. First, they are constantly in need of credit to construct new buildings, maintain their lands, and invest in advertising, but few options exist for gaining access to funding. As a result, they sometimes depend on unreliable local politicians, who occasionally hire them for election events without adequately compensating them, or on periodic long-term visitors (usually between a week and a few months), such as university students or volunteers from the United States, in order to finance infrastructure improvements. Likewise, there is considerable competition in the area from lodges, hostels, and other community tourism centers. For instance, in the city of Tena there are about twenty tourist agencies, and in the province of Napo there are at least ten other existing community tourism groups.

Another difficulty for the Waira Churi is ensuring that the funds the group receives for performances or hosting visitors are used effectively. As Edmundo points out, at times the group has "spent just to spend." The group has thus devoted much of its resources to building new infrastructure for tourists—more huts for housing, for instance—instead of investing in professional training for members of the group, or advertising. As Pacheco and Serrano explain in their discussion of entrepreneurial approaches to community tourism,

The industry [community tourism] has yet to understand that its business does not consist of offering transportation and lodging, but in achieving positive emotional states and memorable experiences...[tourists] buy results: 'pleasant

experiences' capable of providing 'value' in the form of
sensations, emotions, feelings, and memorable moments.
No one travels to sleep in a hotel bed. [2007:78-79]

Leaders often prefer to spend money on tangible improvements in
physical infrastructure, since this allows them to distribute benefits more
equally (paying other members to help build structures, paying women to
provide food to workers, etc.), and the resulting infrastructure can then be
used for other purposes (family gatherings, sports, etc.). Nonetheless, as in
the PKR cattle ranching project, using funds to fulfill obligations in
exchange relationships or invest in social spaces is sometimes
incompatible with successful long-term financial management for
economic profitability.

   Finally, the Waira Churi sometimes struggle to address criticism
they receive from other Rukullakta residents. The opportunities their work
in community tourism has provided to make connections with relatively
wealthy outsiders and the money (although modest sums) they have made
from tourist visits occasionally become a source of jealousy among other
residents. Also, the PKR has been working for the last few years on
developing an organization-wide community tourism operation, and there
has been some question of whether a tax on existing tourism groups such
as the Waira Churi might be a part of a collective approach. Waira Churi
leaders point out that their profits are generally small sums, and they do
not feel it would be fair to be taxed without any benefit given in exchange,
such as promotional support.

   The case of the Waira Churi raises a number of questions
regarding what does and does not constitute community tourism. Is the
group truly a center based on "solidarity" that "allows for the active
participation of the community" and provides for "equitable distribution of
local benefits" as outlined in the FEPTCE's definition of community
tourism, even though their members are mostly from the same kin group,
and benefits are distributed only among these individuals? How should
"the community" be defined in the context of community tourism?
According to Erazo,"the notion of a long-standing, bounded 'community',
even within a patrilineal descent line, is not consistent with the living
patterns of the people of this region in the past" (2010:1024). The scale at
which solidarity should exist is not entirely clear. Should community
boundaries originally legalized for the sake of protecting collective land
claims be the same ones used for collective economic projects? Or should
groups be free to organize at the level of the extended kin group, as they

have done historically through minga exchanges? As indigenous groups like the Waira Churi become increasingly involved in the tourist industry, challenges such as these will likely remain.

Conclusion

Indigenous peoples in Ecuador's Amazonian region have had a variety of negative experiences with "development" since the beginning of the colonial period. As they have reflected on the unsuccessful and frequently destructive effects of these approaches, they have formed social movements and put forth new ideals toward which to strive. One of these ideals is *sumak kawsay*, which implies a holistic sense of wellbeing balancing economic, environmental, and social relations. Its realization has led indigenous peoples both to seek institutional transformations through political activism and also to implement small-scale projects at the local level. Community tourism has become one of the more attractive options for indigenous families and organizations looking for ways to generate income, often in a way that allows for the balance implied by *sumak kawsay*.

The case of the Waira Churi demonstrates the potential for individual families or communities to imagine and implement their own projects, which fit their unique strengths and experience. For the Waira Churi, community tourism has led to economic improvements, the preservation of their forest, increased cultural pride, and greater solidarity with efforts to resist the operations of extractive industries in their territory. Despite the challenges the group has faced with regards to access to credit, competition from other tourist providers, effective use of funds, and maintaining harmonious relations with other Rukullakta residents, the Waira Churi have developed a promising project that seems to suggest community tourism can play an important role in enhancing holistic wellbeing for indigenous groups.

At the same time, it is important to note that while I have emphasized the Waira Churi case as an example of a local project epitomizing the *sumak kawsay* ideal, not all group members or residents of the area would necessarily use this term to describe their work. My argument is not that the Waira Churi explicitly identify with the *sumak kawsay* ideal as envisioned by Ecuador's indigenous movements or the scholars and activists who debate the concept, but rather that their experience serves as an example of what *sumak kawsay* might look like at the local level. This is not to say that they would never describe their

involvement in community tourism as contributing to a "beautiful life" or "good living." It is important to emphasize, however, that while local actors do not always explicitly identify their efforts with broader political projects, their experiences sometimes converge with these ideas, and it is worth taking note when this is the case.

Lastly, while I have sought to highlight the value of small-scale initiatives such as the Waira Churi's tourism center, I do not underestimate the importance or the potential of larger collective efforts. Small-scale projects need not imply a lack of support for other larger-scale initiatives, whether organized by government entities, non-governmental organizations, or indigenous organizations. Indeed, the Waira Churi remain active members of the PKR, participating in periodic assemblies and mingas organized to maintain Rukullakta's water supply system, as well as other events and meetings. One member of the Waira Churi worked for the PKR for a number of years, first as an unpaid intern and later as a paid accountant. Another was actively involved in the organization's cacao and coffee commercialization project. Likewise, the Waira Churi maintain friendly relations with many government officials and often perform for events hosted by the Ministry of Culture, as well as other government entities at the national, provincial, and local level. As Gudynas (2014) notes, for *sumak kawsay* to lead to truly liberatory and transformative social change, its multiple dimensions and interpretations should be combined in creative synthesis, rather than viewed as mutually exclusive. The true *sumak kawsay*, it seems, is only made possible when collective endeavors exist at multiple scales and are suited to the diversity of contexts in which they operate.

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Research Note

Secondary Diaspora: Cape Verdean Immigration to the Southeastern United States

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Diasporas are fluid cultural constructs that foster identity, community, and connections over time, distance, and social space. This study explores a derivative secondary diaspora to illustrate how and why diasporas are interesting social phenomena established out of complex socio-cultural, economic, and political conditions. Outside of the large Cape Verdean diaspora of New England, relatively little is known about other U.S. Cape Verdean communities. How do they maintain ties to both the primary diaspora in New England and their Cape Verdean homeland? This research examines second and third wave moves that push and pull individuals and families beyond established diasporic communities. Research on secondary diasporas is important in immigration studies in order to better understand dispersal patterns and the unique challenges facing these communities. Ethnographic methods including participant observation, informal interviews, and online surveys were used in this pilot study to identify themes related to the diaspora of Cape Verdeans of Atlanta. Our preliminary results show that a derivative Cape Verdean diaspora is found in the southeastern United States, one that both retains many of the defining features of the sending diaspora while exhibiting unique characteristics. This study informs chain migration, community development, and diaspora studies discourse by providing insights into community maintenance for a peripheral diaspora community.

Introduction

The City of Atlanta recognized July 17, 2010, as Cape Verdeans' Day, concurrent with the celebrations of the West African island nation's 550th anniversary of its founding and Cape Verde's 35 years of

independence from Portugal. In front of a crowd of 200, Atlanta city officials recognized the city's growing and prominent Cape Verdean population by presenting a plaque to the members of the Cape Verdeans Association of Atlanta (CVA), a diaspora community organization. Derivative diasporas such as this one located in the greater Atlanta area are found throughout the United States. Based on preliminary ethnographic research, this essay focuses on the development, maintenance, and characteristics of a derivative or "secondary" diaspora through the examination of a single case, the Cape Verdeans of Atlanta. The study asks, what *push* and *pull* factors are responsible for this community? How do members maintain ties to both an original homeland and the sending diasporic community? How is this offshoot community similar to and different from the original community? What characteristics define a secondary diaspora and how is this different from other forms of diaspora or population mobility more generally?

This research expands on the discussions of second and third wave movements of people and families beyond their established diasporas (Esman 2013; Frigerio 2004; Okpewho and Nzegwu 2009; Waldinger, et al. 1992), what Yoel Camayd-Freixas, Gerald Karush, and Nelly Lejter refer to as the "secondary Diaspora effect" (2006:1). Our findings suggest that secondary diaspora pull factors are largely the result of professional, economic, and educational interests related to class mobility. A decline in the knowledge and use of the native language was also shown between the first and subsequent generations with the secondary wave movement making the decline in the use of the native language even more pronounced due to a lack of exposure to first generation immigrants. We also found that as temporal and geographic distance increases from the homeland, cultural affiliations with the sending culture decreased somewhat while identification with the receiving culture increased.

The essay is organized into five sections. First, a historical background related to the Cape Verdean diaspora in the United States is provided. Second, the theoretical framing of diaspora is considered, particularly in relation to derivative diasporas. Following that section, a brief discussion of the study's methodology is provided. The fourth section presents the findings of the preliminary investigation. The paper concludes with a discussion and conclusion section that shows how the study's results both demonstrate an overlap with current conceptualizations of diaspora while simultaneously providing insights into how secondary diasporas have unique challenges and, therefore, need

to be studied further in order to appreciate their unique dynamics as a less transitional form of immigrant community.

Historical Background

Upper Guinea Coast residents knew of the Cape Verde islands and used them as temporary fishing camps, but the archipelago remained uninhabited on a permanent basis until around 1456 when Portuguese and Italian navigators first mapped them (Davidson 1989; Lobban and Saucier 2007). Strategically located in the Atlantic Ocean, these islands quickly became enmeshed in transatlantic trade (Brooks 1993, 2003, 2006; Green 2012; Mark and Horta 2011; Rodney 1970; Sweet 2003; Thornton 1998). Today, the people of Cape Verde are of European and African descent, and this mixed heritage is the foundation of their creole identity (Carter and Aulette 2009a, 2009b; da Silva Horta 2000; Green 2010; Knörr and Filho 2010; Mark 2002; McMahon 2013; Rodrigues 2003; Sánchez Gibau 2005; Sieber 2005). Droughts, famine, and poor agricultural conditions have all contributed to a long history of emigration from the islands in search of better economic opportunities abroad (Åkesson 2004; Andall 1999; Batalha and Carling 2008; Batista, Lacuesta, and Vicente 2012; Carling 2002a, 2002b, 2003, 2004, 2008; Carling and Åkesson 2009; Carling and Batalha 2008; Drotbohm 2009; Fikes 2009; Halter 1993; Patterson 1988).

In the eighteenth century, men signed on with New England whalers stopping at the islands for water, salt, and additional crew. As these recruits became established in New England, they sent money home to family members. Eventually, a migration chain was formed between New England and Cape Verde through fishing and agricultural labor, particularly in the cranberry bogs of the northeast (Bigman 1995; Costa 2011; Greenfield 1976; Halter 1993; Ishemo 1995; Ludden 2010; Meintel 2002; Sánchez 1997). Consequently, a large Cape Verdean community was established in New England. Evidence of this historical phenomenon can be seen in the high remittance rates per capita sent home to family members awaiting their loved ones' returns. According to World Bank data between 2003 and 2010, remittances to Cape Verde averaged $134,875,000 per year (Ratha, Mohapatra, and Silwal 2011). An African Development Bank study noted that in 2011 Cape Verde received the highest per capita remittance rates of any African country (ADB 2012). With U.S. immigration policy focused on family reunification, Cape Verdeans continue to send money to bring family members to the United

States. Jørgen Carling and Lisa Åkesson proposed that "Cape Verdeans often view themselves as 'experts' on migration and cultural integration, and maintain that their global background disposes them to easy adaptation to new sociocultural contexts" (2009: 132). This adaption process to the United States, however, often proves difficult for Cape Verdean immigrants in part due to the competing assimilationist and multicultural ideologies found there (Sánchez Gibau 2005).

The United States is home to the largest number of Cape Verdean immigrants worldwide with concentrated communities in several parts of the country (Table 1). The 2011 American Community Survey from the U.S. Census Bureau estimates that there are 102,853 Americans living in the United States with Cape Verdean ancestry (U.S. Census Bureau 2011).

State	Population	Community	Population
Massachusetts	53,174	Brockton, MA	11,709
Rhode Island	19,490	Boston, MA	11,284
Connecticut	4,381	New Bedford, MA	10,262
Florida	2,983	Pawtucket, RI	8,720
California	2,514	Providence, RI	4,015
New Jersey	1,430	East Providence, RI	2,265
Virginia	1,059	Taunton, MA	1,852
Maryland	1,022	Fall River, MA	1,574
New York	844	Central Falls, RI	1,158
Georgia	802	Bridgeport, CT	1,080

Table 1. Sates and Communities with the largest Cape Verdean populations in the United States (as of 2010).
SOURCE: B01003: TOTAL POPULATION 2006-2010 American Community Survey Selected Population Tables
(http://factfinder2.census.gov/faces/nav/jsf/pages/searchresults.xhtml?refresh=t#none)

Jørgen Carling states, "It is estimated that the number of people with Cape Verdean ancestry in the United States, including both migrants and their descendants, is higher than in any other country" (2002b). Similarly, the International Organization for Migration (IOM) affirms, "For years, Cape

Verde has been a country of emigration. The number of Cape Verdeans living abroad today is estimated to be double the number of domestic residents (700,000 Cape Verdeans live abroad, mainly in the United States (260,000) and Europe (including 100,000 people in Portugal) [*sic.*]" (2010).

Marilyn Halter also identified New England as the primary diaspora, but went further and highlighted a few secondary offshoots as well: "as of the 2000 census tabulations, 87 percent of Cape Verdean-Americans lived in New England. Outside this region, the state of California is home to clusters of Cape Verdeans in the Sacramento, San Francisco, and Los Angeles metropolitan areas, while Cape Verdeans from New England have in recent years been relocating to central Florida" (2008:39). Better understanding this relocation process is the primary target of the current pilot study.

While much has been written about the Cape Verdean diaspora in the northeast (Åkesson 2011; Carling 2004; Greenfield 1985; Halter 1993; Fisher and Model 2012; Lima-Neves 2006, 2010; Lundy 2011; Meintel 2002; Model 2013; Sánchez 1997; Sánchez Gibau 2005), far less is known about the Cape Verdean *secondary diasporas* springing up in other parts of the country, particularly in the southeastern United States (Bohme 1956; Halter 2008). More generally, derivative diasporas have been under-recognized and under-studied (Baptiste 2002; Brubaker 2005; Camayd-Freixas, Karush, and Lejter 2006; Frigerio 2004; Okpewho and Nzegwo 2009; Safran, Sahoo, and Lal 2008; Singleton 2010; Rynkiewich 2012).

Defining Diaspora

Conceptions of what diasporas are abound in the academic literature. For example, Ritty Lukose maintains, "Diaspora refers to the cultural productions and identity formations of migrant communities" (2007:409). In his classic essay, James Clifford (1994) defines diaspora as a separation from the homeland more like exile: a forbidden return, or delay to a far-off future, and the connection of multiple communities. Specifically, Clifford elucidates, "Diaspora is a signifier, not simply of transnationality and movement, but of political struggles to define the local, as distinctive community, in historical contexts of displacement" (1994:308). The main features of such struggles include a history of displacement, myths or memories of a homeland, alienation in the receiving country, longing for eventual return, continual support of the

home- or motherland, and a shared identity importantly defined by this relationship.

Our favorite definition comes from Paul Zeleza in his chapter "Diaspora Dialogues: Engagements between Africa and Its Diasporas": "Diasporas are complex social and cultural communities created out of real and imagined genealogies and geographies (cultural, racial, ethnic, national, continental, transnational) of belonging, displacement, and recreation, constructed and conceived at multiple temporal and spatial scales, at different moments and distances from the putative homeland" (Zeleza 2009:33). Zeleza continues by describing the "new" African diaspora as "a process, a condition, a space and a discourse: the continuous process by which a diaspora is made, unmade, remade, the changing conditions in which it lives, expresses itself, the place where it is molded and imagined, and the contentious ways in which it is studied and discussed" (2009:32; see also Davies 2011:207-208). This paper begins to explore the changing conditions of diaspora as *belonging, displacement, and recreation constructed and conceived at multiple temporal and spatial scales* by viewing the diaspora as a neolocal phenomenon.

Diaspora studies concentrate on issues of migration and population mobility, globalization, transnationalism, and the significance of culture and identity to the lives of migrants (Brubaker 2005; Bauböck and Faist 2010; Cohen 2008; Esman 2013; Lukose 2007; Mercer, Claire, and Evans 2008; Sökefeld 2006). Key features of any diaspora include the myth of the homeland, the desire to return, and a historical displacement (Clifford 1994; Sánchez Gibau 2008). Yet within a secondary diaspora, the separation from a homeland is a distant event, in both time and space, with the move from the primary diasporic community being more immediate and ideologically significant (Brubaker 2005; Fisher and Model 2012; Portes and Hao 2002; Portes and Rumbaut 2005; Qin 2006). Members of the secondary diaspora freely move between communities within the host culture through the sharing of family and cultural events between primary and divergent diasporas (Waldinger, et al. 1992). The move to a new location is often voluntary for a variety of reasons including climate and economic opportunity (Bohme 1956; Camayd-Freixas, Karush, and Letjer 2006; Model 2013). Distance, both geographic and temporal, widens the gap between the homeland and the secondary diaspora, while support for the fledgling communities are multi-directional with both the homeland and the former place of residence acting as anchors and intermediaries to these cultural groups and their group identity (Carling 2003; Greenfield 1976, 1985; Halter 2008; Meintel 2002; Melo 2008; Okpewho and

Nzegwu 2009; Sánchez 1997; Sánchez Gibau 2005, 2008; Sieber 2005). Patterns of cultural identity within a secondary diaspora become fluid, flexible, and multifaceted with influences coming from several sending and receiving cultures.

This essay explores the economic and cultural forces affecting the little known Cape Verdean immigrants in the southeastern United States, particularly in the greater metro Atlanta area. Questions that guided this pilot study included the following: Why do they move and what factors influence their decisions? What do these Cape Verdean community clusters look like? How do members of these secondary diaspora identify? How do they maintain links to both the primary diaspora, in this case New England, and their Cape Verdean homeland?

Methodology

The data for this pilot study was collected firsthand using an ethnographic methodology among the Cape Verdeans Association of Atlanta (CVA) during the fall of 2010. This study began in August 2010 with an invitation to attend a CVA meeting. The CVA group reached out to us when they heard about a proposed study abroad trip to Cape Verde for the summer of 2011 through Kennesaw State University. Surprised that the local university was developing such a program, they invited interested parties to join the group. The resulting preliminary study researched the socio-cultural, economic, and political issues facing these Cape Verdean immigrants to the southeastern United States.

For the purposes of this study, the southeastern United States includes the following twelve states: Alabama, Arkansas, Florida, Georgia, Kentucky, Louisiana, Mississippi, North Carolina, South Carolina, Tennessee, Virginia, and West Virginia. While this broader geographic area comprises the frame for our work, the study participants came from the CVA membership located in Georgia, Tennessee, Florida, North Carolina, and Virginia. Of the 21 study participants purposefully selected on the basis of their CVA affiliation, seven were first generation immigrants, while fourteen were second, third, or fourth generation.

Prior to the start of research, Kennesaw State University's Institutional Review Board (IRB) approved our project. Ethnographic methods including participant observation, unstructured interviews, and anonymous online surveys were used to identify important themes related to the secondary Cape Verdean diaspora of the southeast. It also allowed us to identify opportunities for further investigation. Initial qualitative

data was collected from three unstructured interviews and two instances of participant observation at CVA meetings. The interviewees were purposefully selected from the CVA leadership since they were identified as particularly knowledgeable about the Cape Verdean diaspora located in the southeastern United States. The interviews were conducted in locations that were convenient to the interviewees such as their homes and local coffee shops. The resulting conversations were digitally recorded and transcribed to assist in thematic analysis. Transcriptions from the interviews and participant observation sessions were aggregated using NVivo qualitative software for coding and analysis.

Additional data came from an online survey that was distributed to the entire CVA membership. The survey went out through the CVA Facebook page with 419 friends and by email to a CVA listserv. The survey did not collect any personal data, including IP addresses, making it anonymous. Of the 29 responses, 17 met the study criteria: 18+ years of age and currently living in the previously defined southeastern United States. The survey contained general demographic questions such as age, sex, income, and profession as well as questions related to language, cultural traditions, and cultural identity. We asked the participants to check all the languages spoken fluently and asked about their Cape Verdean customs and traditions still being practiced. We also asked about citizenship status. Questions about place of birth and previous residency were used to determine patterns of migration. Language fluency and place of birth were used to discern whether Cape Verdean immigrants in the southeast have similar immigration patterns concerning generational language loss. Citizenship and immigration status results were used to determine the linkages between the sending and receiving cultures. Questions regarding profession and salary established an economic profile. Finally, questions related to culture and identity provided data on the characteristics of the new secondary diaspora.

Results

The Cape Verdean diaspora is unique and observable. For example, the literature shows how these migrants maintain a strong ideology of return (Brandão and Zoomers 2010; Carter and Aulette 2009b; Drotbohm 2009; Esteves and Caldeira 2001). This longing or homesickness toward the homeland is known as *sodade* in Capeverdean Creole. This sentiment has seeped into much of the literature, poetry, pop culture, and music coming out of both the islands and diasporic

communities (Cidra 2008; Ferreira 2010; McMahon 2013; Sieber 2005). Cultural features such as sodade alongside many others such as shared origins and language help create a bounded diaspora when Cape Verdeans find themselves crossing borders into new territories and cultural domains. As a result, the Cape Verdean diaspora in general shares a colonial past, a collective idea of predestined mobility, and assertions of a distinct creole identity (Åkesson 2008; Carling and Åkesson 2009; Sánchez Gibau 2008; Halter 2008).

Further, Cape Verdean immigrants to the United States have faced specific forms of racism while struggling to define a cultural identity that sets them apart from other African Americans. They have challenged racial boundaries by defining themselves as an ethnicity distinct from the larger African American community (Carling and Batalha 2008; Clifford 1994; Sánchez Gibau 2008; Halter 2008; Thomas 2009). In trying to identify the cultural heritage of Cape Verdeans, three historical shifts that seem to have occurred. The first immigrants, migrant laborers in the New England cranberry bogs and crew of their whaling vessels, mostly identified as Portuguese. Then, around the Civil Rights movement and the release of Alex Haley's *Roots*, some within the Cape Verdean diaspora began to identify collectively as African-American. More recently, although part of the African diaspora, Cape Verdean-Americans have seen themselves as set apart because of their unique history and culture. "Various political, economic, and other social pressures that would mold collective identities based on ethnicity, race, language, and place are in reality contested and confounded by peoples' abilities to juggle multiple, often contradictory, identities" (Hill and Wilson 2003:3-4). Cape Verdeans in the diaspora today are American, Cape Verdean, Cape Verdean American, African American, African, Creole, Lusophone, and Patriots fans—in addition to many other identity patterns and permutations that fit the situation and circumstance.

Illustrating the struggle to both identify with and in opposition to other African Americans, at a meeting of the CVA in 2010, the membership discussed the Africa Policy Forum titled "A Vision for the 21st Century" that was to be held in Atlanta from September 24-28, 2010. The program was dedicated to establishing bridges economically, educationally, and philanthropically between the citizens of the United States and Africa. As part of this event, there was a dinner program with the theme "Let's see what you're made of, African Ancestry Revealed." In discussing this event and theme with the CVA, the president said to the group:

You've got to remember that the DNA testing is for people who don't know where they're from and fortunately for us we do know where we're from. . . . You don't want to rub it in people's faces you know, but we're lucky we know where we're from . . . so many people were being real haters because that's a history that we do not share with other black people. . . . I said, "I don't have a problem with who I am. I'm solid of who I am." And she [an African American woman interested in getting DNA testing] said, "You don't know what it is to be black." . . . If you really want to get technical, go back 550 years. We came from somewhere because the islands were uninhabited. That's what I tell people. We might not have come to the Americas as slaves, but we came from the continent to Cape Verde to a certain extent as slaves. . . . Just like you have British master names, we have the Portuguese master names. [Fieldnotes, 9-18-2010]

This discussion demonstrates the first theme found related to the Cape Verdean diaspora in general. While the Cape Verdean diaspora is integrated into American and African-American mainstream society, they also see themselves as set apart due to their unique history and culture. Dawna Thomas (2009) claims, "Cape Verdeans, like many other multiethnic groups, highlight the flaws of how race is socially constructed, with all of its implications towards group identities and social hierarchies. More importantly it illustrates how Cape Verdeans as a group continue to be *socially invisible*" (181, italics ours). In other words, our findings suggest that the Cape Verdean diaspora remains a truly hyphenated (i.e., Cape-Verdean-American) or bicultural group that does not quite feel at home among the African-American mainstream in which they are often placed by American society. This expressed isolation and misidentification seems to increase the further they get from the primary diaspora.

The secondary Cape Verdean diaspora is both similar to and different from the primary communities of the northeast. For example, the southeastern Cape Verdean diaspora does not have a centralized community, unlike the affluent Rhode Island neighborhoods or ghetto-like Brockton neighborhoods (Bluestone and Stevenson 2000; Halter 1993; Lundy 2011; Saucier 2008). Instead, many within the community maintain

links through social media and cultural organizations such as the CVA. This secondary diaspora encompasses more than three generations of immigrants. These immigrants maintain cultural connections through direct links to their homeland and through an intermediary—the previously established diaspora.

Beyond the two themes just mentioned, the accumulated data from this pilot study identified the following additional themes: culture, place, economics, identity, language, generations, life cycle, and maintaining connections. For this study, we identified culture as information related to language, food, music, clubs, newspapers, and social institutions. Culture is the largest thematic category that emerged from the data.

Culture

The culture theme was found to be largely rooted in discussions surrounding schooling and language. These normally took the form of reminiscences about the primary diaspora. For example, born in Massachusetts to Cape Verdean immigrants, Paula responded:

> P: I didn't like school. We never spoke English. I didn't know how to speak English when I went to school.
> B: Did they have any programs to help with language problems?
> P: No, not back then.
> B: So how long did that last?
> P: Not long, because we weren't allowed to speak English. [Interview, 10-06-2010][18]

Filomena moved to Massachusetts from Cape Verde when she was 12 years old. She had a similar experience in school:

> B: Did you speak English before you came here?
> F: No.
> B: What happened when you went to school?
> F: They put me in the back of the class until I was of age to go to work.
> B: No special assistance?
> F: No, back then there was none. [Interview 10-10-2010]

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[18] Pseudonyms are used throughout to maintain confidentiality.

Gomes had a very different experience. He moved to Rhode Island from Cape Verde when he was seven years old. He said:

> G: School was pretty tough. You know I didn't speak English; I got put in the special ed. class. They took me back out of there. There were no English Second Language classes back then. Over the summer, since I was seven, I picked up the language really quick and went right into mainstream.
> B: How did you pick up English so fast?
> G: You're forced to. You go to school and there was TV. TV fascinated me; I'd never seen it before. I couldn't get enough of it. [Interview 11-03-2010]

These three examples demonstrate the typical immigrant experience for newcomers to the United States. Reminiscing about these hardships shows that many first and even second-generation immigrants share these common experiences. Gomes clearly illustrates the challenges faced in these communities regarding assimilative pressures through both the social pressures (i.e., placing him in special education classes) and the effects of television that allowed him to learn English in a single year. At the same time, the scholarly literature has done a good job showing that since CapeVerdean independence in 1975, there has been an ongoing ethnic revival among third- and fourth-generation Cape Verdean-Americans (Carling and Batalha 2008). This revival is having a tremendous effect on the (re)construction of Cape Verdean identity throughout the United States (Sánchez Gibau 2008).

School and language are not the only important cultural aspects of Cape Verdean identity. Ethnic food and foodways are also prioritized within this community. According to the surveys, 12 of the 17 respondents' listed food as an important Cape Verdean custom or tradition that they continue to practice. Of the 12 responses to this question, 8 listed food as the primary tradition or custom identified. Food was also important to two of our interviewees. Paula said:

> P: Cook, cook, cook, I will cook for everybody.
> B: What do you like to cook?
> P: Everything.
> B: What is your favorite?

P: *Jagaçida* [literally, "a mixture", in this case referring to a rice dish with many other handy ingredients thrown in].
B: Do you make *cachupa*?
P: Yes, I only learned two years ago; my husband's sister taught me how to cook it. [Interview 10-06-2010]

Filomena also expressed her fondness for cooking Cape Verdean food:

I had to learn to make *gufones* [fried dough] after I moved to Georgia. It was always there for me in New England. And I moved here and had to learn to make *cachupa* and all of this. I started to learn because I missed my culture, my food, and I missed my people. [Interview 10-10-2010]

This comment about learning to cook dishes after moving into the secondary diaspora was surprising. We expected that as one moved away from the primary diaspora, that cultural dilution would take place. Instead, what this quote suggests is a strengthening of culture in response to greater distance from the homeland and primary diaspora. In other words, the further from a large and vibrant community one gets, the more invested the individual might be in maintaining certain cultural practices.

Place and Economics

When asked why they moved to Georgia, our interviews had much to say about the emergent theme of country/place. For example, Paula explained, "When my husband retired we moved to Florida. Then my niece moved to Atlanta and was emailing us houses and prices and we started looking into it. We wanted a change in the weather; the hurricanes were too horrible" (Interview, 10-06-2010). Filomena and Gomes moved to Atlanta for economic reasons. Filomena relocated to the Southeast due to her husband's job. "My husband's job transferred him here. I waited one year for my daughter to graduate high school and then I moved down here" (Interview, 10-10-2010). Gomes moved because of both his job and family. He stated, "My offices were in Manhattan and it was too expensive after 9/11. We were going to build a platform [for radio and television] in the Southeast. My daughter lived here and my son went to school here. So having two kids here, it made sense to move to Atlanta" (Interview, 11-03-2010). These interviews make it clear that jobs and

retirement have played a role in secondary migration to the Southeast, which is supported by the literature (Bohme 1956; Camayd-Freixas, Karush, and Letjer 2006; Model 2013).

The examination of the survey data also brought about further insights. The leading reason for moving to the Southeast was listed as job/profession (economics), followed by school, weather, and then family. Nine of the survey respondents cited that a job brought them to the region. These respondents listed the following professions: Emergency City Manager, Electronic Engineer, Recruiter, Broadcaster, Banker, Attorney, Entrepreneur, Social Worker, and retiree from the Automobile Industry. It is obvious that most of these professions fall within highly specialized and technical fields. Income levels illustrate this professionalization even further. More than half the respondents were making between $45,000 and $60,000 annually with one quarter making more than $90,000 per year. It is likely that these Cape Verdean immigrants are in the Southeast to stay because they are economically successful here. Notably, 20 of the 21 respondents have previously lived in the northeastern United States.

Therefore, the data suggests that the interviewees and respondents see economics as a key variable, but two out of the three interviewees also suggested that family played a key role in their decision to move. Respondents to the survey identified family as an important pull factor. Study participants may have ended up in the southeast for economic reasons, but they are not solely pursuing economic advancement. They seem to be finding work in places where they have familial (and diasporic) connections. These two factors, economic success and community building, seem to support and strengthen one another and merit further study. In addition, cultural attachments beyond immediate family members within the secondary diaspora are actively sought out before and after settlement. Economic security is established by remaining in constant contact with members of the primary and secondary diasporas through social media, cultural clubs and institutions, and social and networking events.

Identity, Language, and Generations

Cape Verdeans in the diaspora are unusual in that they can apply for dual citizenship allowing members of the diaspora to vote in Cape Verdean national elections (Baker 2006). Cape Verde's official policy when it comes to granting dual citizenship recognizes citizens by virtue of one of four criteria: (1) Birth: born in Cape Verde or Cape Verdean

territory; (2) Descent: a child, at least one of whose parents is a citizen of Cape Verde, is granted citizenship regardless of the country of birth; (3) Naturalization: Cape Verdean citizenship may be acquired upon fulfillment of one of the following two conditions: (a) Person must have resided in the country for at least five years, (b) Persons who make a sizeable investment in Cape Verde may also be granted citizenship without the residency requirement; and (4) Marriage: Persons who marry a citizen of Cape Verde are automatically eligible for citizenship upon request. The survey asked people if they were U.S. citizens, Cape Verdean citizens, or both. Of the 17 survey responses, 11 respondents had only U.S. citizenship, three had only Cape Verdean citizenship, and three had both U.S. and Cape Verdean dual citizenship. One Cape-Verdean American responded by writing in, "Never stopped being Cape Verdean in practice." Regarding the interviewees, Gomes had recently applied for dual citizenship, while both Paula and Filomena were U.S. citizens only. Filomena identifies as Cape Verdean only and writes in "Cape Verdean" on the U.S. census forms, while Paula identifies as Cape Verdean American. These findings suggest that identity in the Cape Verdean diaspora is a complex mix of both national politics and culture. We suggest that this might be a particularly fruitful area of further investigation regarding the Cape Verdean diaspora in relation to both dual citizenship and identity patterns related to the hyphenated American.

Next, we evaluated the generation of Cape Verdean immigrants that we found moving to the Southeast. For example, we asked our survey respondents, "What generation of your family first immigrated to the United States?" The possible responses were "1st generation (self)", "2nd generation (parents)", "3rd generation (grandparents)", and "other, please explain." Combining both the survey and interview data, there were 21 total responses: six were first generation, seven were second generation, six were third generation, and two were fourth generation. In sum, 71 percent of the Cape Verdean immigrants sampled from the southeastern United States were not first generation.

Further, we were interested in examining language retention rates (Figure 1). Among the survey respondents, all of the first generation immigrants spoke English, Portuguese, and Creole. In the second generation, one-third spoke English only, one-third spoke English, Portuguese, and Creole, and one-third spoke English and Creole. By the third generation, half spoke English only, two spoke English, Portuguese, and Creole, and one spoke English and Creole. Our one fourth generation respondent spoke English only.

Language by Generation

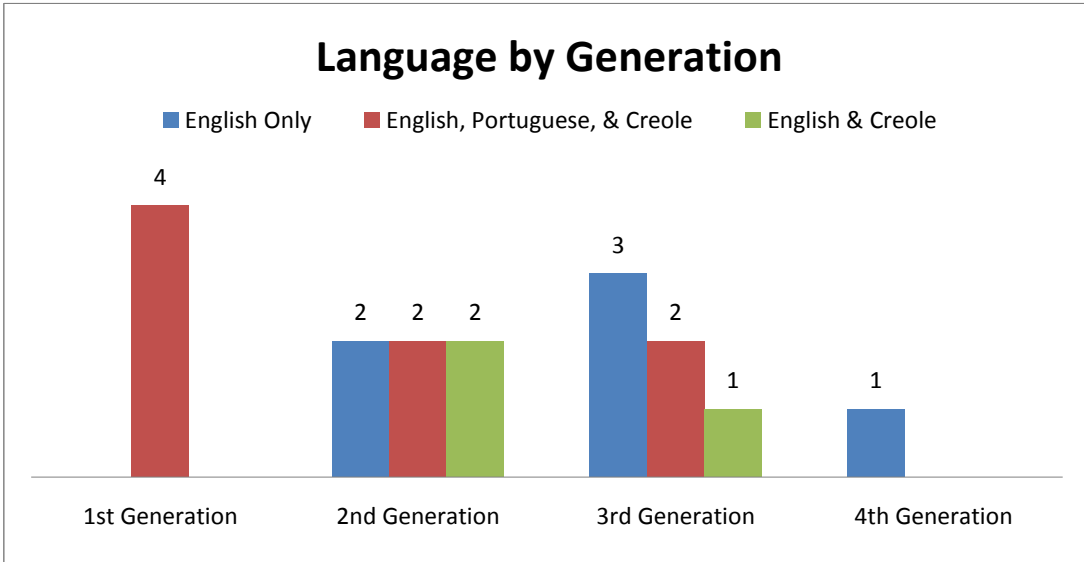■ English Only   ■ English, Portuguese, & Creole   ■ English & Creole

Figure 1. Multilingualism in the Cape Verdean secondary diaspora of the southeastern United States

These results are suggestive of the general trend in language loss seen elsewhere, but are not obviously exacerbated by residence in the secondary diaspora. Increasing distance from the primary diaspora does not seem to have compounded or sped up linguistic decline within the community. In fact, three of six speakers retained their native language proficiency by the third generation. It is important to recognize, however, that such small numbers make it hard to generalize based on these numerical distributions.

Maintaining Connections

Related to issues of culture, Gomes retained strong connections to the primary diaspora of New England through his long history developing the community there. He helped to publish the first edition of the second Cape Verdean newspaper in the northeastern United States called *Cape Verdean-American News* (CVN). He started the first Cape Verdean radio program in the United States with the first broadcast Cape Verdean language program, *Labanta ku Nos* (Rise with Us). His family had the first

Cape Verdean restaurant and grocery in Rhode Island. When asked if he noticed similar strong Cape Verdean community linkages and development in Atlanta, Gomes said:

> Because in order for it [the Atlanta Cape Verdean diaspora] to grow, you have to have a lot of immigrant Cape Verdeans who still have a strong hold with what's going on in Cape Verde, and here the majority of the population is second, third, or fourth generation. I'm thrilled because I've seen the evolution. When we first came, like all immigrants, there was the pressure to assimilate. The American born Cape Verdeans separated themselves somewhat from the immigrant community. I came at such a young age so I could live in both worlds so to speak. But now, after independence [1975], it started to change. And then I would say around the mid-'80s or so, all of a sudden, when the Cape Verdean government started getting more active and especially after 1990 when democracy really fell on Cape Verde that group of people became even more active in the Cape Verdean community and people started to feel more pride. You would see more Cape Verdean Americans attending festivals and things of that nature, so then it comes full circle to where now they're really embracing their heritage. So now, when we came, you were forced to learn how to speak English. Now, people from Cape Verde come, they don't have to learn how to speak English. They go to Pawtucket or Brockton, or go to Boston or Providence, and live in Cape Verdean communities. They can go to work and their supervisor might be Cape Verdean so they can communicate. The stores they go to are Cape Verdean so they can buy their food. We had a hard time finding our food. There was only one grocery store in Fox Point that carried some of the things, so that's where we would have to go. And when we'd go to New Bedford there were a couple of stores there in New Bedford. You'd have to stock up. Now there's a store on every street corner. [Interview, 11-03-2010]

This excerpt from Gomes's interview is illustrative of many of the findings discussed above. He suggests that language loss is going to be

more pronounced in the Southeast due to isolation, but that the community is growing. He highlights the cultural revival that is taking place within the Cape Verdean community, especially since independence. And, he touches on several of the community development and cultural aspects of community building and identity maintenance that are so important within a diasporic population.

We now move away from language to present the ties/connections between the primary and secondary Cape Verdean diasporas. Filomena moved to the Southeast in the early 1990s and was a co-founder of the CVA group. Illustrating how the secondary diaspora preserves their culture and supports the diasporic community, she revealed to us during her interview:

> My cousin started the whole Cape Verdean annual picnic. But he didn't want all Cape Verde people, he wanted those just from New Bedford. My husband and I said no. New Bedford does not consist of all Cape Verdeans. That's how we started, how we made it. A few people from New Bedford came down for the picnic. Now that people know we're here, a lot of them come. [Interview, 10-10-2010]

These ongoing relationships bind the Cape Verdean immigrants in Atlanta to the larger communities found throughout New England. The strength of the bonds is important. Paula suggested:

> We always go to the Cape Verdean Festival in Onset, Mass. Last year it was estimated that 18,000 people attended. People come from all over, even from California. This year they said more attended. We couldn't find a place to sit. People come from Cape Verde to do dancing as well as musicians. We've been going every year. We went up for a month because you can't see everyone in a week or two. [Interview, 10-06-2010]

These ties to New England are a stepping stone or intermediate step to Cape Verde. New England has become an important node of contact for the secondary diaspora.

Finally, besides direct travel to the northeast, there are a variety of other ways Cape Verdeans in the secondary diaspora stay connected with larger, more established communities and their homeland (Figure 2).

While two survey respondents indicated that they do not stay connected, the majority of respondents stay connected via family. They also associate through Skype/email/internet, followed by visits to Cape Verde, and other forms of communication with friends. Gomes illustrates:

> Fortunately today with the internet, you can connect with other Cape Verdeans, and I think there is double the number of Cape Verdeans in Atlanta than CVA is aware of. People come all the time, and if they're not internet savvy, it's tough to find them. There's quite a few second generation or third generation Cape Verdeans in this area— and fourth generation. [Interview, 11-03-2010]

Our surveys demonstrate that relationships between the secondary diaspora and the Cape Verdean community *writ large* are maintained through family, the internet, trips to the homeland, music, phone calls, newspapers, television and news programs, festivals, cultural traditions, and joining Cape Verdean organizations such as the CVA.
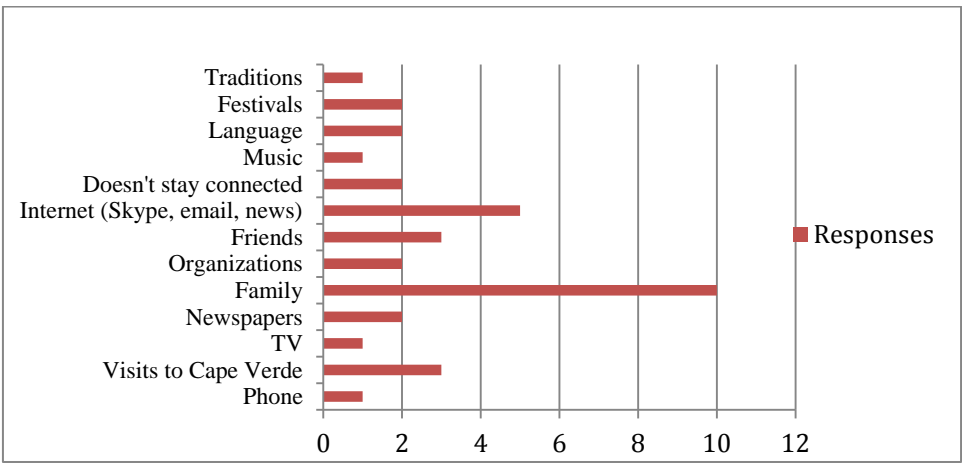
Connecting to the Cape Verdean Diaspora

Figure 2. Ways survey respondents maintain connections with the Cape Verdean homeland and larger diaspora.

Discussion

Cape Verdeans have a strong sense of pride in their diaspora. According to Mitchell, "The diaspora is becoming an increasingly significant group of stakeholders as tourists, as investors and as a group of people who could bring scarce skills and knowledge from international markets back to Cape Verde" (2008:36; see also Mitchell 2008). Tourism, the internet, and remittances keep the diaspora connected. Sónia Melo advises, "Cape Verdean migrants have further stimulated the creation of a diasporic public" (2008:166). The Cape Verdean secondary diaspora in the southeastern United States is lengthening the migration chain. With most of our study participants having previously lived in the Northeast, there is now an additional link in the migration chain between New England and the Southeast as well as many direct links back to the Cape Verde islands themselves.

A review of the literature on immigration and diaspora studies show that there are some predictable normative patterns (Brettell 2003; Foner, Rumbaut, and Gold 2003; Vertovec and Cohen 1999; Vertovec 2013). For example, these migration and settlement processes suggest that Cape Verdean immigrant interests in their language and cultural heritage should diminish over time and distance as a result of assimilationist pressures and enculturation (Massey 2008; Ong et al. 1996; Schiller, Basch, and Szanton-Blanc 1995). Therefore, we should find fluency in Cape Verdean Creole and Portuguese declining between the second and third generations, which it does (Figure 1). A decreased interest in visiting and staying connected with Cape Verde should also be noticeable in the data. Finally, the decline in ties to the diaspora should be compounded as people move away from previously established communities because of personal reasons and familial obligations including educational pursuits and professional aspirations.

The results of this pilot study, however, are mixed and sometimes even contradict or defy expectations. This preliminary research indicates that the Cape Verdean immigrants in the secondary diaspora are helping to redefine the immigrant experience in the United States. Cape Verdeans in the Southeast are made up of multiple generations. Instead of a diminishing interest in cultural heritage over time and distance, however, this study found some strengthening of ties present in survey responses and interviews including the writing in of "Cape Verdean" on U.S. census forms as a way of challenging the prescribed identity categories, particularly that of "African American."

Transcribed interviews provided key themes emergent in the findings including emphases on culture, country/place, identity, family,

and profession/economics. These themes are revealing because they provide suggestive evidence about the motives, incentives, and makeup of the secondary Cape Verdean diaspora. Taken holistically, these findings both help define the edges of the diasporic community and show how the secondary Cape Verdean diaspora, while smaller than the New England one, is not as diluted or fading as initially thought. Secondary diasporas, then, more closely resemble Zaleza's definition as both "complex" and "constructed and conceived at multiple temporal and spatial scales, at different moments and distances from the putative homeland" (2009:33). While economics, education, weather, and family are all important push and pull factors leading Cape Verdeans and Cape Verdean-Americans away from the Northeast and the primary diaspora located there, once situated in the Southeast, many Cape Verdeans and Cape Verdean-Americans work hard to help develop a new and vibrant secondary diaspora by building socio-cultural bridges that cross states and nations.

This study of the second- and third-wave moves of Cape Verdeans and Cape Verdean Americans to the southeastern United States leads us to conclude that the term *diaspora* needs to be problematized further. The secondary diaspora as an offshoot of traditional diasporas comprises a population that continues to strive to preserve their cultural heritage, sometimes more rigorously than other immigrant populations (Bhatia 2002; Moore and Whelan 2012; Orser 2007). While we feel that our findings are quite suggestive and reveal something novel related to the nature of diasporas, there is still much work that needs to be done in order to better conceptualize secondary or divergent diasporas as a social phenomenon that seems to be observable in some diasporic communities while not in others (Baptiste 2002; Bohme 1956; Brubaker 2005; Camayd-Freixas, Karush, and Lejter 2006; Esman 2013; Frigerio 2004; Halter 2008; Okpewho and Nzegwu 2009; Rynkiewich 2012; Safran, Sahoo, and Lal 2008; Singleton 2010; Waldinger, et al. 1992). What we can say is that the secondary Cape Verdean diaspora, as it specifically relates to the CVA, seems to be thriving. For example, a look at language retention from the survey data shows that while there is a predictable loss of native language between the generations, half of the third generation respondents still speak both Portuguese and Creole—a higher rate of language retention that is commonly found among some other immigrant groups (Alba et al. 2002; Fillmore 2000; Portes and Hao 1998, 2002; Portes and Schauffler 1994). What needs to be better understood is if this linguistic and cultural retention among the Cape Verdean diaspora of the Southeast is similar to patterns found among other tertiary diasporic communities

within the United States or if these observed patterns are somehow unique. Therefore, further comparative analysis between different diasporic communities is crucial.

Conclusion

This study contributes to Cape Verdean diaspora studies by extending the scope beyond the northeastern United States. In this pilot study we have found a secondary diaspora that has expanded the boundaries of established communities as a result of various push and pull factors. We acknowledge that the findings are interesting and suggestive, but we would need additional data over time be able to make more definitive claims about the nature of the secondary diaspora. What seems to be happening is that this secondary diaspora is extending the migration chain by creating connections to an intermediary, the primary diaspora of New England, which is the new cultural focal point for the secondary diaspora, more so than even the Cape Verde homeland itself.

Unlike the established and more concentrated communities of the Northeast, the secondary diaspora is spread throughout the southeastern United States making community building through technology and community organizations even more important. Factors that influence the moves southward are economic in nature, such as jobs and education, while family also seems to play a significant part in the decision-making process about when to move and where to settle. Education, income levels, and the highly professional and technical fields that the respondents occupy are indicators that this secondary diaspora is flourishing and will likely remain vibrant in the Southeast. This seems to contradict the well-established "immigration paradox" where second generation immigrants are less successful than their parents (Burgoon, Coster, and Egmond 2012; Coll and Marks 2012; Rumbaut and Portes 2001). Related to this success, there seems to be an emphasis on community building such as the development of cultural organizations (e.g., CVA) and cultural events (e.g., annual picnics).

Immigration studies often focus on the sending and the receiving culture. However, with the second and third wave moves of the Cape Verdean diaspora being represented in the southeastern United States as a unified community, we introduce a more complicated picture of immigration, population circulation, and settlement patterns. Already recognizing this expansive and resource rich diaspora in the United States, including the members of the secondary diaspora who are rapidly

becoming part of the emerging middle class, the Cape Verdean government has sought out collaborative ventures (Baker 2006; Carling 2008; Carling and Åkesson 2008; Carling and Batalha 2008; Meintel 2002; Meyns 2002). This suggests that the emphasis on cultural heritage over time may become even more pronounced within the Cape Verdean diasporas as the Cape Verdean government itself promotes ongoing and mutual partnerships.

Cultural traditions are being strengthened, and an embrace of Cape Verdean heritage is growing. The secondary diaspora is multicultural, adapting to mainstream society as necessary, but also encouraging continued ties to the broader Cape Verdean world. Schiller et al. point out "that the growth and intensification of global interconnection of economic processes, peoples, and ideas is accompanied by a resurgence in the politics of differentiation" (1995: 50). The Cape Verdean secondary diaspora is an excellent example of this type of politics of differentiation since its members identify as both separate from and part of the larger mainstream American society. It privileges aspects of Cape Verdean-ness such as food, family, and language, while discarding or assimilating other cultural practices.

This research is a preliminary study into secondary migration. It needs to be expanded outside of the greater metro Atlanta area and even beyond the southeastern region to areas like Colorado and California where other Cape Verdean secondary diasporas are established. In addition, the examination of secondary diasporas more broadly needs to be advanced within other prominent diasporas found within the United States. This will help to either corroborate or refute the findings we have provided here. Beyond economics, gender differences can also be looked at as diasporic experiences while linguistic proficiencies and familial relations are also important next steps to consider (Clifford 1994; Meintel 2002; Portes and Hao 2002; Qin 2006; Tannenbaum and Berkovich 2005). Prominent research on the Cape Verdean diaspora remains largely situated in New England. Schiller (1995) suggests we move "to examine the contributions organizations make to the growth of social and political spaces and cultural practices that go beyond the boundaries of the nation-state, including the implications of transnational organizational connections to use immigrant organizations as agents of the social and political incorporation of immigrants into the receiving society" (56). Future research ought to look closely at the role organizations like CVA play in connecting immigrants in the southeastern United States to their broader diasporas and homelands.

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