

8. Excursus

Before weaving the results of the analytical parts together in chapter 9, I want to complement the qualitative perspective on the data with two other approaches that further illuminate categories and practices of belonging and their relation to specific language use. In excursus I (8.1), a corpus-based and quantitatively informed analysis exploring occurrences of *aquí* and *acá* will elucidate their meaning not only in terms of local reference, but also in terms of an indicator for belonging. Excursus II (8.2) amplifies the discussion on categories and practices of belonging by further investigating the *regimes*, i.e. the collective norms and values that are manifest in specific practices in the community. By reference to one example of exclusion from the community, boundaries of belonging become observable.

8.1. Excursus I: Grounding Belonging in the Local Adverb *aquí*

Chapter 6 has shown that ‘being born’ in or ‘being from’ a place is the main category of belonging the community women use in the workshop interaction. The place is either referenced via geographic-administrative specifications like ‘Palmar’, ‘Palmar Quetzaltenango/Xela’ or the local adverb *aquí*. In the interviews, and especially in the narrative parts at the beginning of the interviews, this local deictic appears surprisingly frequently, often almost condensed and repeated in specific sequences. One example of this condensed use of *aquí* in the narrative at the beginning of the interview can be found in María’s story, analyzed in section 7.4.1. Beyond the occurrences of *aquí* in the narratives that I analyzed in chapter 7, I will explore four interview sequences that invite a more thorough analysis of all *aquí* occurrences in the interviews.

50-year-old Alex did not narrate the transformative story of the community; however, after one of my initial questions *desde cuándo usted vive aquí* ‘since when do you live here’ he tells me his migration story, closing with the following sequence:

Extract 38: *Yo de aquí era*, Alex (00:01:34–00:01:54)

1 Alex: entonce:s (--) me vine otra vez para=acá (---) y como::
2 yo de aquí era=pues aquí nació (1.1) o sea que aquí le
3 sentía este: (---) cariño aquí a
4 esta tierra pues
5 RV: mh
6 Alex: como:: nosotros aquí crecimos (---) entonce:s (-) yo me
7 siento contento que estoy [aquí]

8 RV: [mhm]
9 Alex: trabaja:ndo

Extract 38: English Translation, 'I was from here', Alex (00:01:34–00:01:54)

1 Alex: so (--) I came back here again (---) and as I was from
2 here well
3 I was born here (1.1) that means that here I felt this
4 (---) affection here to this land well
5 RV: mh
6 Alex:
7 I'm [here]
8 RV: [mhm]
9 Alex: working

In this short account of coming back to the community after having worked in another city, Alex utters 'here' five times; four times with the local adverb *aquí* and once in the beginning with *acá*. Being 'born' and 'growing up' 'here', in short, 'being from here' is related to a special bond with the land and a specific satisfaction of coming back after an episode of migration. I pointed out in the analysis of the narratives that this is a recurring motif, especially when it comes to the painful memories of migrating from the place of birth and the joys of coming back.

Another extract where the use of *aquí* is especially salient is in the interview with Bea, who we already encountered as a participant of the workshop for women in chapter 6. My question before this extract starts is whether she feels like an integral part of the community (and is, thus, maybe the most direct question on belonging in the interview questionnaire). Her answer is as follows:

Extract 39: *Aquí yo aquí soy nacida*, Bea (00:14:40–00:14:55)

1 Bea: e::h es que <<all>yo aquí yo aquí soy nacida> (--)
2 RV: sí
3 Bea: aha yo aquí soy nacida aquí en esta comunidad es por eso
4 que yo aquí me siento:: (---) no sé (-) me siento mu::y
5 (--) muy conTENTa
6 y:: (--) porque aquí he nacido pues

Extract 39: English translation, 'Here I am born here', Bea (00:14:40–00:14:55)

1 Bea: e::h it is that <<all>I here I am born here> (--)
2 RV: yes
3 Bea: yes I here I am born here in this community that is why
4 here
5 I feel (---) I don't know (-) I feel very (--) very
6
7 and (--) because well I was born here

The line of argumentation as to why she feels she is a part of the community is based on several repetitions of 'being born here'. Bea opens her turn with the statement 'I am born here' and closes it with the conclusion that she feels 'satisfied (-) because I was born here'. Even after my acknowledgment that she is 'born here' (line 2), Bea repeats it again, disambiguating the local adverb with the qualifier *en esta comunidad* 'in this community' (line 3).

The last extract stems from the interview with Luis. He is 21 years old and very engaged in community matters and politics, even though he himself is not yet a beneficiary. Eighteen minutes into the interview I asked him whether he feels like he is a part of the community.

Extract 40: *Soy personal de aquí mismo, Luis (00:18:19–00:19:01)*

1 Luis: si (--) si porque:: mi aporte: (--) que hago aquí: es
 2 (-) me formo PARTE te la comunidad (--) porque:: (--) no
 3 soy pers/ (-) personal de afuera (.) trabajador
 4 RV: mh
 5 Luis: sino que soy personal (.) de aquí mismo nacido de aquí
 6 (--) y conozco TOdo su (1) su historia de la comunida:d
 7 (-) todos sus trabajos (--) porque son los mismos
 8 trabajos que hace/ se ha venido haciendo del patrón (--)
 9 PERO ya son trabajos justos (-) que se le da a cada
 10 trabajador
 11 RV: mhm
 12 Luis: pues sí formo PARTE de aquí de la comunidad porque:: (-)
 13 soy HIjo de
 14
 15 [mis]
 16 RV: [mh]
 17 Luis: papas son/ tenha/ aquí son [nacidos]

Extract 40: English translation, 'I'm staff from right here', Luis (00:18:19–00:19:01)

1 Luis: yes (--) yes because my contribution (--) that I'm doing
 2 here is (-) I form part of the community (--) because
 3 (--) I'm not staff/ (-) staff from outside (.) a worker
 4 RV: mh
 5 Luis: but I'm staff (.) from right here born from here (--)
 6 and I know all
 7 its (1) its story of the community (-) all its tasks
 8 (--) because it are the same tasks that one was doing
 9 (with) the patrón (--) but it already
 10 are fair tasks (-) that are given to each worker
 11 RV: mhm
 12 Luis: well yes I form part of here of the community because
 13
 14 born here (-) [my]
 15 RV: [mh]
 16 Luis: parents are/ they have/ here they are [born]

Luis contrasts people ('staff') from 'here' to others who come from 'outside' and emphasizes that he feels he is a part of the community because he is *personAL* (.) *de aquí mismo nacido de aquí* 'staff (.) from right here born from here' (line 5). A point he makes for establishing belonging to the community is ancestry. He states that his father, then widening it to both his parents, were also 'born here' (lines 14–15 and 17; 13–14 and 16 ET). In this extract, not only the contrast with other workers 'from outside' is relevant, but Luis also points to shared practices in the community that outlasted the transformation. They are basically *los mismos trabajos* 'the same tasks' (line 7–8; 8 ET) in the times of the *patrón* and in the present times, differing only in their evaluation by the speaker: *ya son trabajos justos* 'it already are fair tasks' (line 9; 9–10 ET). The shared knowledge about the working practices in the past and the present of the community is connected to being 'staff (.) from right here born from here' (line 5). This indicates an approach to the regimes of belonging in terms of "knowing about the working practices" based on being 'from here'. This is further scrutinized in section 8.2.

Finally, Juan (one of the practiced narrators) makes a strong case for the rootedness of the 'we'. This is an extract of his narrative at a point where he constructs a dialogue with the *patrón* (and his associates), and in which his narrated self utters the following:

Extract 41: *Nosotros somos de aquí*, Juan (00:18:19–00:19:01)

1 Juan: nosotros somos de aquí de la Alianza (---) vivimos aquí
2 y aquí no nos pueden sacar

Extract 41: English translation, 'We are from here', Juan (00:18:19–00:19:01)

1 Juan: we are from here of the Alianza (---) we live here and
2 here you^s cannot remove us

Extract 41 shows that the claims of the narrated 'we' to 'be from here' and 'live here' are the ultimate arguments against the narrated *patrón* – why the community cannot be expelled from the place, and the legitimization for the resistance and struggle they put up to be able to stay or return to it.

The *aquí* takes a special role in these extracts of the interview and in the narratives we have seen in the previous chapter. The local adverb *aquí* seems like a recurrent pattern, as it is repeated in similar syntactical structures and in connection with similar accompanying terms.

In all four examples we find syntactical positionings of the local adverb before the verb it defines more closely (Alex lines 2 and 6; Bea lines 1, 3, 4 and 6; Luis lines 14 and 17). In Spanish syntax, the positioning of the local adverb is

unbound by grammatical rules and can be placed at the beginning of the sentence, before or after the verb or at the end of the sentence. Where it is positioned expresses the speakers *focus* (Gabriel & Müller, 2008; Guitérrez Ordóñez, 2000). The placement of certain grammatical forms in the linear structure of the sentence indicates what the speaker “considera más relevante desde un punto de vista informativo” (‘considers as most relevant from an informative point of view’, RV, Rodríguez Ramalle 2005, 541). By placing *aquí* before the verb, emphasis is given to the locality of the action described by the verb.

The speakers in all extracts also make use of the rhetorical means of repetition. They repeat *aquí* and combinations of *aquí* with verbs like *nacer* ‘being born’ and *ser* ‘be’. This gives rhetorical emphasis to the local adverb as “repetition serves to create rhetorical *presence*, the linguistic foregrounding of an idea which can serve to make it persuasive” (Johnstone, 1987, 208, emphasis in the original). Repeatedly and with emphasis provided by rhetorical means, the speakers establish spatial belonging which is grounded in having been born and raised ‘here’. They articulate their feelings of forming part of the ‘we’ (i.e. of the community) with relation to this spatial belonging. This also has a temporal aspect: ‘being born’ implicitly opens a time frame from back then to the moment of the interview. It is a rootedness in the place starting with the very first breath the community members take.

During the analysis of the interviews, and later on the workshop scene with the women, it became apparent that the spatiality expressed with *aquí* is one of the central characteristics of marking belonging by the speakers. So, in this excursus, a more quantitative view on the meanings and frequent co-occurrences of *aquí* with certain verbal forms will complement the qualitative analysis of the interaction on “ethnic” belonging (in chapter 6) and the community narratives (in chapter 7).¹⁴⁰ Table 4 summarizes all occurrences of *aquí* in the corpus of the 32 semi-structured interviews.¹⁴¹ Tokens are listed, if applicable, in terms of their reference to either explicitly expressed specific places and spaces in the adjacent co-text (e.g. *aquí en la comunidad*) or, as in few cases, the references are inferred anaphorically.

140 A similar approach of a corpus-based quantitative analysis of the use of *aquí* in the corpus of interviews is published in Vallentin (2012a). The present analysis, however, focuses more thoroughly on the actual references in the adjacent co-text, and counts with a basis of more elaborated interview transcriptions.

141 Note that due to my interest in how the participants use *aquí*, my own contributions in the interviews are not analyzed.

Table 4: Occurrences of *aquí* in the Interview Corpus

<i>aquí</i> without explicit reference	278
<i>aquí</i> with reference to <i>comunidad</i>	54
<i>aquí</i> with reference <i>Alianza</i>	28
– of these reference <i>comunidad Nueva Alianza</i>	3
<i>aquí</i> with reference to spaces and places outside of the community	27
<i>aquí</i> with reference to <i>finca</i>	24
<i>aquí</i> with reference <i>Nueva Alianza</i>	1
<i>aquí</i> with reference to specific places inside the community	17
<i>aquí</i> in temporal function	16
<i>aquí</i> with reference <i>está tierra/la tierra/mi tierra</i>	5
Total occurrences of <i>aquí</i> in the corpus	449
Total amount of tokens in the corpus	62391

The interview corpus is comprised of a total number of 62391 tokens. The local adverb *aquí* represents 450 cases of which 434 express a spatial reference and 16 have a temporal function¹⁴². The speakers use *aquí* in the majority of cases (278) without an explicit reference to a specific place or space. The referential meaning of *aquí* in these cases arises from the situational interactive context and the topical focal points of the interview. I will further elaborate this point below. The explicit reference to the community in its different labels (*comunidad*, *Alianza*, *Nueva Alianza* and *finca*¹⁴³) comprises 107 cases in total. Spatial reference pointing to specific places *within* the community (as for example *aquí en la casa* ‘here in the house’, *aquí cerca de la casa* ‘here near the house’ or *aquí arribita* ‘here upwards_{DIM}’) make up 17 cases. A reference to *aquí está tierra* ‘here this land’ (3), *aquí es la tierra* ‘here is the land’ (1) or *aquí mi tierra* ‘here my land’ (1), which also relates to the space within the specific confines of the community appears five times. Finally, spatial reference to places outside the community occur in 27 cases. The most frequent reference to space outside the community is with

142 In its temporal use, *aquí* serves either as a temporal starting or endpoint of a period of time (*desde/de aquí* ‘from here (on)’ and *hasta aquí* ‘until here’).

143 As I have shown in the analysis of the narratives in chapter 7, the term *finca* usually refers to past times under the *patrón*. When used in the answers to other interview questions, speakers also relate the term to the aspect of agricultural work, as *fincas* usually rely on the production of farming products.

17 cases *aquí en Guatemala* ‘here in Guatemala’.¹⁴⁴ Five of the cases label nearby cities *Retalhuleu* (3) and *San Felipe* (1), as well as the municipality *Palmar Quetzaltenango* (1). The remaining 6 occurrences of *aquí* referring to the outside of the community are not namely specified spaces of *country*, (other) *comunidades* and (other) *finca(s)*.

After a first view on the use of *aquí* in the corpus and its explicit references, it can be concluded that the local adverb in the vast majority of cases explicitly or implicitly points to the community in which the speakers live and which they struggled for. This is not too surprising when we consider that the interviews center around community-related stories and questions.

Before I assert what this might mean for belonging to the community, another form of local expression in relation to the ‘here’ must be considered. As in many Latin-American Spanish varieties, the speakers have another resource to express ‘here’: *acá*. The differences between *acá* ‘here’ and *aquí* ‘here’ are quite nuanced. *Acá* is mostly used in combination with verbs of motion, whereas *aquí* tends to be used with rather static verbs (“rest-motion-rule” by Sacks 1954). Generally, *aquí* designates the *position* of the speaker (“Standort des Sprechers”), whereas *acá* relates to the *space around* the speaker (“Raum um den Sprecher”) (Jungbluth, 2005, 171) or when we relate deictic forms to situational interaction. Maldonado (2013, 291), arguing within different ranges of a speaker’s subjectivity marked by the two forms, disagrees and turns around this conceptualization – at least for the varieties of Mexican, Colombian, Madrileño, Porteño and Caracas Spanish: “A pesar de que en ambos casos el fenómeno en cuestión está cerca del centro deíctico, el evento ubicado por aquí se encuentra a mayor distancia que el que demarca acá”¹⁴⁵. As mentioned above, *acá* can be associated with verbs of movement (Sacks, 1954), or from a spatial approach to deictic interpretation, referring to a space around a speaker rather than *aquí* that refers to a specific speaker position¹⁴⁶ (Jungbluth, 2005, 171). However, in the current corpus, the use of *acá*

144 In the majority of these cases, the speakers relate the local story or local practices (of farming, organizing etc.) to the larger social context of Guatemala. Carlos, who accounts for five of the 17 cases, for example, compares the local situation repeatedly to the national one, as I have shown in the analysis of his interview narrative in section 7.3 and its subsections.

145 ‘Even though in both cases the phenomenon is near the deictic center, the event which is located here [*aquí*] is to be found at a further distance than the event which is denoted with here [*acá*]; (RV).

146 This approach refers to the *Origo* (I/here/now) in the *Zeigfeld* (Bühler, 1982[1934]) as the basic coordinate for the interpretation of any other deictical expression.

is only in some cases used with verbs of movement (29 out of 122 occurrences), and is used to refer to situatedness in a space or place as well. Therefore, in table 5, the occurrences of *acá* in the interview corpus and possible references in the adjacent co-text or anaphoric references are given.

Table 5: Occurrences of *acá* in the Interview Corpus

<i>acá</i> without specifying reference	97
<i>acá</i> with reference to <i>comunidad</i>	16
<i>acá</i> with reference to <i>Alianza</i>	3
<i>acá</i> with reference to <i>finca</i>	2
<i>acá</i> with reference to spaces and places outside of the community Guatemala	3
<i>acá</i> with reference to specific places inside the community	1
– of these in connection with verbs of movement	29
Total occurrences of <i>acá</i>	122

In the whole corpus, 122 occurrences of *acá* can be found, 97 of which are uttered without specifying a reference.¹⁴⁷ Thus, as with the 279 cases of unspecified *aquí*, their referential meaning needs to be decoded in the situated interactional context. 16 cases explicitly refer to *acá en la comunidad*, three to the *Alianza* and two to the *finca*. Hence, different designations for community grounds comprise 21 of the *acá* cases in the corpus. In the remaining occurrences, *acá* refers to spaces and places outside the community (3, of which the reference to *Guatemala* accounts for 2) and one incident denotes a space in the community (*el sector de por acá donde vivimos* ‘the sector here where we lived’).

An analysis of the local adverbs *aquí* and *acá* and their specific meaning in interaction must take into account *contextualization cues* (Gumperz, 1982; Auer, 1992). This is especially true when the reference is not provided directly following or preceding the deictic expression. Following Bühler (1982[1934]), speakers are positioned in a *Zeigfeld* from which the reference of deictic expressions can be inferred. The point zero is always located with or within the speaker and other deictical references can be interpreted from there on. This is adopted in semantic and functional distance-oriented descriptions of deixis (e.g. Diessel 1999, Klein 1983), also contrastively for different languages (e.g. Levinson 2003). Spatiality, in these approaches, is conceived to be organized in the form of “concentric circles around the ego” (Hottenroth, 1982, 142), of which different circles

147 There is no account of *acá* with a temporal function in the corpus.

(or the objects pointed to in them) are indexed with different spatial demonstratives. However, these approaches to local (and other) deictics rarely encompass the situatedness of speakers in interactional circumstances and the actual relevancies of deictic expressions in different situational contexts (Wortham, 1996; Goodwin, 1981; Schegloff, 1972).¹⁴⁸

This is why its use needs to be interpreted in the situational context of an interview interaction with me as an outsider. In the case of the community Nueva Alianza, there is an attached personal relation to ‘here’ – in terms of “origin” and “birth”, and thus positioning the speakers from the community as legitimately and authentically belonging to the ‘here’ – which accompanies the term in its referential function in these interactions.¹⁴⁹

This can be shown by looking more thoroughly at the uses of *aquí* and *acá* within the interview corpus. A differentiation of the two terms exclusively in relation to verbs of movement (as put forward by Sacks 1954) is not fruitful, as there are 29 verbs of movement related to *acá* (around 23.7% of 122 cases in total) and 24 cases of movement related to *aquí* (around 5.5% of 434 cases with spatial reference in total). Although the percentage of use is quantitatively higher for *acá*, expression of movement is still possible and done using *aquí*. Furthermore, *acá* appears with plenty of static verbs that also accompany *aquí* in the corpus. There are, however, also differences in relation to the use of verbs alongside the two local adverbs. As we have seen in chapters 6 and 7 *ser nacido de*

148 Hanks (2005, 197) proposes a framework that tries to overcome the duality of “ego-centricity versus interaction-centricity and the primacy of space versus the primacy of situated relevance”. A convergence of both approaches, and a turn from deictic ego-centricity to dyadic and *action oriented* (“handlungsverschränkt”) deictic conceptualization can be found in Jungbluth’s (2005) study on spoken Spanish, Catalan and Brazilian Portuguese. The bodily orientations of speaker and hearer to each other and the different actions pursued by them influence the choice of demonstrative pronouns used by speakers depending on specific (shared) *spaces of interaction* (“Gesprächsraum”). Her study shows how a combined spatial and interactional approach encompasses the situatedness of language use. It emphasizes how slight changes in bodily positions of speaker and hearer can alter the *inside* (“Innerhalb”) and *outside* (“Außerhalb”) of the space of interaction (“Gesprächsraum”), thus causing an alteration in the use of demonstrative pronouns and local adverbs within the deictic system.

149 A related observation is made by Savedra & Mazzelli-Rodrigues (2017, 16) on the use of the concept *Land* ‘land/ground’ in the Brazilian Pomeranian community. The term is not only used to refer to a specific territory or owned piece of land, but contains allusions to social identities and specific agricultural practices.

aquí ‘being born (from) here’ and *ser de aquí* ‘being from here’ are crucial for the speakers’ local conceptualizations of belonging. Different verbal forms of *nacer* ‘to be born’ appear 38 times in the corpus with *aquí*, and in no case with *acá*. For the other verb *ser* ‘be from here’ there are 13 cases in correlation with *aquí* and none with *acá*. Other verbs that are associated with the community story also only appear in combination with *aquí*: *luchar* ‘struggle’ (9), *crecer* ‘grow up’ (5), *sufrir* ‘suffer’ (3).¹⁵⁰ These instances show a tendency towards the use of *aquí* with verbs denoting community members’ shared experiences. Therefore, they might be analyzed as verbs that – for this community – are closely related to their belonging. In the interaction of community members with community outsiders, *aquí* refers to places and experiences that are closely bound to the community’s belonging, whereas *acá* does not. In the next excerpts, this difference in meaning between the two local adverbs is palpable.

Bianca tells me in our interview that she wants to get married at some point in her life. She concludes:

Extract 43: Interview with Bianca (25:27:20–25:28:93)

1 Bianca: si es alguien de aquí [-] me quedo acá

Extract 43: English translation, Interview with Bianca (25:27:20–25:28:93)

1 Bianca: if it is someone from here [-] I stay here

Ser de ‘being from’ can only be realized with *aquí* and hence transgresses the *Zeigfeld* with a meaning not pointing only to a specific space but also to spatial belonging, while the spatial reference is easily done with *acá*. A similar phenomenon is visible in an utterance from Luis during the interview:

Extract 44: Interview with Luis (02:52:98–03:00:37)

1 Luis: me volvía venir de nuevo por acá (.) porque
2 aquí nació y aquí (--) moriré

Extract 44: English Translation, Interview with Luis (02:52:98–03:00:37)

1 Luis: and [--] I returned to come back again here (.) because
2 I was born here and here (--) I will die

150 There are significantly more occurrences of these verbs in the corpus (e.g. 70 cases of *luchar* ‘struggle’ verb forms), the ones presented here are directly related to *aquí*.

As in Bianca's utterance, *acá* is used for the spatial reference, whereas *aquí* is uttered as relating to place but in co-occurrence with the verbs *nacer* 'being born' and *morir* 'die'. The difference between the two adverbs lies in their ability to express different things – in this context pointing to the “socially charged” (Hanks, 2005, 210) meaning of *aquí* in contrast to the spatial meaning of *acá*.

Other phenomena support this conclusion. The use of *aquí* in the corpus appears often in condensed form, repeating itself throughout shorter sequences. Furthermore, in the cases where *aquí* is specified with a referential noun (like *comunidad*, [*Nueva*] *Alianza*, *finca*), it would – from a language economical point of view – suffice to just use the specifying reference without the antecedent *aquí*. However, speakers frequently update *aquí* and reinsert it into the interview discourse. They emphasize the local adverb by constantly repeating it, as extracts 38, 39, 40 and 41 in this section show.

In the narrations to outsiders, the community members tell how they progressed from a spatially scattered group of former workers into a 'better off' and unified community in the 'here' and now. The local deictic *aquí*, especially in the condensed sequences and in its relation to “origin” and “birth” as expressed by verbs that are linked to the community story, becomes more than a spatial reference: It becomes an articulation for the speakers' “hereness”, carrying shared memory and expressing rootedness and legitimacy to the other interlocutor(s) from outside.

8.2. Excursus II: Regimes of Belonging

The analysis of the data in this book have shown, that in interactional contexts dealing with the (hi)story and the (ethnic) belonging of the community and its members, the local adverb *aquí* 'here' first has pivotal relevance for belonging because it references the local attachments of community speakers based on “origin” and “birth”. Second, a we-perspective expressed through the personal pronoun *nosotros* 'we_{MASC}' – or the use of predominantly first-person-plural forms of verbs – emphasizes collectivity and homogeneity in the shared practice of storytelling. Both ways of referring to the community suggest a very homogeneous and tight-knit group. As many speakers point out in the interviews, the *unión* 'union' in working and struggling, as well as the collective endeavor of obtaining the community (and hence their place of belonging) are the major building bricks for the relationships within the community. We must keep in mind, however, that this is how the speakers portray their stories and position themselves as a community *to the outside*. Nevertheless, even in these accounts, very clear boundaries are drawn by the we-group in some cases. It is the advantage

of participant observation to engage with the lives of the community members beyond the (more or less) structured interactions in interview settings, story tellings for visitors and workshops. In the second excursus, I will describe in which terms belonging is conceptualized in contexts beyond those investigated previously. As we will see, in contexts such as community meetings, other categories and practices are used and made relevant by the speakers.

The findings on the community members' regimes of belonging will be illustrated with extracts from different interactions, but it will not be an in-depth discussion of the negotiation of belonging from the perspective of conversation analysis. Rather, this excursus is designed as an ethnographic description with the aim of providing a more holistic picture of belonging in the community, thus supplementing the previous analyses.

As outlined in section 2.6.2.2, regimes of belonging emerge through mutual engagements, commonality and attachments. How mutual relationships should be organized, what common features of a group are deemed relevant and what kind of attachment is decisive for inclusion into a community and becomes an underlying norm is manifested in regimes. As we can infer from the results of the analysis, the relevance of the place and collectivity for belonging, origin and local positioning can be assumed to be the most relevant categories for claiming membership to the community (along with being granted that claim by other members). This is explicitly expressed, for example, in the extract of Luis, which was discussed in excursus 8.1:

Extract 45: *Soy personal de aquí mismo*, Interview with Luis (00:18:24–00:18:35)

1 Luis: me formo PARte te la comunidad (-- porque:: (-- no soy
2 pers/ (-) personal de afuera (.) trabajador
3 RV: mh
4 Luis: sino que soy personAL (.) de aquí mismo nacido de aquí

Extract 45: English Translation, 'I'm staff from right here', Interview with Luis (00:18:24–00:18:35)

1 Luis: I form part of the community (-- because (-- I'm not
2 staff/ (-) staff from outside (.) a worker
3 RV: mh
4 Luis: but I'm staff (.) from right here born from here

To be 'from outside' is an excluding attribute, whereas being 'from here' and 'being born here' are attributes of "rootedness". In Julio's narrative, the attribute necessary for belonging to the community is made clear in even greater detail. He tells me how the people who occupied the community decided upon the

composition of the future Nueva Alianza, explicitly uttering part of the regime one needs to fulfill to be granted membership:

Extract 46: Los mismos que estuvimos sufriendo aquí, Julio (00:02:57–00:3:13)

1 Julio: entonces los compañeros que estuvieron (---) a cargo de
2
3 hubiera GENTE que misma
4 había sufrido aquí (--) no quisieron traer GENTE de
5 afuera (--) que no conociera sino que los mismos que
6 estuvimos sufriendo aquí

Extract 46: English translation, ‘The very same who we were suffering here’, Julio, (00:02:57–00:03:13)

1 Julio: so the comrades that were (---) in charge of the taking
2 of the
3
4 same people that
5 had suffered here (--) they didn’t want to bring people
6 (in) from outside (--) who wouldn’t know but the very
7 same who we were suffering here

In this part of his narrative, Julio narrows down the condition for belonging to those who ‘were suffering here’ (line 6; 7 ET). Those ‘from outside’ would not have participated in the community members’ (traumatic) shared experiences – the outsider just ‘wouldn’t know’. This extract points to experiences that heighten *groupness* through “phases of extraordinary cohesion and moments of intensely felt collective solidarity” (Brubaker, 2002, 168). The participation in these group-defining “phases” and “moments” is a pre-requisite for social belonging and for being acknowledged as part of the in-group.

In the economical and entrepreneurial structure of the Nueva Alianza (see section 5.1.3), belonging to the community is also linked with certain obligations related to agricultural and financial practices. During the establishment of the company *Exportadora e importadora agrícola e industrial Alianza S.A.* it was decided in the democratic structures of the community that, first, they would strive for organic and fair trade certification, and thus would not longer use chemicals on their products. Second, after the repartition of the land to the single beneficiaries, it was settled that the yield crops of the family-owned parcel have to be sold to the community-owned company so that they could be sold and exported collectively. Already in 2009, I heard rumours that not everyone agreed with this kind of practice, and that some community members would have preferred to revert to the traditional practices of treating plants with chemicals. This preference was supported by the appearance of a disease that threatened the macadamia

and coffee plants. In 2011, during my second visit, these rumors turned into action from three of the beneficiaries, who decided to opt out of the *Sociedad Anónima*, grow their product with conventional methods and sell it to a different buyer who would pay a slightly better price. The incident caused a lot of unrest in the community. Javier, the community and company leader at that time, frames the events as a *pequeña revolución* ‘little revolution’ in his narrative for the Japanese visitors and in the documentary filmed about the community. The vast majority of community members perceived it not as an economically driven decision by the beneficiaries on behalf of their families’ wellbeing, but rather as a betrayal of collective values and social solidarity. During this process, I attended and recorded a community meeting in which lawyers from the AGEXPORT organization were supposed to settle the dispute within the community, at least in legal terms. The *actas* ‘records’ of the Alianza were consulted to determine the rights and obligations of the three beneficiaries as part of the community, even though they would no longer be shareholders of the company and would not sell their product to it. It was the first time that all of the beneficiaries were present, including the ones the meeting was about, and the voices of those who did not want to participate in the collectively organized structures were heard. I will not present detailed transcriptions of the interactions in this meeting, as it is characterized by personal accusations from both sides. Just one sentence of Eduardo, one of the farmers who left the *Sociedad Anónima*, is crucial toward understanding the main argumentative lines of those who wanted and needed to leave:

Extract 47: *Tengo derecho de todo*, Eduardo (27:59:69–28:12:11)

1 Eduardo: si iba suyo abandonado (.) yo estoy de acuerdo´ (---)
 2 usted no come nada pues yo no como nada (-) así está
 3 bien´ (--) pero si yo estoy guardando mi tierra (1.7)
 4 tengo derecho de todo´

Extract 47: English Translation, ‘I have the right to everything’, Eduardo (27:59:69–28:12:11)

1 Eduardo: if you_{ss} leave your_{ss} abandoned (.) I’m agreeing (---)
 2 you_{ss} don’t eat anything well I don’t eat anything (-)
 3 it’s good like this (--) but if I’m taking care of my
 4 land (1.7) I have the right to everything

The utterance of Eduardo summarizes the problems related to communally organized work, in which the collective efforts of all result in the same financial revenue for everyone. This kind of system is prone to distrust and keen observations of the efforts of the “others”, who get paid the same salary even though they

might not work as hard and as productive as “I” subjectively do. Since the land was distributed to the beneficiaries and their families, the financial revenues depended solely on their own work, and of course the quality of the land.¹⁵¹ However, they were all still required to follow the agricultural practices of organic farming. Now, with the possession of land as an entitlement for individual authority over how to work it and how to sell its revenues, this seems to go along with the speaker of the above citation: ‘if I’m taking care of my land (1.7) I have the right to everything’ (lines 3–4). Doing everything also implies neglecting the community norms and values established as a result of shared struggle and success. By not participating in the democratically established practices – organic farming and collective selling of the crops to the community owned company – the social belonging to the community is also at stake. The idea of working together communally is linked to participation in the social life of the community members and of the networks the members maintain in the community. One son of a former beneficiary told me that he considered moving away from the community – to find new prospects in the city, even though he was born in the Alianza and felt strongly attached to the place.

To conclude, it is not only spatial attachment through birth and origin – and not only the attribution to the “we” which relies on shared experiences – that are decisive for claiming and being granted belonging to the community. Belonging, as I have repeatedly argued in this book, is also bound to certain local *practices*. The practice of narrating the community story was analyzed in chapter 7 as one example of how members can express belonging *with* the community. Other practices which are even more thoroughly tied to regimes such as “certain rules and norms” (Pfaff-Czarnecka, 2011, 205) involve farming procedures and economic organizations. Not following them leads to exclusion, not only financially

151 The parcels were assigned to the families in a lottery. I was able to observe a second lottery following the same procedure when more land was distributed to the community members. The parcels were measured accurately with the help of AGEXPORT and were assigned numbers on a little piece of paper, then mixed in a bucket. When called, the beneficiaries approached, usually with a “lucky charm” personified by their children or grandchildren, who then drew a piece of paper from the bucket. Days after the procedure, when the families had inspected their piece of land, some of them were not very pleased. They told me that their parcel would not carry a lot of product or that the trees were sick, the land ragged. Others were glad to have acquired a good parcel of land. This inequality, though based on luck in a lottery, was perceived as a threat to the community-embraced *unión* ‘unity’, as it caused economic inequality between the families.

as shareholders of the company, but also socially as “proper” members of the community. After the former beneficiaries’ withdrawal from the collective endeavor, the community narrative was quickly altered – from forty to thirty-seven families. On the webpage of the community it states: “somos una comunidad formada por 37 familias” ‘we are a community of 37 families’¹⁵², even though the other three families still live there.

This is not necessarily told to the visitors, as it impairs the positioning of the community as a strong and cohesive “we”. It shows, however, how fragile and prone to change even projects as successful as the one in the Alianza can be. It also shows how it is not only categorical features, but also practices that decide upon in- or exclusion – upon who can and who cannot belong.

152 <http://www.comunidadnuevaalianza.org/index.html>, last checked 10.11.2018.