I declare that ‘An Exploratory Study of Forced Displacement and Some Cultural Consequences Among the Yukpa of Maracaibo, Venezuela’ is my own work and that all the sources that I have used or quoted have been indicated and acknowledged by means of complete references.

I further declare that I have not previously submitted this work, or part of it, for examination at UNISA for another qualification or at any other higher education institution.

Luis J. Gonzalez

LUIS J. GONZÁLEZ
Acknowledgments

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Abstract

The original Yukpa are an indigenous community who have inhabited the lands of the Sierra de Perijá (mountain range of Perijá) in Venezuela since prehistoric times. The sovereignty of the Yukpa on their ancestral territories was protected from non-indigenous people until the arrival of Spanish Capuchin missionaries during the seventeenth century. The presence of the Capuchin missionaries furthered the entrance of non-indigenous people, who explored the area and discovered the fertility of the soil and a rich variety of natural resources. In the 1930s, ranch owners started the progressive occupation of Yukpas’ ancestral lands, taking advantage of the Venezuelan government’s indifference to indigenous communities. The Yukpa started to resist the ranch owners. In retaliation, ranch owners responded with violence to intimidate and expel the Yukpa from what they claimed to be their property. The Yukpa have also been harassed by insurgent Colombian groups and drug dealers, who find the Sierra de Perijá an ideal place to cultivate marijuana and opium poppy flowers. To avoid the violence in the Sierra de Perijá, a significant number of Yukpa moved during the eighties to the city of Maracaibo in northwestern Venezuela. These displaced Yukpa have settled in lots located in the vicinities of the Hospital General del Sur, in Maracaibo, where they continue to live.

For many indigenous communities, land and culture are interdependent. Land represents for many indigenous people their origin and continuity. Some authors claim that the forced displacement to areas distinct from their place of origin may disrupt the continuity of traditions which are the essence of their culture (Maybury-Lewis 2001:31; UNESCO 2009:207). This study examines ethnographically the Yukpa settled in Maracaibo in order to identify the extent to which the involuntary displacement from their ancestral territories has affected their autochthonous land-based culture. Furthermore, this study provides a biographic profile of the Yukpa settled in Maracaibo along with a discussion of their current needs, and some recommendations for further studies.

Key Terms

Indigenous communities, Migration, Urbanization, Displacement, Violence, Culture Change, Land-based Culture, Form of subsistence, Yukpa, Venezuela.
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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

1. Opening remarks

This chapter contextualizes the study. The discussion begins with a brief review of the Yukpa, a society indigenous to Venezuela, in their current autochthonous environment. The geo-historical aspects of the city of Maracaibo, climate, demography, and the general characteristics of its population are subsequently examined. This review is required to facilitate the understanding of the society with which the Yukpa interact after their displacement to Maracaibo. The chapter ends with a discussion of the rationale and purpose of the study, the research aims, and hypotheses.

2. Contextualization

2.1 Geographical origins of the Yukpa

The Yukpa are an indigenous community who belong historically and culturally to the lands of the Sierra de Perijá (mountain range of Perijá) in Venezuela. The Sierra de Perijá delimits the borders of Colombia to the northeast, and
Venezuela to the northwest. Three parallel ranges of a north-northeast to south-southwest direction can be identified within these mountains: the Serranía de los Motilones, the Serranía de Valledupar, and the Montes de la Oca (Acuña 1998:35). The relief is irregular with slopes populated by rainforest vegetation. The climate is varied; for instance, the north is hot and arid, but the south is hot and humid (Haller 2007:250). The altitude of the area also affects the temperature, which implies that the lowland regions may be “mostly hotter and more arid as compared to the highland regions, which are colder and more humid” (Haller 2007:250). Four different climatic zones based on the temperature prevail in the area. In the hot zone or tierra caliente, between 0-800 meters, the temperature ranges from 24-28°C. In the temperate zone or tierra templada (800-2000 meters), the temperature ranges from 17-23°C. In the cold zone or tierra fría (2000-3500 meters), the temperature ranges from 10-16°C. Finally, in the mountain zone or paramo (3500 meter and above), the temperature ranges from -3 and +9°C (Ruddle 1970). The Sierra de Perijá is the home of many wild animals, which include monkeys, tapirs, bears, jaguars, and deer (Acuña 1998:40; Haller 2007:250).

The Yukpa habitat extends from the northern section of the Serranía de los Motilones, through all of the Sierra de Perijá into the northern portion of the Serranía de Valledupar. The coordinates of the Yukpa territory are 9° 45′ and 11° N and 72° 40′ and 73° 10′ W (Paolisso 1996:382). Figure 1.1 shows a map in which can be seen a shaded area identified with the letter A which marks the original Yukpa territory in the Sierra de Perijá. Figure 1.2 shows the political map of South America in which can be seen the location of Venezuela in relation to other South American countries.
Different explanations exist for the meaning of the word Yukpa (or, depending on dialect, ‘Yupa’ or ‘Yu’pa’). Some authors (Acuña 1999:189; Fernández et al. 2010:2; Paolisso 1996:382) claim that the word means ‘tame people’, and that the Yukpa counterpart in the Colombian side are called ‘Yuko’, which means ‘enemy’ or ‘wild person’. Vegamíán (1978:31) explains that the word Yukpa may be related to yupana, which means ‘ear’, and pama - ‘small’; thus, the word Yukpa may mean ‘those of small ears’.

Figure 1.1. Map of the original Yukpa territory in the Sierra de Perijá (Google Maps 2013a).
2.2 Subgroups and origins of the Yukpa language

The geographical irregularities of the Sierra de Perijá have contributed to the formation of subgroups with slight modifications of the dialect in other zones of the mountain. The Yukpa subgroups encompass the Irapa, Macoas, Tukukos,
Pariri, Sapriria, Rionegrinos, Shaparu, Viakshi, and Wasama; these names “refer to geographical features of the separate river valley locations or to founding ancestors” (Paolisso 1996:382). In 2011, the approximate Yukpa population in Venezuela was about 10,877, which represents 1.5% of the total indigenous population in Venezuela (Instituto Nacional de Estadística 2013a).

The Carib origin of the Yukpa language makes the Yukpa an atypical linguistic community in the area because the languages of other nearby indigenous communities, like the Wayuu, belong to the Arawakan-language family. Languages of Carib origin are mostly spoken by indigenous communities in the northern Amazon region, where most of the Carib groups reside (Dixon 1999:24). It is thought that the Yukpas’ ancestors migrated from the Amazon to the present habitat, which makes them the Caribbean group located in the more western areas of Venezuela. The linguistic origins of the Yukpa suggest that they have inhabited the lands of the Sierra de Perijá since prehistoric times (Fuenmayor and Strauss 2000; Paolisso 1996:382). Based on the aforesaid, the Yukpa can be deemed the first inhabitants of the present area of Zulia State in Venezuela.

2.3 Forms of subsistence

The Yukpa were traditionally hunter-gatherers with low mobility. Most or all of the food required for their subsistence was obtained from their surrounding environment, for example, wild plants and animals hunted with bows, arrows, and blowpipes, and fishing (Paolisso 1996:2; Wilbert 1974:32-40). At present, the Yukpa form of subsistence predominantly exhibits horticultural characteristics because livestock are not used for the cultivation of their crops (e.g., cassava,
maize, banana, and sugar cane). Maize is a fundamental element of their regular diet (López and Hernández 2004:127; Méndez 1975:8). This cereal also has been used to prepare a beverage called *chicha*, which is used during festivals and rituals.

The sovereignty of the Yukpa in their ancestral territories was protected from the cultural influence of non-indigenous people until the arrival of Spanish Capuchin missionaries, which occurred approximately during the second decade of the seventeenth century (Peña 1995:76). The Yukpa were hostile and showed resistance to this unsought encounter, nonetheless, the Capuchin missionaries overcame the obstacles and settled in the Yukpa territory. The arrival of the Capuchin missionaries contributed to altering the mechanism of the Yukpas’ subsistence, as they switched from a lowland-forest subsistence economy to intensive horticulture. The economy of the Yukpa living in the *Sierra de Perijá* is based on shifting cultivation, meaning that they alternate short periods of cultivation with long periods of rest in which the soil remains fallow (Acuña 1998:128; Paolisso 1996:91). The cultivation of banana, cassava, maize, taro, beans, and vegetables is done according to a cycle that covers the following phases: (1) the selection of the *conuco*; (2) deforestation; (3) burn; (4) harvest; and (5) fallow (Acuña 1998:41-49). Horticulture, the basis of the Yukpas’ subsistence, is jointly practiced with hunting, fishing, and harvesting of wild plants. The men are also excellent craftsmen of baskets and ceramics, and the women spin and tile cotton in vertical looms (Perera 1983:73).

---

1 *Conuco* is the term used to describe a portion of land to be cultivated (*Real Academia Española* 2014a).
2.4 Worldview of the Yukpa

The term worldview refers to the way in which the world is perceived by people based on their beliefs, traditions, and values. Bailey and Peoples (2013:34) define worldview as “the way a people interpret reality and events, including their images of themselves and how they relate to the world around them”. Bailey and Peoples highlight that worldviews are connected to peoples’ cultural construction of the natural and social world. Similarly, Barrett (1996:14) claims that the term worldview defines “the most general interpretation of life embraced by people, or by a category of people, one’s cognitive map of the world in which one lives”.

The Yukpa have a pro-nature worldview; they revere, love, and care for Nature and the Cosmos with which they are connected and are fully integrated (Acuña 1998:178-179). According to Acuña (1998:178-179), the Yukpa perceive nature as something organic and sacred with life and mysterious powers. Acuña says that the attitude of the Yukpa toward nature suggests an ecological mindset. He explains that the Yukpas’ reality is holistic. The Yukpa worldview assumes an implicit order, such that everything in the world is connected including human beings, which explains the feeling of attachment and belonging to their land, the Earth, and the Cosmos. From Acuña’s perspective, the pro-nature worldview also explains the low entropy of the Yukpa when using natural resources; for example, the Yukpa take from nature only what is necessary for their survival. They understand their reality based on knowledge derived from accumulated sense experiences, which have facilitated the development of an intuitive perception without mental constraints. Yukpa learning is based on concrete experiences complemented by their mythical beliefs (Chirinos and Colmenares 2000:6). The Yukpa are characterized by their familiarity with
nature; they maintain a confident attitude with respect to their land. Acuña (1998:179) highlights that the Yukpa are characterized by humbleness; they exhibit modesty in behavior and attitude. This humility is the result of the mystery assigned to their world, which is always providing surprises. Acuña explains that land for the Yukpa belongs to a complex system with different elements in which they are also integrated. In addition to the economic function, land also has social functions. The land is steeped in history and myth; the land is part of their worldview or vision of the world. From Acuña’s viewpoint (1998:179), for the Yukpa, as for many indigenous people, land represents their continuity and stability; land provides indigenous people with natural resources for their subsistence; but at the same time, land is a component of their identity.

The Yukpas’ ideas about the origin of the cosmos are expressed in various narratives that have been collected by Wilbert (1974). They include references to several anthropomorphized entities. To the Yukpa, day and night started with two suns, which alternately rose and set in the universe. One of these suns, when attempting to dance with a woman called Kopecho, fell into a cave from which it emerged transformed into the moon. Kopecho, after being thrown by the moon into the water, was turned into a frog. According to the Yukpa, the sun rules the stars, having as allies anthropomorphic felines that are known as the jaguar people. The Yukpa assert that in contrast to the extroversion of the sun, the moon is reserved. The moon also lives with her spouse, numerous daughters, and only one son, but they never leave home. The moon’s daughters occupy a cave found in the sky during their menstruation. The moon harvests sweet potato and cassava; the moon is also the judge of Yukpas’ souls when walking to their final resting place. The sun and the moon illuminate the earth in turn, which leads to day and night. In the Yukpas’ beliefs, the moon has been a benefactor
of human beings. In this regard, the Yukpa claim that the moon rescued, protected, and rewarded a hunter with one of her daughters in the old days. Moreover, the moon also gave the hunter a beautiful gift represented in the form of various food crops. The sun has no family; it is insatiable, greedy, and devours people when possible. For instance, the Yukpa say that the sun once caught a man for a cannibalistic party after drugging him with tobacco juice.

The Milky Way is the path between the sun and the moon; the rainbow is a man who continuously falls in love with Yukpa women. The Creator of humans is Kūmoko, a supernatural entity who lives somewhere in the sky. Kūmoko has a spouse, who helped him with the creation, specifically by finding a convenient tree to be used as raw material for creating people. Kūmoko carved two children from the wood and lay them in a box to be incubated by a woodpecker. The responsibility for raising children was given to his spouse until they reached puberty. The tree was chosen because the Creator (Kūmoko), while walking alone through the woods, noticed that trees such as the one that was chosen, bled when hammered by a woodpecker (Villamañan 1982:7).

According to Yukpa beliefs, plants and animals existed before people, with the exception of those resulting from the transformative action of humans. The Creator, Kūmoko, depicting his divinity, is concerned about humanity, which justifies his intervention in critical situations. Kūmoko also established people’s rules of behavior and protects them from misfortune. As soon as the Yukpa had grown in number, the Creator came down to earth to reveal his origin, to prohibit the marriage between sisters and brothers, and to introduce a memorial feast promising life after death.
The appearance of white people corresponds in Yukpa mythology with a critical period in history. An atypical Yukpa woman, who masturbated with an artificial penis stone that the Yukpa later destroyed, was explained as the original ancestor of white people. The woman died steeped in sadness; yet, she left a daughter who at the age of three years was so bitter that she began to destroy her own people by using iron tools and machine guns. Fortunately, she could not achieve her goal because the Creator intervened to prevent the destruction of the Yukpa. She flew to Europe across the ocean with the help of a condor; she became pregnant by the effect of raindrops received along the way. Afterward, the young woman and her child procreated the women who are the ancestors of the white people. The child, like his mother, continued with iron inventions with the sole purpose of destroying the Indians, which explains the fact that the Yukpa do not believe the white people’s promises. The Yukpa believe they can reach the Promised Land after death. The path to the land of the dead leads down to a very dangerous forest with a fortified wall and a wide river that must be crossed. In the forest, the wandering soul reaches the house of Kopecho, the mythical frog woman. Her house is in the test and transition zone between the land of the living and the dead. Kopecho determines whether souls reach their final destination or have to suffer torments depending on the quality of the woven baskets that they manufactured during their walk to the other world. The souls of mediocre basket-makers are sent to the river where they are washed away and devoured by wild beasts. In other words, Kopecho leads the Yukpa on the path of the righteous to the afterworld (Acuña 1998:197).
2.5 Factors leading to the displacement of the Yukpa

The presence of the Capuchin missionaries in the ancestral land of the Yukpa furthered the entrance of other non-indigenous people, who explored the area and discovered the fertility of the soil (of interest to ranch owners) and a rich variety of natural resources, including coal, of interest to the government who identified opportunities for exploitation. As described by Wessendorf (2009:141), in the 1930s, ranch owners started the progressive occupation of the Yukpas’ ancestral lands, taking advantage of the Venezuelan government’s indifference to indigenous communities. The Yukpa had to move to the mountainous areas of the Sierra de Perijá on the border with Colombia (Zulia State) where they faced water scarcity because of a drying up of the sources. Ranch owners erected fences to enclose the lands that historically and culturally belonged to the Yukpa; however, during the 1970s the Yukpa began to resist the ranch owners and repeatedly tore down the fences. In retaliation, ranch owners responded with violence to intimidate and expel the Yukpa from what they claimed to be their property (García 2005:9). As noted by Bello (1999:21), landlords and settlers systematically took land belonging to the Yukpa, which had also been invaded by illegal miners. The Yukpa were also harassed by insurgent Colombian groups and drug dealers who found the Sierra de Perijá an ideal place to cultivate marijuana (cannabis) and opium poppy flowers.

To avoid the violence in the Sierra de Perijá, a significant number of Yukpa were displaced during the eighties to the city of Maracaibo in northwestern Venezuela. These displaced Yukpa settled on land located in the vicinity of the Hospital General del Sur in Maracaibo, where they continue to
live. Figure 1.3 shows the location of the Yukpa settlement on a map of the city of Maracaibo. Here, the letter A identifies the Yukpa settlement in the city of Maracaibo. Figure 1.4 shows the *Hospital General del Sur* in Maracaibo.

![Figure 1.3. Location of the Yukpa settlement in the city of Maracaibo (Google Maps 2013b).](image)

### 2.6 The Yukpa settlement in Maracaibo

The Yukpa are located in the coordinates 10° 35’ and 54.5’’ N and 71° 37’ and 30.2’’ W. Two main routes provide access by car to the Yukpa settlement (which does not have its own name) from downtown Maracaibo. Public transportation, which includes buses and cars (known as *por puestos*) are available throughout
the day to reach the area in which the settlement is located. The entire residential area consists of several neighborhoods, supermarkets, grocery stores, shopping centers, and banking institutions. Figure 1.5 shows a satellite map in which can be seen a red star which identifies the location of the Yukpa settlement in Maracaibo. Figure 1.6 contains some pictures of the Yukpa settlement in Maracaibo, which are presented in a matrix form.
3. Statement of the problem

As stated above, in the 1980s, a significant number of Yukpa moved to the city of Maracaibo in northwestern Venezuela, where inevitably they were subjected to various forces that impacted on their traditional way of life, necessitating adaptation of conventional norms, values and behavior patterns to ensure survival in an urban environment.
4. Synopsis of Maracaibo

4.1 Geo-historical aspects of the city of Maracaibo

Maracaibo is the capital of the state of Zulia in Venezuela. The area of the city of Maracaibo is approximately 212.4 square miles. It is located 10.6500 North latitude, 71.6333 West longitude. According to the Instituto Nacional de Estadística [National Institute of Statistics] (2013b), the total population of
Maracaibo was 2,001,591 in 2013, which encompasses the municipalities of Maracaibo and San Francisco. The population of the municipality of Maracaibo is approximately 1,459,449 and represents 40% of the entire population of the state of Zulia, whose total population is about 3,704,404. In the last census the population 10 years and over resident in the state was 3,002,276 people with a literacy\textsuperscript{2} rate at 93.2% (Instituto Nacional de Estadística 2013b). Maracaibo is the second most densely populated city in Venezuela after Caracas, the capital of the country. Maracaibo is the economic center of western Venezuela as a result of the oil industry developed in the area. Maracaibo borders one of the largest lakes in South America, the Lake of Maracaibo, which contains many oil reservoirs.

The population of Maracaibo is predominantly mestiza\textsuperscript{3}, the result of a mix between Europeans and native communities who lived in the area during the 14th century. Indigenous communities who were descendants of Arawakan\textsuperscript{4} and Caribbean\textsuperscript{5} groups originally populated the territory in which Maracaibo is currently situated. The first contact of Europeans with the region occurred in August 22, 1499 when Alonso de Ojeda discovered the Gulf of Venezuela and Lake Maracaibo. Almost three decades later, King Charles I of Spain granted the region, which was named the province of Venezuela, to some wealthy German merchants and bankers, known as the Welser. In 1529, the Welser occupied the area in which the city of Maracaibo is currently established, but they only remained in the area for approximately 10 months because the native

\textsuperscript{2}Literacy refers to the ability of people to read and write a simple paragraph in any language.

\textsuperscript{3}Mestizo for male or mestiza for female defines a person of mixed European and Amerindian parentage.

\textsuperscript{4}The Arawakan are one of the tribes of indigenous peoples of the Caribbean. The group belongs to the Arawakan-language family. They migrated from South America through the Greater Antilles of the Caribbean to the Bahamas in the Atlantic. They developed different cultures on the islands, and several groups have been given distinct names.

\textsuperscript{5}Caribbean or West Indian are natives or inhabitants of the Caribbean region.
population resisted the unexpected invasion. In 1568, the Governor and Captain General of Venezuela, Don Pedro Ponce de Leon, commissioned Alonso Pacheco, a Captain of the Spanish military, to recover the area (Ocando-Yamarte 2004:107; Oviedo y Baños 1987:220); nevertheless, the city was lost once more because of indigenous resistance. In 1574, Captain Pedro Maldonado, on behalf of the Spanish crown, founded the city for the third time, but with the name of Nueva Zamora de Maracaibo. Maracaibo was under Spanish influence for almost three hundred years. The cultural identity of the majority population of Maracaibo is the result of various processes of acculturation to which Europeans inhabitants and the natives of the zone were exposed (Urdaneta et al. 2006:5).

The abundance of petroleum found in the area, which comprises 80% of Venezuelan oil production, defines the economic importance of the city. The growth and development of Maracaibo can also be associated with its status as a port city and the natural richness found in nearby areas; for example, the opencast mine at Paso Diablo, which is situated only 51 miles northwest of the city. In the region known as South Lake of Maracaibo, just 256 miles from Maracaibo, various agricultural products are produced, including palm oil, grapes, milk, cheese, and bananas, and different types of livestock (e.g. cattle, sheep, goats, and pigs) are raised. Cane sugar, coconut, cassava, cotton, beans, melon, cocoa, maize and sorghum are also cultivated. The Lake of Maracaibo constitutes the main economic link between Maracaibo and surrounding areas. The state of Zulia is the second largest supplier of fish in the country because of the variety of fish found in the Lake (Instituto Nacional de Estadística 2013b).
4.2 Climate

The city experiences a warm climate the entire year, which is only attenuated by the moderating influence of the trade winds from the Lake. According to historical records, the average temperature is about 82.580 Fahrenheit. Maracaibo has one of the highest levels of per capita electricity consumption in Latin America attributable to architectures incompatible with the specific climatic characteristics of a coastal tropical city, which have prevailed in the city for the past 40 years. The use of large centralized air conditioning in offices and residences has led to an unsustainable economic and environmental cost over time. In the past, an ideal environment for the development of mosquitoes existed because the climate of the city and all the coast of Lake Maracaibo were unhealthy due to the combination of high temperatures and high humidity. At present, the effects of urbanization and pest control have almost eradicated the problem (Notiactual 2010:3).

4.3 Self-identification of the residents of Maracaibo

Self-identification refers to one’s sense of belonging to a particular group and the part of one’s thinking, perceptions, feelings, and behavior that is due to group membership (Phinney 1992:160). Such a group is one in which the individual claims heritage (Phinney 1996). Table 1.1 shows the percentage distribution of the population based on self-identification as reported in the XIV Venezuelan Census of Population and Housing in 2011 (Instituto Nacional de Estadística 2013b). The table shows that 50.3% of the population identify themselves as
moreno/morena\textsuperscript{6}. The Yukpa of Maracaibo were not included in the census data for Maracaibo because according to the guidelines of the Census Office they constitute an indigenous community, which should be reported in the indigenous national census (see 2.2 on page 5). However, this census data for Maracaibo are included here to describe the distribution of the population with which the Yukpa coexist.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Black</td>
<td>2.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Afro-descendant</td>
<td>0.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Moreno/Morena</td>
<td>50.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>White</td>
<td>46.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>0.6%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

5. Rationale for the study

The Yukpa have been selected for this study for a number of reasons: (1) the researcher’s prior knowledge about the displacement of the Yukpa community derived from personal experiences while living in Maracaibo; (2) the geographical accessibility of the settlement; (3) the Yukpa were historically and culturally established in the Sierra de Perijá since prehistoric times; (4) the Yukpa were forcibly displaced to territories distinct from their traditional habitat, which makes them an ideal community in which to study the cultural effects of forced displacement; (5) a formal study has not been developed to assess the extent to which the involuntary displacement from their ancestral territories has affected their autochthonous land-based culture; and (6) the literature reviewed for this

\textsuperscript{6}Moreno or morena is a term used in Spanish to refer to individuals of dark skin tones. It is not considered offensive.
research does not document aspects related to cultural consequences of forced
displacement among the Yukpa settled in the city of Maracaibo. The lack of
ethnographic information on this displaced community justifies an ethnographic
multiperspective approach that can be used to: (1) describe the emic
perspectives of the Yukpa settled in Maracaibo on aspects related to traditional
values in terms of their socio-cultural orientation; and (2) discuss aspects related
to cultural impacts of forced displacement from an etic perspective.

6. Purpose, aims, and hypotheses of the study

6.1 Purpose of the study

The main purpose of this research is to conduct an ethnographic examination of
the Yukpa settled in Maracaibo in order to identify the extent to which the
involuntary displacement from their ancestral territories has affected their
autochthonous land-based culture.

6.2 Research aims

The specific aims of the research are the following:

1. Describe cultural patterns of the Yukpa settled in Maracaibo from an emic
   perspective

2. Compare and analyze the current cultural patterns of the Yukpa settled in
   Maracaibo against similar cultural patterns exhibited in the *Sierra de
   Perijá*

3. Interpret the way of life of the Yukpa in Maracaibo from an etic perspective
4. Describe how the Yukpa have adapted to aspects of the urban environment of Maracaibo

5. Determine to what extent the Yukpa have retained various norms and values of traditional Yukpa culture

6. Identify some of the current needs of the Yukpa in Maracaibo

6.3 Hypotheses

The literature reviewed suggests the following hypotheses:

1. The autochthonous cultural patterns of the Yukpa settled in Maracaibo have been affected by their forced displacement.

2. Traditional homelands are required to preserve Yukpa culture, traditions, and identity.

7. Synopsis of the next chapter

The following chapter summarizes the major contributions of significant studies and articles related to the subject under review. Likewise, the relationship between the proposed research aims and existing academic literature are discussed.
1. Opening remarks

A synthesis of literature related to the aims of this dissertation (see 6.1 on page 20) is included in this chapter. The literature review starts with a general discussion of the human migration process and forms of indigenous migration. The explanation of these concepts is required to contextualize the causes and socio-cultural implications of Yukpa displacement to Maracaibo. Some concepts of culture change are also reviewed to facilitate the discussion of the cultural consequences of Yukpas’ displacement to Maracaibo.
2. Migration

2.1 Introductory Remarks

Migration has conventionally been used to define the movement of people from one location to another. From a human standpoint, the International Organization for Migration (IOM) defines migration as a process whereby people move either across an international border or within a state (Migration 2014). The definition highlights that migration refers to any movement of people, whatever its length, composition and causes, which suggests that it is not restricted to specific situations; thus, migration encompasses movement of refugees, displaced persons, economic migrants, and persons moving for other purposes, including family reunification. Yescas (2008:21) discusses the migration of indigenous people from a rural-rural, rural-urban, and displacement perspective.

2.2 Rural-rural migration

Internal rural-rural migration refers to the movement of people from one rural location to another within the same country (Yescas 2008:22). Yescas (2008:22) suggests that, in the particular case of indigenous peoples, rural-rural migration must be discussed based on the nomadic or settled patterns of each group.

Settled groups are those who reside continuously in the same area, but they may migrate to other rural areas voluntarily or involuntarily, depending on the existing circumstances in their native land. Settled groups may voluntarily migrate to engage in seasonal activities such as agricultural, forestry, or fishing industries. They may also voluntarily migrate to participate in a cash economy.
In contrast, forced rural-rural migration describes the movement of people from their original homes to other areas as a result of coercive pressures imposed on them (Yescas 2008:22).

Nomadic groups traditionally move from one place to another because of their subsistence lifestyles. From the perspective of Yescas (2008:22), nomadic migration can be considered neither voluntary nor forced because it exists independently of the relationship of individuals with their places of origin. He also highlights that those nomadic patterns have existed for hundreds of years because they are directly related to the adaptation of people to different climates and harvesting periods. Nomadic groups may also migrate to perform cultural rituals or to interact socially with other groups (Yescas 2008:22). However, nomadic groups as well as settled groups may migrate involuntarily to avoid violence in their places of origin and to preserve their physical integrity. Nowadays, the nomadic patterns exhibited by indigenous communities can mostly be attributed to the depletion of natural resources, governmental land policies, and economic constraints (Yescas 2008:22). The migration caused by the pastoral lifestyle of the Maasai of Tanzania and Kenya, or the Fulbe from Mali (Yescas 2008:22), and the traditional migration of Yukpa for harvesting reasons (see 2.3 on page 5) can be cited as examples of seasonal migration. Yescas (2008:23) describes rural-rural migration as a process that has minimal effects on indigenous peoples’ lifestyles because it tends to be seasonal and short-term.

The description of the Yukpa of the Sierra de Perijá corresponds with the description of a settled group with a rural-rural migration pattern. Although their traditional form of subsistence based on shifting cultivation (see 2.3 on page 5) implies that the cultivator moves from one plot of land to another, they have continuously inhabited the lands of the Sierra de Perijá since prehistoric
times (see 2.2 on page 5). However, the rural-rural migration concept is not applicable to the Yukpa who live in Maracaibo because they abandoned their traditional settlement. Instead, the Yukpa of Maracaibo fall within the rural-urban and urbanization migration patterns that are explained below.

2.3 Rural-urban migration and urbanization

Yescas (2008:24) discusses rural-urban migration and urbanization in the same context, although they are two distinct phenomena. He claims that migration and urbanization exhibit common trends leading to the increased presence of indigenous peoples in cities, for instance, the movement of indigenous peoples from their places of origin to cities; the process of absorption of indigenous peoples into city life; and the transformation of indigenous territories into urban areas within their country of origin. The first process implies the movement, voluntary or involuntary, of indigenous communities to cities. ‘Urbanization’ refers to the territorial absorption of autochthonous land by urban settlements or the engulfment of indigenous settlements in urban centers (United Nations Human Settlements Programme 2009:1). This means that the indigenous communities stay in their original territories, but they are absorbed as a result of the expansionism of urban settlements.

Indigenous people migrate from their original territories to cities for numerous reasons such as natural disasters, ethnic conflict, developmental projects, and land dispossession (Phukan 2012:89). However, this migration commonly has adverse consequences for their indigenous lifestyles. The skills used to subsist on their own land are not suitable in cities. Such factors complicate the integration of indigenous people in an urban economy, negatively
impacting the economic and social conditions of indigenous people in cities. Yescas (2008:24-25) stresses that some of the most pressing situations faced by indigenous people in cities include insufficient or a lack of access to health care, education and housing.

The concept of urbanization of indigenous peoples refers to the significant presence of indigenous people in cities. The urbanization process among indigenous people has generally been analyzed under the umbrella of the research on migratory movements of peasants from rural places to cities (Yescas 2008:25). Essentially urbanization is a process resulting in the settlement of indigenous groups primarily in or near urban areas. The Wayuu, who represent 57.3% of the entire indigenous population of Venezuela (Instituto Nacional de Estadística 2013a), constitute the indigenous community with the highest presence in Venezuelan urbanized areas. In comparison, the Yukpa are a minority because they only represent 1.5% of the entire indigenous population of Venezuela (Instituto Nacional de Estadística 2013a).

From a territorial perspective, the Yukpas’ lands have not been absorbed by urban settlements; they remain intact. However, the presence of the Yukpa in Maracaibo is the consequence of a process of rural-urban migration because they abandoned their original territories to live in the city for involuntary reasons, which can be explained within the context of displacement.

3. Displacement

Bammer (1994:11) describes displacement as the detachment of people from their original culture either through physical dislocation (as refugees, immigrants, migrants, exiles, or expatriates) or the colonizing imposition of a
foreign culture. To illustrate this concept, Bammer mentions the uprooting of over 30 million people as a result of Nazi policies and World War II, which she describes as the greatest displacement of human populations ever recorded in world history. McDowell and Morrell (2010:11) explain that the term forced migration is commonly used to describe different types of displacement, population movement, resettlement, migration and individual journeys and also, increasingly, diasporas. They state that in the literature, displacement has been frequently described as a forcible process to which an individual or group is exposed with a specific purpose or intent (McDowell and Morrell 2010:12). From the perspectives of the authors, the term displacement must be used when people have been uprooted from their homes through acts that put them at permanent risk (McDowell and Morrell 2010:12). On the contrary, migration is a voluntary act, which occurs because people want to move and not because they are forced to move. As noted by McDowell and Morrel (2010:13), coercion, physical uprooting, and some measure of deterritorialization are key aspects of the concept of population displacement.

Chicchon (2009:15) argues that historically people have been displaced from their original lands because of conflicts related to resource scarcity. According to González (1997:2), the displacement of the indigenous population to the cities in Venezuela is a result of several factors: (1) the systematic decrease of traditionally occupied territories, which can be associated with the violent process of conquest and colonization; (2) the scarcity of land suitable for agriculture, hunting, and other traditional forms of subsistence; (3) the erosion of traditional indigenous economic production systems; (4) transportation and distribution difficulties for such small-scale production; (5) the lack of adequate
support from national and regional government necessitating the search for better living conditions; and (6) human rights abuses suffered in frontier areas causes by drug trafficking, warfare, smuggling, and a strong military presence.

4. Displacement of the Yukpa

As discussed above (see 2.5 on page 11), Yukpa communities have been affected by violence related to land disputes and resource scarcity. Palmer (2006:1-2) explains that the conflicts between the owners of the cattle ranches and the Yukpa in the *Sierra de Perijá* can mostly be attributed to land disputes. Palmer says that the *Sierra de Perijá* is a place rich in biological diversity and massive coal deposits. According to Acuña (1998:235), one of the main issues affecting the Yukpa community in the *Sierra de Perijá* is the exploitation of coal. The project to exploit coal covered a wide territory, starting in the town of *El Llano* in the municipality of Machiques (north) to the border of *Río de Oro* (south) affecting more than 40 communities of Yukpa and Barí1. Although the project affected more Barí than Yukpa communities, the Yukpa were significantly affected because they lost the small area of land in which they harvested. Acuña also mentions that the Yukpa communities of Peraya, Quinchanchamo, Totayonto, Tukuko, and Marewa were most affected. Furthermore, Acuña emphasizes that only 5% of the entire Yukpa population found in the *Sierra de Perijá* would be able to survive in western society because the majority of them can only survive in their wild natural environment. Non-indigenous people have attempted to control the area for mineral exploitation. Quite the opposite, the

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1The Barí are an indigenous community located at the south of the *Sierra de Perijá* in Venezuela (Hernández 2008:38).
Yukpa and other indigenous people have attempted to protect the area from environmental devastation and because they claim that the land has belonged to them since ancestral times.

Palmer highlights that conforming to the Constitution of the Bolivarian Republic of Venezuela (1999), specifically Article 119, the state is responsible for the demarcation of indigenous lands and awarding of collective land titles. However, the government has not been impartial when demarcating indigenous lands. The government has excluded “existing mines and mining concessions as well as large cattle ranches from the titles it offers indigenous communities” (Palmer 2006:2), although the Venezuelan Constitution in Article 120 states that the exploitation of natural resources will be conducted as long as indigenous people and their lands are not harmed. Palmer (2006:1-2) suggests that Yukpa discontent can be directly associated with the reluctance of the government to stop mining and cattle ranches in their territories because they constitute a violation of the Yukpa land sovereignty. Palmer (2006:1-2) stresses that the government of Venezuela has persuaded cattle ranchers to reduce the size of their ranches in favour of the Yukpa but the Yukpa disagree with this delimitation. From the Yukpas’ perspective, the ranchers have invaded their territories, and burned down their huts and homes. The violence against the Yukpa has also involved government institutions. For instance, in November 2012, Yukpa leader Sabino Romero affirmed publicly that the Vargas family (ranch owners) were killing Yukpa in the Sierra de Perijá with the support of the Venezuelan National Guard. Romero, who was murdered a few months after his declarations, insisted that the violence of the Vargas family was because of their interest in the Yukpas’ lands (Lozano 2012). The uncontrolled violence against the Yukpa required the involvement of the United Nations Committee on the
Elimination of Racial Discrimination (CERD), who asked the Venezuelan authorities to undertake a thorough investigation and punish violence against indigenous Yukpa in the Sierra de Perijá. The Committee urged the Venezuelan State to protect indigenous people and proposed that the authorities take into consideration the guidelines for the protection of people living in isolation. This was adopted in the Amazon region (BBC Monitoring Americas 2013).

The active involvement of the Yukpa in the demarcation of their lands along with the support of the Venezuela government are essential to minimize the land disputes between cattle ranches and the Yukpa (Laya 2011:307; López and Hernández 2004:127) because the current distribution of lands was completed with inexact delimitation and disregard of the Yukpa ancestral land rights (Laya 2011:307). In this regard, Sletto (2011:13) says that the active participation of indigenous people during the mapping process contributes to and affirms their cultural identity. The government of Venezuela must also protect and support the Yukpa when their rights are violated. The conflict attributed to land disputes could also be diminished if the government of Venezuela rescinded the exploitation of coal in the Yukpas’ territory. In other words, the Yukpa land disputes could be resolved if the Yukpa sovereignty in their territories were respected and protected by the government of Venezuela, which is explicitly addressed along with other indigenous peoples’ rights by the Constitution of the Bolivarian Republic of Venezuela (1999). For example, in Article 121, indigenous people are given the right to maintain and develop their ethnic and cultural identity, worldview, values, spirituality and sacred places. The state is also supposed to promote the appreciation and dissemination of the cultural expressions of indigenous people. Moreover, constitutionally, indigenous people are entitled to an intercultural and bilingual education based on their
social and cultural characteristics, values, and traditions. Article 122 states that indigenous peoples have the right to have health assistance based on their cultural needs; and Article 123 mentions the right of indigenous people “to maintain and promote their own economic practices based on reciprocity, solidarity, and exchange”. The aforesaid applies to the Yukpa still residing in the Sierra de Perijá because the Yukpa of Maracaibo do not wish to return.

5. Structural violence

The concept of structural violence was introduced by Johan Galtung (1969) to describe unequal access to resources needed to sustain life or to provide a reasonable quality of life, restraints on the acquisition of political power, denial of equal opportunity for education and the acquisition of helpful information, unequal legal status and discrimination in housing or other arenas of everyday life (Singer 2009). Iadicola and Shupe (2003:31) describe structural violence as “violence that occurs in the context of establishing, maintaining, extending or reducing the hierarchical ordering of categories of people in a society”. As noted by Iadicola and Shupe, many of the actions conducted by Spanish Conquistadors are examples of structural violence because they were mostly oriented to subjugate and enslave native populations. Similarly, the significant disparity between infant mortality rates and life expectancy between African Americans, Native Americans, Hispanics and those of European ancestry in the United States is a form of structural violence resultant from ethnic stratification systems. In the same manner, the systematic and violent appropriation by landlords and settlers of Yukpas’ land represents a form of structural violence because that process is oriented to increasing landlords’ wealth and reducing the
Yukpas’ territory, which is the essence of the Yukpas’ land-based culture. Barak (2003:113) also explains that violence is generally conceived of as actions intended to hurt or damage someone, although the failure to take proper care in doing something is also a form of violence. In that case, the negligence of the national government of Venezuela to protect the rights of the Yukpa is a form of structural violence, especially because as stated by the late Yukpa leader Sabino Romero, the government’s land demarcation plan ignores the Yukpas’ right to a single, continuous territory, and instead insists on fragmented pieces of land for individual communities (Survival International 2009).

6. Consequences of displacement to urban areas for indigenous people

Some sources (Maybury-Lewis 2001:31; UNESCO 2009:207) claim that the displacement of indigenous people to areas distinct from their places of origin may disrupt the continuity of their traditions. The displacement of indigenous people to urban areas exposes them to discrimination by the dominant society. Moreover, the way of life of displaced indigenous people may be transformed by the influence of the dominant society until finally it disappears. In this regard, Crate and Nuttall (2009:123) say that “displacement for any group can be a crushing blow, but for indigenous people it can prove mortal, considering that land tenure is an essential element in the survival of indigenous societies and distinctive cultural identities”. Likewise, Oliver-Smith (2010:169) argues that many indigenous communities have become culturally extinct after they lost their territories. Oliver-Smith says that hundreds, if not thousands, of
ethnolinguistic groups have virtually disappeared through disease, exploitation, and assimilation into dominant cultural groups. This situation has mostly been observed in “indigenous and minority cultural groups that are small in numbers and frequently isolated spatially. When contact in the form of private or public economic expansion into their territories has taken place, the result has frequently been cultural extinction” (2010:169).

González (1997:2) asserts that many urban indigenous populations are characterized by “extreme poverty, malnutrition, and grave environmental and sanitary deterioration causing many deaths from infectious diseases”. Likewise, Yescas (2008:47) claims that deficient nutrition, lack of access to affordable medical services and health care, insufficient vaccination campaigns, higher incidence of preventable diseases, and a lack of adequate housing are some of the common problems observed among indigenous people living in cities. Decent living conditions for indigenous people are virtually unavailable in cities and indigenous people cannot obtain competitive employment because often they are ethnically discriminated against. Furthermore, as stated by Yescas (2008:45), low formal education standards, language constraints, limited marketable skills for urban employment prevent the economic progress of indigenous peoples in urban areas. Yescas highlights that indigenous people are not necessarily under-skilled; on the contrary, they may possess skills in farming, fishing, or herding, which allows them to subsist in their original environments but not in urban environments, although such skills facilitate that they may be employed in agriculture, fishing, ranching and forestry industries. However, employers pay low wages to indigenous people by taking advantage of their low levels of formal education and linguistic differences.
In another context, González (1997:2) says educational systems ignore the sociocultural uniqueness of indigenous populations in urban centers. By way of illustration, education is not provided in indigenous native languages, which contributes to the loss of language and eradication of customs. Moreover, young generations might feel ashamed of their ways of life. González says that the consequence of these problems is “increasing dependence upon the State and burgeoning social problems such as begging, prostitution, and drug addiction”. González mentions that one extreme expression of marginalization can be observed in the sporadic movement of the Warao, Yukpa, and Panare people, “who move into the main cities to beg in the streets only to be expelled forcefully in busloads by the authorities, who consider them a shame but deny any State responsibility” (González 1997:2). Concerning the Yukpa, Acuña (1998:235) stresses that their integration into Venezuelan society is causing their disintegration as a distinct group. Moreover, the lack of actions by the Venezuelan government to resolve problems that indigenous people have with their migration to cities suggests that the state is not interested in assisting displaced indigenous communities.

7. Concepts of culture change

Culture refers to the traditions, beliefs, and tangible expressions that frame the identity of individuals. Haviland et al. (2010:626) claim that culture is the “primary medium through which the human species adapts to changes and solves the problems of existence”. They also claim that culture change allows the adaptation of societies to altered conditions. The interaction between groups with different cultural orientations may lead to changes in the cultures of both.
The contact between groups with different cultures may also give rise to the development of new ideas and technology. Religion, kinship, marriage, and political and economic organization are some of the elements that integrate culture. From a systemic perspective, cultures tend to maintain their stability, but the balance may be altered when some cultural elements are significantly changed; for instance, change in technology, population density, or people’s perceptions of the various conditions to which they have adapted (Haviland et al. 2010:626) produce change in other elements of culture as well.

The anthropological theories of diffusionism (Everett 2003) and acculturation (Kroeber 1948) describe culture change. The diffusionist approach describes culture change as a consequence of fortuitous, voluntary, and selective contact (Ferraro and Andreatta 2014:48); for example, exploration, trade, visitation, communication, cross-cultural marriages, or migration, among others. Some authors (Naylor 1996:55; Parrillo 2008:187) describe diffusion as the borrowing of something from another group. Diffusion can also be described as a form of cultural transformation resulting from the adoption of cultural patterns of a distinct society. Reisenger and Dimanche (2010:71) state that diffusion refers to the spread of cultural elements (e.g. ideas, styles, food, religious beliefs, and technologies) between individuals and groups within a single culture or from one culture to another. Stadler (2011:79-80) explains that “cultural diffusion has occurred as long as modern humans have interacted and has perhaps reached its ultimate expression in globalization.” He also mentions expansion diffusion and relocation diffusion as the two general types of diffusion. Expansion diffusion describes the process in which a cultural pattern spreads within a population in an area in such a manner that the number of those influenced grows continually larger, resulting in an expansion of public dissemination; for example the
diffusion of jazz music in the United States during the 1920s. Relocation
diffusion refers to cultural changes brought or introduced by a migrant group in
the host society. By way of illustration, Stadler (2011:80) mentions the linguistic
influence of the British in the places that they colonized.

On the contrary, acculturation describes culture change caused by the
forcible contact with other societies; for example, the indigenous communities
displaced to urban environments as a result of the loss of their original
territories. Ferraro and Andreatta (2014:48) describe acculturation as “a
specialized form of cultural diffusion that involves forced borrowing under
 external pressure”. Redfield et al. (1936:149) explain that acculturation refers to
reciprocal changes in the original cultural patterns from groups in contact; they
claim that “acculturation comprehends those phenomena which result when
groups of individuals having different cultures in continuous first-hand contact,
with subsequent changes in the original cultural patterns of either or both
groups”. Berry (2008:330) highlights that acculturation must be conceived “as
just one aspect of the broader concept of culture change” and that acculturation
describes the mutual change generated from the interaction between groups;
hence, acculturation “can bring changes in both (or all) groups in contact, rather
than only among non-dominant groups” (Berry 2008:330).

Berry (1997:90) also claims that the adaptation of individuals to new
environments can be analyzed from two perspectives: (1) the degree to which
individuals wish to hold or preserve their original culture; and (2) the degree to
which individuals are willing to become involved with a new culture or society.
Berry (1997:90) proposes four dimensions of acculturation (i.e. integration,
asimilation, separation, and marginalization) to explain the adaptation of
individuals to new environments. Integration describes the proficiency acquired
by individuals in the culture of the dominant group (high acculturation) without losing proficiency in their indigenous culture (high enculturation) (Bornstein 2014:535; Carr 2010:199; Korhonen 2010:29). Assimilation describes the dimension in which individuals reject their indigenous culture (low enculturation) while absorbing the culture of the dominant group (high acculturation) (Bornstein 2014:535; Carr 2010:199; Korhonen 2010:29). Separation describes the dimension in which individuals, to maintain their original or heritage culture, avoid contact with the new society (Bornstein 2014:535; Carr 2010:199; Korhonen 2010:29). Separation also refers to the rejection of values and behavior of the new society. Marginalization defines the dimension in which individuals have little desire to preserve their original culture or to interact with or adopt the values and beliefs of the new society’s culture (Bornstein 2014:535; Carr 2010:199; Korhonen 2010:29).

Deculturation and assimilation are other concepts that refer to processes leading to culture change. Haviland et al. (2010:354) define deculturation or cultural loss as the abandonment of an existing practice or trait, with or without replacement. For example, although in ancient times, wheeled vehicles were widely used in northern Africa and southwestern Asia, this means of transport was replaced by camels that were more efficient and versatile when traveling on rough roads (Haviland et al. 2010:354). Similarly, Rigg (2013:75) describes deculturation as the “loss or erosion of cultural beliefs and practices without their replacement by functional equivalents”. To illustrate this concept, Rigg mentions the abandonment of traditional means of barter and exchange, which have been superseded by monetization, and abandonment of animist beliefs that have been replaced by Christianity. Rigg also highlights the risks of deculturation faced by indigenous communities because of contact with other
groups. The loss of autochthonous culture without proper replacement can lead to the loss of meaning and direction in life (Tseng 2001:31). Based on the aforementioned, deculturation can be defined as the loss of key elements that culturally distinguish one group from others.

Assimilation is defined as “the process whereby individuals or groups of different ethnicity blend into the dominant culture of a society and may also be either voluntary or forced” (Kuiper 2011:18). From the standpoint of Muckley (2012:117), acculturation and assimilation are commonly observed among indigenous communities that have been in contact with non-indigenous groups. Indigenous people are acculturated when they interact with a dominant society from which they may take cultural values. In contrast, assimilation refers to the process by which one culture is absorbed by another one. Teske and Nelson (1963:358) highlight that assimilation is related to acculturation; nonetheless, assimilation and acculturation must be conceived as two separate processes. Teske and Nelson claim that acculturation differs from assimilation in two main respects: (1) acculturation does not require outgroup\(^2\) acceptance; in contrast, assimilation requires such acceptance; (2) a positive orientation toward the outgroup characterizes assimilation, which is not observed in acculturation.

In summary, the interaction between culturally distinct groups implies their mutual cultural transformation. Each group in contact may be altered to a greater or lesser degree in aspects related to behavior, values, knowledge, and cultural identity.

\(^2\)Outgroup’ refers to a social group that is distinct from one’s own and so usually an object of hostility or dislike (Outgroup 2013).
8. Framework to assess culture change in Yukpa society

As explained by Paolisso (1996:60), assessing culture change in contemporary Yukpa societies based on the concept of tribal identity is not suitable. Paolisso upholds that not all cultural patterns of the Yukpa subgroups fall inside the ample meaning of tribe. For example, Paolisso (1996:60) describes the Irapa (a Yukpa subgroup) as an isolated and politically independent tribal community in which its members continue to speak Yukpa. The social life of this community is organized conforming to traditional kinship rules. They produce primarily for subsistence needs and maintain much of their indigenous ideology. Contrarily, the abandonment of self-subsistence activities and the neglect of the traditional kinship system characterize other settlements located in the *Sierra de Perijá*, who have been significantly exposed to western cultures. They have also replaced traditional rules of behavior, and they have learned to speak Spanish. Paolisso (1996:60) alternatively proposes a framework to overcome the limitations of the tribal concept for describing culture change in Yukpa societies based on the research of Ribeiro (1967) about dislocated indigenous communities in Brazil.

Ribeiro described Brazilian local groups according to their level of integration with the imposing nation-state (Paolisso 1996:61). Ribeiro also introduced a “general theory for explaining the impact of distinct national fronts on indigenous cultures” (Paolisso 1996:61). Ribeiro’s framework is suitable for analyzing culture change in contemporary Yukpa societies (Paolisso 1996:61). Ribeiro proposed the following categories to assess the degree of integration of Brazilian ethnic groups with the mainstream: (1) isolated groups, (2) groups
involved in intermittent contact, (3) groups maintaining permanent contact, and (4) integrated or extinct groups. Ribeiro (1967:90) explained that the order in which these groups are proposed represents “the successive and necessary stages of the process of integration of tribal groups into the national culture”.

Isolated groups includes tribal groups that reside in their original territories and that have had minimal or no contact with members of the broader/dominant society. These groups are self-sufficient; they can survive by independent effort; hence, they do not require support from the state.

The groups involved in intermittent contact encompass tribal groups that continue to reside in their original territories, but they have sporadic contact with a significant number of people representing the broader society. The groups with intermittent contact are culturally autonomous; their forms of subsistence are primarily traditional. However, the ideology of tribal members of this group exhibit “ambivalent attitudes toward the modern world, and both language and cultural beliefs incipiently reflect the culture contact situation” (Paolisso 1996:62).

Groups maintaining permanent contact interact on a regular basis with representatives of the broader society. The indigenous ways of life of this group are undermined; they depend essentially on the dominant society. Language is lost, and only customs compatible with those of the dominant society are maintained. Furthermore, “tribal cohesion is lost, and integration develops on an individual basis” (Paolisso 1996:62).

Finally, integrated category includes indigenous individuals or groups who reside permanently among members of the dominant society. They have lost practically all of their indigenous cultural characteristics. These fully integrated people do not exhibit relevant cultural characteristics that make them different
from other members of the dominant society, with the exception of a self-attribution of an ethnic identity (Paolisso 1996:62). Paolisso notes that although these individuals are integrated, they have not been fully assimilated into the dominant society. Moreover, “they remain an identifiable ethnic minority plagued by unequal access to resources and stereotypes” (Paolisso 1996:62). The Yukpa of Maracaibo interact on a regular basis with representatives of the broader Venezuelan society. They have adapted their indigenous ways of life to survive in an urban environment, but they have not lost their language. These characteristics lead one to consider the Yukpa of Maracaibo as a group maintaining permanent contact.

9. **Synopsis of the next chapter**

The following chapter describes the methods used in the research, such as sampling, data collection, and data analysis. The chapter also discusses the ethical considerations to preserve the rights and well being of the participants in this study.
1. Opening remarks

Each scientific discipline has developed a set of techniques or methods for gathering and handling data (Bernard 2011:4). In other words, the methods constitute the procedures used to acquire and analyze data for purposes of answering research questions. This chapter provides a discussion of the methods employed in the ethnographic research of the Yukpa who have migrated to Maracaibo as result of displacement.

2. Sampling

The population of Yukpa living in the city of Maracaibo is composed of 70 individuals. Many of the inhabitants of this community travel sporadically to the Sierra de Perijá to visit relatives for extended periods. These population
constraints justified the use of convenience or haphazard non-probability sampling to select the informants instead of probability sampling\(^1\). The number of participants in this research was 26 individuals, men and women, all with an age greater than 13 years, who have lived continuously for more than 10 years within the Yukpa settlement in Maracaibo. The men constitute 54% of the sample population, and women complete the remaining 46%. The average, minimum, and maximum age for women is 30.83, 15, and 60, respectively, with a standard deviation of 15.10. The average, minimum, and maximum age for men is 31.29, 15, and 65, respectively, with a standard deviation of 14.62.

3. Obtaining permission to conduct the research

From an ethical perspective, ethnographers are compelled to request formally or informally permission to conduct the research (Fetterman 2010:143). Moreover, each permission request for ethnographic work must be adapted to the circumstances of the study because a single formal structure for this purpose does not exist (Fetterman 2010:143). In addition to field observations, the data were collected for this research during group and individual interviews. Permission to conduct this study was obtained in two stages: (1) accessing the Yukpa community in Maracaibo; and (2) interviewing each voluntary informant individually. The initial contact with the Yukpa of Maracaibo occurred in April 2013. Upon arrival at the settlement, visual contact was established with some members of the community who were resting under the shadow of a tree. They showed some apprehension until the presence of the cacique or leader of the

\(^1\)Probability sampling constitutes the primary method for the selection of large and representative samples for social research, such as national political polls (Babbie 2013:199). Probability sampling refers to any technique in which the sampling population is selected based on probability theory.
community was requested. The leader of the community, as a gatekeeper, was informed that collecting information to describe their style of living and needs was the main purpose of the study. The leader granted verbal permission to enter and conduct the ethnographic research and agreed to be interviewed. In qualitative research, “gatekeepers are those individuals that have the power to grant access to the field” (Brewer 2000:83). They are therefore, in a position to assist the researcher in gaining access and developing trust with the target community.

For interviews, the gatekeeper contacted potential informants and asked them if they would be interested in participating in the study. After pertinent acceptance to participate in the research, the gatekeeper scheduled a visit with the potential informants, which was used to explain the purpose of the study to them and to collect the information required for the study.

4. Unstructured interviews

Unstructured interviewing describes a method of collecting data that resembles a casual conversation (Erford 2014:96). In unstructured interviews, the control over the people’s responses is minimal, which means that the informants can express themselves in their own terms, and at their own pace (Bernard 2011:157). For this study a number of unstructured group interviews were conducted to obtain preliminary information about the community. During group interviews, the data are obtained from the dynamic interaction between the researcher and multiple participants (Hesse-Biber and Leavy 2010:166). Group interviews differ from individual interviews in that the scenario of group interviews cannot be replicated even if the interview is conducted by the same researcher and the
participants share the same worldview and life experiences (Hesse-Biber and Leavy 2010:166). The dynamic of group interviews cannot be replicated because this process is not restricted to responding to questions posed by a researcher, “but they are also responding to each other and the group dynamic as a whole” (Hesse-Biber and Leavy 2010:166). On the contrary, in individual interviews, the interaction is only between the researcher and the informant.

In an open space outside their homes, members of the community congregated around their headman to discuss openly their concerns about dwelling, health care, transportation, and education. Each participant offered particular opinions about the subjects under discussion. Unstructured interviewing was very convenient for building initial rapport with key members of the settlement. The unstructured interviews lasted approximately two hours, were video recorded and were conducted in Spanish. The data collected were analyzed subsequently to identify patterns related to the purpose of this study. The interview protocol included questions regarding the settlement, aspects related to traditional values, forms of adaptation, political organization, internal differentiation, exchange and economic systems, domestic life, system of equality and inequality, legal issues, and religion. The data collected during the initial encounter were analyzed and used subsequently to formulate additional questions. For referential purposes, the appendices of this dissertation contain transcripts of these interviews.
5. Semi-structured interviews

Semi-structured interviews are recommended when the researcher will not get more than one chance to interview someone (Bernard 2011:157). These interviews are based on the use of a predetermined list of questions and topics that need to be covered in a particular order. Semi-structured interviews were conducted among the members of the Yukpa community in December 2013 based on the data gathered in April of the same year. The semi-structured interviews, which lasted approximately two hours, were conducted in the homes of the participants. They were conducted in Spanish (the language spoken by the majority of Venezuelans) and in Yukpa when an interviewee was unable to speak Spanish. The interpretation skills of the leader of the community, who is able to speak fluent Spanish and Yukpa, were required for this purpose.

Demographic questions were included in the semi-structured interviews to identify biographic information of the Yukpa settled in Maracaibo. As stated by Peterson (2000:84), demographic questions are essential for two primary reasons. First, information about the study participants can be gathered with demographic questions. Furthermore, the information obtained from demographic questions can be used to create profiles of the population researched and to compare with other groups. Second, the data acquired with demographic questions can be statistically analyzed. For example, a researcher may “compare the answers of various demographic subgroups, such as males and females or high school graduates and college graduates, and provide detailed insights into answer patterns, possible reasons for particular answers, and so forth” (Peterson 2000:84). The age of the interviewees, time living in Maracaibo, gender, marital status, language, occupation, participation in a traditional healing system, and
religion were included as demographic variables (Sam and Berry 2006:154), which were useful to determine to what extent the Yukpa of Maracaibo have retained some norms and values of traditional Yukpa culture. Figure 3.1 (see 6 on page 47) shows the details of the data collected. Each of the assessed variables was restricted to three possible answers, which were represented with 0, 1, and 2 for simplicity purposes. For instance, zero is used when the interviewee’s answer was “Prefer Not to Answer (PNTA)”; one when the interviewee’s answer suggests an adherence to indigenous patterns; and two when the response suggests that the individual has adopted other values of the broader Maracaibo society. In other words, if an individual claims to speak “Yukpa only”, then 1 will be the weight assigned to the variable “Language”; if the answer is “Bilingual (Spanish/ Yukpa)”, then 2 is used. The same approach is also applied to the variables occupation, healing system, and religion. Table 3.1 shows the possible values and weights of the variables (domains) assessed in this research.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Variable</th>
<th>0</th>
<th>1</th>
<th>2</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Language</td>
<td>PNTA</td>
<td>Yukpa Only</td>
<td>Bilingual (Spanish/Yukpa)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Occupation</td>
<td>PNTA</td>
<td>Horticulturist</td>
<td>Artisan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Healing System</td>
<td>PNTA</td>
<td>Indigenous</td>
<td>Biomedicine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Religion</td>
<td>PNTA</td>
<td>Shamanistic</td>
<td>Individualistic (e.g. Christian)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

6. Biographic details of the research participants

Codified names were used instead of the actual names of the informants to preserve their privacy. Birth year, gender, marital status, and the time they have lived in Maracaibo are displayed with the actual values of the responses. Figure 3.1 shows the data collected, including the weights assigned to the
responses. All the data collected indicate that the Yukpa community has changed some of their autochthonous cultural patterns, notably exhibit changes in aspects related to language, form of subsistence, healing system, and religion. Figure 3.2 shows the number of monolingual and bilingual speakers by gender. Figure 3.3 displays the number of individuals per religion. Figure 3.4 shows the number of individuals per occupation. PNTA means “Prefer Not to Answer”.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Code/Name</th>
<th>Birth Year</th>
<th>Gender</th>
<th>Marital Status</th>
<th>TL/Mbo</th>
<th>Language</th>
<th>Occupation</th>
<th>HS/System</th>
<th>Religion</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>GonMar65</td>
<td>1995</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>Single</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GonMar68</td>
<td>1968</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>Married</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GonMar83</td>
<td>1983</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>Married</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GutMar67</td>
<td>1967</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>Single</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GutMar84</td>
<td>1984</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>Married</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GutMar83</td>
<td>1983</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>Married</td>
<td>49</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GutMar76</td>
<td>1976</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>Married</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GutMar85</td>
<td>1985</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>Married</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GutMar92</td>
<td>1992</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>Married</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MinMar51</td>
<td>1951</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>Married</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MinMar55</td>
<td>1955</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>Married</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MinMar84</td>
<td>1984</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>Married</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RomMar81</td>
<td>1981</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>Married</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RomMale7</td>
<td>1997</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>Single</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RomMar67</td>
<td>1967</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>Married</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RomMar69</td>
<td>1969</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>Married</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RomMar91</td>
<td>1991</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>Married</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RomMar94</td>
<td>1994</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>Married</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RomMar87</td>
<td>1987</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>Married</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RomMar92</td>
<td>1992</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>Married</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RomMar93</td>
<td>1993</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>Married</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RomMar75</td>
<td>1975</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>Married</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RomMar83</td>
<td>1983</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>Married</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RomMar82</td>
<td>1982</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>Married</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RomMar83</td>
<td>1983</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>Married</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RomMar84</td>
<td>1984</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>Married</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Figure 3.1.** Data collected in December 2013 displaying the weights assigned to the responses
**Figure 3.2.** Speakers by Gender. This bar graph shows that from a linguistic perspective the number of women who have embraced Spanish as a second language is higher as compared to the number of men.

**Figure 3.3.** Population by Religion. In the religious aspect, the women show a significantly higher degree of change as compared to men. Women have adopted Evangelicalism as religion.
Figure 3.4. Population by Occupation. In the occupational aspect, a minority of men have preserved horticulture as a form of subsistence. The bar graph also shows that craft-making is the predominant form of subsistence of the population.

7. Observation

Observation is the core method of ethnographic research (Bernard 2011:343). Observation implies the immersion of the ethnographer in the society being studied. Bernard states that the cultural immersion of the researcher is required to facilitate the intellectualization of the situations and behaviors observed (Bernard 2011:344). Pauly (2010) highlights that observation “provides an opportunity for researchers to observe directly what is happening in the social setting, interact with participants, and participate in activities.” DeWalt and DeWalt (2011:10) claim that observation is important for several reasons. First, observation can be used to complement the data obtained through interviews.
Second, observation is both a data collection method and an analytical tool. Finally, observation facilitates the formulation of research questions and hypotheses.

In this study, observation was used to identify patterns in the behavior/activities of community members in aspects related to domestic life, social organization, and economy of the population researched. The observations for this study were conducted in the Yukpa settlement in April 2013. Observations were video recorded with a portable video camera carried in a small backpack or recorded on paper using a shorthand system. A 35mm Canon camera was also used to obtain photographs of routine activities of the Yukpa community. No one objected to be photographed. The observations facilitated the validation of information previously collected during the interviewing process and to uncover unknown cultural routines. The observational process was useful to gather information related to the types of foods consumed by the community and the methods used for their preparation. Observation was also convenient to identify the type, purpose, and distribution of the dwellings used in the community. These observations provided foundations from which further questions could be formulated and used during interviews with the members of the Yukpa settlement. Patterns of interior house cleaning, washing clothes, and other home and everyday hygiene habits, as well as parenting practices, were also observed.
8. Content analysis

Content analysis describes a qualitative research method which allows the identification, extraction, and organization of ideas in texts related to the subject researched. To apply the content analysis method, field notes, interviews, and audio-recorded verbal interactions must be transcribed as they are collected. According to Bernard (2011:505-507), content analysis comprises: (1) an iterative phase to find patterns that may help to support or disprove any of the hypotheses, and (2) a non-iterative phase in which the ideas are sorted to explain the research findings. Bernard also explains that content analysis requires the following:

1. Create a set of codes for variables related to the subject

2. Apply the created codes systematically to a set of texts

3. Test the inter-reliability of coders

4. Create a unit-of-analysis-by-variable matrix from the texts and codes and

5. Analyze the matrix statistically.

Protocol analysis, triangulation, discourse analysis, and inductive analysis are some of the variants of content analysis (Ingwersen and Järvelin 2006:97). The selection and application of each method are subordinate to the characteristics of the data and objectives of the research. Protocol analysis or verbal protocol is suitable for the collection and analyses of verbal data related to cognitive processes. This method is useful when a detailed record is required of whatever individuals say while they are looking at, thinking, doing, and
feeling as they go about a particular task such as mental calculation, solving a problem, making a decision, or interacting with a computer (McGuinness and Ross 2003). Triangulation analysis is recommended for the analysis of qualitative data from multiple perspectives in order to strengthen the depth and breadth of the case study findings (Mills et al. 2010:749). The use of free lists, triad tests, or ranking techniques to validate the frequency of utilization of herbal medicine by a particular community is an example of triangulation analysis. Discourse analysis is appropriate when researchers attempt to understand the content beyond the terms used to transmit the information. Discourse analysis can be applied to different social domains including organizations and institutions; furthermore, it is helpful “in exploration of the role of language use in broad societal and cultural developments such as globalization and the spread of mass mediated communication” (Jorgensen and Phillips 2002:2). Inductive coding refers to the process in which documents, recordings and other printed and verbal material are reviewed looking for themes with affinities (Northcutt 2004:98). Inductive content analysis is convenient in “studies based on a grounded theory, or studies that derive theory from data rather than verify existing theory” (Ingwersen and Järvelin 2006:97).

In this research, the inductive coding approach was applied with the assistance of Atlas.ti qualitative analysis software. Inductive coding was convenient to find themes and discover connected patterns in the documents analyzed. The themes were clustered and grouped into several main categories, which included language, occupation, healing system, and religion. Atlas.ti was useful to analyze the transcribed interviews for coding; to create matrices; and to build models of how the themes identified in the data were associated with each other. The video-recorded interviews were also transcribed with the help of
Atlas.ti. Afterward, words or phrases potentially relevant for the research were highlighted as part of the coding stage. Some of these words and phrases later turned into names for themes (e.g. diet, dwellings, services, clothing, hygiene, health care, transportation, family, leisure, leadership, conflict resolution, and religion). Repetitions and unusual terms or common words were also examined. Atlas.ti offers four types of coding techniques that were used for textual analyses and they are discussed as follows:

1. Open Coding: this option was used to create a new node, which was later associated with an existing quotation or text segment

2. Code-by-List: this option was used to assign existing codes to a quotation or selection

3. In-Vivo Coding: this option was used when the selected text itself was a good name for the code

4. Quick Coding: this option was used as a quick way to assign a pre-existent code to consecutive text segments.

9. Univariate analysis

Univariate analysis is the simplest form of statistical analysis. A case may be described in terms of a single variable when univariate analysis is applied. For instance, when the gender variable is measured, the researcher may look at how many of the subjects were men and how many were women (Babbie 2013:442). Univariate analysis is a quantitative analysis of the patterns observed for a given variable in a sample; thus, the analysis of the frequency distribution of a variable is the essence of this approach.
Descriptive and inferential analyses can be considered as forms of univariate analysis. Descriptive analysis implies the understanding of data through graphics and statistical summaries (Bernard 2011:549). Descriptive analysis refers to the identification of common patterns of the data collected; for instance, the average age of the population. Inferential analysis refers to making inferences or predictions about a sample population based on the observations and analysis of the data collected. Descriptive and inferential analyses are generally used with large and representative samples obtained with probability sampling; however, that approach was also used here to facilitate the visualization of the data with graphics and statistical summaries.

Descriptive statistics on the data collected were generated with the Data Analysis Pack from Microsoft Excel, which allowed statistical summaries, tables, and graphic displays of the data collected. Pivot tables were also used for data analysis. Pivot tables are a data analysis option provided by Excel, which makes possible the summarization of data according to the criteria entered by the user. Data can be automatically sorted, counted, and totaled with Pivot tables. Pivot tables are also very practical for the generation of graphs based on the data summarization previously obtained. Here, the assessed data can be laid out in the form of pie charts and bar graphs. Although this study is essentially ethnographic, univariate analysis was used to describe from a statistical perspective the variables language, occupation, participation in traditional healing system, and religion, which are relevant aspects of the Yukpas’ culture.
10. Ethical considerations

In ethnographic research, the privacy and confidentiality of personal data of informants must be respected, which implies taking proper measure to store research information in a safe way (Brewer 2000:94). For the stated reason, the rights and well being of the participants in this study were protected in accordance with guidelines established by the American Anthropological Association, which can be found in the *Handbook on Ethical Issues in Anthropology*, edited by Joan Cassell and Sue-Ellen Jacobs (1987); also the Federal Policy for the Protection of Human Subjects, 45 CFR 46 of the U.S. Department of Health and Human Services (2009), which is also known as the Common Rule; and the Policy on Research Ethics of the University of South Africa (2007). In the interests of confidentiality, codified names were used in place of the actual names of informants in all notes and records, including tape recordings. In all stages of the research, the documents and computer files were kept under locked security.

11. Research timetable

The project proceeded in two phases of six months each. The first phase was devoted to cultural domain data collection, which included informal, unstructured and semi-structured interviewing. In the second phase, the data collected were analyzed to be placed in alignment with etic perspectives. The emic and etic perspectives were used to explain cultural consequences of forced displacement from a broader angle.
12. Synopsis of the next chapter

The chapter that follows presents ethnographic information collected about the Yukpa settled in Maracaibo.
CHAPTER 4

THE YUKPA OF MARACAIBO

1. Opening remarks

This chapter contains ethnographic information pertaining to the Yukpa settled in Maracaibo. A geographical description of the Yukpa community along with their cultural patterns is provided. Emic perspectives about displacement of the Yukpa and their urban demands are also included.
2. Cultural patterns of the Yukpa settled in Maracaibo

2.1 Diet

Essential foods of the Yukpa community settled in Maracaibo include rice and noodles. Food derived from hunting or fishing is not included in their diet since these subsistence activities cannot be performed in the urban environment in which they are currently living. Fresh fruit is not common in their diet because it is expensive. The Yukpa settled in Maracaibo, like the communities in the Sierra de Perijá, consume small plantain, cassava and other products cultivated in their conuco (see footnote 1 on page 6). Several authors (Santelos 1959:244, 302; Ruddle 1973:94; Wilbert 1960:109) have described the consumption of insects in the Yukpa communities of the Sierra de Perijá; however, RomAde81, who is the leader of the settlement in Maracaibo, denied the occurrence of entomophagy1 in his community, which indicates the abandonment of this practice. RomAde81 mentioned topocho (small plantain) as a food often consumed in the settlement. GonLil81 stated that her household consumed rice, chicken, and beef. She also highlighted that beans or lentils are not part of the Yukpas’ diet. GonLil81 also explained that her community acquires the food from grocery stores nearby. However, they have to buy and cook the food the day it is bought because they do not have refrigerators for storage. The Yukpa also drink beverages that contain carbonated water, such as Coca Cola, Pepsi Cola, and similar local brands.

1Entomophagy is the consumption of insects as food (Capinera 2008:1341).
Tables and chairs were not observed. The postures adopted by men while eating is varied; for example, sitting on trunks and crossing their legs, squatting, or standing. Women usually eat sitting on the floor with straight legs. They usually eat from the same pot in which the food has been cooked, although some use metal or plastic plates or banana leaves, as appropriate. Cooked food is consistently eaten with the hands, but sometimes spoons are also used. Women are responsible for the preparation and distribution of the food. Grilling is the most common form of food preparation. Tubers such as cassava are usually cooked without adding seasoning. The meat of mammals (e.g. cattle, sheep, and goats) and poultry is eaten roasted, after being prepared conveniently to enhance the flavor.

2.2 Dwellings and services

One basic type of housing structure (see figure 4.1) was observed in the Yukpa settlement in Maracaibo. The main purpose of the house is to serve as shelter against cold and rain, as a resting and sleeping place, deposit for personal property, and private space to retreat and in which people can act privately. The dwellings have average dimensions of approximately 18 foot long by 12 foot wide by 8 foot tall. Zinc sheets are preferably used for the roof, but are also used with wooden boards for the walls. The dwellings lack internal divisions and finished floors. The ground floor is not always flat, although compact. The dwellings have rectangular shapes with pitched roofs arranged longitudinally. The main entrance to the house has no door. The houses have several corrugated mat boards placed on the floor, which are used for resting. The Yukpa have access to electricity and water by irregular means. For example, they obtain electricity by
tapping into a direct power line. Energy consumption is unmeasured because no energy meter is used. Water is drawn from a pipe coming from Tulé, a water reservoir located about 50 miles northwest of Maracaibo. Local authorities in Maracaibo have not made provisions for water in the community in an effort to avoid the permanency of the Yukpa in the area. Sewer services were not observed in the settlement.

![Figure 4.1. A dwelling in the Yukpa settlement, Maracaibo. Personal photograph by author. 2013.](image)

2.3 Clothing and personal appearance

Clothing both for women and men is the same as clothing worn conventionally in Venezuelan society, except that it is significantly worn because of frequent use and lack of renewal. Women wear thin clothes that cover their entire body to below the knees, or a skirt and shirt or blouse with short sleeves, and are
barefooted. The men wear long pants, shirts with long sleeves or T-shirts with short-sleeves and rubber boots when they are available. Most of the dresses worn in daily life are darned or patched with pieces of cloth, no matter what color. Children, up to four years approximately, go completely naked, both during the day and at night. Children over four years are dressed in trousers (either short or long) and a T-shirt (or not) with short sleeves; they usually go barefoot. Usually each person, both men and women, has at least two sets of clothing, one for work (the oldest) and another used for festive occasions or visits to relatives or friends in neighboring communities. Traditional dresses were not observed. Women have long hair that hangs loose behind their shoulders. Some women use pins to hold their hair in place. Children and men have a bowl or helmet-type haircut, which means that the hair is cut with straight bangs on the front and the rest of the hair is the same length all the way around or is cut short on the sides and back. Hair cut is performed with scissors. A few members of the community who have hair cutting expertise help others when this task is required.

2.4 Hygiene

Cleaning homes inside is not a daily task. The Yukpa clean their houses when they wish or when the accumulation of waste is excessive. The waste is composed of discarded biodegradable food. However, empty plastic bottles of mineral water and sodas were also observed. House cleaning implies sweeping the floor and collecting accumulated wastes. Women clean the houses, whereas men are responsible for removing weeds when required. Kitchen utensils include pots and plates, which are cleaned daily with very little water before they are used for preparing any food. Clothes are washed when they are very dirty;
clothes are rubbed numerous times with soap on a stone until the dirt has been removed. Afterward, clothes are placed on the roof to be dried in the sun. Body wash is not done every day. The Yukpas’ faces and hands are the body parts that are washed most often. The adults, women more frequently than men, wash the entire body once or twice a week (depending on need) with a bar of soap. Young children, up to three years, are bathed with water previously heated in a metal pot. Children’s bodies are rubbed by their parents and later they are dried. Brushing teeth is sporadic. Lice found in the Yukpas’ hair are manually removed. Individuals from the same or different genders and age help each other to remove the lice. The individual to be cleaned squats in front of the other person who examines the head to identify and remove the lice. The lice are popped-up with a fingernail or the thumb on the scalp. The Yukpa also kill the lice with their nails or by crushing them with their teeth.

2.5 Health care

Influenza and fever were mentioned as the main conditions of ill-health among the community members. GonLil81, UnkEliXX, and MenAle91, among others, mentioned frequently that the proximity of the hospital to their settlement is critical for treating life-threatening conditions. However, women’s labor and birth of children are attended by any member of the community. When asked, GonLil81 who attends births, replied, “Mom, we have our own doctors here, anyone can attend births even the men”. When she was asked, “Do you go to the hospital when the labor is complicated?” she said, “No, we do not have complications; everyone comes out healthy. Just go to the hospital while we are pregnant to make sure everything is okay.” RomNan88 also highlighted the
assistance of community members during her parturition; for example, when RomNan88 was asked “Where were you born?” she said, “We were born here; we are Yukpa born in the wild. Women give birth usually without help from non-Yukpa people, like in the Sierra de Perijá.”. They acknowledge having shamans or piaches as well as the use of medicinal plants, and return to the Sierra de Perijá to look for the plants when they are not found locally. A beverage made from the white moho bark, Heliocarpus americanus, is used against poisonous bites. Spurge, Euphorbia lathyris, is helpful for constipation. Anamu, Petiveria alliacea, is useful to reduce inflammation and pain. The absence of shamans in the community lead the Yukpa to travel to the Sierra de Perijá looking for help to cure spiritual and psychological illnesses caused by ‘evil eye’\(^2\). In the same context, UnkEliXX stressed the effectiveness of medicinal plants to cure different conditions such as dizziness, fever, cold, indigestion, sun poisoning, and hemorrhages. Specific forms of diagnosis or prevention of sickness were not mentioned.

### 2.6 Transportation

The Yukpa have no vehicles in their community. They use available public bus services when they visit relatives in the Sierra de Perijá or Yukpa Alegre\(^3\) (Happy Yukpa), a Yukpa housing complex built by the government of Venezuela in 2012.

\(^2\)Dundes (1981:258) defined evil eye as a “fairly consistent and uniform folk belief complex based on the idea that an individual, male or female, has the power, voluntarily or involuntarily, to cause harm to another individual or his property merely by looking or praising that person or their property. The harm may consist of illness, or even death or destruction”.

\(^3\)Yukpa Alegre is also known among the Yukpa of Maracaibo as ‘The 22’ because it is located at kilometer 22 of the road leading to the Sierra de Perijá.
2.7 Family composition, social system, and kinship

The family is nuclear; it consists of a pair of spouses (man and woman), and their offspring. The Yukpa are traditionally monogamous. Each household has numerous children; for example, GutNan85 and RomAde81 stated that they had seven and five children respectively. The uxorilocal residence pattern among newly married Yukpa couples in the Sierra de Perijá documented by Haller (2007:248) is also observed among the Yukpa of Maracaibo, which implies that the couple resides with or near the wife’s parents. Parallel-cousin is the preferred form of marriage among the Yukpa in the Sierra de Perijá (Haller 2007:248) instead of the cross-cousins form of marriage (based on the Iroquoian or Dakotan kinship system) described by Ruddle (1970) and Ruddle and Wilbert (1983).

The aforestated parallel-cousin form of marriage is also preferred among the Yukpa of Maracaibo when possible considering the size of their community. Moore (1998:215) explains that, in the Iroquoian or Iroquois kinship system, parallel-cousins are defined as those individuals who are related through a parent of the same sex as ego’s parent; for example, the child of two sisters or two brothers. On the contrary, the term cross-cousin refers to the individuals related through a parent of the opposite sex from ego’s parent; for example, the child of one’s mother’s brother or father’s sister. Cross-cousin marriage is preferred in the Iroquois kinship system (Moore 1998:216), which contrasts with the parallel-cousin marriage trend observed within the Yukpa community. Haller highlights that distinguishing between the ethnological terms parallel-cousins and cross-cousins is very difficult because the Yukpa terminology is not homogeneous; for example, the Yukpa use the same term for mother’s sister’s daughter and mother’s brother’s daughter.
2.8 Parenting

From the first year of life, children begin to imitate tasks characteristic of adults. Learning is based on natural observation and emulation of the behavior of the adults in the community. Women are mostly responsible for raising children. The Yukpa understand that after the first year, breast milk is only a complement of a child’s diet; even so, children are lactated until the age of two or three years. Spanking is used as a form of children’s punishment within the community when children do not desist from maintaining a flippant attitude. Nevertheless, the verbal reprimand is the most common practice to address children’s inappropriate manners such as impulsive behavior, aggression, and temper tantrums. Compelling the children to remain in the dwelling for a designated period of time (time-out) is another method of children’s punishment. Figure 4.2 shows Yukpa children from the settlement located in Maracaibo who were photographed in everyday situations.

2.9 Leisure

The Yukpa have parties for which they cook chicken and drink sodas. Such parties can be held to celebrate the birth of a baby. As explained by RomAde81, such parties may include dancing in which men, women, and children participate.

2.10 Leadership and social inequality

The Yukpa communities consist of a number of extended and nuclear families presided over by a headman who is responsible for making decisions and for the resolution of conflicts within his community. The leadership of a family is based
Figure 4.2. Yukpa children in everyday situations, Maracaibo. Personal photographs by author. 2013.

on influence. The leader of the community is chosen based on his exceptional leadership qualities and dedication to work. However, physical strength and Spanish language skills that can be used as criteria for appointment as a mediator between the community and the broader Venezuelan society are also considered. Women do not hold any authority or community positions. Women do not have decision-making powers, but they may be present at the meetings with men and talk if they have any information that can contribute to the subject under discussion. The leadership of a community can also be transmitted hereditarily, for example, from father to eldest son. Maintaining group cohesion, punishing those who break the rules of the community, and serving as a
mediator when a problem occurs are the main responsibilities of a leader. Otherwise, members, including women, have equal access to resources and decision-making is done by community consensus.

2.11 Conflict resolution

Mediators play an important role in the self-help legal system of the Yukpa of Maracaibo, in the same way as in the Sierra de Perijá. Mediators are leaders of the community who attempt to ensure that people involved in a conflict come to an agreement. The Yukpa may turn to the Venezuelan court system when conflicts are not solved through mediation. Mediation is a form of resolution of conflicts commonly observed in many indigenous communities. The system is based on the assumption that people can resolve their own issues. Bell and Kahane (2007:124) explain that “mediation allows discussion of cultural beliefs and attitudes, thus giving them importance and encouraging respect for those values without making people change their values”. Mediation also “allows disputants the control and the responsibility to decide the content of the conflict and the owner to make a decision”. Finally, mediation is a form of empowering people to choose their own options for resolving disputes, which allows consensus on the outcome of the dispute (Pretorius 1993:131).

Mediators of each household meet with the headman (cacique4) to resolve internal conflicts. RomAde81 remarked, “I am here to help as a representative of the group, as a cacique; we resolve problems as representatives when there are disputes, when there is malicious gossiping.” He explained that the

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4\textit{Cacique} is a term commonly used by the indigenous peoples of the Americas to refer to an indigenous leader. The Yukpa use the terms \textit{cacique} or \textit{kapeta} to denote the village headman, who is the person appointed to administer the settlement or act as mediator in disputes and a general fixer of village or individuals problems. The term is not applied to the household leader.
representatives of the community call for a meeting between the parties involved in the conflict; thus, they can investigate the facts and determine what happened. RomAde81 also added, “We fine the people involved in the controversy with tasks, which may include cleaning the yard, so that they can learn to respect.” The issue is considered resolved once the facts have been discussed, and the community service completed. As stated by RomAde81, the same form of conflict resolution is observable in the Sierra de Perijá. Nevertheless, the Yukpa turn to the official legal system of mainstream Venezuelan society when there are problems with people outside their community, which cannot be resolved through mediation.

2.12 Rituals

When someone dies, the corpse is usually taken to the Sierra de Perijá for burial, although the corpse can also be buried in local cemeteries. Regarding marriage ceremonies, RomAde81 explained, “We do not get married as you. Marriage is formalized after talking with the parents of the woman, and no more.” Parents can propose the marital union, but the couple concerned decide on the matter by accepting or refusing such a proposal. Once a couple is publicly presented, a meeting is organized between the parents of the bride and groom to talk about the couple. The future in-laws discuss the engagement. Afterwards, the cacique asks the bride and groom if they accept the commitment of marriage, and if so, the act of marriage is formalized so long as no person objects to the union. If the groom or bride resists the marriage, a second meeting must take place to explain the reason for the refusal. If the refusal persists, then the cacique imposes a fine on the person who has taken this initiative. If the bride is the person refusing
the marriage, her hair is cut very close to the head. Furthermore, her parents must compensate the groom for the time he has worked with them. However, if the groom resists, he only has to pay a fine imposed by the cacique for changing his mind. The marriage can be considered as celebrated if the bride and groom agree to get married during the first meeting.

2.13 Religion and worldview

Roman Catholicism is generally professed by the Yukpa in the Sierra de Perijá as a consequence of the arrival of the Capuchins Missionaries to their ancestral lands. However, shamanistic practices have not been abandoned. For instance, the Yukpa rely on shamans or piaches when they require healing. Furthermore, although a considerable number of the Yukpa have adopted Catholicism, in general, they have not abandoned their pantheist beliefs. The Yukpa religion suggests a compartmentalization\(^5\) of two different systems of beliefs: Roman Catholicism and native beliefs.

To the contrary, the Yukpa of Maracaibo have adopted other beliefs. RomAde81 stated that many members of the community in Maracaibo recently became evangelical because of the food and clothing assistance provided to the Yukpa by evangelical Christian churches. The declarations of the community settled in Maracaibo suggest that they have adopted evangelicalism, which contrasts with the Roman Catholicism and Shamanism observed in the Sierra de Perijá. Evangelicalism is a form of Christianity that recognizes the doctrine of salvation by faith in Christ’s atonement.

\(^5\)Compartmentalization is the mental separation of coexisting ideas, which can be different and incompatible (McWilliams 2011:136).
2.14 Language

The Yukpa settled in Maracaibo have learned to speak Spanish, which they consider essential to avoid being deceived by Spanish-speaking people in the city. Speaking and understanding Spanish also allows the Yukpa to defend their rights, including the right to remain on the land currently occupied. GonLil81 explained that every day a Spanish-speaking teacher comes to the settlement to teach the children of the community and that the classes are taught in Spanish. She emphasized that the Yukpa want their children to learn Spanish. She commented:

We all speak Spanish; our grandparents were previously cheated by non-Yukpa people [members of the broader Maracaibo society] because they could not speak Spanish. Our grandparents had accepted any decision made by non-Yukpa only in exchange for receiving spaghettis or noodles. Moreover, we could accept to be relocated from this place in exchange for receiving 50 Bolivares [the equivalent of 1 United States Dollar]. At present, we cannot be cheated because we know the Spanish language. We will win this land in which we have been living.

Although the Yukpa in Maracaibo have adopted Spanish, they have also preserved their autochthonous language. During the interview, RomAde81 explained some phrases in Yukpa; for example, *oktemnech* is equivalent to “how are you?”, *patume* means “good”, *otnai amese* is equal to “my name”
RomAde81 also stated that he learned Yukpa from his father. From his perspective, language learning is natural and all children can speak both Spanish and Yukpa fluently from a very young age.

When they were asked about the existence of Yukpa in Colombia, they acknowledged their presence in that country. They also said that the Yukpa were in other areas as distant as the Venezuelan Amazonas, specifically, Puerto Ayacucho. As asserted by RomAde81, “they are all the same paisanos⁶. What happens is that we have linguistic differences; for example, we do not understand those paisanos and they do not understand us.” RomAde81’s testimony confirms the Carib origin of the Yukpa language, which makes the Yukpa an uncommon linguistic community in western Venezuela as compared to other communities in the area whose linguistic origin is predominantly Arawakan (see 2.2 on page 5).

### 2.15 Forms of subsistence

As noted by RomAde81, RomFed81, and UnkNelXX, craft-making is the main form of subsistence of the Yukpa community in Maracaibo. They explained that families living in the settlement primarily work as artisans to survive. Their crafts include making hats, coconut monkeys, arrows, small boats, and taparitas (small liquid containers made from the calabash tree, *Crescentia cujete*).

However, they cultivate small crops of cassava, maize, and sugar cane. Figure 4.3 shows a conuco (see footnote 1 on page 6) in the Yukpa settlement in Maracaibo which contains cassava, maize, and sugar cane.

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⁶ **Paisanos** is the term used by Spanish-speaking people to denote others who are from their same country, province, or place (Real Academia Española 2014b). The Yukpa employ the term to refer to other Yukpa.
When asked whether their form of subsistence was based on horticulture, GonLil81 said, “The crops were left in the Sierra de Perijá; we have learned here to sell crafts, that’s what we do.” GonLil81’s answer suggests that the displacement of Yukpa to the city has led them to adopt a market exchange economy. They also beg to meet the income required to subsist in the city.

2.16 The meaning of land

Land is the most valued asset in the autochthonous Yukpa worldview. As previously discussed (see 2.4 on page 7), land has significant symbolic value because in addition to the economic function, as a provider of the elements required for subsistence, land contains the memory of the ancestors with whom they have a close bond. The sense of attachment to the land as a result of
occupancy could be perceived in the words of several interviewees, who claimed they had the right to live in the land in which the settlement was located because they had been living there for several decades. They also highlighted that their children had been born in the community and that their parents and grandparents had died there. They argued that the land in which the settlement is located had been unoccupied for many years. In this regard, RomFed81 said:

I was born in the Sierra de Perijá, but I grew up here. We were born here, our parents brought us here, but we can consider that we were born here. We are not lying; we lived and overnight where the CADA\textsuperscript{7} supermarket was located [in front of the current settlement], we slept there, the CADA [supermarket] was our house. We have been living here for almost 55 years. Later, we were removed from the CADA [supermarket] and we settled here.

3. Perspectives of forced displacement among the Yukpa of Maracaibo

The Yukpa in Maracaibo migrated from the Sierra de Perijá for several reasons including violence and depletion of natural resources (see 2.5 on page 11 and 4 on page 28). On this subject, RomAde81 explained that the migration of their families was attributed to disputes over the resources required for family subsistence. When asked “Why you have migrated from the Sierra de Perijá”, he replied:

\textsuperscript{7}CADA is an acronym in Spanish that refers to the Food Distributor Company Supermarket.
I am from here right now, but I used to live in Candelaria, which is located in the Sierra de Perijá. I was born in the Sierra de Perijá, but my dad brought me here when I was seven years; I am currently 32 years old. According to my father, we came here because other paisanos were stolen the harvest of my dad. My father harvested cassava and maize, but other Yukpa would often steal the harvest, which bothered my father.

RomFed81, who was born in the settlement, also cited the violence associated with land disputes as the cause of Yukpa displacement; he stated:

We do not want to live in the Sierra de Perijá because of the violence in the zone; therefore, we do not want to go there. Security is the main problem in the Sierra de Perijá. That’s why we migrated to Maracaibo where we have been settled for almost 45 years. The ranch owners are taking over the indigenous people for the land. There are many ranch owners seizing the land; they are killing the Yukpa.

Similarly, UnkMarXX and GonLil81 asserted that the violence in the Sierra de Perijá is attributed to land disputes. They also affirmed that the ranch owners are killing the Yukpa to seize their lands. To highlight the level of violence in the Sierra de Perijá, UnkMarXX mentioned the murder of Sabino Romero Izarra, a defender of the rights of the indigenous Yukpa community, who was shot and killed while traveling on a road in the Sierra de Perijá.
4. Settlement demands

The Yukpas’ dwellings are rudimentary. In general, they live in deplorable conditions, but the Yukpa claim they are happy in the area in which they live. Several times the state has relocated them to Yukpa Alegre (see 2.6 on page 64). However, the Yukpas’ stays there have been short because after relocation they almost immediately returned to their settlement in Maracaibo. The Yukpa mention lack of water, inadequate housing, absence of urgent care centers, and deficient transportation as reasons why they do not want to live in ‘The 22’ (see 2.6 on page 64). RomAde81 noted:

The state wants to take us by force to areas in which we do not have water. I’m talking with the true. There are some paisanos, who were taken to ‘The 22’. The state built houses in that area, but there is no water. In that area, there is nothing. That’s like the Sierra de Perijá. Paisanos have been drinking and using water that is not fresh because it has been stored for almost 2 weeks. That’s not fair.

GonLil81 expressed that Yukpa are reluctant to relocate to ‘The 22’ because of the lack of transportation and healthcare centers. She said:

In ‘The 22’, we have no bakery nearby, we have no grocery stores; here, we have quick and easy public transportation. In ‘The 22’, you have to wait two or three hours to get public transport. There is no way to transport us to MERCAL\(^8\) to find what we need. In ‘The 22’ is like a highway with little or no traffic.

\(^8\)MERCAL is the acronym for Mercados de Alimentos, C.A., a state run company which provides subsidized food and basic goods through a nationwide chain of stores.
Likewise, UnkEmeXX expressed that, in ‘The 22’, only drinking water is available; therefore, they cannot grow anything. UnkMarXX emphasized that, in ‘The 22’, they were required to walk long distances to obtain water because there is no water supply network. For RomAde81, health care, transportation, and water are priorities of his community. He said, “We are willing to relocate to ‘The 22’ once those needs are fulfilled”. However, RomFed81 insisted that they would have to be dead before anyone could remove them from their settlement in Maracaibo. GonLil81 also claimed, “We did not want to go to the settlement in ‘The 22’. She stated, “Although we can have everything in that place, we are going to stay here. Although the state may help us, we will stay here. We like it here because we are in front of the Hospital. We take children to the hospital when they are sick.” In the same context, UnkEliXX highlighted the benefits of being near the hospital and said the following:

The state built houses in ‘The 22’, but we do not want anything in that area. It is just like as in the Sierra de Perijá. No water, here we are better because we have a hospital nearby. If we have a health emergency during the night we can go to the hospital, almost two steps from here. Ambulance is not required because we are close. In ‘The 22’, ambulance is needed, and people may die while the ambulance arrives or while a taxi is stopped in order to be transported. ‘The 22’ is very far; it is almost in Perijá, arriving at the Villa. Approximately two hours from here. We do not want to leave from here because we are near the hospital. We work here happy.

MenAle91 also mentioned the lack of water in ‘The 22’ as a problem, and the advantage of being near the hospital. He explained:
When we were living in ‘The 22’, in the houses built by the state, we suffered when we had emergencies at night because there are no means of transportation. There is no public transportation at night. We were left abandoned, and we were fine there, but there were no means of transportation if we had to leave the village in an emergency situation. It is preferable to leave the paisanos (see footnote 6 on page 72) alone here and build houses here. The hospital is in front of us. In ‘The 22’, we do not see anything, we were planting cassava, but as there is no water, the cassava were dying. For this reason, it is preferable to leave us where we have been living for many years and where our grandparents have died. There are some people living in ‘The 22’, but some are gone because that area is far away. For example, I have a house in ‘The 22’; however, I’m here because in ‘The 22’ everything is very far away. I have no transportation to mobilize myself to an area where I can sell my crafts. Also, in ‘The 22’, if there is an emergency of a woman giving birth, there is no way to get transportation to the hospital. Who is going to take us? If you want to help us, it will have to be here on this land. The houses in ‘The 22’ are worthless; you give a kick to the walls and the walls fall off. The houses are cracking, that’s no good. The refrigerators provided by the state are also deteriorating.

The Yukpa settled in Maracaibo expressed their concerns about the actions taken by the state towards them. They claimed that the state actions are not in agreement with their needs. They are disappointed by the lack of support
from the national government; moreover, they feel deceived by the state. When he was asked whether they have received any support from the state; RomAde81 said:

The state has never visited us; no one has come. The only action of the state is that they want to remove us from this settlement, which has been led by the indigenous leader Noeli Pocaterra, who is a representative of the Governmental Committee on Indian Affairs.

RomFed81 mentioned that Noeli Pocaterra has threatened the community with police eviction, which contrasts with her public views that the Yukpa are living well. In this respect, GonLil81 said:

In the local newspaper Panorama, Noeli Pocaterra said Yukpa were living well, but we are not living well. We have not received any help. Nobody helped us. We do not want to see either Noeli or anyone. Manipulation has been the sole purpose of the people who have been here. We have been living here abandoned for many years. On one occasion, we were enclosed when President Chávez was visiting the city, so that the President could not see us. The Ministry [Nicia Maldonado] ordered to enclose the area with zinc sheets. Noeli Pocaterra says she works for the Indians, but she does not work. That’s a lie.

The Yukpa believe that the state shows public interest in their community only during electoral campaigns, when they try to win votes. In this regard, GonLil81 said:
The state wants to take us from here. The state only wants the votes from us. We are not going to vote for anyone anymore. Here, there are 70 families who do not want to vote for the President or anyone. On one occasion, the current governor, Arias-Cardenas, promised that he was going to build houses and schools for us after he won the elections. Where is that? We have not seen anything. We need houses and schools.

UnkNelXX also mentioned that his community has been affected by the different relocations imposed by the state. On this subject, he said:

We have been in different areas; moreover, several times, the state has moved us to the Sierra de Perijá. We have been compelled to move back and forward to different places. The state has forcibly taken us to the Villa del Rosario. Now, they want to take us to ‘The 22’ where there is nothing. We want to have a decent home, of course, we want a decent house; particularly, I like a decent house. I wonder why the state does not build the houses here in Maracaibo.

Some of the needs expressed by the Yukpa in Maracaibo suggest a change in their values, which contrast with the traditional form of subsistence in the Sierra de Perijá. They demand houses of cement and brick equipped with commodities or appliances such as televisions, air conditioners, and washing machines.
5. **Etic perspective of culture change among the Yukpa of Maracaibo**

The displacement of the Yukpa from their original territories to the city of Maracaibo has contributed to a change in their way of life. This change cannot be analyzed from a diffusionism perspective because it has not been caused by fortuitous, voluntary, and selective contact (see 7 on page 35). On the contrary, the intrinsic involuntary nature of the Yukpas’ displacement justifies the change analysis in terms of the process of acculturation (see 4 on page 28).

As previously mentioned (see 8 on page 8), the cultural patterns exhibited by the Yukpa of Maracaibo suggest that their level of integration with the imposing nation-state can be classified as a settlement in permanent contact. They have preserved their language (see 8 on page 39) and a significant number of conventional cultural values. The members of the settlement share clothes and food and decision-making is done by consensus. Resolution of internal conflicts is based on mediation; for example, they discuss the issues with other leaders of the community and the parties involved when an internal conflict requires attention. They use the official court system to resolve problems with local members of the broader Maracaibo society. Monogamy is the common marriage pattern observed within the community. Their family structure can be considered nuclear or elementary because it consists of a pair of married adults (man and woman) and numerous offspring. The Yukpa settled in Maracaibo still use plant materials to treat sickness. Marriage is celebrated conforming to Yukpa traditions, namely that parents propose the marital union; however, the future couple has the last word to accept or not the engagement. They live in rudimentary dwellings built...
with wood and zinc sheets with a structure similar to the one used in their
original habitat. The existence of *conucos* (see footnote 1 on page 6) in the
settlement, where bananas, cassavas, maize, and sugar cane are cultivated,
suggests that they have attempted to preserve horticulture as a form of
subsistence even though, during the interviewing process, they said that
horticulture had been left in the *Sierra de Perijá*.

The Yukpa of Maracaibo have had to learn Spanish as part of their
adaptive process in the urban environment, but have not abandoned their native
language. The integration of indigenous people in an urban economy is difficult
because their native skills, including language usage, do not allow them to adapt
readily to an urban life-style and what an urban environment might offer them
(Yescas 2008:24). The Yukpa settled in Maracaibo affirmed that they were
compelled to learn Spanish from the dominant society as a second language to
survive in the city. From their perspective, Spanish is essential to avoid being
cheated by people of the dominant society as occurred with their ancestors when
they arrived in Maracaibo.

As established by the Constitution of the Bolivarian Republic of
Venezuela (see 4 on page 30), indigenous people have the right to maintain and
develop their ethnic and cultural identity, worldview, values, spirituality and
sacred places. The state is also supposed to promote the appreciation and
dissemination of the cultural manifestations of indigenous peoples. Moreover,
constitutionally, indigenous people are entitled to an intercultural and bilingual
education based on their social and cultural characteristics, values, and
traditions. However, the Yukpa settled in Maracaibo do not receive education in
their native tongue. They speak the Yukpa language within their community,
but their children receive their education in Spanish. According to Blanchard
(2010:137), “when a language dies, the community of people that speak that language lose an element of their identity and their cultural framework is impoverished as a result”. In the same context, Blanchard (2010:137) also claims that “the most likely future of that community is their extinction as a culturally different group and their assimilation into a larger cultural group”.

In their original habitat, the Yukpa depend on the collection of wild plants and hunting of animals or fishing available in their environment (see 2.3 on page 5). The cultivation of the Yukpas’ land is characterized by alternative short periods of cultivation with long periods of rest in which the soil remains fallow. Those patterns suggest that their ecological mindset is oriented to preserve land and natural resources. As noted by Acuña (1998:179), the Yukpa take from nature only what is necessary for their survival. Land for the Yukpa, like many other indigenous communities, represents a life sustaining resource and the foundation of their economy. In Yukpa culture, land has more than an economic function. Land is a component of indigenous identity that is required for the regular interaction of their people with their land. Indigenous cultures may not exist without the regular interaction of their people with their land. As claimed by Acuña (1998:179), “land and resources have primarily a spiritual value that is inviolable”.

The lack of access to land and its natural resources in urban settlements nullifies the Yukpas’ traditional land-based culture and their dependence on natural resources. In urban settlements, they cannot take advantage of wild plants nor can they hunt or fish. Their autochthonous skills have gradually been discarded; alternatively, they have started to develop other skills (e.g. commercialization of crafts) adequate for their subsistence in urban places. As
mentioned by Yesca-Angeles (2008:45), the limited marketable skills for urban employment prevent the economic progress of indigenous peoples, like the Yukpa, in urban areas.

As mentioned earlier (see 2.15 on page 72), the Yukpa said that their main form of subsistence depends on craft making although they also obtain some of their food from small crops, which include banana, cassava, maize, and sugar cane. Furthermore, they usually have to beg in order to purchase what they need for their subsistence.

The change in the form of subsistence or production mode can be considered as one of the most significant cultural changes attributed to the forced uprooting of the Yukpa from their ancestral territory. The traditional Yukpa worldview is not based on a commodity-centered approach. The traditional Yukpa, as documented by Acuña (1998:179), only took from their surrounding environment what they needed to survive. In the indigenous Yukpa worldview, natural resources were not viewed as something from which economic benefits can merely be extracted. Their land, which encompasses their entire surrounding habitat, represented their spiritual and social values, as well as their sustainability.

Conventionally, the Yukpa valued the land as central to their culture (see 2.4 on page 7). Land was also valued from a spiritual perspective because the Yukpa aimed to maintain their sacred relation with nature (see 2.4 on page 7). The worldview of the Yukpa was significantly affected when their relationship with the environment changed. Testimonies of the Yukpa settled in Maracaibo suggest that they underwent gradual cultural transformation when they migrated during the eighties to avoid the violence of the Sierra de Perijá.
The Yukpa of Maracaibo have claimed that their proximity to the Hospital General del Sur is now essential for their community’s existence. They stated that although they have the necessary skills and expertise to attend to women in labor, they use biomedicinal services when their people are affected by viral or bacterial diseases. Moreover, they may also turn to biomedicine in case of accidents. Some of the interviews suggest that the Yukpa still consider indigenous medicine as an option, but biomedicine is preferred. Health care is therefore another cultural aspect in which the Yukpa settled in Maracaibo have shown evidence of transformation. They have not completely abandoned their indigenous healing system but have adopted a new set of healthcare values from the broader society. The healing system was transformed because the Yukpa have begun to adopt biomedicine instead of relying on their autochthonous system. The values of the Yukpa have been transformed to incorporate elements of the urban area. Their skills, which developed to function in the surrounding environment, have progressively been replaced by other skills.

However, some of the Yukpa settled in Maracaibo try to preserve their indigenous values. For example, they try when possible to obtain medicinal plants in their urban environment but often they have to go to the Sierra de Perijá to find those medicinal plants that are not locally available. The Yukpa indigenous healing system requires their traditional environment to exist.

The contact of the Yukpa with non-indigenous society has considerably affected their indigenous religious beliefs. The encounter with Capuchins Missionaries in the seventeenth century (see 2.3 on page 6 and 2.13 on page 70) fostered the introduction of Roman Catholicism. Nevertheless, the Yukpa still believe in deities with anthropomorphic features, like the frog-woman called Kopecho, who leads the Yukpa on the path of the righteous to the afterworld (see
The interaction of the Yukpa settled in Maracaibo with members of the broader society has furthered the entrance of other more individualistic religions, such as evangelical Christianity. Several of the Yukpa interviewed, mostly women, identified themselves as evangelical, which contrasts with their autochthonous beliefs. The forced displacement of the Yukpa to the city of Maracaibo has exposed them to transformation in their religious beliefs.

In conclusion: although the Yukpa of Maracaibo still exhibit patterns of their autochthonous culture, the forced displacement has affected their form of subsistence, health care, religion, among others aspects of their traditional lifestyle. The Yukpa have also developed a significant dependency on the way of life of the broader society for their subsistence, which suggests that their native autonomy has been undermined. The needs expressed by the Yukpa settled in Maracaibo suggest cultural change. The Yukpas’ worldview has incorporated urban elements, which are not in agreement with the Yukpas’ original form of subsistence. For example, they have incorporated elements of the host culture such as the adoption of Spanish as a second language, and aspects of biomedicine. Moreover, they have abandoned subsistence activities such as hunting and fishing, which can only be practiced in their original environment. They now express an interest for houses of cement and brick, and for having appliances (e.g. televisions, air conditioners, and washing machines), which are atypical in their original environment.

6. Synopsis of the next chapter

The chapter that follows contains the conclusions of the research.
CHAPTER 5

CONCLUSIONS

1. Opening remarks

The chapter contains the conclusions of this study, which includes a review of whether the objectives have been achieved, methodology used, limitations of the study, and recommendations for further research.

2. Summary

The Yukpa are an indigenous community who have traditionally inhabited the lands of the Sierra de Perijá (mountain range of Perijá) in Venezuela. The Yukpa were traditionally horticulturists with low mobility, which means that they obtained most or all of the food required for their subsistence from growing crops within their traditional habitat. The Yukpa have been exposed to culture change since the arrival of the Capuchins to their ancestral lands (see 2.3 on
page 6). In the 1930s, ranch owners started the progressive occupation of the Yukpas ancestral lands, taking advantage of the Venezuelan government’s indifference to indigenous communities. To avoid the violence in the Sierra de Perijá, a significant number of Yukpa were displaced during the eighties to the city of Maracaibo in northwestern Venezuela (see 2.5 on page 11, 4 on page 28, and 3 on page 74). The systematic and violent appropriation of landlords and settlers of the Yukpas’ land represented a form of structural violence (see 5 on page 31) because the invaders’ purpose was to reduce the territorial affinity of the Yukpa and their land ownership. Moreover, the negligence of the national government of Venezuela to protect the rights of the Yukpa was also a form of structural violence because the Venezuelan government ignored the Yukpas’ rights to their traditional lands (see 4 on page 28).

The preceding analysis supports the fact that the movement of the Yukpa to the city of Maracaibo constitutes a form of displacement. First, they abandoned their territories because of the persecution and coercion of landlords in the Sierra de Perijá. Second, they systematically lost their territories, which were required for the subsistence of their land-based culture and economy. Third, they were forcibly uprooted because of the negligence of the Venezuelan government to protect their integrity.

The autochthonous cultural patterns of the Yukpa settled in Maracaibo have been affected by their forced displacement. They can be considered a settlement in permanent contact with the exception that they have not lost their language (see 8 on page 39). The Yukpa have adapted to the city, but retain significant aspects of their native identity (see 7 on page 36). They exhibit aspects of culture change related to language, forms of subsistence, health care, and religion; however, they are not fully integrated with the broader society of
Maracaibo. The Yukpa of Maracaibo are characterized by distrust toward members of the broader society, who have deceived and discriminated against them in many ways (see 2.14 on page 71 and 4 on page 76). The aforesaid explains why the Yukpa of Maracaibo largely avoid contact with the dominant society as much as they can with the exception of the contact required to receive support from the national government of Venezuela. Nonetheless, the statements of the Yukpa of Maracaibo suggest that they would welcome greater contact as long as they can have schools, housing, and regular water (see 4 on page 76) in their community. The research participants identify themselves as inhabitants of Maracaibo with phrases such as “I am from here now, all the boys were born here, I was born here, my dad died here” (see 3 on page 74), which suggests changes with respect to their self-identification and affinity with the Yukpa in the Sierra de Perijá. Some of the people interviewed mentioned that they have learned to speak Spanish to avoid being cheated by non-Yukpa people (see 2.14 on page 71). The Yukpa have also highlighted that speaking and understanding Spanish is essential to defend their rights. Moreover, the mediator between the Yukpa community and the broader Venezuelan society must be able to speak Spanish (see 2.10 on page 66). The aforesaid suggests that the adaptation of the Yukpa to the urban environment has motivated them to learn Spanish; however, this claim cannot be considered conclusive given the exploratory nature of this study.

This study has also revealed that the Yukpa of Maracaibo face financial problems because their traditional forms of subsistence are incompatible with the monetized urban environment. From an economic perspective, the Yukpa of Maracaibo are not self-sufficient. They live in deplorable economic and social conditions. They want better living conditions in their current living place; they
want to be granted residency in their choice of settlement and to be given adequate services. They want to have a voice in their adaptation to urban life (see 4 on page 76). Tensions between the maintenance of cultural identity and the conventional way of life, and living in the urban environment characterize the Yukpa of Maracaibo. The expectations of the Yukpa of Maracaibo and the broader society are misaligned. The Yukpa have adapted to the conventional way of life imposed by the urban environment in which they live, but they are still facing significant difficulties. The Yukpas’ expectations have not been fulfilled with the alternatives of adaptation offered by the national government of Venezuela. The government wants to relocate the Yukpa to areas in which their needs are not satisfied (see 4 on page 76). The Yukpa want to remain in the current settlement, which is part of their life. Their children have been born in that area, and their parents and grandparents have also died there (see 2.16 on page 73).

The Yukpa settled in Maracaibo lack of adequate health care and housing. Their living conditions are deplorable. They cannot obtain urban employment because their skills (e.g. farming, fishing, and herding) are not suitable for urban needs. The educational assistance provided by non-Yukpa speaking teachers ignores Yukpas’ sociocultural uniqueness; for example, the education is provided in Spanish. The income earned by the manufacturing of crafts is not enough for their subsistence, which leads many of them to beg in the streets near to their settlement. The contact of the Yukpa settled in Maracaibo with the dominant society has changed their cultural patterns in aspects related to language, form of subsistence, healing system, and religion. The Yukpa of Maracaibo exhibit patterns of compartmentalization in different aspects. For example, they have adopted Evangelicalism (see 2.13 on page 70),
but they have not abandoned their native Shamanistic beliefs. Furthermore, they explain that their children are born in the wild without the assistance of non-Yukpa people, but they also accept the biomedicine for treating life-threatening conditions (see 2.5 on page 63) or when they are affected by viral or bacterial diseases (see 5 on page 84).

The uprooting of Yukpa from their original territories has also exposed them to a gradual loss of their distinctive land-based form of subsistence. For example, knowledge acquired by the use of medicinal plants, is not possible in urban areas where they must utilize western medicine. The traditional fishing and hunting skills of the Yukpa can become atrophied or completely lost from the lack of use. Those forms of subsistence are not possible in the city, and alternatively, they obtain food from grocery stores. Traditional knowledge may disappear when the reason for its existence perishes; otherwise stated, knowledge may survive as long as it is required.

The restitution of the lands would be helpful to preserve the culture of the Yukpa; however, the needs of the displaced Yukpa cannot be ignored. Thus, the designation of liaison or representatives to work directly with the governmental departments responsible for indigenous affairs could be helpful to ensure their indigenous rights. The constitution of the Bolivarian Republic of Venezuela recognizes explicitly the cultural uniqueness of indigenous peoples and protects their economy, social organization, political systems, and their cultures, customs, languages, and religions, as well as their habitat and original rights to ancestral lands.
3. Aims achieved

First, some cultural patterns of the Yukpa settled in Maracaibo were described from both etic and emic perspectives. The cultural patterns of the Yukpa settled in Maracaibo were discussed in aspects related to diet, dwellings and services, clothing and personal appearance, hygiene, health care, transportation. Likewise, based on observations and interviews, a description was provided about aspects of family composition, social system, kinship, parenting, leisure, leadership, conflict resolution, religion, language, and forms of subsistence. The holistic nature of anthropology compelled the use of multiple perspectives to describe and understand the culture of the Yukpa of Maracaibo. The emic, which defines the insider’s perspective or the way in which the community being researched perceives the world around them, and the etic that refers to the outsider perspective or the way in which the culture being study is perceived by the researcher (Given 2008:249). Second, some cultural patterns of the Yukpa of Maracaibo were also compared and analyzed in relation to similar cultural patterns exhibited by the Yukpa in the Sierra de Perijá. This analysis mostly focused on cultural patterns related to the land-based forms of subsistence (e.g. hunting, fishing, and harvesting of wild plants). Third, the way of life of the Yukpa in Maracaibo was interpreted. Fourth, as regards the adaptation of the Yukpa to the urban environment of Maracaibo, a description of some autochthonous customs that the Yukpa have retained, and ones borrowed from their hosting society was included. Fifth, the framework proposed by Ribeiro (see 8 on page 39) was suitable to determine the Yukpas’ level of integration with the Venezuelan society. As stated above, it was found that the Yukpa of Maracaibo tend to avoid contact with members of the broader Venezuelan society, except
when they want to receive support from the Venezuelan government. Although they have retained several aspects of their traditional culture, they have also adopted cultural values of their hosting urban society. A biographic profile of the research participants was also provided. The etic perspective on aspects related to cultural consequences of forced displacement was also discussed, and the current needs of the Yukpa in Maracaibo were identified.

4. Methodology

To select informants, a haphazard non-probability sampling (see 2 on page 42) was convenient because the population of the Yukpa settled in Maracaibo is limited. Moreover, many of the inhabitants of this community sporadically go to the Sierra de Perijá to visit relatives for long periods and were thus not available at the time the research was conducted. Through interviews, interaction with and observation of the members of the Yukpa settlement in Maracaibo data on different cultural aspects were obtained. Unstructured interviewing (see 4 on page 44) was useful to collect data in the form of a casual conversation. The informants could express themselves in their own terms and without facing the apprehension associated with structured interviewing. Semi-structured interviews (see 5 on page 46) were convenient to identify biographic information of the Yukpa settled in Maracaibo, specifically in aspects related to language, occupation, participation in traditional healing system, and religion. Observation was an invaluable method used to identify various behavioral patterns about domestic life, social organization, and methods of subsistence of the population researched. The content analysis qualitative research method (see 8 on page 52)
was effective for the identification, extraction, and organization of ideas in texts related to the subject researched; whereas, the quantitative descriptive analysis was convenient to analyze demographic data of the Yukpa community.

5. Limitations

The research data were limited, but returning to Venezuela for further fieldwork was not feasible for security reasons. At present, Venezuela has the second-highest homicide rate in the world after Honduras, which occupies the first place (Bisogno et al. 2013). Furthermore, kidnappings are a serious concern throughout the country.

6. Researcher Reflections

The emic data reveal that although certainly much has changed in 30 years since relocation, the contemporary Yukpa in Maracaibo are no longer interested in returning to their traditional lands or lifeways. They now aim for better conditions in their current location. The initial theoretical approach was romanticized to the extent that the investigator assumed the Yukpa of Maracaibo would be interested in returning to their homelands and to their prior indigenous lifeways. However, an applied perspective now leads the author to recommend better services and conditions for the Yukpa of Maracaibo instead of suggesting their return to an idealized past.

The Yukpa of Maracaibo have long been exposed to a process of urban acculturation, which justifies a more applied approach. The national government of Venezuela must be empathetic with the needs of the Yukpa settled in
Maracaibo. They must be helped with the resources required to survive in the urban environment (e.g. water, adequate housing, urgent care centers, and transportation) without altering their cultural autonomy. They have needs that must be addressed, but the lack of attention of the state for this community suggests a flagrant violation of the Venezuelan constitution (1999). Article 121 of the Venezuelan constitution says:

Native peoples have the right to maintain and develop their ethnic and cultural identity, worldview, values, spirituality and holy places and places of cult. The State shall promote the appreciation and dissemination of the cultural manifestations of the native peoples, who have the right to their own education, and an education system of an intercultural and bilingual nature, taking into account their singular social and cultural characteristics, values and traditions.

The Yukpa settled in Maracaibo, however, do not receive bilingual education nor are their health care needs fulfilled. The government has attempted to relocate them to other areas in which supposedly their needs would be addressed; however, the Yukpa settled in Maracaibo have expressed their dissatisfaction with the housing complex, called Yukpa Alegre, where the state wants to move them. The needs of the Yukpa cannot be ignored while a solution to their plight is sought.

From a constitutional and health care perspective, the rights of the Yukpa settled in Maracaibo have been violated. Article 122 states that indigenous peoples have the right to comprehensive health care without ignoring their practices and culture. Members of the Yukpa community living in Maracaibo explained that their health care needs were not satisfied. The
Venezuelan government argues that the Yukpa settled in Maracaibo are occupying areas not destined for residential purposes. Nevertheless, they should ideally receive at least quarterly visits by medical practitioners to check their different health issues.

The Venezuelan constitution also protects the productive system of indigenous people. Article 123 states that indigenous peoples have the right to maintain and promote their own economic practices based on reciprocity, solidarity, and exchange. Indigenous peoples have the right to vocational training and to participate in the development, implementation and management of specific training programs, technical services and financial assistance to strengthen their sustainability.

To assure that the rights of the Yukpa settled in Maracaibo are not violated, representatives must be in contact with their indigenous delegates. Ensuring that the Yukpas’ indigenous rights are respected is essential to facilitate the reproduction, expression and continuity of their life models. The leaders of the community must work directly with the governmental offices created for that purpose. For example, the Permanent Commission of Indigenous Peoples of the National Assembly of Venezuela, the Minister for Indigenous Affairs, or the indigenous congressmen, could defend indigenous rights because they understand the indigenous worldview. The designation of a liaison or representative of these indigenous communities is essential to work efficiently with the organizations responsible for indigenous affairs. In the worst case scenario, if the rights of indigenous peoples are still ignored, problems can be escalated to international organizations; for example, the United Nations Permanent Forum on Indigenous Issues (UNPFII) or the Unrepresented Nations and Peoples Organization (UNPO). The first one is the United Nations’ central
coordinating body for matters relating to the concerns and rights of the world’s indigenous peoples (García-Alix 2003:6). The second one is an international pro-democracy organization, which was formed in 1991 in The Hague, Netherlands (Unrepresented Nations and Peoples Organization 1997:4). Its purpose is to facilitate the voices of unrepresented and marginalized nations and peoples worldwide (Unrepresented Nations and Peoples Organization 1997:3-4).

7. Suggestions for further research

Visiting the Sierra de Perijá, interacting with the community, and collecting their testimonies could be useful to determine whether the existent academic literature is still valid. Drawing a more comprehensive comparison between the ways of life of the Yukpa in the Sierra de Perijá and those in Maracaibo would enhance the existent knowledge about the Yukpa society. Collecting data in the housing complex Yukpa Alegre could also enrich the literature about the Yukpa displaced to Maracaibo. Further research would be convenient to determine whether traditional homelands are required to preserve Yukpa culture, traditions, and identity because the data collected in this study were not enough to support that hypothesis.
REFERENCES CITED


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APPENDIX A

Interview Transcripts

This appendix contains transcripts of interviews conducted with some members of the Yukpa settled in the city of Maracaibo on April 9 and April 15, 2013. Table A.1 shows the names linked to the identifications used in the transcripts.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Id</th>
<th>Interviewee Name</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I1</td>
<td>RomAde81</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I2</td>
<td>RomFed81</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I3</td>
<td>UnkMarXX</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I4</td>
<td>UnkEmeXX</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I5</td>
<td>GonLil81</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I6</td>
<td>UnkEliXX</td>
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<td>Anonymous</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>MenAle81</td>
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<tr>
<td>I10</td>
<td>Anonymous</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I11</td>
<td>RomNan88</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I12</td>
<td>UnkNelXX</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
1. Interview on April 9, 2013

I: What is your name?
I1: RomAde81

I: Where are you from? Which place?
I1: I am from here right now, but I used to live in Candelaria.

I: Where is Candelaria?
I1: Candelaria is located in Perija.

I: How long ago did you come to Maracaibo?
I1: I do not remember because my dad did not make it clear to me.

I: Were you a child?
I1: I came when I was seven years old, I was a child.

I: Where were you born?
I1: I was born in the Sierra, but my dad brought me here when
I was seven years old.

I: What is the name of your dad?
I1: Luis

I: How old are you?
I1: I am 32 years old.

I: Are you the cacique [native chief]?
I1: I am the representative of this community.

I: How many people are here right now?
I1: There are 70 people.

I: Why you have migrated from the Sierra?
I1: I am going to explain based on what my father told me.
My dad came from the Sierra because other paisanos were stolen the harvest of my dad.

I: Paisano?

I1: Another Yukpa

I: Another Yukpa was stealing?

I1: My father harvested cassava and maize, but other paisanos would often steal the harvest, which bothered my father.

I: Because another paisano stole?

I1: Because another paisano stole the harvest; thus, we started to migrate slowly from Perija.

I: All of you [the 70 people] are here for the same reason?

I1: No

I: Different reasons?

I1: For different reasons.

I: What do you do for a living in the Sierra?

I1: We harvest topocho [banana], maize, cassava, everything.

I: How many Yukpa are currently in Perija?

I1: I do not know; as I told you, I came to Maracaibo when I was seven years old.

I: So that, you have many years living here?

I1: 32 years living here.

I: Where is currently living your dad?

I1: No, my dad is dead.

I: Do you have your children and family with you?

I1: Yes, I have my children with me.

I: RomAde81, how many children do you have?
I1: I have five children.
I: Were they born here or in the Hospital?
I1: They were born here.
I: Here in this settlement?
I1: Here
I: RomAde81, what do you do for a living?
I1: We live making hats, coconut monkeys, arrows, boats.
    We are artisans.
I: Do you receive any support from the state?
I1: The state has never visited us.
I: No one?
I1: No, none.
I: What about people from political parties opposed
to the state, state officers?
I1: No, no one has come. The only action of the state
    is that they want to remove us from this settlement,
    which has been led by Noeli Pocaterra.
    Do you know Noeli Pocaterra?
I: Yes, Noeli Pocaterra of the Committee on Indian Affairs.
I1: The state wants to take us by force to areas in which
    we do not have water. I’m talking with the true. There are
    some paisanos, who were taken to ‘The 22’ [area in which
    some Yukpa has been relocated by the state].
    The state built houses in that area, but there
    is no water. In that area, there is nothing.
    That’s like the Sierra. Paisanos have been drinking
and using water that is not fresh
(stored for almost 2 weeks). That's not fair.

I: And where you would like to live?

I2: We want to live here

I: Do you like it here?

I2: We like it here. Here, no more. We told Noeli Pocaterra
that to get us out of here will have to be dead.
Pocaterra is threatening us with the police.

I: Do you want to live in the Sierra?

I2: We do not want to live in the Sierra because of the
violence in the zone; therefore, we do not
want to go there.

I: Do you mean that one of the main problems is security?

I2: That’s why we came here; we have been here for almost
45 years. We have been living in this land.

I2: They do know how it is.

I: So you have been living here for a long time?

I2: Yes; moreover, this land has been abandoned for 70 years

I: What is your name?

I2: RomFed81

I2: This boy grew up here, all the boys were born here.
I came, and even my dad died here. He also grew up here.
All paisanos grew up here.

I: Where you were born?

I2: Here, and my dad died here.

I: So that, you have been here for many years?
I2: Many years. This land has been abandoned for 70 years.

I: Are related the families here?

I2: Here there are approximately 70 people. We work as artisans to survive. Pocaterra is threatening us with the police. She says that if we do not want to leave voluntarily from here, they are going to use the force.

I3: In several opportunities we have been removed from here. I was taken to the Sierra in one opportunity. My daughter was sick for more than 1 year, approximately during the time I was in the Sierra. We were abandoned in the Sierra.

I: What kind of disease your daughter is facing?

I3: The girl has sick the eyes.

I2: She, who lives in 'The 22', is saying that in 'The 22' there is no water, cassava is dying.

I: It is dying the harvest and where is 'The 22'?

I1: In the Perija road, that's like the Sierra, well, in the Sierra, it is a bit better because there is water.

I4: In 'The 22', there is no water; we have only water to drink.

I: What's your name?

I4: UnkEmeXX

I: What's your name?

I3: My name is UnkMarXX; I am from the Sierra

I4: No cars arrive, nothing arrives.
I2: We have to take the road to obtain water because there is no running water.

I: Do you mean that one of the main problems is the lack of water?

I1: Water, and other things such as healthcare, truck 350, and ambulance. We want that.

I: What do you need to live?

I1: First of all, healthcare, ambulance, truck 350, which must be permanent. We also need running water. We want that. We will be here until our requests can be fulfilled. Firstly, we want our healthcare, ambulance, truck 350, running water. When we see all these things, then we go from here, but while there is nothing, we are not going to leave from here.

I2: To get us out of here will have to be dead

I3: That’s why we’re voting, to fight too.

I5: We do not want to go to the settlement in ‘The 22’; although we can have everything in that place, we are going to stay here. Although the state may help us, we will stay here. We like it here because we are in front of the Hospital. We take children to the hospital when they are sick.

I: What is your name?

I5: My name is GonLil81 we want to stay here no more, we have been living here for many years, and no one has helped us.
I: Do you have water here?
I5: We have water.
I: Do you have crops?
I5: Explain, what do you mean with crops?
I: Plantations?
I5: Yes, what you see here, that belong to us.
We also sell crafts, that’s all. The crops were left
in the Sierra; we have learned here to sell crafts,
that’s what we do.
I: How are the people in the Sierra?
I5: In the Sierra everything is worse.
I: What happened in the Sierra?
I5: In the Sierra is worse, the ranch owners are taking over
the indigenous people.
I: Are there many ranch owners seizing the land? Are they
killing the Yukpa?
I5: Yes
I: Why?
I5: For the land.
I3: The people say that because of land disputes, I know that
because we were in the Sierra. Sabino was killed
in the Sierra. Many people have been killed in the Sierra.
There is a wounded old man in hospital, and the old lady
is in the Sierra.
I5: The people who have came here, officers responsible for
indigenous affairs, they have all deceived us;
pure deception.

I: Have visited you people from the state?
I5: Pure deception
I: What do they say?
I5: We're going to help you, but it's a lie.
I: Noeli Pocaterra was here?
I5: She is the most deceptive person.
I: Is she Indian?
I5: She is the one who deceives us.
I: What did she say?
I5: In the local newspaper Panorama (which was read to us
by somebody else), she said Yukpa were living well,
but we are not living well. We have not received any
help. Nobody helped us, so we do not know how
you came here because we do not give anyone access.
I: Thank you for letting me get in.
I5: We do not want to see either Noeli or anyone.
Manipulation has been the sole purpose of the
people who have been here. We have been living here
abandoned for many years. On one occasion we were enclosed
when the President was visiting the city, so that the
President could not see us. The area was enclosed
with zinc sheets, which was ordered by the Ministry.
I: GonLil81 what would you like? Do you want to stay here?
What do you need?
I5: Sure, we want to stay here, we need houses.
I: Do you have water?
I5: Yes, we have enough water; here, we also have school.
I: Where is the school?
I5: Behind you [she pointed an empty area where the children receive classes].
I: What’s your name?
I6: My name is UnkEliXX. The state built houses in ‘The 22’, but we do not want anything in that area.
It is just like as in the Sierra. No water, here we are better because we have a hospital nearby. If we have a health emergency during the night we can go to the hospital, almost two steps from here. Ambulance is not required because we are close. In ‘The 22’, ambulance is needed, and people may die while the ambulance arrives or while a taxi is stopped in order to be transported.
I: Is ‘The 22’ far from here?
I6: Almost in Perija, arriving at the Villa. Approximately two hours from here. We do not want to leave from here because we are near the hospital. We work here happy.
I: What are the common diseases that people have here?
I6: There are many diseases that we do not know.
I: What the state has said about the possibility of building something here?
I5: The state says nothing; the state wants
to take us from here. The state only wants the votes from us. We are not going to vote for anyone anymore. Here, there are 70 families who do not want to vote for the President or anyone.

On one occasion Arias Cardenas [the current governor of the State] promised that he was going to build houses and school for us after he won the elections. Where is that? We have not seen anything.

I: So what you need is a home and school?
I5: Home and school.

I: Where do your children go to school?
I5: Right here.

I: Who are the teachers?
I5: The teacher just left.

I: Is the teacher Yukpa?
I5: No, he’s just like you.

I: Which language is used to teach, Spanish or Yukpa?
I5: The classes are taught in Spanish; so as you.

I7: We want that our kids learn the Spanish.

I5: Through that school we are not going to get out of here. We will fight for this land.

I: How is security here? Do you have problems with people in the area?
I8: We have no problems with anyone. We are happy here; we do not want to leave here. Several
times the minister has come here to manipulate us, but we are already tired. The minister has promised many things to us since the times when the President was alive. Now, we are going to stay here. We like this area because we have been living here for many years, and the children were born here. If the state wants to help us, it will have to be here, with houses like the ones the state has provided to other people.

I: What kind of houses do you want?

I8: We want houses of cement and brick, a decent house, like the houses the state has been giving to other people, which we have seen on television. The state is giving houses to other countries.

I7: The houses equipped that Chavez is giving. We want houses with air conditioner, washing machine, bed, range and refrigerator. In ‘The 22’, the state lied; they only gave us a small range and refrigerator, and that was enough for our paisanos in ‘The 22’.

I: Do you have here electricity?

I5: We have electricity.

I: How do you cook?

I5: We cook with firewood.

I: Where do you buy food?

I5: In the groceries store.

I9: When we were living in ‘The 22’, in the houses built by the
state, we suffered when we had emergencies at night because there are no means of transportation. There is no public transportation at night. We were left abandoned, and we were fine there, but there were no means of transportation if we had to leave the village in an emergency situation. It is preferable to leave the paisanos alone here and build houses here. The hospital is in front of us. In ‘The 22’, we do not see anything, we were planting cassava, but as there is no water, the cassava was dying. For this reason it is preferable to leave us where we have been living for many years and where our grandparents have died.

I: What’s your name?

I9: My name is MenAle81. This area has belonged to the Yukpa. We wonder why the state is not removing those people who have informal business on the same grounds. If the state needs this land, why this land has been abandoned for many years? Why the state has not previously built in this area?

I: Why the state wants to remove you from here?

I9: According to the state, the land is needed to build something, but the truth is that once the paisanos go, the state will not do anything. We moved to ‘The 22’ and we were left in the area without help, homes are cracking, no water, nothing.

I: Water is important.
I9: The important thing is water, roads, school. In ‘The 22’ we do not see anything.
I: Are there people living in ‘The 22’?
I9: Yes, there are people, but some are gone because that area is far away. For example, I have a house in ‘The 22’; however, I’m here because in ‘The 22’ everything is very far away. I have no transportation to mobilize myself to an area where I can sell my crafts. Also, if there is an emergency of a woman giving birth, there is no way to get transportation to the hospital. Who’s going to take us? If you want to help us, it will have to be here on this land. If you are interested in helping the paisanos do it here with cute houses. The 22 houses in ‘The 22’ are worthless; you give a kick to the walls and the walls fall off. The houses are cracking, that’s no good. The refrigerators provided by the state are also deteriorating.
I: Where you keep food?
I9: We buy and cook the food the same day. We cannot store food.
I: Where do you buy food?
I9: In grocery stores located very far from ‘The 22’ settlement.
I: Do you have the means to crop?
I9: We have land but no water [they refer to ‘The 22’]. Furthermore, every afternoon the air stinks, stinks of pig manure. I believe that we are much happier here
because the hospital is in front of us.

I: What are the children’s diseases?
I9: Flu, and other diseases.

I: At the Hospital they receive free healthcare?
I9: Yes, free healthcare. If you want to help paisanos, the state must provide us, here, with houses, schools, truck 350 to move the merchandise.

I: What merchandise do you have?
I5: It is not merchandise, it is what we produce: palm crafts.
I: Do you sell that?
I5: Yes, we sell the craft; it is the work of us, because the state does not want to give work to our husbands.

I: Why the state does not want to give your husband’s work?
I5: We do not know. But no matter what, here we are good. We will not move to ‘The 22’ even if we have jobs in that area.

I: In addition to the craft, what else do the men do?
I9: We create small boats, do any little thing.
I: Do you work in construction?
I9: Here, there is no work, the majority has no job, no work in ‘The 22’ either, and yet the state wants to get the paisanos out of here, to abandon us.

I8: The state wants to remove us from here. The old woman Noeli Pocaterra is manipulating us.

I: Where is she originally from?
I5: She says she works for the Indians, but she does not work. That’s a lie.
I10: She is misleading Yukpa here, she is double-face. We want that the state built some few houses here. If you are bitten by a snake, being here, the patient’s family has a place to sleep [refers to the proximity of the hospital]. If we are out of here then where people will go, everything would be too far. Where we will be abandoned, like animals. There are some indigenous hospitalized who have no family, no one is helping.

I: Who help with you the clothes?

I5: People come and provide us with clothes. The clothes are now very expensive. What the people give to us, we receive with love, and we share everything.

I: Everybody here speak Spanish?

I5: Yes, we all speak Spanish; previously, non-Yukpa people cheated us by a simple spaghetti, for a noodle, not now, we can now speak Spanish. We are no longer deceived by non-Yukpa people as when our grandparents could not speak Spanish; they could not understand the language of non-Yukpa people, but not now. Before, we could accept to be relocated from here in exchange for receiving 50 Bolivares, but not now, we will win this land we have here. There are houses in ‘The 22’, but we will not go there.

I: Why do not like ‘The 22’?

I5: As the man said, the area reeks of pig manure, which increases the number of children sick.
I: Why the area stinks? What’s the problem?

I5: Because there is coal of that, which produces parasites.

I: The children get sick because of that?

I5: Yes, but here, the children do not get sick.

I: How many families are in ‘The 22’?

I5: There are about 25 families.

I: How many families are here?

I5: Yes, here there are approximately 70 families. But all the families from ‘The 22’ want to come here because that area is so bad. It is like a desert. That’s far.

I: What public transportation do you take to go to ‘The 22’?

I5: The buses that go to Machiques.

I: ‘The 22’ is near Machiques?

I6: ‘The 22’ is like going to the 40 km.

I: The main problem is water?

I6: The problem is not mainly the water but transportation.

I: In the Sierra do you face the same problems?

I6: In the Sierra is worse; in the Sierra the ranch owners are killing our people, the paisanos.

I: Why are they killing the paisanos?

I6: Ranch owners are killing paisanos, which is worse.

I: But not here?

I6: Here we are good, people want to remove us from here, the paisanos do not want to go from here because in ‘The 22’ there are no roads, no water, that area stinks a lot. We have almost two years abandoned.
In ‘The 22’, the water is delivered just twice per week. There’s a truck that periodically should transport the water but the delivery is not consistent. That’s why the paisanos must be left alone here. If non-Yukpa people want to help paisanos, it must be here. People who come here it is only to annoy paisanos; a pure lie, no schools, just promises.

I: How old are you?
I6: I am 22 years old.
I: Who has more years living here?
I5: RomFed81 is who has more years living here; I am 32 years old, my mom brought me when I was 8.
I: And where is your mother?
I5: She is here.
I: Have you had people deceased here?
I2: Many dead, the old people; the old people have been living here for almost 70 years [The Yukpa moved during the eighties to the city of Maracaibo; however, they argue they have been in the area for more time to justify their ownership rights on the occupied land].
I: How old are you?
I2: I am 42 years old, living here. My dad brought me here.
I: Where you were born?
I2: I was born in the Sierra, but I grew up here. We were born here, our parents brought us here, but we can consider that we were born here. We are not lying; we lived and overnight
where the CADA supermarket was located, we slept there, the CADA was our house. We have been living here for almost 55 years. Later, we were removed and we came here. We are telling you this so that Noeli Pocaterra can hear. She is threatening us.

I: What does she say?

I2: That we are going to be removed here by force. They will remove us from here with the National Guard.

I: So the main problem is security? Going back to the Sierra is an option?

I11: We will not return to the Sierra, here we are accustomed; we live here, the proximity with the hospital is very favorable when our children are sick. For example, there is one lady in hospital who has no close relatives; therefore, nobody is taking care of her at the Hospital.

I: What’s your name?

I11: RomNan88

I: How old are you?

I11: 25 years old.

I: How many children do you have?

I11: A lot, I have seven.

I5: They were all born here.

I: What is the average number of children each family has?

I5: 13, 8, 6 are the ages of my children; they were all born here in this land.

I: Who attend births?
I5: Mom, we have our own doctors here, anyone can attend births even the men.

I: Do you go to the hospital when the labor is complicated?

I5: No, we do not have complications; everyone comes out healthy. Just go to the hospital while we are pregnant to make sure everything is okay.

I: What do you eat?

I5: We eat rice, chicken, beef, we do not eat beans or lentils, and we do not want that, just what we’re used to.

I6: The state wants the land for trash disposal; as in that area where you can find dead dogs. Non-Yukpa people say they know how to live better than Yukpa, and I think that the Yukpa know how to live better than alijunas.

I: RomAde81: What would you say to the state? What would be your message to the state?

I1: We expect that the state can help us to build houses. Near Hospital, here we have water. The Emergency room is only two steps from here. We do not want to go to ‘The 22’ because there is nothing in that area.

I5: In ‘The 22’ we have no bakery nearby, we have no grocery stores; here we have quick and easy public transportation. In ‘The 22’ you have to wait two or three hours to get public transport. There is no way to transport us to MERCAL [state food supplier] to find what we need. In ‘The 22’ is like a highway.
2. Interview on April 15, 2013

I: RomAde81 you told me, here, there are 70 people I would like to know how you resolve internal conflicts among your people.

I1: We are here to help as representatives of the group, as a cacique. We resolve problems as representatives when there are fights, when there is malicious gossiping.

I: How many caciques are here? Are you the Kapeta? Are you the representative of your household, any other Kapeta?

I1: Yes, there are other Kapetas.

I: When there are problems with other families what do you do?

I1: We call for a meeting between the parties involved in the conflict.

I: Please describe the conflicts? Do you have internal fights?

I1: We do not fight.

I: And when there are malicious gossips?

I1: We call to investigate the facts. We have to determine what happened.

I: Are you well-respected in your community?

I1: Yes

I: Is the problem over after clarifying the facts?

I1: We fine the people involved in the issue with tasks, which may include cleaning the yard, so that they learn to respect.

I: It is a fine?
I1: It is a fine. We do the same in the Sierra.
I: When someone dies what do you do with the corpse?
I1: We carry the corpse to the Sierra, and bury it there. We can also bury the corpse here.
I: What cemetery?
I1: The cemetery La Chinita.
I: Who attend the funeral? How many people attend the funeral? Who participates in the ceremony?
I1: Family members participate in the funeral.
I: How Yukpa celebrate marriage?
I1: We do not get married as you. Marriage is formalized after talking with the parents of the woman, and no more.
I: Do you have parties?
I1: Yes, we do.
I: What do you do at parties? What do you drink at parties?
I1: We cook chicken, and we drink sodas.
I: Do you have songs? Do you have dances?
I1: We have dances
I: What kind of dances?
I1: Dances just like you, but different as in Yukpa.
I: I understand that in Yukpa eat insects in the Sierra, besides the topocho what else do you eat?
I1: That’s all, topocho.
I: What are the major diseases?
I1: Flu and fever.
I: Do you have special dances?
I1: We dance like yours.

I: On the religious side, how do you see God?
   Are you guys Catholic?

I1: No, they are evangelical.

I: When did they become evangelicals?

I1: 5 months ago.

I: What was your previous religion?

I1: Roman Catholic, as in the Sierra.

I: Are still the Capuchins in the Sierra?

I1: They’re still there.

I: How do you say God in Yukpa?

I1: Kumoko

I: Who is Kumoko?

I1: God [pointing to the sky]

I: Who is considered family?

I1: My children; other Yukpa have also their own family.

I: Does your mother in law is considered your family?

I1: No, only my children, and women.

I: How are problems with non-Yukpa people solved?

I1: We turn to the civil authority

I: You do not like ‘The 22’ because there is no hospital?

I11: The 22 is very far almost reaching the 25. From here, it is
   approximately one hour, and four hours to reach Machiques.

I: Are there families in ‘The 22’?

I11: Yes, there are families, but they have been manipulated.
   The state moved the families to ‘The 22’ saying
there was water. The trucks arrive with water, but the trucks have rusty pipes, which contaminates the water poured into the well.

I: Where is the water you have here coming from?

I11: This water comes from a pipe that reaches Machiques.

I: Is that water clean?

I11: Yes, because that water comes through a pipe from Tokuko in Machiques.

I: What do you do for living here? Handcraft?

I11: Yes, we are artisans.

I: What do you do?

I11: We produce boats, hats, "taparitas" to put serum, arrows, and coconut monkeys.

I: What are coconut monkeys?

I11: Little ornaments.

I: You speak very good Spanish, where did you learn?

I11: I learned here, I was born here.

I: Right here on this land?

I11: Here on this land.

I: How old are you?

I11: I am 32 years.

I: What's your name?

I11: My name is UnkNeIxx. We have been in different areas; moreover, several times, the state has moved us to the Sierra. We have been compelled to move back and forward to different places. The state has forcibly taken us to the Villa del
Rosario. Now, they want to take us to ‘The 22’ where there is nothing. We want to have a decent home, of course, we want a decent house; particularly, I like a decent house. I wonder why the state does not build the houses here in Maracaibo.

I: So the main problem in ‘The 22’ is water and distance?

I11: Water and distance.

I: Were you born here or in the hospital?

I11: We were born here; we are Yukpa born in the wild. Women give birth normally without help from non-Yukpa people like in the Sierra.

I: Who helps women during their labor?

I11: Ourselves.

I: Have you ever had any complications?

I11: No

I: When you get sick, do you have medicines of your own culture?

I11: Yes

I: Do you have shamans?

I11: Yes, we have shamans.

I: What kind of medicines do you use?

I11: We use herbs.

I: Do you seek the herbs in the Sierra?

I11: Yes, we also seek locally the herbs; if we do not find the herbs here, then we look for the herbs in the Sierra.

I: What can be cured with those herbs?

I6: The herbs are for many things.
I: Do they cure?
I6: For sure, they cure.
I: Do you have those herbs right now?
I6: No
I: Are there Yukpa in Colombia?
I11: Yes, there are many Yukpa. Likewise, in the Amazonas, Puerto Ayacucho, they are all the same paisanos. What happens is that we have linguistic differences; for example, we do not understand those paisanos and they [the Yukpa of the other areas] do not understand us.
I: How do you say in Yukpa "how are you"?
I1: Oktemnech
I: How do you say "good"?
I1: Patume
I: How do you say "my name"?
I1: Otnai amese
I: Who taught you the Yukpa?
I1: My dad, language learning is natural; the boys can speak Spanish and Yukpa since they are very young.
I: Do you share histories with your children?
I1: Yes, we share histories with our children.
I: Have you taken your kids to the Sierra?
I1: Yes, they have also visited the Sierra.
I: Do you have family in the Sierra?
I1: Yes, we have family in the Sierra
I: Do you have special celebrations in the Sierra? Ceremonies?
Related to marriages? Funerals?

Are there any ceremonies related to God? What is it?

I1: There are special ceremonies, but I cannot give details because I do not understand those ceremonies.