# Rebuilding the Yanacona Home in the City: Exploring Place-making Practices among Displaced Indigenous Communities in Colombia

Student Name: Maria Camila Sarria Sanz
Student Number: 486329

Supervisor: Dr. Amanda Paz Alencar

Master of Arts in Media Studies — Media, Culture & Society
Erasmus School of History, Culture and Communication
Erasmus University Rotterdam

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**ABSTRACT**

In the wake of globalization discourses and the so-called 'spatial turn', space and place have become central concepts in migration studies. More increasingly, and despite the widespread transformations in the ways we move and communicate today, place-making has gained important attention as a practice among diaspora groups, forced migrants, and refugees. To further advance insights in this field of research, the present study investigates the role of communication technologies in the place-making practices of the Yanacona indigenous community that has been internally displaced in Colombia. In-depth interviews data revealed that, for the Yanacona community, place-making is a collective process driven by cultural values of cooperation, collaboration and solidarity. As rural migrants, the Yanacona people face important challenges to stay together in a new urban context where they are bounded to negotiate which cultural practices and social connections must be left behind. Consequently, insights about the in-betweenness experience of the Yanacona were understood from reterritorialization and locally situated approaches, where media practices are seen as place-making practices too. Building networks of support, protecting the community from disappearing, and restoring the collective identity, are three practices that the Yanacona have adapted to make a place in the city. In the process, smart phones and social media are particularly relevant for many of the interviewees, who expressed both advantages and negative implications of the technology for their community. In this sense, in-depth interviews also revealed how indigenous communities take on processes of social construction of technology, challenging the archaism discourse that hinders these communities, specially in the Global South. Accordingly, this study recognizes the relevance of paying attention to emergent indigenous media practices and networks in Colombia, arguing that they can be crucial for a community's cultural survival after forced migration.

**Keywords:** Forced displacement, indigenous communities, new media technologies, place-making practices, reterritorialization approach

# ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

We live in a time when it seems that our origin largely determines how we live our lives, how we describe ourselves, and how we relate to our environment and to others. Today, our origin not only determines how we place ourselves in the world, but how others imagine us, represent us, and understand us. With our nationality we inherit endless cultural expressions, traditions, forms of communication and beliefs. In such a context it is easy to forget the most important thing: that our starting point was a gift; that we were lucky enough to be born in a country without natural catastrophes or hostile environmental conditions; in a time without the constant threat of war; and in a family that took care of us and told us that we had freedom to move around the world. And so, we tend to forget that others simply were less lucky.

In a country like Colombia, where the number of internal forced displacement exceeds 7 million people, generating bridges between those who move by choice and those who move for survival needs to be a priority. But how can we relate to those who that, at first glance, we perceive so distant? Where and how do we find common ground with people who have had life experiences so different from our own? Is there any tool capable of overcoming the cultural barriers posed by being born under such dissimilar conditions?

To a great extent, this work is the result of carefully considering such questions, which only came to be important for me after leaving my own country. I was fortunate enough to walk this process with people who inspired me and who I admire profoundly. Alejandro, your own work with armed conflict victims, and your commitment to your place of origin have been an inspiration; thank you for sharing your adventure with me. To my four *amigas*, thank you for teaching me that, despite coming from incredibly different places, family can be found thousands of kilometers away from your own home. To my parents and my sister, thank you for feeling so close, despite being far away; none of this would have happened without your support.

I especially want to thank the Yanacona community for opening the doors of their home to me and for sharing their life stories; it was a true gift. Lastly, special thanks to Dr. Amanda Paz Alencar her guidance, for trusting my work, and for reminding me that, while we cannot change the place where we were born, we do have the responsibility to question all the things that are determined by such fortuitous event.

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# 1. INTRODUCTION

The widespread transformations in the ways we move and communicate today, make easy to believe that we inhabit what Meyrowitz (1985) has referred to as "placeless culture", where our ability to access information is no longer bounded to a single, physical location (p.8). With the advent of electronic media, for the first time, people scattered around the globe were able to witness simultaneously live events, conduct business transactions across borders, participate in political world wide causes, or simply, hold conversations with relatives that were on the other side of the world. This feature of globalization has also been referred to as "supraterritoriality", that is, the idea that social connections take place outside of physical territories, which are overridden by technological innovations (Scholte, 2008, p.1478).

Soon, an important body of research emerged, focusing on the study of the myriad deterritorialization processes entailed in the global flow of culture, images, messages, and people (Appadurai, 1990). Deterritorialization was then considered and studied as a fundamental force of the modern world, disregarding the role that physical space played, and still plays, in such processes. This perspective, however, has been increasingly contested in different ways, arguing that along side deterritorialization, simultaneous processes of reterritorialization are at work (Morley, 2001). In other words, the current global flows could not be simply detached from physical territories, because "relations between people always occur somewhere: in a place, a location, a domain, a site." (Scholte, 2008, p.1479).

Several scholars have addressed the relevance of physical locations in different ways; for example, Sassen (2012), as well as Igarashi and Saito (2014), have emphasized the concentration of economic, social, and cultural capital in global cities and citizens; Chalaby (2011) talks about how global cultural products, like television shows, undergo localization processes; Calhoun (2007) has highlighted the pressing urgency of paying more attention to notions of nation-state and borders; and similarly, Morley (2001) and Georgiou (2013) have explored issues of multiculturalism, identity, and diversity in processes of global migration.

Understanding the relevance of space has further sparked an exploration on how places are created, shared, and experienced in a world of global flows. Accordingly, migration studies are increasingly addressing place-making practices among diaspora groups, particularly among vulnerable communities such as refugees, asylum seekers or forced migrants. Within this field,

however, it has been argued that research is still significantly focused on forced migrant's displacement processes, "underemphasizing processes of emplacement, and place-making." (Jean, 2015, p.47). Consequently, the lack of emphasis on emplacement practices has impaired host societies to recognize forced migrants' agency to reconstruct their own landscapes (Jean, 2015) — a crucial observation in this relevant and pertinent societal issue today.

Place-making practices have been further researched in relation to the role of media and communication technologies. According to Leurs and Smets (2018), digital technologies play a crucial role in the myriad processes that surround forced migration for both migrants and host societies, with an increasing attention to the circulation of academic concepts such as the connected migrant, digital diasporas, mediatized migrants, among many others. The link between media and migration is not new; as early as in 1990, Appadurai (1990) suggested the potential of studying "disjunctions of transnational electronic 'mediascapes' with the 'ethnoscapes' of mass migration – where, in some cases, both audiences and messages are in simultaneous circulation" (Morley, 2001, p.427). In other words, the flow of media and the movement of people around the globe have been addressed together, however until now, reterritorialization processes have not been involved sufficiently (Andersson, 2013; Jean, 2015).

Despite valuable and increasing efforts to understand place-making practices among migrant communities, there are still important gaps to address. One of such gaps is the lack of research on place-making practices of internal displaced communities. According to Mooney (2005) internal displacement is a growing concern among international human rights and development agencies that has been overlooked in pursuit of a wider perspective of global migration. One form of internal displacement is the migration of indigenous communities that are forced to settle in urban areas. Jean (2015) argues that rural migrants face greater challenges to re-emplace themselves because they must learn how to navigate not only new social and economic environments, but also natural and cultural settings. In the case of indigenous communities, this has important implications for the maintenance of their identity, values, cultural practices, and their overall cosmovision shared collectively. Consequently, and to contribute to the growing field of digital migration studies, this study poses the following research question: *what is the role of communication technologies in the place-making practices of displaced indigenous communities in Colombia?*

Understanding the role of communication technologies in the place-making practices of displaced indigenous communities is relevant for, at least, two related reasons: first, and more broadly, it can contribute to the demystification of indigenous people as individuals at margins of technology use. One of the most harmful media discourses around Colombian indigenous people and their relation to (new) technologies is archaism (Cuesta, 2011). Archaism portrays indigenous communities as enemies of technological innovation, and has significant implications in how the larger society in Colombia addresses, approaches and interacts with these communities (Cuesta, 2011). More importantly, the archaism discourse limits indigenous communities' participation in local, national and international platforms where media policies that might affect their access to communication technologies are being discussed (El'Gazi & Rodríguez, 2007). The relevance of taking into account indigenous' media practices into such important debates has started to be recognized by world wide organizations only recently; the UNESCO, for example, has highlighted that indigenous media practices cannot be taken lightly, since they might be fundamental for processes of identity preservation (Salazar, 2009), a process that, as will be examined, is pivotal for place-making practices.

Second, and more specifically, unveiling the role of communication technologies in the place-making practices of indigenous communities can also shed light into how media is socially and culturally constructed by these communities (Williams & Edge, 1996). Widening such understanding can open paths towards revising the grounding of current national media policies that impact indigenous' autonomous media use and practices (El'Gazi & Rodríguez, 2007). As Campos (2009) has critically argued, the lack of investigation and academic research on indigenous' media use, leaves room to question on what kind of knowledge norms and public policies are based. Ultimately, a better understanding of displaced indigenous' media practices can change drastically the ways in which local and national institutions recognize and support indigenous' media use as place-making practices, increasingly situated in urban environments.

Bearing the previous discussion in mind, this paper is organized in several sections. The first three chapters compose the theoretical framework, that aims to explore the intricacies of place-making among forced migrants and the challenges in understanding its complexity. Thus, chapter two discusses the weakening of the essentialist perspective on the people/place relationship, and reviews different dimensions entailed in a place. Chapter three moves on to consider several empirical studies that address the myriads strategies that forced migrants adopt

to *make a place*, as well as the challenges in re-shaping their identities, culture, and social ties. The final chapter of the theoretical framework, chapter four, focuses on the relevance of a reterritorialization perspective to gain a better understanding of the link between media and place-making. After the literature review, chapter five describes the research design implemented in this study and accounts for the strengths, limitations and ethical considerations of the overall data collection process and analysis. Chapter six presents the findings, and its divided in three main themed categories that encompass a characterization of the media ecosystem and place-making practices of the participants. Finally, the conclusion, practical implications, and suggestions for future research are examined in chapter seven. Chapter eight and nine account for the references and appendixes, respectively.

## 2. DEFINING A PLACE

In the wake of globalization discourses and the so-called "spatial turn", space and place have become central concepts in the social sciences, and more particularly, in migration studies (Brun, 2001, p. 16). The mobility and communication patterns of today have sparked post-modern narratives revolving around a "placeless culture" that seems to supersede possibilities of dwelling, belonging, and place-making (Meyrowitz, 1985, p. 8). Increasingly, however, the placeless argument has been contested by emphasizing that places are not overridden by media and transportation technologies, but conversely, that such technologies have become relevant for the place-making possibilities of many individuals on the move. An important contribution in this matter is *Media, Place and Mobility* (Moores, 2012), a book that uses several empirical examples as well as relevant theorizations to argue that places are found beyond a space's material dimension, where added layers of symbolic and social meanings are endorsed to them by their inhabitants. To a certain extent, the distinction between space and place seems to be relevant for Moores (2012) who dedicates to it a part of the second chapter, "When space feels thoroughly familiar". Here, the author refers to space as physical location, while place takes the form of a more elevated concept: place is "location made familiar, concrete and meaningful" (Moores, 2012, p. 28). At the same time, the distinction between space and place prompts a differentiation between static and fluid locations, respectively. The following section will look more closely into such discussion, bearing in mind that places have not always been considered fluid and open as Moores (2012) suggests they are.

2.1 From static places to places in flux.

In *Reterritorializing the relationship between people and place in refugee studies,* Catherin Brun (2001) offers an extensive critique to the conceptualization of places as static settings with defined, tangible boundaries, that ascribe their inhabitants with cut-clear identities and powers. Such notion, Brun (2001) suggests, is the result of the dominant essentialist view of the people-place relation, that has important consequences beyond considering places as mere static locations. The essentialist understanding expresses that people are bounded, somewhat naturally, to their place of origin (Brun, 2001). Under this perspective, "when people and

cultures are understood as localized and as belonging to particular places, places become fixed locations with a unique and unchanging character." (Brun, 2001, p. 17). Furthermore, Brun (2001) has highlighted the deep-reaching consequences of the essentialist view for the ways in which host societies perceive and deal with displaced communities who are often represented as uprooted. In her own words, uprootedness implies that "refugees can, in this perspective, never belong to a territory where they are refugees." (Brun, 2001, p. 18). Places considered as static, closed locations cannot encompass the multicultural (Morley, 2001) and multi-positional (Horst, 2018) character of displaced individuals —concepts that will be revised in due course.

A parallel strand of thought is that of Cresswell (2004), who puts it this way:

"Place is constituted through reiterative social practice—place is made and remade on a daily basis. Place provides a template for practice—an unstable stage for performance. Thinking of place as performed and practiced can help us think of place in radically open and non-essentialized ways where place is constantly struggled over and reimagined in practical ways … Place provides the conditions of possibility for creative social practice … Place as an event is marked by openness and change rather than boundedness and permanence." (p. 39).

In response, refugee studies are increasingly concerned with denaturalizing the people-place relation. For example, Jean (2015) argues that one way of contesting the essentialist view is by paying more attention to matters of re-emplacement. Under this perspective, places are a "cultural construction, not a fixed entity; a location, not only about ideas, but about embodied practices that shape identities and enable resistance" (Brun, 2001, p.19). In other words, denaturalizing the people-place relation, implies considering individuals' agency to shape their place-making practices, to endorse places with symbolic and social meanings, and to negotiate their identity and power in the process; it implies questioning the discourse of "helpless uprootedness" not by suggesting that places are overridden by the mobility patterns of today, but by pointing out that these are in the making every time people move (Jean, 2015, p.52; Moores, 2012). Altogether, the denaturalizing perspective makes place a complex concept that intertwines several layers or dimensions. The following section is dedicated to explore the myriad components of places that have been considered relevant by scholars so far.

2.2 Dimensions of a place.

As noted before, Moores (2012) suggests that places are locations that feel "thoroughly familiar" (p. 104). Familiarity entails a sequence of meanings chained together and endorsed by inhabitants through daily practices of dwelling and habitation (Moores, 2012). Such meanings give birth to several dimensions of places, that touch the physical and the social, but also important for place-making processes, the virtual, and the imaginary. Each one of these four layers or dimensions have been discussed by different scholars in a number of ways, sometimes as closely related features. The attempt here is to highlight the relevance of each one of them for displaced individuals, and more importantly, for displaced indigenous communities and their place-making practices in urban environments. Therefore, this is not to say that these are the only dimensions that places entail, but to point out the most relevant for this study and the relations within them.

The first, most concrete layer is place as physical location. The work of different scholars, including Meyrowitz's (1985) placeless culture concept or Castells' (1997) network society argument, suggest that this dimension is less relevant today. However, as Scholte (2008) points out, physical locations cannot be simply ignored, since "relations between people always occur somewhere: in a place, a location, a domain, a site." (p. 1479). Concerning place-making practices, place as physical location plays a central role. In this regard, Moores (2012) has emphasized the work of Michel de Certeau (1984) —*The Practice of Everyday Life*—, to argue that mobility practices in physical environments are relevant to achieve familiarity with a place. Way-finding, orientation, and getting-around experiences, Moores (2012) argues, can only be achieved through daily mobility practices such as walking or driving in the city. Although neither Moores (2012), nor de Certeau (1984) are concerned with forced displacement, it is relevant to consider the physical dimension, especially regarding what Jean (2015) refers to as rural migrants —individuals who arrive to urban settings from rural, often remote areas. Displaced indigenous communities in Colombia constitute rural migrants, who face greater challenges to re-emplace themselves because they must learn how to navigate new physical environments (Jean, 2015). The rural-urban relation concerns in many ways the physical dimension of a place, where mobility practices of rural migrants have the potential to foster appropriation of urban landscapes, hence, aiding their place-making strategies.

The second dimension to be discussed refers to place as social position. An important remark here is that social and physical positions are closely related, as suggested extensively by Meyrowitz (1985). Part of Meyrowitz's (1985) placelessness argument concerns the disruption of social positions due to media technologies. Media "has changed the logic of the social order by restructuring the relationship between physical place and the social place, and by altering the ways in which we transmit and receive social information." (Meyrowitz, 1985, p.308). Meyrowitz (1985) considered the advent of television the main cause of such disruption, emphasizing the shift in social roles of parents/children or women/men, for example. On the contrary, Moores (2012) is cautious in taking for granted media technologies as overriding physical locations and disrupting social positions. Place as social position is also relevant for place-making practices because one's position in the social world determines access to social connections and networks that can be crucial in place-making strategies, as will be discussed later. For now, it is sufficient to ask whether or not the social position of displaced individuals, such as refugees, is altered during both displacement and re-emplacement processes. In this regard, Horst (2018) has elaborate on the multi-positionality of refugees and other vulnerable migrants, to argue that the relevance of identifying them as agents with multiple social positions, lays on how they are acknowledged and represented as *more than* forced migrants. This is relevant for displaced indigenous communities as well, since the dilution of their social position due to displacement can hinder the kind of social relations that they build, sustain and share, affecting significantly their place-making practices in the new urban settings.

If Meyrowitz (1985) sees media and communication technologies as blurring physical locations, Scannell (1996) proposes a very different approach and sees them as parallel settings to the physical world. Places as virtual settings, then, are an increasing relevant component of today's global world. Scannell's (1996) "doubling of places" argument suggests that virtual places are very often an extension of one's physical world, in which electronic mediated interactions are becoming a central part of our modern daily life. In his argument, Scannell (1996) sees broadcasting media as offering the audience the possibility of being in two places simultaneously. This observation can be applied to new media technologies as well, and consequently, has been addressed by digital migration studies. For example, although Komito (2011) is not concerned directly with place-making practices, his research on online communities of Polish and Filipino migrants in Ireland suggests that virtual places can play a significant role

in how migrants establish social connections and networks both within and outside their group. Here too, Komito (2011) considers both physical and virtual settings as parallel components of a place since "the distinction between electronic and physical communities is simplistic and misleading: individuals participate in numerous groups or communities, and individuals in such groups combine face-to-face, print, electronic, and digital media in their communication practices." (p. 1077). Under Komito's (2011) perspective, virtual places emerge not only related to physical locations, but also to the social place of individuals, as new media allow forced migrants to sustain networks that might aid their re-emplacement processes.

Finally, the last relevant dimension to be discussed concerns place as imaginary landscape. This dimension raises from Appadurai's (1990) work on the social imaginary that has influenced significantly the work of many scholars in migration studies since its emergence. Inspired by Benedict Andersson, Appadurai (1990) sees "imagination as a social practice... central to all forms of agency; is itself a social fact, and is the key component of the new global order." (p. 31). Moreover, imagination is sparked by the global flow of images moved by mass media, suggesting an intersection between ideoscapes and mediascapes that has the potential to impact how people decide or not to move around the globe (Appadurai, 1990). As Brun (2001) elaborates further, imagination becomes part of the individuals' biographies that are chained with opportunities, images, and ideas prompting a wider set of possible lives than ever before. In other words, the way in which places are represented, talked about and thought about —partly due to mass media— affects significantly how individuals imagine those places and create relations with them. In the case of displaced indigenous communities, how urban settings are imagined by them can perhaps shape the ways in which relations to those places are developed. Hence, place as imaginary landscape is an important component to be taken into account in the place-making practices of forced migrants.

Considered together, these four layers or dimensions—physical, social, virtual and imaginary— underpin the complexity of places that cannot be understood solely in essentialist terms. Places are locations endowed with meaningful, habitual practices that range from mobility practices in both physical and virtual spaces, to social and imagination practices that add symbolic value to a location (Moores, 2012). These dimensions are at play every time places are constructed and highlight the agency of forced migrants in their re-emplacement process.

## 3. STRATEGIES FOR PLACE-MAKING

The past chapter has defined and examined the concept of place and the relevance of its components in re-emplacement processes. It has also been mentioned the sense of familiarity that places entail, yet, how such familiarity is developed remains unexplored. This chapter then, discusses two closely related practices that have been argued as strategies to render places meaningful by forced migrants and other vulnerable displaced individuals: cultural practices and social connections. Before diving into previous empirical research concerned with these practices, is important to consider at least two important ways in which these are related.

First, both spheres —the cultural and the social— are argued to be experienced and negotiated on a daily basis in the process of making a place meaningful (Moores, 2012). The everydayness character of place-making practices is addressed particularly by Tuan (1979), who explores "repetitive, habitual practices that are performed 'day after day', which serve to 'constitute' places over lengthy periods of immersion in environments" (Moores, 2012, p. 30 citing Tuan). Although such observation seems obvious, the everydayness character of place-making that Tuan (1979) proposes has prompt a critique regarding what Peña (2006) considers to be a Eurocentric way of thinking about places. In Peña's (2006) own words,

> "Left unsaid in the conventional narrative are stories recounting what happens to a people's sense of place when they cannot claim a "long experience" in place. What happens to diaspora peoples? Immigrants? Refugees? Those displaced by mountain-top removal, deforestation, freeway construction, or enclosure? Does sense of place survive the globalized diasporas of displaced peoples, cultural hybrids, and transnational commodity chains? ... What happens? Sometimes we simply bring place or, at the least, inherited place-making proclivities with us." (p. 3).

Then, the everydayness narrative, where extensive periods of time are needed in order to develop attachment to a place, emerges from a privilege position of those who have never struggle to *make a place* in the world (Peña, 2006). Consequently, it leaves behind those individuals who are forced to move, sometimes constantly —such as indigenous communities in

Colombia— and who are in search for a place to dwell, inhabit and make meaningful through daily cultural and social practices.

Second, and recently addressed empirically in the literature, is the tension embedded when cultural and social practices are employed as strategies for place-making by forced migrants. This tension refers to the negotiation that individuals undertake regarding what cultural practices must be left behind and which are carried to the new place, or what social connections get lost and which are afforded by the new environment. Such tensions will be discussed in detail in the following sections. For now, it is important to consider that rendering a place meaningful through cultural practices and social connections is an approach that can be found in the overarching conception of home that various Colombian indigenous communities share; for them, home is sustained and experienced through the multiple daily cultural practices shared by the family members established in a common territory (ONIC, 2019). These rituals take the form of storytelling, *círculos de palabra* (inner circles of word), economic traits, ceremonies, and other social activities that involve moving around the territory, hunting, fishing, farming, cooking or preparing ancestral medicine (ONIC, 2019).

3.1 Cultural practices as place-making strategy

The relevance of daily cultural practices in the place-making processes of displaced communities has been addressed significantly. Particularly relevant is Jean's (2015) study on the role of farming activities and the impact of these in the life of rural migrants in the US. Jean (2015) examines the re-emplacement processes and agricultural experiences of 30 refugees living in Utah, and reports in her findings that participants consider farming as a way of regaining a sense of home, familiar and safe. Her research highlights the benefits of turning a cultural practice into a strategy for place-making: for the participants, farming is what they do when they are at home, even if that home is placed somewhere else (Jean, 2015). Moreover, the study suggests how farming "was central to people feeling that they could autonomously retain their standards and cultural practices around food" (Jean, 2015, p. 69). In this sense, Jean (2015) sees cultural practices as a way of resistance that touches upon relevant notions of memory (expressing their expertise), identity (reaffirming themselves as more than just refugees), and belongingness (participating in a group with others who are in the same situation). At the same

time, the study makes an important remark about what participants identified as being simultaneously 'here' (in Utah) and 'there' (in their place of origin) —a feeling afforded by the engagement in cultural practices around food production, in this case (Jean, 2015). As one of the participants recognizes "home for him is more than a place, but is connected to specific activities and notions of livelihood" (Jean, 2012, p. 64). As pointed out before, these specific activities are lived daily, and aid establishing familiarity with and attachment to new places; yet, they involve a tension that forces migrants to negotiate which cultural practices are sustained and which are left behind.

Engaging in cultural practices has also been discussed by Denov and Akesson (2013) as a strategy for place-making. Under their perspective, culture is a vital aspect of place-making that has the potential to spark strong connections with a place (Denov & Akesson, 2013). As Jean (2015), Denov and Akesson (2013) elaborate on the 'here and there' that permeates cultural practices among forced migrants, in this case, separated children living in Canada. The 'in-betweenness' that participants expressed during the interviews conducted suggests that cultural practices are not only related to matters of memory, identity and belongingness (Jean, 2015), but are a way of building a sense of "historical continuity with their own unique culture" (Denov & Akesson, 2013, p. 65). In this sense, Denov and Akesson (2013) report how participants indicated that cultural practices —beliefs, language, rituals, values— were a way of carrying place with them. This finding cannot be taken lightly, as it supports Brun's (2001) revised critique regarding essentialist perceptions in which static, closed places ascribe identity and power to their inhabitants. By the same token, this finding is embedded in wider discussions about the agency that forced migrants have to negotiate their culture and identity in processes of place-making —a discussion that will be addressed later. The 'in-betweenness' reported by the participants involves a process of identity maintenance in which they are in charge of creating their own safe, comfortable, and familiar place by drawing on their cultural practices, while at the same time strengthening their individual and collective identity (Denov & Akesson, 2013).

Altogether, both Jean's (2015), and Denov and Akesson's (2013) research highlight that, by carrying cultural practices, communities and individuals can find opportunities to build places while on the move (Moores, 2012). This observation is relevant for the study of displaced indigenous communities in Colombia as well. Communities like the *Embera Katio*, *Kofan*, *Wayuú* or *Yanacona*, to mention but a few, often turn to their cultural practices of traditional

crafting to both sustain themselves economically and maintain the communities' identity in urban settings (Orjuela, 2018). These practices have sparked the emergence of small companies such as *Mawá Katio* or *Yacha Inti Waira*, in which both indigenous and non-indigenous people participate (ONIC, 2019). Even though those relations can unfortunately imply matters of indigenous culture commodification or even economic exploitation, they certainly hint associations between culture, identity and place among displaced indigenous communities which are important to explore.

3.2 Social connections as place-making strategy

Cultural daily practices are not the only way in which places are rendered familiar. Social connections, networks and communication practices have been argued to be central for place-making practices too. An influential perspective in this regard is that of Cresswell (2004), who argues that "place is constituted through reiterative social practice" (p. 39). Cresswell (2004) sees social networks as a kind of symbolic tissue that tights inhabitants together —neighbors, locals, newcomers, tourists, or migrants— in daily performances of communication that shape and transform the uniqueness of a place. In other words, places are under constant change because communication among actors occurs in an array of different ways every day (Cresswell, 2004). By the same token, Friedmann (2010) suggest to pay attention to the social tissue involved in place-making, since this process is "everyone's job" (p. 149). Place-making, Friedmann (2010) continues, implies a collectivity embedded in the social connections of everyday life. Although Friedmann (2010) is particularly concerned with the work of urban planners regarding the development of physical settings that afford social encounters, his observations are relevant for this study since he sees communication among people (both local and newcomers) as the nub of place-making practices.

The relevance of communication and social connections as a strategy for place-making have also been addressed in empirical studies, specifically among forced displaced communities. For example, researching settlement and well-being among refugees in Melbourne, Sampson and Gifford (2009) found that youth forced migrants recognize restoring relationships as a fundamental strategy connected to place-making. In their study, participants described the relevance of "making new friends, engaging with new communities and developing new social

relations" in order to experience a sense of belonging and feeling of being at home (Sampson & Gifford, 2009, p. 126). Parallel to participants' efforts to build new social connections, the study elaborates as well on the social networks that transcend time and space. In this regard, Sampson and Gifford (2009) assert that

> "although resettled youth have left behind the physicality of past places, they have not left behind connections to the social worlds of those places. Important to their sense of identity and well-being is being able to transcend the locality of place to connect with friends and relatives who are scattered across the globe" (p. 126).

Here again, the tension between 'here' and 'there' permeates how social connections are performed by forced migrants. Evidently, displacement implies leaving behind friends and family; thus, youth refugees indicated the role and value attributed to some locations, such as libraries, because these provided them with the technology necessary to connect with relatives elsewhere (Sampson & Gifford, 2009).

Denov and Akesson (2013) take another approach to social connections. For them, social connections and place-making are in dialectic relation: "place-making can increase individual's sense of connection to other people, while the act of connecting to others can also contribute to the making of place" (Denov & Akesson, 2013, p. 63). In other words, places are made by people and, simultaneously, place-making aids community building. Furthermore, separated children living in Canada, who were interviewed by Denov and Akesson (2013), report that collaboration and cooperation with others in the same situation was fundamental to re-emplace themselves. Moreover, equally important for the interviewees were the social connections made with the host society (Denov & Akesson, 2013). This observation indicates the relevance of the social dimension of places discussed in the previous chapter: for the interviewees, a sense of community as well as a sense of belonging afforded by social networks, surfaced as more valuable than the physical place where they were resettled (Denov & Akesson, 2013). Hence, the social connections that refugees and other forced migrants craft along the way can be seen at the core of re-emplacement processes. These social connections charge a place with "social significance" and define in many ways the place-making processes that they endure (Denov & Akesson, 2013, p. 64).

3.3 Hybrid identities in a world of global flows

At this point, it is clear that talking about place-making involves a complex discussion of daily practices both cultural and social, that touches mainly —but not only— on matters of agency, security, collectiveness, belongingness and identity. Before moving to the third and final chapter of this literature review, I consider important to examine what Morley (2001) refers to as the hybrid identities that characterize our modern world of flux. Morley's (2001) concept is strongly related to matters of 'in-betweenness' or 'here-and-there' discussed previously in regard to forced migrants. In his argument, Morley (2001) criticizes the celebratory approach of multiculturalism that emphasizes people's agency to refashion their identity in a way that fits our world of global flows. Under this approach,

"insufficient attention is often paid both to the processes through which the forms of cultural capital with which people can refashion their identities are unequally distributed, and to the extent to which many people are still forced to live through the identities ascribed to them by others, rather than through the identities they might choose for themselves." (Morley, 2001, p. 427).

Here, Morley (2001) is concerned with how individuals that have experienced forced migration are often deprived from the possibilities of refashioning their identity in empowering ways. However, as suggested by the aforementioned examples of empirical research, forced migrants are actively involved in processes of identity maintenance in which they balance, assess and negotiate cultural practices and social connections that fit their new environments and landscapes (Brun, 2001; Denov & Akesson, 2013; Jean, 2015). Paying attention to this process is recognizing that "even though people have to flee, they are not torn loose from their culture, they do not lose their identity, and they do not become powerless" (Brun, 2001, p. 18).

The question of agency and power that both Morley (2001) and Brun (2001) address is relevant for this study as well. Displaced indigenous communities in Colombia are often keenly involved in the revitalization of their culture despite the challenges that they face to contest identities ascribed to them by the larger society —according to Cuesta (2011), indigenous communities in Colombia are often represented in at least five harmful ways: segregation,

commodification, criminalization, collectivization, and archaism. The question, then, is not about how indigenous community's identity is disrupted during displacement events; rather, it is a question about how social and cultural practices have the potential to strengthen these communities' place-making practices, that among other things, empower them to refashion their identity in their own terms.

# 4. MEDIA PRACTICES AS PLACE-MAKING PRACTICES

The role of media and communication technologies has emerged briefly through out the past chapters, for example regarding the virtual dimension of a place, and the negotiation between 'here-and-there' that displaced individuals experience concerning cultural and social practices. This chapter explores further media practices as place-making practices, taking into account that, despite the crucial role of digital technologies in the myriad processes that surround forced migration for both migrants and host societies today, media practices in re-emplacement processes has been highlighted only recently (Leurs & Smets, 2018). Consequently, scholars' interest in digital technologies and migration has sparked an increasing circulation of academic concepts such as the connected migrant, digital diasporas, or mediatized migrants, among many others.

Important, however, is recognizing that the link between media and migration is not new. As early as in 1990, Appadurai (1990) suggested the potential of studying "disjunctions of transnational electronic 'mediascapes' with the 'ethnoscapes' of mass migration – where, in some cases, both audiences and messages are in simultaneous circulation" (Morley, 2001, p.427). Nevertheless, Brun (2001) criticizes that such link has been predominantly studied through the lenses of deterritorialization, where re-emplacement processes are overlooked. In this sense, this research considers reterritorialization as interpretive framework to study the role of media and communication technologies in relation to place-making practices.

## 4.1 Reterritorialization as interpretive framework

Research regarding media practices and place-making practices has not always encompassed reterritorialization. For example, Bonini (2011) suggests that media practices entail opportunities for domesticating the condition of mobility, which can result from revisiting migrant's public and private homes left behind. Similarly, reviewing research from different disciplines, Navarrete and Huerta (2006) argue that new media technologies allow migrants to preserve and maintain a sense of community through engagement in virtual spaces. These examples describe media merely as a vehicle to access the places left behind after migration, thus, overlooking at the myriad localization processes that forced migrants take on, which is key

to understand re-emplacement processes (Andersson, 2013). However, despite the shortcomings, what is most important is that these examples highlight media practices as emergent places in themselves; as such, it is possible to suggest that they can be negotiated, shared and experienced by forced migrants in the same way as physical territories.

Understanding place-making processes of forced migrants in terms of reterritorialization, then, involves a careful consideration of what Andersson (2013) refers to as the production of locality. Under his perspective, the production of locality is urged by the intersection between media and migration and suggests that media practices can help "thicken local territories", thus turning them in place-making practices too (Andersson, 2013, p. 391). In this sense, media practices afford, simultaneously, global and local connectivity, playing an important role in how migrants develop multiple identifications with both the host society, and their place of origin (Andersson, 2013). As Andersson (2013) suggests, "with the media's ability to inform and connect people over time and space, media engagement should be studied as a spatial practice with the potential to contribute not only to people's deterritorialization, but also to their reterritorialization." (p. 390).

Consequently, reterritorialization is pertinent to address the relationship between people and places in a non-essentialist way: reterritorialization "recognizes the strong sense of connection to places left behind and their associated traumas while at the same time recognizing the possibilities of constructive (re)building of connections to place within a context of resettlement." (Sampson & Gifford, 2010, p. 35). Moreover, involving media practices as a fundamental part of reterritorializing processes makes possible to examine the relevance of related concepts, for example, the already discussed multi-positionality (Horst, 2018), hybrid identities (Morley, 2001), and double-places (Scannell, 1996). Likewise, media practices highlight important matters of locally situated migrants, brought up by few scholars so far.

4.2 Locally situated migrants and their media practices

The literature that explores the intersection between forced migration and media through the lenses of a reterritorialization perspective is scarce. However, in an effort to examine empirical research embedded in this approach, the present section includes two relevant studies: Smets' (2018) report about media use among Syrian refugees in Turkey, and Alencar's (2017)

study of refugee integration in the Netherlands. Although neither of these studies names directly reterritorialization as an approach, Smets (2018) is well concerned with matters of "diversity, local contexts and everydayness" (p. 113), while Alencar (2017) underpins matters of integration and belonging from a "local and experiential perspective" (p. 1). Consequently, reviewing these studies can offer a better grasp of how media practices might be embedded in reterritorializing processes among forces migrants, in both cases, refugees.

Smets (2018) puts forward the argument that, in the study of (forced) migration, there is a pressing need to encompass the complexity of a situated and contextual notion of the "digitally connected migrant" (p. 115). This means, on the one hand, that forced migrants' use of technology is subjected to multiple daily contexts that can empower or disempower them in uncertain ways (Smets, 2018). On the other hand, it also means that connected forced migrants (refugees, in this case), are positioned within media ecosystems in which multiple actors can play crucial roles in determining communication technologies' affordances in the new environments (Smets, 2018). In this regard, his observations significantly inform the reterritorialization approach of this study, because, "while forced migration has a vast global dimension that draws attention to interconnectivity, locality remains crucial" (Smets, 2018, p. 116).

Furthermore, Smets' (2018) findings also nourish the intersection between place-making and media practices since they highlight the role of popular culture in establishing ontological security. As Smets (2018) reports, popular culture is accessed by the participants through media products from their own country, thus, ontological security is understood as the participants' efforts to feel a sense of continuity in a world that for them, is in constant change, both physically and socially. These observations relate directly with Denov and Akesson's (2013) recently revised argument which sustains that forced migrants carry culture with them in an attempt to build bridges with their own unique practices. Altogether, the study suggests that ontological security afforded by media consumption can help with the process of turning an unfamiliar location into a meaningful place endowing forced migrants with a sense of community, belongingness and solidarity (Smets, 2018).

Similarly, Alencar (2017) is concerned with the integration of refugees in the Dutch society and the role of news media consumption. Her findings underpin the relevance of digital technologies for the acquirement of social and cultural capital by forced migrants (Alencar, 2017), which, as revised in the last chapter, are fundamental strategies of place-making.

However, what is most relevant in Alencar's (2017) research is her observation of how, by integrating a sociological approach to technology, it is possible to acknowledge the autonomy that force migrants have in their use of digital tools during re-emplacement processes. Alencar's (2017) observation is of paramount value for this study because it indicates that taking a reterritorialization approach is not only important regarding media practices, but also regarding place-making practices. Altogether, recognizing migrants as locally situated will allow an integral exploration of their social, cultural and media practices relevant for re-emplacement processes.

4.3 A sociological approach to technology use among indigenous communities

Since this study is concerned with the role of communication technologies in the place-making practices of displaced indigenous communities, the sociological approach to technology found in Alencar's (2017) research plays a pivotal role. Unfortunately, there is limited research on how technology is socially shaped by indigenous people, not only in Colombia but world wide. This is not the same as saying that there is limited research on the relation between indigenous people and technology in general; rather, the observation is made to highlight that a dominant part of the academic body has been focused on the absence and deficiency of technological infrastructure and access, instead of actual and autonomous digital media practices among indigenous groups (Cuesta, 2011). Instances of the former, dominant academic body are Hernández and Calcagno's (2003) publication about the implication of the digital divide for indigenous groups, as well as the marginalization that these groups face regarding media policies. By the same token, another example is that of Dyson's (2007) empirical research among Australian indigenous communities, who has found that there is an enthusiastic response to (new) media technologies which plays at odds with access difficulties among these groups.

The impairment to acknowledge that indigenous communities are able to shape their own digital media practices is not limited to the academic field. In the previous chapter, Cuesta's (2011) critique about harmful media representations of indigenous groups in Colombia was cited in an attempt to highlight that very often, the larger society sees indigenous groups as archaic, powerless groups in relation to (new) media, who are locked solely in issues of marginalization and access. In this regard, an important effort to contest the dominant take is that of Carlson

(2013), who conducted qualitative content analysis on several Facebook pages managed by Aboriginal people and groups in Australia. In his research, Carlson (2013) puts forward the argument that the larger society and academia should start considering Aboriginal social media use as a daily practice rather than a peculiarity. In his own words, "Aboriginal people do not stop being Aboriginal because they are online" (Carlson, 2013, p. 148). Another important contribution emerged in the Global South is that of Salazar (2002; 2009) who in several academic studies has advocated for the need to ground locally the research on indigenous use of media. Salazar's (2002) research revolves around the emerging processes of indigenous convergence in Latin America, especially in relation to the new discourses of cultural and ethnic recognition as well as political self-determination. In doing so, he suggests that a sociological approach to technology can be fruitful so long it integrates media as a tool of cultural strengthening in the hands of autonomous indigenous groups (Salazar, 2002).

Despite that both Carlson (2013) and Salazar (2002) are not concerned with forced migration, nor place-making practices, their observations underpin the relevance of taking into account the fact that media practices are embedded in the specific contexts of displaced indigenous communities. In Colombia, particularly, those groups keep struggling to make a place in a society that has reduced their identity and power to fit Western terms of progress and development, overlooking frequently at the relevance of emergent indigenous networks and digital media practices (Cuesta, 2011; El'Gazi & Rodríguez, 2007). These practices, as a reterritorialization approach suggests, can be decisive to navigate processes of dwelling, way-finding, and place-making.

4.4 Non-media centric approach

Along side the interpretive framework proposed previously, this study recognizes the importance of adopting a non-media centric approach. A non-media centric approach involves understanding that media are interwoven with the everyday life (Moores, 2012). In this regard, Moores (2012) suggests to implement a media-oriented rather than a media-centric approach; in this way, the relevance of media is recognized, not as a determining factor for other practices, but as coexisting with such practices outside of media technologies. Consequently, a non-media

centric approach allows us to appreciate the complex ways in which media practices, place-making practices, and social and cultural practices coexist and feed one another (Moores, 2012).

A relevant example in this matter is Smets' (2018) previously discussed research about the media use of Syrian refugees in Turkey. In his article, Smets (2018) suggests that decentering media is essential to yield richer accounts of the role of media in the everydayness of the participants. Accordingly, a non-media centric approach is fundamental in the study of displaced indigenous communities in Colombia, because it can prevent stepping into the naïve assumption that urbanization inevitably implies the mediatization of the everydayness of communities displaced to urban settings. On the contrary, as it has been argued by Salazar (2009), indigenous communities have been involved in an autonomous process of social and cultural construction of media technologies long before arriving to urban areas. These processes, however, have not always been recognized by media institutions and scholars. Accordingly, by taking a non-media centric approach, it is possible to study media as a dimension parallel to other practices that alter indigenous communities' place-making processes.

# 5. METHODOLOGY

## 5.1 Research context and population

This study explored the role that communication technologies play in the place-making practices of displaced indigenous communities in Colombia. In order to do so, the media practices and place-making practices of the Yanacona community were studied. This community was chosen due to several reasons. First, access to the community was possible thanks to the personal contact with Yawar Chicangana, former leader of the Yanacona urban council, located in the city of Bogota, Colombia. As former leader, Yawar was able to provide me with a vital link to enter the community and helped me gain the trust of many of the participants during the study. A second reason to choose the Yanacona community for this research was related to the current efforts of the Yanacona people to recover their social and cultural tissue fragmented due to displacement; according to previous conversations with Yawar, the Yanacona is one of the few indigenous communities living in Bogota who is still involved in activities of collective revitalization and reconstruction of their culture, as will be explained in the following paragraph. And third, prior to fieldwork, Yawar highlighted the involvement of various members of the community in (digital) media practices, such as television watching, radio or mobile phone use and social media — a fundamental aspect for this study.

The Yanacona people started their migration process to various cities in the country early in the 80s. Today, the Yanacona community are scattered through out the national territory, where around the 20% of the population is believed to live in urban areas, mainly in Bogota (Ministerio de Cultura, 2010). The ongoing displacement of the Yanacona people is the outcome of various reasons, including violence fostered by the armed conflict, and scarce opportunities for self-sustainment in their original territory, named Rio Blanco, in the Cauca region of Colombia (ASCAI, 2016). In 2003, the Yanacona migrants located in Bogota founded the *Cabildo Urbano Yanacona de Bogotá* (Yanacona urban council) in order to be recognized as a displaced indigenous community by the local government. By 2010, the urban council was constituted by 170 families; an equivalent of 630 members approximately, including women and men, as well as elders and children (ASCAI, 2016).

Furthermore, since 2005 the urban council is integrated into the *Plan de vida Reconstruyendo la casa Yanacona* (Rebuilding the Yanacona home life plan), which aims at strengthening the Yanacona culture of displaced families located in various cities of Colombia (Ministerio de Cultura, 2010). Hence, the Yanacona families living in Bogota are deeply involved with the recovery and protection of their culture, language, rituals and ceremonies among other practices. Within these circumstances, the Yanacona people in Bogota offered a great opportunity to explore place-making processes of displaced indigenous communities and the role that communication technologies play.

5.2 Data collection: in-depth interviews

Leurs and Smets (2018) have suggested that ethnography, participant observation, and interviewing are the most adequate methods that respond to a non-media centric approach, because these yield context sensitivity, insights grounded in everyday experiences, and situatedness. Due to access and time limitations, in-depth interviews was chosen to be the most feasible and appropriate method for this study. Interviews are defined as purposeful conversations concerned with each participant's meaning-making process (Brennen, 2017). In this sense, interviews were suitable to gain detailed information about the ways in which Yanacona members experience their own place-making practices, which were perceived to be simultaneously interwoven with social, cultural and media practices. Furthermore, interviews were appropriate to advance insights into participants' motivations, feelings, expectations, or assumptions, regarding the aforementioned processes (Brennen, 2017). At the same time, in-depth interviews present challenges that were considered as part of this study. Particularly, the method requires several, well-developed skills of the researcher, that can play ad odds with inexperience in the method. During an interview, a good balance between flexibility and control is fundamental, especially bearing in mind that some participants might be extremely shy or not truly opened to be interviewed, while others might dominate the interview, loosing the focus of the research purpose.

Despite the challenges of this methodology, several studies recognize the relevance of in-depth interviews to research the myriad processes that displaced communities endure. For example, Smets (2018) points at how interviews were crucial to gain insightful contextual

information of Syrian refugees, while Bonini (2011) highlights how this method helped outline stories of migrants concerned with creating a sense of home trough media use. Interviews have also proved to be a suitable method to study indigenous' media practices; Hanucsh (2013) conducted a qualitative study on the impact of cultural values on Maori journalists in New Zealand. In the study, Hanucsh (2013) used in-depth interviews to gain detailed information and a more nuanced understanding of each participant's perspective, unveiling important aspects of their practices that were not simply observable.

Another important remark to be considered regarding data collection is that time limitations made difficult to reach saturation, defined as the moment where new data does not reveal new information on a determined topic (Flick, 2007). Bearing in mind this constraint, the interviews were complemented with occasional participant observations and informal conversations with various members of the community that I had the opportunity to meet during socio-cultural gatherings organized by the Yanacona during my stay in Bogota. These gatherings ranged from very informal encounters in the city, like football matches or music events, to much more formal activities such as the *Ritual de Siete Ollas* (Seven pots ritual), and committee meetings of the community's urban council. The relevance of attending these various events was not only reflected on the increasing comfort of the various participants with my presence, but the opportunity to observe the many media practices that the community held, and that sometimes were not mentioned by the interviewees. Consequently, as more time was spent with the community, the interviews involved more detailed questions based on the observations of the Yanacona's media practices.

The aforementioned development of the interviews was also afforded by the iterativity entailed in the semi-structured, face to face interviews conducted. In this way, a strength of this method was the possibility to overcome a simple question-answer exchange; in turn, I was able to engage in a conversation where I could adapt constantly to the participant's answers, by reformulating questions or changing scopes (Brennen, 2017). This was fundamental during the study, where experiences of forced displacement permeated the testimonies of Yanacona members and their place-making practices. In this regard, semi-structure interviews were able to provide enough space for navigating the conversation with thoughtfulness and freedom (Brennen, 2017), guided by a topic list with core questions designed prior to field work.

In the topic list, five main themes were considered in the structure of the interview. Four themes derive from the previously revised theoretical framework, while the first topic (journey) was used as an ice-breaker strategy to establish a comfortable space for the participants. Thus, the topic list (see appendix A) included: 1) Journey: this theme touched upon motivations to move to Bogota, perception of the host society, perceived advantages of living in the city, preferred activities (collective and individual), current lifestyle, and so on; 2) Place-making: this theme addressed how participants define place and its characteristics and features. It also aimed at identifying both individual and collective practices of place construction, maintenance, and experience among the Yanacona in the host society. 3) Cultural practices: this theme sought to explore how each participant experiences core aspects of the Yanacona culture in an urban setting, which practices have been left behind and why, and how these can be related to matters of dwelling, belongingness and place-making; 4) Social connections: this theme touched upon how each member communicates with other members of the community, as well as how he or she establishes new friendships or contacts with locals in Bogota. Again, the aim was to intertwine social connections with matters of dwelling, belongingness and place-making; and 5) Communication technologies: this last theme aimed at exploring and understanding the myriad roles that media settings, practices, and technological devices have in the daily life of the Yanacona. Here, other aspects such as material access or autonomous use were addressed during the interview.

5.3 Recruiting participants

The lack of previous research in this field in Colombia made difficult to assess a priori the relevance of demographic variables for this study. However, attention was paid to having a mix of demographics and backgrounds, bearing in mind the diversity of ages and roles found among the members of the Yanacona community in Bogota (Ministerio de Cultura, 2010). Thus, for this study, 15 in-depth interviews of approximately one hour each were conducted. The final sample included both women and men, as well as youngsters and adults inasmuch as participants could be reached (see appendix B). Concretely, seven women and eight men of various age groups were interviewed. Among the participants, four current authorities of the urban council were present, including the political leader, the vice-governor, the leader of the musicians group,

and the traditional healer of the community. The diversity in the roles of the participants was relevant to understand the use of (digital) communication technologies from various perspectives.

As a sensible topic, forced migration could not be addressed without establishing rapport with the participants. This is why the present study relied on both volunteering and snowball sampling (Flick, 2007). In particular, snowball sampling played an important role for recruiting interviewees since it helped me gaining trust among the community. Flick (2007) refers to snowball sampling as the practice of "going from one case to the next, asking interviewees for other people who might be relevant for the study and the like" (p. 5). Indeed, participants were firstly contacted through Yawar, mentioned former leader of the Yanacona urban council, who introduced me to the community during one of their monthly gatherings in the *Casa de Pensamiento Indígena*, the operations center of the Yanacona community. During this visit, I was able to introduce the goals of the research to the community, the perceived risks of participating in the study, and the general content of the interview as well as the time required from each participant.

Additionally, this visit allowed me to establish an initial rapport with potential interviewees, with whom I agreed on a retribution for the community in exchange for their participation. The retribution agreed on was the funding and organization of a communitarian lunch for the participants and other members of the community, in which I would explain at the end of my field-work the most relevant findings of the study, and provide the community with some recommendations about their digital media practices accordingly. After meeting the community and introducing the study, I was able to schedule several interviews that were held throughout three weeks in April of the present year.


5.4 Data analysis: Thematic analysis


After data collection and transcription, thematic analysis was used to analyze the content of the interviews conducted. This method was chosen as the most appropriate procedure for this stage since it allows to organize, describe, and report data in a detailed manner, identifying patterns or themes aimed at answering the research question (Braun & Clarke, 2006). Here again, iterativity played an important part because the method calls for constant moving back and forth

through the data set in order to formulate the patterns of meaning (Braun & Clarke, 2006). Other important advantages of thematic analysis that were seized during this stage were its flexibility, its capacity to summarize key features of a large amount of data, and the fact that similarities and differences in the data set could be easily highlighted, among others.

Equally important was considering the limitations and challenges that thematic analysis presented. While flexibility is considered an advantage of this method, Dumitrica and Pridmore (2018) suggest that this feature might also represent a challenge for data analysis and interpretation. In this sense, conducting thematic analysis required a thorough attention to reliability and theme's verification by examining several times the data set. Because thematic analysis can leave room for overlooking "key pieces of data that may be outside the expected or developed categories", reflexivity is suggested as an important practice during this process (Dumitrica & Pridmore, 2018, p.14). Brennen (2017) refers to reflexivity as the capacity to critically think about how the researcher's position in the social world can impact the research process. Hence, reflexivity was fundamental to bear in mind that themes or patterns are actively constructed by the researcher, and thus it allowed me to understand my role in identifying such patterns, selecting which are interesting, and which to report to the readers (Braun & Clarke, 2006). Only by considering reflexivity, an adequate and transparent report of the Yanacona place-making practices was achieved.

Thematic analysis was conducted in three stages. First, open coding allowed me to explore and label different aspects of the interviews, with an outcome of approximately 320 codes. In a second stage, axial coding was used to determine preliminary patterns in the data, that were formed after merging several times the codes obtained in the previous stage. Finally, selective coding resulted in three themed categories, which were revised against the open codes produced earlier (see appendix C). In this way, the themed categories were complemented with subthemes that enhance the results.

5.5 Ethical considerations

This study further recognized the various ethical implications of conducting interviews among the Yanacona community. As Brennen (2017) rightfully argues, interviewers have the "responsibility to protect their respondents from physical and emotional harm" (p31). This

involves complete transparency about the scope and goals, as well as risks and benefits of the research project. At the same time, such responsibility implies the consideration of informed consent, anonymity, confidentiality, and power relations. Regarding informed consent, it was crucial that the participants felt comfortable through out the entire interview with freedom to decide if to participate or not in the study, as well as freedom to decide what questions or topics they do not want to address in the conversation. This was made clear at the beginning of each interview and before the start of the recording. Similarly, it was important that Yanacona members felt safe revealing personal data, experiences and feelings, which is why anonymity and confidentiality were guaranteed to protect the privacy of all participants in the study; in this sense, only the first name of the participants is used in the results section, with the proper consent of the interviewees.

Finally, and perhaps the most challenging aspect to be considered prior and during research was the existence of power relations between the interviewer and the respondents. Imbalances between the two parts were indeed experienced and attributed to the different social status and educational backgrounds that permeate the Colombian society, especially regarding rural-urban relations. This was evidenced especially in the differences between interviewing members of the community that hold a professional degree and members that were deprived from education. To ease these imbalances, as mentioned earlier, I spent some time with the community prior to interviews, in a bid to make clear that I was comfortable and grateful for taking part in their activities. A consideration of the power relations was also crucial to better structure the interview, paying attention to the ways in which different questions could be formulated. For example, an easy-going language was used, and complex terminology that could make participants feel uncomfortable or less prepared to answer questions was avoided. Here, I sought the help of Yawar, former mentioned leader and sociology student, who assessed and approved the topic list prior to field-work.

# 6. RESULTS

In *The practice of Everyday Life*, Michel de Certeau (1984) highlights the relevance of engaging in mobility practices as a fundamental part of rendering places familiar. For De Certeau (1984) it is through the daily practices of walking and driving that place-making can be achieved. I want to start this part of my research shedding light on De Certeau's (1984) observation, because for the Yanacona community, mobility practices are fundamental for place-making. This means that for the Yanacona people, the act of moving and exploring a place goes beyond the need of familiarization and recognition; moving through the territory that they inhabit involves processes of memory, belonging, and sharing that are directly connected with their cultural identity. As one participant put it, "by walking you live the territory with others". In this sense, experiencing a place with others does not only imply the act of walking together; instead, it is the realization that such territory carries the collective memory and experiences of both current members of the community and the ancestors that once inhabited the same place.

The comprehension of such important and long-standing tradition underpins the paramount implications that a process of forced migration carries for the Yanacona community, as well as for many other indigenous people that share this common ritual. These implications, that have been pointed out by Jean (2015) in regard to rural migrants, are also expressed by the Yanacona community. In the context of forced migration, suddenly, moving is no longer about collective remembrance: it is about individual survival.

> "Well, Bogota is, is a huge city… huge, too complicated. Here, the majority of Yanacona come with the thought of surviving, and I think that should not be the goal, the goal should be different. The other day, at the victims' table, I told them that our people, when they come from there, they simply arrive with the goal of surviving, because here they are faced with only one option, they have to look for a job, look for a place to live, look for what to eat… it is too complicated because if you arrive to a city you work on anything to survive." (Paulina).

Paulina, the current governor and political leader of the Yanacona urban council in Bogota, expressed in several occasions her concern with how, in the process of arriving to the city, the Yanacona enter a period of dispersion that puts at risk their sense of community and related values, such as solidarity, cooperation, and belongingness. This period of dispersion and individual adaptation to the city is a major concern among other members of the community. For

example, Javier explained that "in the city context our togetherness sometimes disappears a little bit because we are not physically united". Indeed, for the Yanacona, being physically united is perhaps the most important factor for the restoration of their sense of place during post-migration. However, due to the challenges presented by the new urban environment such as tight work schedules, the vast distances of the city, and the transportations costs, the Yanacona face difficulties in finding each other in the vast city of Bogota.

Within these circumstances, communication technologies are a tool of tremendous relevance for the community members, who engage in constant efforts to stay in touch among Yanacona migrants as well as with family and friends left behind in their territory of origin. In general terms, the Yanacona people accounted for several media practices of paramount relevance for their place-making, which are interwoven with social, political, and cultural processes. The media ecosystem of the Yanacona is, to a certain extent, knit together by the community's sought for collective support, protection, and remembrance. Yet, before examining in detail the role that communication technologies play in the place-making practices of the community, it is important to bear in mind two relevant observations that emerged as an account of the reterritorialization framework adopted in this study (Andersson, 2013), and that can help outline the media ecosystem of the community.

First, the interviewees placed a dominant emphasis on the use of digital communication technologies rather than traditional media such as television, radio or newspapers. In fact, almost none of the participants mentioned these media as relevant or even related to their place-making practices, and very few commented on their regular use. A possible interpretation of this trend might be found in the fact that the Yanacona community went through a process of internal displacement. This process, which has been pointed out for its lack of research (Mooney, 2005), perhaps indicates a different use of traditional media than that sustained by authors like Bonini (2011) or Georgiou (2013) who found media consumption through television and radio to be a relevant practice for migrants who want to stay in touch with their places of origin.

Internal displacement, that brings sometimes opportunities of temporal return as expressed by the Yanacona who visit their territory at least once a year, can be a reason why traditional media does not add significant relevance to place-making practices in this case; according to the majority of the interviewees, traditional media access and consumption did not change drastically, since they kept watching the same news channels or reading the same

newspapers than before displacement. On the contrary, all of the participants expressed the relevance of the mobile phones and social media as "indispensable" and "imperative" tools for everyday communication. Furthermore, all of the participants accounted for an increase in the use of these technologies since their migration to the city, rendering evident its relevance for their place-making processes.

Second, the opportunity to observe the media practices of the community in combination with the interviews conducted, revealed a tension between the benefits and drawbacks perceived by the Yanacona regarding digital media use. In general terms, the interviewees sustained using mobile phones and social media to communicate with other Yanacona, organize events, support political causes, search for jobs, or store memories, among others. Despite these advantages, the Yanacona expressed rather quickly the negative implications that these technologies have brought to the community, emphasizing matters of self-absorption, westernization, and privacy concerns. For example, Yaruk said that cellphones have impacted the quality of time shared in family, because "when we did not have cellphones, or internet in our cellphones, we were more aware of our family, of the things we were doing together". In a similar way, Lucía brought up the potential disruption that social media and western customs can have, specially among children of the community: "[T]he girls today want to dress like girls who appear in pictures […], they are ashamed of eating our sweet potato, our corn soup […] they want that Chinese rice that saw on social media."

Although these negative perceptions seemed to be out in the open and easily expressed by the Yanacona, there were several occasions in which I observed the multiple advantages of digital technologies for the community, and the paramount role that these might have in how the the Yanacona people have found their way in the city (Moores, 2012). Such advantages were also acknowledged by the interviewees in several occasions and will be discussed in three themed categories, all of which highlight the role of digital communication technologies in place-making practices: (1) building networks of support; (2) protecting their community from disappearing; and (3) carrying culture to a new place. Along these themes, the tension between explicit drawbacks and tacit benefits of digital communication technologies will surface constantly, allowing a more nuanced understanding of the role of digital media in the place-making practices of the Yanacona, as well as the process of cultural and social construction of these technologies within the community (Salazar, 2009).

6.1 Building networks of support

The core Yanacona values of cooperation, solidarity, and togetherness expressed by the interviewees in several occasions seem to play an exceptional part in their use of mobile phones and social media, particularly Facebook and WhatsApp. In this regard, other studies have also found that the strengthening of social ties can become a fundamental tool for place-making practices, particularly to develop an emotional attachment to the society of re-emplacement (Denov & Akesson, 2013; Alencar, forthcoming). In this study, at least two related motives of the Yanacona to build networks of support were identified: to share information about opportunities in the city, and to contribute to the strengthening of the Yanacona urban council in Bogota. Each one of these motives will be discussed in this section.

*6.1.1 Sharing information about opportunities in the city*

Similar to Denov and Akesson's (2013) findings on separated children living in Canada, the Yanacona community voiced the importance of collaboration and cooperation with others in the same situation to aid their process of re-emplacement. In particular, Wilson, who is deeply involved with the cultural roots of the Yanacona, and who is the traditional healer of the community, mentioned that these values lay at the center of the Yanacona identity and are literally expressed in their name:

> "According to our story we come from the night. *Yana* means night and *Cona* means man. [...] And so Yanacona as such translates to "men who help each other in times of darkness" […]. I think that that differentiates us from many other indigenous communities."

This meaning is well known by many of the community members and has been embedded in the ways in which the Yanacona help each other upon arrival to the city. With no exception, all of the participants mentioned the help of a known Yanacona relative or friend that migrated to Bogota before, who they contacted seeking to ease their process of displacement. In general, the interviewees mentioned seeking information about working opportunities, well-located neighborhoods to find a house, legal procedures to register in the Yanacona urban

council, and periodical gatherings in the *Casa de Pensamiento Indígena*, their communal house and operations center. Sharing information is essential among the Yanacona, because it can be beneficial to cope with the feeling of being an outsider, commonly expressed. As Javier recognized:

> "[Y]ou get here and at first they see you as an outsider, and it's normal that they see you as a stranger, but it's not normal to see oneself as a stranger […] then you realize that you're indigenous… but that's where the prowess comes from, right? In the ability to adapt to that new vision. I arrived, I made friends easily. I had an advantage a little bit because I came here recommended, and so I arrived to a family that welcomed me, that said "see, the city is this way, don't worry, work around here".

Another significant aspect in which social connections play a fundamental role is to alleviate the fears and uncertainties related to the process of post-migration (Burn, 2001). In particular, the various Yanacona mentioned to be worried about "getting lost in a dangerous city", "the overwhelming size of Bogota", and the insecurity and difficulties related to transportation. Hence, the expertise of other Yanacona who have migrated before is foremost valued by the interviewees, because it can help them deal with their imagined idea of Bogota (Appadurai, 1990) that brings difficulties upon arrival.

In this regard, the role of mobile phones and social media technologies comes at play in an effort to find each other and support others in the same situation (Denov & Akesson, 2013). For instance, Facebook is seen as a tool to "establish social relations in a place where it is not easy to socialize", particularly when it comes to lessening the physical dispersion that the community must face in the city. A concrete strategy developed by the Yanacona is the creation of a private Facebook group *Cabildo Urbano Yanacona de Bogotá* (Yanacona urban council of Bogota), in which they constantly publish information about job offers suitable for the community, scholarships and study programs, living conditions in selected neighborhoods, and information related to gatherings and other social activities. However, the community recognizes that not all the Yanacona in the city have access to Facebook. Lack of motivational or access skills (Brake, 2014), or lack of resources to own a smartphone or computer can play at odds with the efforts of the community. Therefore, some members have taken the task of spreading the relevant information by calling others to their mobile phones or landlines:

"I sit down to call so they know that there is going to be a gathering […] because there are some families who do not have, they live in Ciudad Bolivar, they do not own a computer, but they have a cellphone, even if it is old, they have it, so it's easier to call. […] When I know people don't have Facebook, I sit down to call one by one, one by one." (Paulina).

The commitment that Paulina talks about reflects a widespread media practice among the Yanacona and has contributed positively to their sense of community and their efforts to stay in touch. It further exemplifies the collaboration and cooperation values that I observed during my visit in the numerous gatherings that were organized, despite the tremendous struggle that some of the members must undertake to pay for transportation or recover hours of missed work.

*6.1.2 Strengthening the Yanacona urban council*

The networks of support built by the Yanacona in Bogota have also been manifested in other important place-making practices, such as their collective contribution to the growth of their urban council. The Yanacona urban council, which operates in the *Casa de Pensamiento Indígena* mentioned earlier, brings many intrinsic benefits for the interviewees, who often referred to the house as a location where they feel at home despite being in the city:

"[In the *Casa de Pensamiento Indígena*] I find my people, my people is there, there they are my *paisanos* and, so here in this city, well before I felt so alone ... but now not anymore, because it's like one's family, it's like a family. Then every Sunday we meet there, not all because most of us meet every month, but most Sundays we meet to play our music, do our dances, then it's like my… it's like my family". (Estella)

Estella, one of the first Yanacona migrants who has been living in Bogota for more than two decades, talked about her social connections with other members in the *Casa de Pensamiento Indígena* as a fundamental aspect for her sense of belongingness, highlighting the relevance of engaging in social activities as a group. By the same token, my visits to the house and the informal conversations that I held particularly with the elders, depict this physical location as a sort of oasis in a city that Javier, teacher in the community, called "the cement jungle".

Hence, the feeling of being at home in this space emerges from the social and cultural activities that take place periodically, in which a vast majority of members are involved, not only enjoying the activity but supporting its organization. In line with Sampson and Gifford's (2009) findings about how forced migrants seek connections with the social world left behind, the Yanacona are involved in important efforts to practice and exert what they —as well as other indigenous communities— call *mingas*: a sort of social space that is organized with the purpose of helping community members in difficult conditions.

> "We learn there [in the *mingas*], and we bring that concept from our territory where we arrive, we think "if there is how to participate, and how to continue working for the community, or for the Yanacona brothers, we do it". Then I get here, and it is the first thing I do, because we are told that there is an urban council, or we look for it […] Fortunately, in this city there is an urban council, so you find it, you seek that participation." (Jorge).

As Jorge asserts, the Yanacona are involved in a process of building networks of support (Alencar, forthcoming) thorugh the practice of *mingas*, which entail a symbolic dimension that translates into concrete, collective actions to take care of each other. Yet, prior to displacement, a relevant component of the *mingas* was the physical presence of the group to "fix the street", "prune the road" or to "place a bridge". Today, according to Abner, that physical component is weakening due to the spatial conditions of the city and the dispersion of the members mentioned earlier. Despite the difficulties, the Yanacona have found advantages in digital communication technologies to protect, organize and place the symbolic meaning of *mingas* at the core of the Yanacona urban council. Thus, an important media practice of the Yanacona is to call or text each other for regular check ups that allows them to stay updated with the situation that each one is going through in the city:

> "[W]e are a group of people who have one culture, a way of being, of feeling, of thinking then, wherever we are, it is important that we don't lose… that we don't get lost among others here […], that we don't disperse, neither culturally nor physically, that we are always united, that we know what happened to each other, to call and ask "how is it going?" at least that, right? that we protect that spirit of community."

Abner's observation not only highlights the role of mobile phones to support each other by engaging in *mingas*, but the relevance of a shared image of the Yanacona: an imagined

community that fosters their sense of belonging and prompts constant communication with each other allowing them to feel and experience their culture in a way that empowers them and helps them to stay together in the city (Andersson, 1983).

*6.1.3 Contacting friends and family left behind*

Important is to say that, besides benefiting from mobile phones to strengthen and perhaps restore their social connections in the city (Sampson & Gifford, 2009), this practice has extended as well to connect with the family and friends that all of the interviewees have left behind. All of the participants mentioned calling or texting on a daily basis with people living in Rio Blanco, their original territory. The majority explained calling just to "check in with family", or to "know how they are doing", but also to give advice about migrating to the city and most importantly, to seek words of encouragement after migration. Unlike cases in other studies, such as Venezuelan migrants in Brazil (Alencar, forthcoming) or separated children in Canada (Sampson & Gifford, 2009), the Yanacona migrants enjoy daily basis communication with their relatives left behind. This frequency in the communication has important implications for the place-making process, particularly for the 'in-betweenness' experienced by forced migrants (Denov & Akesson, 2013). For instance, it might explain why none of the Yanacona, although missing the "quiet and peaceful territory" and the "contact with the soil", expressed an urge to leave Bogota and return to their families.

At the same time, this type of communication is afforded by other actors who have a stake in the media ecosystem of the Yanacona community, such as *Telecom* or *Claro*, communication companies who early on installed landlines, and later, mobile networks in Rio Blanco. In this respect, Yaruk, a 22 years old student, talked about her childhood and the experience of receiving a call from her mother, who had moved to Bogota when she was a child:

> "My mom had to call us every once in a while to the shared phone of the community […] imagine, so luckily we lived close to where the phone was, so somebody would shout "your mom is calling!" and we would go running".

Years later, *Claro* ended the collective sharing of a telephone in Rio Blanco when the company installed the mobile network that operates today. After migration, Yaruk recognizes the advantages of being able to talk to her grandmother almost daily:

> "Now it's easier. My mom bought a small, old cell phone for my grandmother, so I can communicate faster, because before it was very ugly, there was no network in Rio Blanco, and so you could not know how was your family, if they were well or not. I didn't know anything until we were able to talk once a month."

These practices illustrate the complexity of the media ecosystem in which the Yanacona are situated, where multiple actors play crucial roles in determining the affordances and limitations of communication technologies (Smets, 2018). At the same time, these media practices have been shaped and seized by the community, who is committed to the recovering of their sense of community and solidarity, and who keeps nourishing a network of support that benefits the Yanacona who are still migrating from their territory.

6.2 Protecting the community from disappearing

The place-making practices of the Yanacona people in Bogota do not only embed the strengthening of their social ties; place-making is also seen among the Yanacona as a political struggle to protect their community and culture from disappearing. As Paulina sustained, "for us, home is livelihood, is a wisdom, is the continuation of the Yanacona people". And so, in their urge for protection, the Yanacona community has engaged in different strategies and efforts to claim and defend their rights as displaced indigenous.

These efforts have prompt the emergence of important welfare initiatives organized by the leaders of the community, who recognize struggling with economic and human resources to carry out these processes. Two initiatives that were mentioned the most were the recovering of their own language, *Runachimi*, and the opportunities to access their own healthcare system. For the Yanacona, these two initiatives are intrinsically bounded to their place-making process in the new urban environment, with implications for their collective memory and resistance to westernization. In the context of the city, the Yanacona have sought the help of governmental institutions that not always seem to be eye-to-eye with the community's demands. For example,

discussing the relevance of having access to an indigenous healthcare system, Yawar, the youngest former leader of the community mentioned that

> "It's hard, it's hard because what we ask for sometimes they don't, they don't understand how the indigenous feel, so they often say "no, that can't be like that", they sometimes want to accommodate us to what they want […] So they want indigenous people integrated in the EPS [the national healthcare system], that we are taken care of in the hospital, but what we want is to have our own healers taken care of us […] a traditional healer that guides us, and things like that. And then what the institution wants to do is "no, you get used to what we give you"."

As Yawar illustrates, the relationship between the Yanacona and governmental institutions is complicated, especially because until 2003, the community was not recognized as displaced by the city hall, despite the fact that the Yanacona started their forced migration process in the 80s. Hence, the need to be upheld and be able to act as a legal political organization prompted the emergence of the Yanacona urban council, that to a certain extend eased their relationship with governmental institutions. As Wilson explained, "the leaders came together to form the urban council […] to begin let's say, to fight for a political organizational process."

A positive outcome of such endeavor is the support of the Secretariat of Culture, Recreation and Sports in the systematic recovery of the *Runachimi* language through didactic workshops organized together with the community. During three consecutive years, the institution has collaborated with the Yanacona to provide learning spaces, produce material, bring in language learners, and fund research, among others. The relevance of recovering *Runachimi* is recognized by some members of the community as means for protection in their post-migration and other situations of distress that they might have to endure. In this regard, Yawar talked about the case of the Nasa, another indigenous community that in 2008 led a national protest to recover their territory lost to the armed conflict:

> "The Nasa used their language a lot to protect themselves from the police and the ESMAD […] They could shout in their language and if the policemen did not understand, they could not react to it. So language is a very, very important means of protection in our spaces and elsewhere."

*6.2.1 Digital skills to manage the initiatives*

The efforts of the community, reflected especially in the two initiatives briefly mentioned, depend to a certain extend on the support of governmental institutions, that can foster or hinder Yanacona's processes of cultural revitalization. In this context, community leaders have had to learn how to navigate virtual settings to ensure access to that support. From finding and exploring the websites of these institutions, to drafting documents in the computer and send them by email, the leaders of the Yanacona people have developed digital skills that are almost mandatory as part of their process of collective place-making. In other words, these are connected leaders who have emerged pushed by a strong desire to protect and advance the efforts of the community. As such, it adds a new dimension to the rural migrants' process of re-emplacement described by Jean (2015): rural migrants not only need to learn how to navigate new physical environments, but, as found in this research, also virtual ones. In this case, the lack of access to digital communication technologies in remote areas of the country posed an important challenge for the Yanacona's place-making processes.

Despite the difficulties expressed by many interviewees who recognized accessing a smart phone or a computer for the first time relatively recently, the connected leaders of the community have developed digital media practices today to the point where some express being on-line permanently:

> "[I]f the WhatsApp rings it must be something, then you keep an eye on it, whether you're talking or conversing, whether you're in a meeting or not, if you hear the WhatsApp then you have to check what they're sending there, and you can answer while the others talk, you answer quickly "I'm in a meeting", so that they don't call, […] or sometimes you can't answer then you say "sorry, look, I'm in a meeting, call me in twenty minutes, or in one hour" then to me WhatsApp has been a very, very, very good tool to be able to communicate." (Paulina)

Paulina, who was recently re-elected as political leader of the community, learned how to use digital media technologies after arriving to the city. I had the opportunity to interview her at her office, in the *Casa de Pensamiento Indígena*, where she spends a large part of her daily life dealing with the tasks of a connected leader concerned with protecting the community. These tasks include sending emails, answering phone calls, drafting documents, sending WhatsApp

messages, or surfing the web to find alliances or support from organizations in the city. The always-on condition of Paulina was also reflected in her account of the anxiety that she experienced when she once forgot her mobile phone at home, saying that "when I realized I left it at home I thought I was going to die".

Protecting and advancing the goals of the community has also generated other responsibilities taken by the leaders of the Yanacona. For example, they are in charge of administrating the Facebook group, where they upload the myriad documents produced from the office, such as the minutes taken during a meeting or applications drafted to apply for funding. They share these documents with the other members in an effort to maintain a sense of community where all Yanacona can voice their concerns, preferences and expectations. As a consequence, the Facebook group has become a virtual extension of the political affairs of the community (Komito, 2011), used to update members about assembly meetings, internal voting processes, and surveys that concern the entire community. This finding supports Scannell's (1996) "doubling of places" argument that suggests that virtual places are very often an extension of one's physical world, in which electronic mediated interactions have the potential to become a central part of our modern daily life. Estella, vice-governor of the community, illustrated this point:

> "[T]here [in the Facebook group] we put information for all the members of the community, to inform them of the meetings, of the assemblies, of the activities that we have in the urban council, […] for example, the secretariats, when they call from the city hall for something, then by that means we ask them, so that everyone, so it is for everyone."

*6.2.2 Photos and videos to aid their cause*

Another way in which digital communication technologies is relevant for protecting and ensuring the survival of the community is the use of mobile phones to register social and cultural activities that allows them to back up the community's requests made to the different governmental institutions. The visual recollection is made as a way of evidencing the economic expenses of the activities, such as materials, food, or related transportation costs. In this sense, members of the community seize the content to make their demands more robust:

"[M]ore than anything it is for our work, because for example when we have those projects that are of our own language, of our own education, all that, then it is necessary to record to be able to have the evidence for the report. If not, later how can we say "I did the activity"? but where is it? What did we do?" (Estella).

At the same time, the registration and circulation of these activities is not always perceived as positive by Yanacona members. For example, Paulina expressed her privacy concerns regarding the publication of these activities in public networks like YouTube, and some Facebook profiles, that can affect greatly the lives of the Yanacona who flee their territory due to the armed conflict.

"Those networks, just as they are good, they are bad too, because people can use things that can harm you, and I tell you, that we come from a lot of problems with the armed conflict, so the less they know about our community, the better."

In spite of privacy concerns, virtual settings as the Facebook group and other websites have become very relevant for the Yanacona community, because they allow leaders to sustain networks for voicing, managing, defending and ultimately, aiding their re-emplacement processes (Komito, 2011). In consequence, these settings are transformed into social spaces where leaders can take care of the community, while allowing other members to take part in the collective protection of the Yanacona people in the city.

*6.2.3 The emergence of virtual leaders?*

Digital skills, even though represent an important advantage for Yanacona migrants, also spark concerns among the elder generation. During the time that I spend with the community, I was able to observe the pervasive role of mobile phones among the community leaders in both socio-political and leisure activities. What is interesting is that they seemed to be very aware of the impact that the mobile phone could have in their daily life, especially in matters of self-absorption and dependency. Particularly, Estella expressed her perspective and stated that board members "are more serious" in their use of mobile phones and WhatsApp since they use these means for organization purposes mainly. On the contrary, she sees a risk for young leaders "because they have become very addicted to those social networks". As her, Rodrigo perceived

risky that more and more youngsters are taking the lead while elders seem to have a less important role in the urban council today, where digital tools are increasingly relevant to protect their community. His account of such transformation in the leadership is informed by the three decades that Rodrigo has been living in Bogota; in this respect he said that "youngsters are not prepared […] The lack of experience is still, because really they, the youngsters think in their youth, they need to learn how to guide."

For Javier, this concern is far more complex. He sees problematic the upcoming replacement of a physically present leader by a virtual, almost invisible one:

> "[F]or the Yanacona the leader is a person who shows himself, that acts, executes, develops, that shows a leadership experience ... but sometimes we see that in the social networks the one who speaks more or the one who has more ideas published, that is the leader, right? […] The indigenous leader in our territory is the one who is physically awaiting the process, with the stick in his hand says "come on, let's go to the *Chagra*, I lead" that's the leader. But here our leaders have become, the one who writes a well organized document, with better arguments, […] the leader became more theoretical than practical, then sometimes the leader is the one who publishes and speaks very beautiful in the networks."

Javier's account illustrates what Komito (2011) points as a distinction between the virtual and the physical, that can often times be contradictory in processes of community building. Such separation seemed to be acknowledge by many participants, often distinguishing between "the virtual world" and the "real world" during the interviews. Overall, the assessment and negotiation of both worlds identified by the interviewees evidences the process of social construction of technologies that indigenous communities take on (Salazar, 2009). At the same time, it highlights the community's effort to acquire and incorporate digital skills that seem to be increasingly necessary for their cultural survival in the urban context.

6.3 Restoring the collective identity

In the past two themed categories, place-making among the Yanacona has been argued as both social practice in which communication networks are key to support each other, and as political practice in which leaders engage with digital communication technologies to protect the community. The current section moves on to consider the ways in which the Yanacona make

place through the transmission of their cultural identity and the role that digital communication technologies play in these practices. For the Yanacona people, oral tradition is one of the most fundamental cultural practices for place-making, as it has allowed them to transmit their values, beliefs, myths and legends for generations.

Throughout this research, I was able to take part in different social and cultural activities organized by the Yanacona in which I observed the relevance of storytelling as vehicle for transmitting identity that is intertwined with the rest of their cultural activities, such as music, dance, knitting, and cooking. The complexity of this cultural practice is manifested concretely in the figure of the *tulpa*, a symbol mentioned by the majority of the interviewees when discussing the feeling of being at home. For example, Abner sustained that home for him is "the place where you share in family, where you dialogue with dad and mom, siblings, and elders, it comes to my mind the figure of the *tulpa*". The *tulpa* is the arrangement of three sacred stones in the home of each Yanacona family, located at the center of the house. There, food is cooked with firewood in a daily life ritual where all family members are involved. The physical setting of the place allows the Yanacona to engage in a constant dialogue that becomes fundamental in the transmission of knowledge, memory and identity. At the same time, the *tulpa* offers them a place for recollection, strengthening and restoring of relationships. It is in this space where the Yanacona solve disagreements, educate their children and tell stories about ancestors. While recalling his childhood, Jorge said that the *tulpa*

> "is in the house located in such a way that all can be made around the fire. Then, things are being cooked and while waiting for the food to be ready, we are sharing, telling stories about our people, and when food is served, it is served there, is not like everyone goes to their room and eat in their room or in the living room, no, we always eat there."

As Jorge makes evident, the physical setting of the Yanacona house in their original territory is truly relevant for their culture and place-making practices; unfortunately, the city hardly allows them to engage in this specific daily ritual, where fire is an important element that evokes "human heat", "company" and "feeling good and calm". In fact, in one of my last visits to the *Casa de Pensamiento Indígena*, the community gathered to celebrate the *Siete Ollas* (Seven pots), a cultural ritual related to culinary traditions. The main element was a fire lit in the middle of the room that had to be extinguished by order of the administration of the house some minutes

later. About this common situation, Abner recognized the risk and limitations that the city poses for their sense of home:

> [Y]ou couldn't call this as home, better places of... here we call it places of, if we say, places of sharing or things like that because look, here no longer, we can't even light a fire, our *tulpa* can't be lit, if we wanted to light a fire in this little park, someone would come and say "no gentlemen, the smoke, the smell of the grass" or well, right? And in a house, a living room, a building then even less, less, right? then the concept of home ... just like the territory no, no, we don't' see it, no, we could not bring it here like that is very complicated."

Then, the limitations to engage in the *tulpa*, that are aggravated by difficulties to gather in a city as big as Bogota, also bring risks for their oral tradition and their storytelling practices through which the community transmits their identity. These obstacles have incentivized the Yanacona to seek alternatives to share stories about their origin, ancestral knowledge, and values. It is in this context that digital communication technologies play a highly significant, yet complex role. Again, the mobile phone emerged as the most important device used to record socio-cultural activities while social networks emerged as vehicles to circulate the registered content.

In general terms, the registration of socio-cultural activities fulfills a double purpose: to share them with the absent members of the community, and to alleviate the impact of westernization that the city might have, especially on the children born in Bogota. In this sense, media practices serve to restore a collective identity in the city. This account, however, must be approached with some caution because, while the majority of the participants recognized using their mobile phones frequently to register social or cultural events, the social world of each interviewee implied different motives and perceived risks to engage in this media practice.

### 6.3.1 Circulating Yanacona media content among the absent ones

The most expressed motivation to register and circulate content of social and cultural activities with the mobile phone was the need to share those with the relatives or friends who could not take part in the gatherings physically. In this way, many of the interviewees explained

how sending these pieces to other members triggered a feeling of contributing to the experiences of the absent ones:

> "Many times they record it to... to send it to the *paisanos* there, to the relatives or they distribute it like that, and at least if I didn't go there, somebody then sends it to me, "look, we were in this activity, what did you think?"." (Luzimelda).

Like Luzimelda, many of the participants talked about sending this type of content recorded by them to their relatives living in their original territory, their *paisanos*. This contributes not only to the growth of their collective digital archive, but it becomes a part of the Yanacona's imaginaries of life in the city through which the community in Rio Blanco can shape ideas about urban spaces (Appadurai, 1990). This is important for members like Estella, who considered central that other members in the territory, especially elders, see the commitment that the community has developed in order to stay together, restore their identity, and recreate a *tulpa*. In this regard, she explained that sharing small videos and photos of the gatherings is useful so "the family can see that we are organized here, the elders there also see that the we are organized with our activities, then with that end in mind is that we also make recordings".

The distribution of media content produced by the Yanacona is bidirectional, meaning that other Yanacona in Rio Blanco also contribute to the registration of cultural activities and shares them with the migrants located in the city. In this respect, many members expressed how receiving this content was important for them, because it meant feeling closer to home in many ways:

> "[W]hen they are there and one is here, and they play the music, the music, that makes me sad, or they also send me messages when our elders are there playing the music, that also makes me sad because that is our home and here well ... it's hard this, as they say, but I feel good that they send me things because they take us into account while we are here doing our own thing, with our *paisanos*, our children, all that, working so they study, to maintain the house, yes." (Luzimelda).

Similar to Smets' (2018) argument about how accessing popular media products brought ontological security in the lives of Syrian refugees in Turkey, the Yanacona might find in this digital media practice a sense of continuity that allows them to turn an unfamiliar location into a meaningful place. In this regard, as mentioned by Luzimelda, music was particularly highlighted

as the cultural product that would carry the most meaningful experiences when it was both shared and practiced. The majority of the Yanacona interviewed talked about the *Chirimía* (their typical music) in reference to both their oral tradition and collective identity. Yawar illustrated the relation between music and oral tradition explaining that

> "[T]he songs made by our elders were made about knitting the *ruana*, about growing food, about walking through the moors, about our dances… there is even a very beautiful song called *Lejos de mi tierra* [Far from my land] that is much associated with the people who are in the cities, so it is dedicated to those people. […] So I like that because when you're playing that music, you're mentally transported to the territory, and it's, it's very cool and it's very cool to play it because you feel happy, you feel good."

Like Yawar, Luzimelda also highlighted the relevance of music for transmitting identity orally, describing that "the music is the tradition of the Yanacona, to tell stories about us and to tell them to our children". Other members expressed the relevance of music saying that the *Chirimía* "it's carried in the blood" and that "a Yanacona who does not know how to play an instrument, is not indigenous". Hence, the scarce opportunities to practice music and other cultural activities collectively in the city, inevitably place an important weight in the photos, videos, and recordings sent from Rio Blanco, that allows Yanacona migrants to carry, literally in their mobile phones, a piece of their culture with them (Denov & Akesson, 2013). In this way, the Yanacona are feeding an oral tradition that is now stored digitally, and that has important consequences for the restoring and reaffirmation of their collective identity in the city. This finding further highlights the agency that displaced indigenous communities have in processes of identity maintenance and refashion, in ways that are empowering despite enduring forced migration (Brun, 2001; Morley, 2001).

Furthermore, accessing this type of media means for many of the community members the possibility to travel back to their places of origin and remember their childhood shared among family and friends. As Abner put it, "it's like coming back, it's like living in those little moments our territory, because you remember your childhood, the soil, the mountains, the music transports you." As a consequence, this media practice contributes tremendously to the place-making practices of the Yanacona migrants, and strongly reflects the in-betweenness feature of place-making (Denov & Akesson, 2013).

*6.3.2 The challenge of transmitting Yanacona values in the city*

A less common but still relevant motive to register and share content of social and cultural activities was expressed by some of the participants, particularly by those concerned with the impact that the city might have in the upbringing of Yanacona children in Bogota. These participants mentioned concretely the role of parents and elders in the transmission of cultural identity to the younger generations:

> "I had my children and the... the greatest mission, because my desire is that we don't lose our identity and so we... we all got like in that mission of, that our children don't get lost in this city […] because you know, sometimes you are not home all day, and they are born here and if you don't impart then they will get lost." (Estella)

To "get lost in the city" emerged as a common fear for many of the interviewees who perceived the risks of identity dilution aggravated by the scarce opportunities to collectively engage in cultural practices. In the same vein, Javier, father of a 3-year-old born in Bogota, talked about the differences in the rural versus urban life-style that have impacted the role of the parents in the education of their children:

> "For the good indigenous, home means the mother's womb, that is to say, the home means the vitalization of the human being, the transmission of our uses, our customs, our way of thought […]. Here, because we are in an urban context, my wife goes out to work, I go out to work, our son, we need to get up early to leave the child in the kindergarten, we arrive a little tired, the child, pick it up… I think that, that heat, that family heat that is available more in our territory here no, sometimes it gets lost."

Hence, the importance of digital communication technologies lays on the potential of these tools to create a digital archive that children in the city and other members can access to retrieve the diluted ancestral knowledge. As Abner explained, registering and sharing cultural activities and other stories related to the Yanacona's identity is a media practice that he has taken on as administrator of the Facebook page and diverse WhatsApp groups; for him, the potential of these digital tools is "keeping the Yanacona spirit alive", particularly among the youngsters who use social media networks the most. As he points out, in the Facebook group he shares "readings

that have to do with our culture". His task is greatly supported by other members like Lucia, who expressed being concerned with westernization carried by social media.

This is particularly relevant because, in spite that digital communication technologies indeed represent paramount advantages for the transmission and preservation of their culture, many interviewees expressed a lack of education among the community regarding responsible use of mobile phones and social networking sites. In several occasions, the participants recognized the need to openly discuss these digital media practices that have become so relevant in their daily life, not only to restore their identity, but also to protect and support each other in an environment that differs tremendously from their territory.

# 7. CONCLUSIONS AND DISCUSSION

This study examined the role of digital communication technologies in the place-making practices of displaced indigenous communities in Colombia. The current research found that digital media practices among the Yanacona people in Bogota are significantly shaped by their efforts to recover and maintain a sense of community that is at risk due to the challenges that the new urban environment poses for them. In this sense, it seems relevant to revisit the significant role that physical space still plays today, despite the innovations in transport and communication technologies (Morley, 2001). For the Yanacona, the physical setting of the city is perhaps the feature that has impacted the most their increasingly relevant media practices, while these media practices simultaneously contribute to ease the dwelling challenges posed by an urban environment. Such dialectic relation lays at the core of exploring the role and importance of digital communication technologies in processes of place-making, and can be seen as an overarching aspect in this study.

Under this perspective, the Yanacona are found to be concerned with the collective appropriation of spaces, where being physically together plays a major role for the community: "[T]he city does not spark on us what our territory does, but we try to, wherever we can gather, that that space becomes part of our territory… even though momentarily, but we make it part of us in that moment".  In other words, the relevance of moving in and around a new territory to find each other physically, spend time together, and engage in sociocultural practices as a group, shapes the media practices adopted in an environment that poses multiple barriers to do so.

The relevance of digital communication technologies, particularly mobile phones and social media, surfaced in three main ways. First, the Yanacona have developed a network of support afforded by constant digital communication that allows many of them to ease their process of migration into the city. Supporting others in the same situation and share gained expertise about the city, has helped many of the Yanacona to cope with the feeling of being an outsider in a dangerous and chaotic city, as imagined by many of the migrants (Appadurai, 1990). Those networks of support are also a reflect of the Yanacona core values of collaboration, cooperation and solidarity. This finding confirms the relevance of social connections as a strategy for place-making, suggested by previous studies (Alencar, forthcoming; Sampson & Gifford, 2009).

Second, digital communication technologies have also aided the efforts of the Yanacona, particularly of the connected leaders, to protect the community from disappearing. Here, struggles of economic support to carry out cultural and social activities are expected to be diminished seeking the support of governmental organizations that are mainly reached out through digital media practices such as sending emails, calling, finding and surfing websites, or drafting online petitions. The urge of protecting the community from disappearing by implementing their own education or healthcare system, for example, has pushed the Yanacona to adopt media practices with important implications not only for their lifestyle but for their conception of the leader figure. Similar to Smets' (2018) findings about the informal economy of solidarity among Syrian refugees in Turkey, the increasingly developed skills of Yanacona connected leaders can eventually yield power dynamics that are already starting to be considered as part of the community's organizational and political processes in Bogota.

Third, mobile phones and social media platforms have played a fundamental role in the restoration of their collective identity and practices of cultural transmission among the Yanacona. During research, it was found that a widespread media practice among the community is to use mobile phones for filming and recording cultural events, particularly related to music, which are then shared with absent members in order to aid their sense of place. As Jean (2015) argues, the relevance of cultural practices among displaced individuals can empower them in their recovery and maintenance of their identity, from which forced migrants are frequently deprived. The potential of a digital archive fed by many of the Yanacona lays not only in the possibilities to share it with absent members, but in their efforts to resist westernization and prevent the dilution of their identity, especially regarding the Yanacona born in Bogota. This finding supports Denov and Akesson's (2009) observation about how forced migrants carry culture with them, and highlights the importance of questioning the essentialist view of the relation people-place, in which individuals are bounded to a fixed identity defined by their place of origin (Brun, 2001).

Overall, the three media practices of support, protection and identity restoration highlight that for the indigenous community, place-making is a collective process in itself; it is "everyone's job" (Friedman, 2010, p.161). In their expressions related to the sense of home and belongingness, all participants highlighted the members of the community as crucial for place-making: either to support or be supported, to protect or be protected, and to transmit their identity

in a collective process of remembrance. Hence, it is important to bear in mind that the collective character of home involves more than what Cresswell (2004, p.39) considers the "reiterative social practices" to constitute place. For the Yanacona, socio-cultural practices that could be exerted individually, such as cooking their typical food, knitting *ruanas*, or playing their typical instruments, only carry a sense of *being at home* when they are engaged collectively, through *mingas* or during *tulpas*. Consequently, the social and the cultural are intertwined in a complex tissue that underlines digital communication technologies as important tools in their daily life, yet not as central, all-permeating practices. This observation is important if we are to consider the non-media centric approach that has been proposed by Moores (2012) in *Media, Place and Mobility*, and that has been adopted in this study.

7.1 Practical implications

The findings of this research yield several implications important to be considered. First and more broadly, studying the place-making practices of displaced indigenous communities in the Global South rendered evident that the process of making a place should no longer be considered only as a matter of dwelling, way-finding and familiarization (Moores, 2012); on the contrary, for some displaced individuals, and especially for rural migrants, place-making can become a matter of cultural survival that depends on the possibilities that they find for appropriating spaces, both physical and virtual. This suggestion is in line with Peña's (2006) claim about the need to widening our conventional definition of place that finds its cradle in the privileged position of those who have never struggle to dwell in the world.

Second, and related to the previous point, if the cultural survival of an indigenous community like the Yanacona relies heavily on the possibilities to find spaces that can be adapted to their collective practices, then ensuring access to these spaces should be a priority for both national and local governments. As mentioned by many of the participants, despite that local governments have started to support Yanacona's initiatives for preserving their culture in the city, indigenous migrants are often forced to abandon many of their practices and adjust to education or health care systems, for example, that do not leave room to incorporate the complexities of their place-making processes. What is most important is to bear in mind that such spaces should not only encompass a physical and social dimension, but also a virtual one. In

this sense, and as many Yanacona expressed, tackling the lack of education regarding digital media practices could be favorable for the community, since these practices are increasingly inserted in their daily life. In this case, indigenous displaced communities could benefit from media policies that recognize the emergence of indigenous networks and their increasing relevance for coping with the forced migration process that these communities endure. Perhaps policy-makers should shift their focus from the ever present digital divide that permeates indigenous communities today (Dyson, 2007), and pay more attention to the myriad ways in which these communities are learning autonomously how to involve digital communication technologies in their daily life, especially in urban environments. This suggestion further highlights the need to include indigenous associations such as the ONIC (*Organización Nacional de Indígenas de Colombia*), or the CLACPI (*Coordinadora Latinoamericana de Cine y Comunicación de los Pueblos Indígenas*), in the design of policies that foster indigenous media practices as crucial for identity preservation, especially in the Global South.

Finally, it is important to consider how, in a re-emplacement process, forced migrants are bounded to negotiate which cultural practices and social connections must be left behind. Consequently, insights about the in-betweenness experience of forced migrants can be better understood from reterritorialization and locally situated approaches. This perspective underlines the relevance of considering media and mobility as two closely related practices with important consequences for forced migrants that find their media ecosystem shaped by an array of different actors which can hinder or aid their re-emplacement process (Smets, 2018). Accordingly, a re-territorialization approach also suggests that the (digital) media practices of forced migrants should be studied as place-making practices since they contribute to their here-and-there negotiation (Andersson, 2013). This was evidenced in the case of the Yanacona, who make use of virtual spaces to aid the revitalization of their culture, seeking ways to access their own health care system, to engage in *mingas* or *tulpas*, or to recover their language, for example.

7.2 Strengths and limitations

Several strengths of this study are worth to be highlighted. First, the personal contact with Yawar, former leader of the community, aided tremendously the recruitment of the participants and the access to several of their cultural and social gatherings. In this sense, despite the limited

time to conduct fieldwork, rapport was built quickly in order to conduct in-depth interviews about a topic that can be found sensitive due to circumstances of economic struggles and violence that permeate the Yanacona's migration. Closely related was the possibility to complement the interviews with participant observation, which was crucial to inquire about media practices that perhaps would have not been mentioned by the participants alone. In this sense, the combination of both methods yield richer data making this study more robust. Finally, the non-media centric approach adopted during both interviewing and thematic analysis, allowed to draw relations between media practices and other aspects of the Yanacona's daily life, particularly cultural and social practices, but also dynamics related to their political organization and mobility.

Parallel to the aforementioned strengths, the current study recognizes at least three important limitations. First, the sample size and the limited time spent with the community, precluded reaching the point of saturation in the data, which can perhaps suggest this research as a first step towards exploring further the role of digital communication technologies in the lives of displaced indigenous communities in Colombia. Second, the power imbalances experienced during fieldwork, resulting from different social status and urban-rural relations, could have impacted the openness of the interviewees and the depth of their answers in some cases. As a result, some interviews yield less rich data due to the fact that the participants were less willing to share experiences, thoughts and perceptions. Finally, another point of improvement might be to consider focus groups as a methodology that could further explore the social and cultural construction of technology among the Yanacona. This was mostly evidenced in the various informal group conversation held with the community, where members engaged in relevant discussions about advantages and disadvantages of using mobile phones and social media in their daily life.

7.3 Directions for future research

The findings of this study suggest that more research could be conducted to understand better the place-making process of internal displaced individuals. As mentioned in the results, there is a possibility that many of the digital media practices of the Yanacona are shaped by their condition of internally displaced; yet it remains uncertain to what extent or in what ways being

displaced within the borders of the own country changes both place-making and media practices. This can be relevant if the implications for both expectations and opportunities of return are considered in regards to internal displacement, which is a current and very important societal issue, especially in a country like Colombia.

Equally relevant, future research could examine the relation between media and migration among other indigenous communities that are perhaps less open to the use of digital communication technologies, such as the Kogi or the Nasa in the Colombian context. This exploration could contribute to understand better the social construction of technologies in situations of distress, such as the forced migration of indigenous migrants who have autonomously decided to keep reduced their (new) media use and related practices. In this sense, research could aim at comprehending more deeply the advent of the digitally connected migrant, that is undoubtly emerging in modern processes of migration today, but that seems to be increasingly taken for granted.

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Appendix A

# INTERVIEW GUIDE

## Bloque 1: Viaje (Journey)

- ¿Cuál es tu lugar de origen? / ¿Dónde naciste?

  *Where do you come from originally? / Where were you born?*

- ¿Hace cuánto vives en Bogotá?

  *How long have you lived in Bogotá?*

- ¿Cuál fue la motivación para mudarse a Bogotá? / Pedir algunos ejemplos.

  *What was your motivation to move to Bogotá? / Ask for some examples.*

- Si tuvieras que describir Bogotá a una persona que nunca ha venido, ¿qué le contarías?

  *If you had to describe Bogotá to a person who has never come, what would you say?*

- ¿Qué expectativas tenías de Bogotá antes de llegar?

  *What expectations did you have of Bogotá before you arrived?*

- ¿Qué es lo que más te gusta de vivir en Bogotá? ¿Y lo que menos disfrutas?

  *What do you like the most about living in Bogotá? And what do you enjoy the least?*

- ¿Qué es lo que mas extrañas del lugar (o lugares) donde vivías antes?

  *What do you miss most about the place (or places) where you used to live?*

## Bloque 2: Hogar (Place)

- ¿Cómo definirías la palabra 'hogar'? / Pedir tres palabras clave.

  *How would you define the word 'home'? / Ask for three key words.*

- ¿Crees que hay alguna diferencia entre un 'hogar' y un lugar'? ¿Cuál?

  *Do you think there is a difference between a 'place' and 'space'? Which?*

- ¿Podrías darme un ejemplo de un lugar que consideres tu hogar y por qué?

  *Could you give me an example of a place that you consider your home and why?*

- ¿Qué cosas hacen que ese lugar sea especial para ti o tu comunidad?

  *What makes that place special to you or your community?*

- ¿Qué actividades necesitan ocurrir en un lugar para que sea especial para ti?

  *What activities need to happen in a place to make it special for you?*

- ¿Quiénes hacen parte de tu hogar? ¿Por qué?

  *Who is part of your home? Why?*

**Bloque 3: Hogar (Place)**

- ¿Qué crees que identifica a una persona Yanacona?

  *What do you think that identifies a Yanacona?*

- En tu opinión, ¿cuáles son las tradiciones más importantes de los Yanacona?

  *In your opinion, what are the most important traditions of the Yanacona?*

- ¿Cuáles son las tradiciones que más disfrutas? ¿Por qué?

  *Which traditions do you enjoy the most? Why?*

- Desde que te mudaste a Bogotá, ¿qué tradiciones Yanacona conservas? ¿Cuáles se han perdido?

  *Since you moved to Bogotá, which Yanacona traditions do you preserve? Which ones have been lost?*

- ¿En qué espacios de la ciudad tienen lugar estas tradiciones? ¿Por qué ahí?

  *In what parts of the city do these traditions take place? Why there?*

- ¿Crees que es importante estar involucrado con las tradiciones de tu comunidad?

  *Do you think it is important to be involved with the traditions of your community?*

- ¿Crees que el entorno de la ciudad hace que sea más difícil mantener las tradiciones?

  *Do you think the city environment makes more difficult to maintain traditions? How?*

**Bloque 4: Conexiones sociales (Social relations)**

- ¿Qué crees que identifica a una familia Yanacona?

  *What do you think that identifies a Yanacona family?*

- En tu opinión, ¿la familia y los amigos son importantes para construir un hogar?

  *In your opinion, are family and friends important to build a home?*

- ¿Quiénes son las personas con las que más compartes hoy en día?

  *Who are the people you share most with today?*

- ¿Qué es lo que más disfrutas de estas personas? ¿Por qué?

  *What do you enjoy the most about them? Why?*

- ¿En qué lugares te encuentras o compartes con ellos?

  *Where do you meet or spend time with them?*

- ¿Qué actividades realizan?

  *What kind of activities do you do?*

- ¿Cuáles son los temas de conversación más recurrentes en tu comunidad?

  *What are the most recurring topics of conversation within your community?*

- ¿Cómo ha sido el proceso de entablar amistades o relaciones en Bogotá?

  *How has the process of establishing friendships or relationships in Bogotá been?*

- ¿Consideras el lenguaje una barrera para entablar amistades aquí?

  *Do you consider language a barrier to making friends here?*
- ¿Cuáles dirías que son las principales diferencias entre la forma de comunicación entre Yanacona y la forma de comunicación con otras personas de Bogotá?

  *What would you consider the main differences between the way you communicate with other Yanacona and the way you communicate with others in Bogotá?*


**Bloque 5: Tecnologías de comunicación (Communication technologies)**

- ¿Cuáles son los medios de comunicación que más usas en tu vida diaria? (Ej.: celular, televisión, radio, redes sociales, computador, etc.)

  *Which media do you use the most in your daily life? (e.g. cell phone, television, radio, social networks, computer, etc.)*
- ¿Con qué fines usas estos medios?

  *For what purposes do you use these media?*
- ¿Compartes con alguien estos medios de comunicación/dispositivos?

  *Do you share with somebody these media/media devices?*
- ¿Qué diferencias percibes en como usabas estos medios antes y después de llegar a la ciudad? ¿Puedes darme algún ejemplo concreto?

  *What differences do you perceive in how you used these media before and after arriving to the city? Can you give me some concrete examples?*
- ¿Qué te motiva a usar estos medios hoy en día?

  *What motivates you to use these media today?*
- ¿Qué es lo mejor de usar estos medios para ti? ¿Y qué es lo no te gusta?

  *What is the best thing about using these media? And what don't you like?*
- ¿Cómo crees que otros Yanacona perciben el uso de estos medios de comunicación?

  *How do you think other Yanacona perceive the use of these media?*
- En tu opinión, ¿El uso de estos medios fortalece la cultura Yanacona en algún sentido? ¿Cómo? ¿Por qué o por qué no?

  *In your opinion, does the use of these media strengthen Yanacona culture in any way? How? Why or why not?*
- ¿Crees que los medios de comunicación benefician la construcción del hogar Yanacona en Bogotá? ¿Cómo? ¿Por qué o por qué no?

  *Do you think that the media benefits the construction of the Yanacona home in Bogotá? How? Why or why not?*

Appendix B

## PARTICIPANT OVERVIEW

| Name | Gender | Age | Educational Background* | Role in the community | Time since migration |
|------|--------|-----|------------------------|----------------------|---------------------|
| Abner | Male | 46 | University | Musicians group leader | 24 years |
| Estella | Female | 47 | Primary School | Vice-governor | 25 years |
| Javier | Male | 34 | University | Traditional teacher | 10 years |
| Jorge | Male | 32 | University | -- | 6 years |
| Juan Pablo | Male | 20 | College | -- | 2 years |
| Leny | Female | 53 | College | -- | 6 years |
| Lucía | Female | 25 | High School | -- | 7 years |
| Luzimelda | Female | 49 | Primary School | -- | 30 years |
| Miguel | Male | 56 | Primary School | -- | 28 years |
| Patricia | Female | 33 | Primary School | -- | 4 years |
| Paulina | Female | 47 | University | Governor | 5 years |
| Rodrigo | Male | 62 | Primary School | Sports group leader | 31 years |
| Wilson | Male | 23 | High School | Traditional healer | 4 years |
| Yaruk | Female | 22 | University | -- | 3 years |
| Yawar | Male | 26 | University | Former governor | 9 years |

*Highest educational degree obtained in the Colombian education system.

Appendix C

# THEMATIC CODING FRAME

| Theme | Sub-theme | Sample quote |
|---|---|---|
| Building networks of support | Sharing information about opportunities in the city | "I arrived, I made friends easily. I had an advantage a little bit because I came here recommended, and so I arrived to a family that welcomed me, that said "see, the city is this way, don't worry, work around here". |
| | Strengthening the Yanacona urban council | "We think "if there is how to participate, and how to continue working for the community, or for the Yanacona brothers, we do it". Then I get here, and it is the first thing I do, because we are told that there is an urban council, or we look for it […] Fortunately, in this city there is an urban council, so you find it, you seek that participation." |
| | Contacting friends and family left behind | "My mom bought a small, old cell phone for my grandmother, so I can communicate faster, because before it was very ugly, there was no network in Rio Blanco, and so you could not know how was your family, if they were well or not. I didn't know anything until we were able to talk once a month." |
| Protecting the community from disappearing | Digital skills to manage the initiatives | "[T]here [in the Facebook group] we put information for all the members of the community, to inform them of the meetings, of the assemblies, of the activities that we have in the urban council. |
| | Photos and videos to aid their cause | "[M]ore than anything it is for our work, because for example when we have those projects that are of our own language, of our own education, all that, then it is necessary to record to be able to have the evidence for the report. If not, later how can we say "I did the activity"? but where is it? What did we do?" |
| | The emergence of virtual leaders? | "But here our leaders have become, the one who writes a well organized document, with better arguments, […] the leader became more theoretical than practical, then sometimes the leader is the one who publishes and speaks very beautiful in the networks." |
| Restoring the collective identity | Circulating Yanacona media content among the absent ones | "[W]hen they are there and one is here, and they play the music, the music, that makes me sad, or they also send me messages when our elders are there playing the music, that also makes me sad because that is our home and here well ... it's hard this, as they say, but I feel good that they send me things because they take us into account while we are here doing our own thing, with our *paisanos*, our children, all that, working so they study, to maintain the house, yes." |
| | The challenge of transmitting Yanacona values in the city | "I had my children and the... the greatest mission, because my desire is that we don't lose our identity and so we... we all got like in that mission of, that our children don't get lost in this city […] because you know, sometimes you are not home all day, and they are born here and if you don't impart then they will get lost." |