

Workshop: Indigenous Urbanisation in Latin America



Sheffield, March 21st 2019



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Latin America is characterised by profound ethno-racial divisions which are also manifested in space. Since the colonial conquest, the Latin American city was associated with a specific group of inhabitants – ‘whites’ or people of ‘mixed blood’ – who were granted citizenship rights. In contrast, the countryside was conceived of as the space of the ‘Other’, home to the ‘non-white’ indigenous, ethno-racially mixed or black population. These groups were denied actual citizenship and excluded from the imagery of the ‘modern’ and ‘developed’ city. Such strict ethno-racial rural-urban divides could never be fully sustained. However, they have been further blurred since the second half of the 20th century, as previously isolated rural indigenous communities and territories have been affected by urbanisation, and indigenous peoples have increasingly participated in rural-urban migratory flows. As a result, by the turn of the millennium, 35 percent of the region’s indigenous population were living in cities – this number is likely to rise to 50 percent by 2030 (UN-Habitat 2010). While a growing indigenous majority lives in urban concrete jungles, mainstream research and practice on indigeneity and indigenous development continues to focus on rural places, often offering an essentialist perspective of indigenous peoples as ‘guardians of the forest’. The combination of being simultaneously ‘urban’ and ‘indigenous’ thus remains a conundrum and largely unaddressed by scholarship.

The workshop will focus on the topic of indigenous urbanisation in Latin America, with emphasis on Bolivia and Brazil, as well as key political, social, economic, spatial, and cultural shifts related with these trends. It will bring together an interdisciplinary group of researchers in different career stages who will explore, among others, urban reconfigurations of indigenous identities, communities and organisation patterns; the urbanisation of rural communities; the intersectional inequalities faced by indigenous peoples in the city; and the impacts of social and spatial mobility over understandings of urban indigeneity.

Organizers:

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This workshop is funded by the Institute of Latin American Studies (ILAS) Events Grant, the Postcolonial Studies Association (PSA) and the University of Sheffield’s Department of Urban Studies and Planning.



- Programme -

09:00-09:15 | Welcome and Introduction by the Organisers

09:15-10:15 | Keynote

“Is Black to Indigenous as Race is to Ethnicity? And the Role of the Urban in the Equation.”

(Peter Wade, University of Manchester)

10:15-10:30 | Coffee Break

10:30-12:00 | Panel I: Urban Indigenous Politics in South-East Brazil

Moderator: Dana Sklenar (University of Cambridge)

Law 11.645/08: implementation of indigenous history and culture in non-indigenous school curricula

(Gudrun Klein, University of Manchester)

Ciclo Sagrado de Mulheres: Indigenous Feminist Activism

(Jennifer Chisholm, University of Cambridge)

Urban and indigenous in the Americas: Connecting North and South

(Desiree Poets, Virginia Tech)

12:00-13:00 | Lunch

13:00-14:30 | Panel II: Urban Indigenous Reconfigurations: Lessons from Bolivia and Ecuador

Moderator: Michael Janoschka (University of Leeds)

Urbanisation and indigenous identity in Rural Andean Bolivia

(Jonathan Alderman, ILAS, University of London)

Envisioning gender, indigeneity and urban change in La Paz, Bolivia
(Kate Maclean, Birkbeck, University of London)

Indigenous Rights to the City: Conflicting realities in Bolivia and Ecuador
(Philipp Horn, University of Sheffield)

14:30-15:00 | Coffee Break

15:00-16:30 | Panel III: Intersections, Mobilities and Urban Indigeneities
Moderator: Desiree Poets/Philipp Horn

Capitalising indigeneity or indigenous capitalism? The dynamic of popular market places in El Alto
(Angus McNelly, Queen Mary, University of London)

From sateré-mawé villages to urban “family homes”: gender, indigeneity and homemaking in the city of Manaus, Brazil
(Ana Luisa Sertã, Birkbeck, University of London)

Within and against indigeneity: narratives of social and spatial mobility amongst Bolivian market women in São Paulo, Brazil
(Aiko Ikemura Amaral, University of Essex)

16:30-17:30 | Conclusions & Next Steps

- The workshop will take place in Teaching Room 2 (D Floor) of the Geography and Planning Building at the University of Sheffield. -

Law 11.645/08 – the implementation of indigenous history and culture in non-indigenous school curricula

From 1991 to the year 2000, a striking increase in the number of indigenous people living in urban areas could be observed in Brazil – reflecting a general trend in Latin America (see Warren, 2001; Mendoza, 2010; Echeverri, 2012): the number more than quintupled; it went from 71 026 indigenous people in 1991 to 383 298 indigenous people nine years later. In the same period of time, the number of people declaring themselves indigenous living in rural areas increased only by 1.6%; it went from 223 105 in 1990 to 350 829 in the year 2000 (IBGE, 2012). In the Brazilian city of Rio de Janeiro, 7000 people declared themselves indigenous in the last census (2010), which – combined with the Indigenous Association Aldeia Maracanã¹ – turns the city into a compelling case study about questions of indigeneity in the educational context and indigenous mobilisation in a pluri-ethnic environment more broadly.

Despite the amendment of Law 11.645 in 2008, stating that indigenous history and culture should be taught in every school and educational institution throughout Brazil, the majority of didactic material that talks about indigenous history and culture is made specifically for the alphabetisation of indigenous children and not for non-indigenous primary and secondary schools, and much less for higher education (Luciano, 2016: 21). While there has been significant thought on how to teach more or less bounded indigenous groups about their history and culture, the significant increase in people declaring themselves indigenous in Brazilian metropolises raises pressing questions of how urban indigenous people who never went to indigenous schools learn about their indigeneity, and what indigeneity

¹ In 2006, a group of indigenous people, the Movimento Tamoio dos Povos Originários, (MTPO) occupied an abandoned building in the neighbourhood of Maracanã located in the Northern Zone of the city of Rio de Janeiro right next to the famous Maracanã Stadium. Previously, the building had hosted the Indian Protection Service (Serviço de Proteção aos Índios, SPI; from 1910), later on the Museum of the Indian (Museu do Índio, from 1953) and now belongs to the state of Rio de Janeiro. One of the movement's main goals was to occupy a space that would gain visibility for indigenous history, diversity and the ongoing indigenous struggle. On its Facebook page, the MTPO explains its goal as spreading the history and culture of Brazilian and Latin-American originary peoples as well as ideas about how best to implement Law 11.645/08. For years, the building, which was renamed Aldeia Maracanã, provided physical space for indigenous people from ethnicities and different places all over Brazil to come together and strategise ways to promote indigenous rights, history and culture.

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constitutes for them. The re-emergence (and also rural-urban migration) of indigenous people and the fragile position of the urban indigenous population, which finds itself in a constant battle for recognition – by the state and by indigenous groups whose identification is tied to life in an indigenous village – demonstrate that the discussion about authenticity is still prevalent. Who counts as a “real” indigenous person, who can talk and teach about indigeneity and what are the implications that come with the self-identification as indigenous in urban spaces?

Once an indigenous person leaves their village, they miraculously seem to become non-indigenous in the eyes of the legislator and the general public, which makes them invisible in the urban context. Even though urban indigenous populations are being counted in population censuses and catalogued through specific research, their status as indigenous is often questioned and collective rights are not being respected (Rebuzzi, 2014: 79). In his work Albuquerque (2011) demonstrates how official bodies, such as FUNAI or FUNASA (National Health Foundation), maintain indigenous people, especially re-emerging indigenous populations in cities, in a ‘legal limbo’ (the lack of legal or administrative instruments) as a significant part of the organisations’ initiatives only target indigenous people living in indigenous territories (see UN Habitat, 2010). Even though there are *aldeados* (indigenous people who were born and raised in an indigenous village) who visit non-indigenous schools and travel throughout the country to promote their culture, often it is indigenous teachers who have never lived in indigenous territories that have access to a large non-indigenous audience.

One of them is the Guarani teacher and member of Aldeia Maracanã Marize, who had not claimed her indigeneity before she turned fifty. Even though Marize’s birth certificate states that she is white and although she had lived most of her life identifying and being perceived as a white woman, ultimately she discovered that she could not – in her words – “escape” her indigenous ancestry, which implies that her destiny is in her blood. Marize had always known that two of her grandparents were indigenous, which led to her being born indigenous. As such, despite having chosen to claim her indigenous identity, Marize sees her indigeneity as something inherent. Her recent identification as indigenous woman was followed by an increasingly profound process of learning about indigeneity, which included many visits to *aldeias* in Brazil and Peru, political involvement in indigenous organisations as

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well as university research about differentiated schools for Guarani children in the state of Rio de Janeiro. This suggests that in order for her to speak up in indigenous contexts and about indigenous matters in white contexts, her ancestry was not enough – she also had to learn how to be indigenous. When her indigeneity was once questioned at a meeting of Aldeia Maracanã, an indigenous person born and raised in an indigenous village defended Marize by stating that *“I’ve not known Marize for very long, but she always identifies as indigenous, she had a cocar² on her head, always fighting for the indigenous people in Rio. Who am I to say whether she is indigenous or not? Time will tell!”*

Marize always stressed her support for the black movement and the implementation of Law 10.639, which passed in 2003 and stated that every school throughout the country should teach about African and Afro-Brazilian history and culture. In fact Marize had regarded herself as a black movement activist long before she identified as indigenous activist, which does not seem to be coincidental. Looking at the implementation of Law 11.645/08 in educational contexts in the city and metropolitan area of Rio de Janeiro, it is apparent that a significant amount of discussions with regard to ethnic-racial questions revolves around blackness and the concept of white against black racism. Ideas about race and racism are often thought of as merely applying to black people, attributing indigeneity to questions about ethnicity, rather than race. Indigenous people are often omitted from discussions about racism, less visible than black people in urban spaces and multicultural education. Since the colonial regime, black and indigenous people have both been marginalised and characterised as others, which however does not mean that they have been treated equally or that they should automatically be allies. Anderson (2007: 407) argues that an analysis of race and ethnicity in Latin America should do without clear-cut distinctions between indigeneity and blackness. Instead, the ways they are produced as “relational categories of ancestry and culture, sameness and difference, inclusion and exclusion” should be examined.

² Feather headdress
Gudrun Klein
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Ciclo Sagrado de Mulheres: Indigenous Feminist Activism

Contextual Background: Aldeia Maracanã and Pan-Indigenous Resistance

The ciclo sagrado de mulheres (sacred women's circle) is organized by a group of indigenous women who live in the urban indigenous squatter settlement known as Aldeia Maracanã. This multiethnic community of indigenous people living in Rio de Janeiro began as indigenous people traveling to Rio to speak with politicians about the needs of their villages found themselves in need of housing. At this point, they began to occupy the abandoned Indian Museum located across from the Maracanã soccer stadium in the early 2000s. On October 20, 2006, the Aldeia became a permanent settlement of more than seventy people from seventeen different tribes, including the Pataxó, Tukano, Guajajara, and Apurinã, who moved there to be closer to the health and educational resources of the city. It also functioned as a community center where people could discuss issues relevant to indigenous people inside and outside of the city.

After years of largely being left to their own devices, Aldeia Maracanã and the eponymous community faced eviction due to construction projects for the 2014 World Cup and 2016 Olympic Games in Rio. Sérgio Cabral (the state governor of Rio de Janeiro at the time), pushed for the expulsion of the community in order to expand the Maracanã stadium complex and envisioned demolishing the antiquated building as well as a neighboring school, aquatic sports center, and stadium among other buildings. In their place, he proposed the creation of a massive parking lot for 2,000 cars, a mall, and a soccer museum. This project was estimated to cost R\$ 800 million, or £260 million.

Pushback against this plan was severe and the Aldeia's imminent expulsion drew the attention of domestic and international supporters including Brazilian celebrities Chico Buarque,

Milton Nascimento, and Caetano Veloso, Raquel Rolnik, the UN Special Rapporteur on adequate housing during the time of the 2014 World Cup, and scores of academics, students, and other human rights activists. Moreover, Amnesty International started the Enough Forced Evictions campaign in response to the generally high rate of forced evictions in Rio—more than 19,000 families between 2009 and 2013.

Pressure from the Aldeia's allies compelled the city government to pass "Law Project no.1536" on September 20, 2012, which upheld Aldeia Maracanã's right to occupy the building and the land surrounding it, citing "cultural, historical, and architectural" importance. The bill further promised to renovate the building into a cultural center that would be called "Centro Cultural Indígena da Aldeia Maracanã [Aldeia Maracanã Indigenous Cultural Center]". Despite the law recognizing their right to occupy the museum, on March 22, 2013, 200 police officers forcibly entered Aldeia Maracanã, using tear gas and pepper spray, to force the twenty remaining indigenous people and 100 of their supporters to leave. In the spirit of compromise, some members of the community agreed to stay in a former leper colony on the periphery of Rio and were later moved to newly constructed social housing apartments funded through the federal housing program, Minha Casa, Minha Vida. Currently, the community is negotiating with state and municipal governments to redesign and repurpose the former museum into an indigenous cultural center and learning space.

Inside Aldeia Maracanã, graffiti helps to define the space as a radical, indigenous one. Interestingly, much of this graffiti connects the members of Aldeia Maracanã with transnational, pan-indigenous movements in Latin America. For example, one depiction of a female indigenous



Figure 1 Indigenous female activist with child. Red text: “Luto contra o estado [I fight against the State]”. Bottom right text: “ocupar, resistir [occupy, resist]” around symbol for squatters’ rights.

activist is reminiscent of the bandana-clad indigenous women fighters in the Zapatista Army of National Liberation (EZLN) who are engaged in a struggle for indigenous and peasant land rights in Chiapas, Mexico. EZLN’s “Women’s Revolutionary Law” has helped to promote gender equality in Zapatista-controlled areas within the state of Chiapas and has led to an increase in influential roles for women in the Zapatista land rights movement.



Figure 2. "Abya Ayala"

In a similar vein, the wall off the main chamber reads, "*Não queremos sobreviver! Queremos bem-viver!* [We don't want to survive! We want to live well!]" In the far-right corner, someone has written "*abya ayala*". Abya ayala, or *abya yala*, is the name for the American continent used by the Kuna tribe who are indigenous to Panama and Colombia. This strategic use of "*abya ayala*" invokes a broader, pan-indigenous linguistic protest against the hegemony the language of the colonizers.



Figure 3. "Hopi Mohawk's Punx"

On yet another wall, the sense of transnational, trans-tribal solidarity was made clear by the slogan "Hopi Mohawk's Punx" scrawled around the symbol for anarchism. The Hopi and the Mohawk refer to two different Native American tribes. This graffiti is possibly evidence that representatives of these tribes had visited Aldeia Maracanã in the past or could indicate that members of Aldeia Maracanã were trying to evoke the "warrior spirit" ideal commonly associated with native North Americans. The Mohawk more so than the Hopi are renowned for being fierce warriors and are the inspiration behind the "Mohawk" hairstyle that has become a symbol of punk culture. Punks and indigenous land rights activists generally share an affinity for the principles of anarchism.

The sacred women's circle of Aldeia Maracanã is another example of a syncretic form of resistance in the community. The women of the sacred circle mark space by not only engaging in

cultural practices from their own ethnic groups, but also by borrowing from other indigenous and, in some cases, New Age traditions. The participation of non-indigenous women (mainly white Westerners) has likely influenced the incorporation of New Age feminist practices. It is my contention that the indigenous women of the sacred circle encourage the participation of non-indigenous women and embrace New Age feminism in an effort to situate themselves as part of a global womanhood but also as a way of broadening support for their cause.

Dr. Desiree Poets, Virginia Tech

Urban and Indigenous in the Americas: Connecting North and South in Abya Yala

In this paper, I explore the differences and similarities between urban indigenous experiences in North and South America. To this end, I build on previous fieldwork with urban indigenous groups in Rio de Janeiro and São Paulo, and turn to secondary sources on urban indigenous peoples in Canada. I focus on two interrelated issues: the ‘authenticity prejudice’ (Albuquerque, 2011), which works to deny the existence/presence of indigenous peoples in urban contexts, and settler colonialism. Arguing that Brazil counts as a settler colony, the paper addresses the following questions: To what extent is the invisibility of indigenous groups in urban contexts in Canada and Brazil linked to these countries’ conditions as settler colonies? To what extent is the discourse and practice of *mestiçagem* (*mestizaje*) and whitening (*branqueamento*) as well as its effects on the politics of recognition of urban indigenous groups a specificity of Latin America? When we connect urban indigenous experiences in North and South America – as suggested in the term Abya Yala – what possibilities are opened up for research and activism?

Extended abstract

Introduction

In this paper, I place my PhD project (which explored, amongst others, the question of ‘who counts as indigenous?’) in conversation with Bonita Lawrence’s (2004) *‘Real’ Indians and Others: Mixed-Blood Urban Native Peoples and Indigenous Nationhood* – which focuses on North America, especially Canada – to explore to what extent the experiences of urban indigenous groups share similarities in the North and South of Abya Yala. To this end, I focus on two themes: settler colonialism and authenticity. Within this, I centralize mixing or *mestiçagem*/*mestizaje*/*métissage* as a policy, discourse, and lived experience. The point of this exercise is twofold: firstly, to place existing research in dialogue so that we can start to ‘take stock’ of the literature that engages urban indigeneity in the Americas –¹ thereby enabling us to push this research agenda forward – and, as previously mentioned, to assess to what extent we can draw commonalities throughout the hemisphere. I argue that, despite distinct histories of colonization and legislation in the Americas, urban indigeneity shares similarities across North-South lines, much like non-urban indigenous struggles.

¹ When scholars have attempted a hemispheric, North-South lens to indigeneity in the Americas, a specific focus on the urban seems to still be absent. See, for example, M. Bianet Castellanos, Lourdes Gutiérrez Nájera & Arturo J. Aldama (2012) (eds.), *Comparative Indigeneities of the Américas: Toward a Hemispheric Approach*. Tucson: University of Arizona Press.

This paper offers a summary of part of my research with the indigenous movements I encountered in Rio de Janeiro (Aldeia Maracanã) and São Paulo (Pindorama Programme at PUC-SP). In this summary, I do not unpack these two groups, and offer only a general discussion. I will demonstrate these general arguments more specifically in the presentation.

Through these two examples, I came to understand how urban indigenous groups are forced emulate, as best they can, the dominant understandings of *what counts as indigeneity*. Brazilian anthropologist Marcos Albuquerque explored these understandings as the ‘prejudice of authenticity’, which contains three categories: that authentic indigenous peoples are *aldeados*, meaning that they are tied to and ideally live in an indigenous community and land (*aldeia*); that they are not *assimilated*, meaning that they ‘look indigenous’, either through dress of phenotype; and that they are not *acculturated*, meaning that they can demonstrate a cultural alterity through a specific spirituality, diet, and life-style generally, with the expectation that these should be pre-modern and somehow anti-capitalist. Put differently, urban indigenous groups are asked and forced to *perform Indianness* –² which is exactly what Bonita Lawrence found in Canada and the US too.³

This performance of Indianness, I have found, is not only both producing and reproducing historical constructions of indigenous identity, or determining which groups are granted access to indigenous rights, but, on a more complex level, it shapes *what counts as indigenous movements, struggles, and demands, and what can be translated into indigenous rights (legislation)*. Put succinctly, I have found that urban indigenous groups struggle to translate their experiences and demands into a definition of indigeneity that is inherently collective (as opposed to the more individualized life trajectories of those we encounter in the community), land-based (as opposed to housing-based), and focused on environmental protection/conservation, rather than on ‘the right to the city’ or urban planning, but also on environmental justice broadly defined as tied to labour, employment, education, and so on.⁴ Authenticity informs politics and political struggles.

This ‘prejudice of authenticity’ is the result of colonial constructions of Otherness/indigeneity in a settler context, and, for me, is what generates much confusion – and competition – between the urban and non-urban indigenous movements, which struggle to come together. This issue is relevant, therefore, not only on the level of state-society relations or policy, but within the indigenous movement as well. What has been concerning me more recently is that, before we can move on to discuss what decolonization in the material realm would and could entail in Brazil and

² Bonita Lawrence (2004), *‘Real’ Indians and Others: Mixed-Blood Urban Native Peoples and Indigenous Nationhood*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 9.

³ Marcos Albuquerque (2011), *O Regime Imagético Pankararu: Tradução Intercultural na Cidade de São Paulo* (PhD diss., Universidade Federal de Santa Catarina).

⁴ Buyan Bryant (1995), ‘Introduction’, p. 6, and Robert Bullard (1995), ‘Residential Segregation and Urban Quality of Life’, pp. 76-85, in Rogers Bezdek (ed.), *Environmental Justice: Issues, Policies, and Solutions*. DC & Covelo: Island Press.

beyond,⁵ these urban-rural divides must be addressed and challenged, and settler colonialism must be made transparent.

Brazil as a settler colony

Repeating this last point, perhaps one of the most important North-South continuities, in the case of Brazil, is to acknowledge and unpack how Brazil is a settler colony in the present, much like the United States and Canada. Brazil is not usually thought as such, and Settler Colonial Studies, marked especially by the contributions of Patrick Wolfe and Lorenzo Veracini, has generally neglected Latin America. More recently, the framework of Settler Colonial Studies has been tentatively expanded to the region through two special issues,⁶ but still requires more sustained attention.

On a very basic level, for Patrick Wolfe, a settler colony is marked by the fact that ‘the settlers come to stay,’⁷ which makes of invasion a *structure*, not an *event*. In Brazil, this is certainly true – independence was declared by the heir to the Portuguese crown himself, D. Pedro I, and the settlers never left. Another premise of settler colonialism is its ‘irreducible’ desire for land, which gives origin to one of settler colonialism’s organising principles, the *elimination of the Native*. Since indigenous peoples have a prior – an original – claim to land, to eliminate the Indians is to free their lands for settlement by declaring them empty of its original inhabitants (*terra nullius*). Settler colonialism’s ‘logic of elimination’⁸ and indigenous dispossession therefore go hand in hand. Again, this is the case in Brazil, as I explain below.

Another mark of Settler Colonial Studies is how it has theorized the racialization of slaves/blackness as tied to labour rather than land. As my work and the work of Latin Americanists engaging Settler Colonial Studies has demonstrated, this so-called land-labour binary does not hold in Latin America, for both indigenous and black peoples were subjected to slavery and labour, and while indigenous peoples *were*, as the original peoples, dispossessed, black groups are also continuously kept from access to land or, as my work with *quilombos* has shown, dispossessed once they have built ties to territories. This conversation on the ‘place’ of slaves in the structure of settler colonialism also generated debates on how to understand the waves of indentured and free labour that arrived in the Americas from Asia and Europe during the height of the whitening policies at the turn of the 19th to the 20th century. But this is tangential to this paper.

⁵ Tuck & Yang (2012), ‘Decolonization is not a metaphor’ in *Decolonization: Indigeneity, Education & Society* 1(1): 1-40.

⁶ The first was a 2017 Special Issue in *American Quarterly* 69(4), and a forthcoming issue is the one of which I am part, in the *Settler Colonial Studies Journal*.

⁷ Patrick Wolfe (2006), ‘Settler Colonialism and the Elimination of the Native’, *Journal of Genocide Research* 8(4): 388.

⁸ Patrick Wolfe (2006), ‘Settler Colonialism and the Elimination of the Native’: 388.

The point here is that these ‘principles’ of settler colonialism apply to Brazil, and that settler colonialism is therefore the structure within which urban indigenous movements in Brazil operate, much like in Canada and the US.

Authenticity, *mestiçagem*, and urban indigenous groups

The logic of elimination deeply marks the struggles of urban indigenous groups. Historically, we can trace this back to policies of assimilation that aimed to integrate/whiten indigenous peoples – in Brazil especially since the First Republic, founded in 1889 *after independence*, and the formation of the Indian Protection Service, the SPI, in 1910, which later became the FUNAI. In Brazil, this policy of integration/assimilation/elimination enabled the SPI/FUNAI to define who would count as indigenous and who was already too assimilated to be granted ‘special’ indigenous rights.⁹ This mechanism enabled the state’s and elites’ access to indigenous lands, which, as indigenous peoples were expected to disappear, would gradually be declared ‘emptied’ of indigenous communities and fully integrated into the settler capitalist economy. I would be happy to expand on how this played out specifically in the Northeast Region – but for the sake of space, I will leave this here for now.

Overall, nonetheless, we can observe how the ‘logic of elimination’ defined indigeneity as ‘in transition towards whiteness/elimination’. The ‘logic of elimination’ shapes the invisibility – or, in Marcos Albuquerque’s terms, the prejudice of authenticity – of urban indigenous groups. Much of our work goes toward undoing this logic of elimination, and in the presentation, I will explicate further how I observed this in fieldwork in Rio and São Paulo.

Yet, it is often argued, Latin America and Brazil are distinct from North America because of its history of miscegenation, which became an official policy in Brazil (especially after Vargas in the 1930s under the guise of racial democracy), and which blurs the lines between settler-native-slave, making it hard to define who would ‘count’ as a settler. This is true, but as we know, miscegenation was, on the level of the state, a whitening ideology (a logic of elimination) that aimed to erase indigenous and black peoples (in the present and future, while celebrating them as two of Brazil’s ‘founding races’ *in the past*). In regards to North America, Bonita Lawrence’s work revealed how many of the urban indigenous persons she encountered were ‘mixed bloods.’ Moreover, in western Canada, the existence of the Métis, aboriginal peoples of indigenous and European descent, are officially recognized,¹⁰ and *métissage* been mobilized, similarly to *mestiçagem*, as the expression of a differentiated Canadian identity that legitimizes the settler nation-state.¹¹

⁹ See the Indian Statute of 1973. Available at: http://www.planalto.gov.br/ccivil_03/leis/L6001.htm

¹⁰ Bonita Lawrence (2004), *‘Real’ Indians and Others*, 12.

¹¹ Chelsea Vowel (2015), ‘The mythology of Métissage: Settler moves to innocence’, *âpihtawikosisân* [online], March 11. Available at: <https://apihtawikosisan.com/2015/03/the-mythology-of-metissage-settler-moves-to-innocence/> [accessed: March 1 2019]. Here, Chelsea unpacks John Ralston Saul’s *A Fair Country: Telling Truths about Canada* as one such example of settler nation-making through mixing/métissage.

Mestiçagem is not so specific to the south of the Americas, then. In the presentation, I will also briefly unpack how, in Brazil, mixing/*mestiçagem* was, on the level of lived experience, the site from which indigeneity could emerge in a postcolonial context (meaning after the *onset* of colonialism). This is particularly clear in the case of urban indigenous groups and indigenous communities in the Northeast Region of Brazil, who went through mixing to (re-)emerge as indigenous. Bonita Lawrence observed similar indigenous resurgences of ‘mixed bloods’ in Toronto. *Mestiçagem* is therefore both tied to the ‘logic of elimination’ and the ‘prejudice of authenticity’ (on the level of the state), and to decolonial possibilities through indigenous resurgence (on the level of lived experience).

These dynamics come together under the structure of settler colonialism, which presents specific challenges to decolonization. Namely: is it enough to demand the recognition of urban indigenous groups and their inclusion *into* the state, if this state is a settler colonial state whose very presence continuously renews the violence of settlement? Can citizenship in a settler colonial state ever be decolonial? Or must we move beyond recognition, and perhaps engage more carefully with the critiques of indigenous radical thinkers in North America and Oceania who are demanding *indigenous sovereignty*, not recognition?¹² To grasp and connect the experiences and struggles of urban indigenous groups in North *and* South, the relationships between *mestiçagem*, authenticity, and settler colonialism must be laid bare. Only then can we begin to think what decolonization might entail.

¹² Audra Simpson, Irene Watson, Glen Coulthard, Leanne Simpson, and so on.

Urbanisation and indigenous identity in Rural Andean Bolivia

Jonathan Alderman

This paper will discuss the effect of urbanisation—through the construction of urban-style houses—on rural people's self-identification. Since 2012 the Bolivian state housing agency has donated or subsidised the construction of red-brick houses for rural families nationwide. In the municipality of Charazani, the North of the department of La Paz around 8% of families received houses from 2014 to 2015 and more are expected to apply for housing as the state's social housing programme expands. Families in Charazani usually make their own houses out of adobe; the material brings with it connotations, both positive and negative that contribute to the construction of the identity of their inhabitants. Houses made of red-brick and other material such as cement, are welcomed by many (but not all) families in Charazani as modern materials that co-construct them as modern citizens of Bolivia. Urbanisation in rural communities highlights divergences within and between rural communities regarding ideas of living well (in relation to the state alternative discourse that accompanies the social housing programme), desired relationship with the state, and self-identification. This paper therefore considers the house in ethnic self-identification and the consequences of urbanisation for self-identity.

One day in the highland community of Qotapampa, as I helped eleven men to make adobe bricks that would form part of a wall surrounding the local health centre, Natalio (the mallku, highest authority over the highland communities in the municipality of Charazani) and his brother Valerio took a break from the work and began to measure out the distance from one side of the main road to the other. 'This is where my house will be, that is Natalio's over there, and you can build your house next to us', Natalio's brother Valerio, told me, gesturing to the other side of the road where there were currently only crumbling adobe houses. When Valerio had told me of grand plans for Qotapampa, involving knocking down the existing houses on one side of the road to make an avenue, I had wondered what the point was, considering that although the hamlet is officially shared by the two communities of Muruqarqa and Qullpani, and some have houses around a small plaza, those from Qullpani at least, live with their alpacas an hour's walk (or 10-15 minutes in their 4x4s) over the hill away from the main road. 'It's horrible to live like this [in dispersed houses],' Valerio told me, 'we have to live like in Charazani [in the colonial town at the centre of the municipality, with streets, with everyone living closer together]. We have to urbanise.'

Indigenous urbanisation as a term is generally used to describe the migratory flow of indigenous people from their rural environment to the cities, and generally adopting an urban lifestyle along the way. See for example, a 2015 special issue of Latin American and Caribbean Anthropology on Indigenous Urbanization in Amazonia, and the upcoming conference on 'Indigenous Urbanisation in Latin America' in Sheffield. What Valerio described, however, was a desire to bring the city to them: to urbanise their rural environment.

When I returned to Charazani in 2016 then, after finishing my PhD, and three years after my original fieldwork, I expected to see a greater development of Qotapampa, with perhaps the beginning of a second row of houses behind the ones around the plaza. I was surprised instead to find that although there had been urbanisation, it had not happened in the hamlet with the plaza by the road, but in the rural communities where people were already living. Almost every family in Qullpani was now the proud owner of a red-brick house. Another friend named Feliciano, Natalio and Valerio's cousin, told me his house was a gift from Evo, Bolivia's president Evo Morales. The houses had been

built by Bolivia's State Housing Agency and donated in full in 2014 at a cost of around 130,000 Bolivianos (around £15,000) to families that could demonstrate that their adobe house had been affected by flooding that had occurred after heavy rains in 2011. Families in communities where there had not been flooding were able to apply for subsidised housing the following year, costing around 88,000 Bolivianos (around £10,000), of which the beneficiaries paid around 30% of the cost in materials and labour. According to information available on the State Housing Agency's website, the 188 *viviendas de emergencia* and 105 *viviendas estatales* constructed in the municipality of Charazani in 2014 and 2015 respectively were among 128,027 houses that the State Housing Agency has handed over to families nationwide between 2006 and 2017.

The donation of red-brick houses to rural families is central to the *raison d'être* of the State Housing Agency, which was established through Supreme decree 986 on the 21st of September 2011 with the stated mission "to reduce the housing deficit, facilitating access to an adequate and affordable home for Bolivian households, executing programmes that construct social equity and quality of life", and vision of "formulating, leading, coordinating and executing the Bolivian policy of social housing, habitat and territory, in the framework of a communitarian living together in harmony with Mother Earth to live well" (Agencia Estatal de Vivienda n.d.). At a ceremony to hand over the state-donated emergency houses, in July 2014, the Bolivian vice-President, Alvaro Garcia Linera told those that had come to hear his speech, that he had come to hand over the 188 houses, so that "our brothers and sisters can live with dignity." At one ceremony in the department of Chuquisaca I watched while conducting fieldwork in Charazani in 2016, the vice-President declared that no more would people in the countryside have to live in houses made of adobe, that everyone would have the right to a house such as those he was officially handing over: houses made of red-brick, with a kitchen/diner, two bedrooms each, and a bathroom with a toilet and shower (this is the set-up for each and every house donated in the municipality of Charazani). The discourse of the vice-president, and indeed the formal mission statement of the State Housing Agency, follow a thread that runs through all government policy since the election of Evo Morales as President in 2005, that government programmes should enact what has become an all-encompassing alternative development discourse of *Vivir Bien* (living well). In relation to the housing programme, as my friend and informant from Qullpani, Valerio put it to me, "All Bolivians have a right to a house, it is one of the fundamentals of *Vivir Bien*". The emphasis put on red-brick as a material, however, suggests that the state view of *Vivir Bien*, of living well, is a fundamentally urban way of living. Since colonial times, the state has attempted to "civilise" rural people in the Andes through altering their living situation. Colonial governors, under the plan of viceroy Toledo, attempted to "civilise" and make legible (Scott 1998; 2009) rural Andeans by moving them from dispersed rural hamlets to urban centres known as *reducciones*. The housing policy of the current Bolivian government takes the opposite approach, appearing to urbanise rural Bolivians in their current habitat, through the materiality of the houses donated (red-brick, rather than adobe).

Catherine Allen has described the adobe house as "a sentient being called Wasitira Mama (Mother House-Earth)" (2014: 76) that "lives because she is formed out of the living Earth" (Allen 1988: 44), and that is "the final link in a chain of authority that begins with the snow-capped Lord Mountains" (2014: 76). For Benjamin Orlove (1998), the mud of the houses in which rural Andeans live is itself constitutive of their identity as *runa* (an understanding of personhood central to belonging to the traditional rural Andean community, the *ayllu*, and defined by the sharing of substances with ancestral deities in the rural landscape around them) inside the houses, in contrast to urban mestizos who live in clean townhouses. The exchanges between people and local gods are central both to the understanding of personhood as *runa* and the rural notion of living well in the *ayllu*, and my question upon beginning my current fieldwork in Bolivia from January to March 2019 was to

what extent the materiality of house construction was significant in the relations with the landscape that are central to rural identity, particularly in the Kallawaya indigenous communities of Charazani.

The answer, I found, was that in fact the materiality of house construction was not central to such exchanges, because in interviews with recipients of state-donated red-brick housing, I was told time and again by my interlocutors that they had made the traditional offerings to the local deities in the same manner as they had done with their adobe housing. When houses are built in Kallawaya communities an offering, known as a *cucho*, the main part of which is a llama foetus, is buried beneath the house. An offering is also made in the offering place in the patio of each house, known as a *cabildo*. In Qotapampa, my interlocutors told me that they no longer had *cabildos*, and that when their red-brick houses were being built, they had only made the offering of the *cucho* beneath the house. For Natalio, this act alone meant that he considered his whole house to be a *cabildo*. However, the location of the *cabildo* on the patio of most houses means that these exchanges can still take place regardless of the materiality of the construction of the house.

My most recent research has not been during house-building season (June to September, the dry season), so I was only able to witness at first hand part of the construction of one house, in the urban centre of the municipality, the town of Charazani itself. In Kallawaya communities (and probably elsewhere in the rural Andes), the laying of the roof of a house is an important occasion, which neighbours are invited to celebrate. The niece of my landlady in Charazani had just finished her house in February this year, and I was invited to celebrate on the day the roof was laid. I was invited to hang flowers on the side of the house, and then the family set off fireworks inside the house. The fireworks inside the house were to scare malignant spirits away, I was told by one of the family present. I was also invited to throw sweets and sugar inside the house so that life would be sweet there.

A few days after the laying of the roof, I asked my landlady if they had buried a *cucho* in the foundations of the house as an offering to the spirits of the place. She told me that they hadn't, though she had told her niece that she should do. The plot of land (including my landlady's house and her niece's) is a burial ground, containing the skeletons of Kallawaya ancestors. When my landlady had constructed her house, in addition to a llama foetus, she had buried a pot containing quinoa, amaranth and other local grains for the spirits of the place to eat, in order that they therefore protect the house. My landlady told me that her niece did not observe these ritual practices because she does not live in the countryside, but in the city of La Paz, returning only for fiestas. After the roof-laying ceremony I visited a friend who is a Kallawaya healer in a neighbouring community to Charazani, and told him about the rituals for the house (curious to know whether these were urban or rural rituals). He told me that they would never set off fireworks inside the house to scare away spirits from the place, because for them, the spirits of the place are not seen as malignant, but rather as shared occupiers of the house, whose permission has to be sought for its construction. The rituals I observed in the town of Charazani demonstrated this disconnect with the place, of the urban mestizos, who reside most of the time in La Paz, and experience feeling sharing with benevolent spirits, but rather, if there are spirits that belong to the place, these are viewed as threatening, and perhaps in the manner of the colonial extirpation, to be defeated. The relationship between the inhabitants of a house and the house itself does not depend on its urban materiality or otherwise, but on their particular relationship with the place in which the house is built, their urban or rural mode of thinking about the place.

Envisioning gender, indigeneity and urban change: The case of La Paz, Bolivia

Abstract

La Paz, Bolivia, and its neighbouring city, El Alto, have been experiencing patterns of urban accumulation, dispossession and displacement that demonstrate the importance of social, cultural and historical logics to understanding the politics of urban space. A striking feature of these patterns is that the image of the person who has accumulated enough wealth to displace people, is that of an indigenous woman. The Aymaran woman, traditionally dressed in pollera skirt and Derby hat, who pays cash for luxurious properties in the affluent, white area of the Zona Sur, is a trope that has entered popular culture and political discourse. In this paper, I explore the development of this cultural trope from its emergence in the 2009 in the film named after the area in question, *Zona Sur*, and subsequent uses of images of this film in social media to describe and resist political changes in the city as related to space, property and belonging. My contention is that the trope of the rich Aymaran woman, and the reversal of expected patterns of urban development that she represents, places the colonial, cultural and gendered dynamics that structure how capital shapes urban space into sharp relief. The rich Aymaran woman who has made her money in informal commerce transgresses ideas of propriety and belonging in La Paz, and also received ideas about urban processes and gender in critical geographical literature.

La Paz, Bolivia and its neighbouring ‘boom town’ city of El Alto are experiencing the results of a ten year economic boom that has facilitated substantial infrastructure

development, attracted significant foreign investment, and led to an exponential rise in real estate prices (IMF 2015). Predictably, these developments have led to changing patterns of mobility across the city as the financial potential of the economic and real estate booms is unleashed, and new transport links connect excluded with affluent areas. Perhaps surprisingly, the main beneficiaries of these processes are people of indigenous or mestizo descent working in the vast informal markets in the North of La Paz and the city of El Alto – areas that have erstwhile been considered marginalised, and the latter even referred to as a ‘slum’ (Davis 2006, 28). Such is the economic growth in these areas that their predominantly Aymara-speaking inhabitants are buying up property in the salubrious, and mostly white, Zona Sur [Southern Zone] neighbourhood of La Paz. This phenomenon has received widespread coverage in the Bolivian press, been noted by the International Monetary Fund (IMF 2015), and confirmed by local real estate agents. ‘Everyone has a story, they’re the ones who are buying most’ (Interview, Estate Agent, August 2015).

In film, television, social media, the press, and local discourse, the way that these processes of change are being envisioned is with an image of the Aymaran woman, traditionally dressed in the Andean pleated skirt - the *pollera* - and Derby hat, carrying large amounts of cash with which to buy property in the Zona Sur. As if to underscore the reversal of the classed, raced way that such dynamics of displacement are generally thought to take place, one La Paz based newspaper controversially referred to the increasing presence of El Alto wealth in the Zona Sur as a ‘colonisation,’ although this term was later replaced with the less politicized phrase ‘gain territory in’ (Página Siete, 2014). It is this transformation and its depiction in the 2010 Bolivian film *Zona Sur* that this paper will focus on. My contention is that

this image of the rich Aymaran woman, and the reversal of expected patterns of urban development that she represents, places the colonial, cultural and gendered dynamics that structure how capital shapes urban space into sharp relief. This trope has emerged in a context in which Bolivia's ruling MAS party has adopted a 'decolonial' approach to economic development, which challenges the colonial underpinnings of the distinction between formality and informality. Aymaran women are known for their economic power in informal commerce and the household, and the sense of transgression generated by an image of an indigenous woman displacing a white family reveals the gendered assumptions about the household structures which are often left unacknowledged in urban studies.

The trope of the wealthy indigenous woman encapsulates the complexity of class, race, ethnicity and gender, a complexity which is reflected in local debate on how this emergent wealthy class should be designated. She is a member of the variously called Aymara bourgeoisie (Rea Campos 2016) or the 'chola' bourgeoisie (Toranzo 2009). The debate around the nomenclature pivots around the salience of indigeneity, urbanity or class respectively. Although the term 'Aymara bourgeoisie' excludes other linguistic and ethnic groupings and those who would self-identify as mestizo, it emphasizes the importance of traditional Aymaran culture in the development of markets in La Paz and El Alto; in contrast, the term 'chola bourgeoisie' emphasizes the urbanity of indigenous people who have migrated to the city and left behind their cultural identity (Rea Campos 2016). The term 'cholo/a' can be used pejoratively to imply someone has conformed to urban/Western culture, particularly when applied to a woman, but has been reclaimed, and Chola Paceña beauty contests and fashion shows highlight the wealth of this emerging middle class. The Chola Paceña is

defined by the long pollera typical of the city, which has been argued to be a ‘cultural mimesis’ as an item of clothing that has come to exemplify indigenous identity and power, originated with the fashion of the Spanish colonisers (Rivera, cited in Diaz Carrasco 2014: 138). Although the pollera, given the rise of the indigenous middle class, is becoming a consumption item, to be *de pollera* denotes, as per tradition and the history of Andean markets, a woman who is in charge of negotiations and key investment decisions, and who dominates the city’s vast informal commercial areas.

The film *Zona Sur*, portrays a family in this once exclusive neighbourhood of La Paz and their struggles to maintain their standard of living in a changing political and economic climate. The trope of the wealthy Aymaran women is crystalised in a crucial scene in which the family’s Aymaran godmother, ‘Comadre Remedios,’ accompanied by her lawyer and assistant, offers to buy the family’s house in cash. A still from this scene has become a ‘meme’ in social media and has been used in online resistance to conflict over the newly opened shopping mall, the ‘MegaCenter’, also in the Zona Sur of La Paz. In political discourse, the character of the wealthy Aymaran woman is both villainised and heralded, either as exemplifying the benefits and ‘corrupt’ gains that have accrued to Bolivia’s indigenous population under Morales, or as representing a triumphant re-assertion of indigenous culture and power over *criollo* spaces in the city. The controversy which this character attracts demonstrates that she is transgressing ideas of propriety, belonging and status in La Paz. She is also transgressing received ideas about how urban development is gendered, classed and racialized, in both mainstream and critical work on the subject which remains predicated on the modernizing categories of public/private, productive/reproductive, and risk/care (Peake and Rieker 2013).

Comadre Remedios, dressed in the traditional Aymaran pollera, carrying cash earned in the vast and wealthy Bolivian informal economy, hence poses a challenge to the increasingly universalizing and reductionist tendencies of critical urban theory which focuses almost exclusively on the movements of capital and displacement in terms of socio-economic status. It is clear that the drives of capital are crucial to understanding how cities are formed, and are responsible for ravaging cities and creating phenomenal levels of inequality and indigency, especially in the Global South (Davis 2006; Harvey 2011) The consistency of this pattern of urban development, especially in Latin America where neoliberal adjustment policies were exceptionally harsh, supports Marxist geographers' contention that processes of urbanisation are identical with processes of capital that can be observed at a global, indeed planetary, scale (Brenner and Theodore 2005). However, these understandings of urban change tend to foreground necessary relations, essentially socio-economic status (Clarke 2005), to the point that they underestimate, or in some cases exclude, cultural and political factors that underpin interpretations of belonging, and hence do not adequately represent the power dynamics involved in changing urban spaces and mobilities. This is of particular concern in a post-colonial nation where a reductionist approach implies an imposition of categories that fail to reflect how marginalization is experienced and understood by those involved, hence perpetuating knowledge systems which are part of that very exclusion (Roy 2011; Simone 2010).

Comadre Remedios' transgressions in urban space and theory illustrate debates on the relationship between culture and economy and the importance of factors such as identity and belonging, often considered epiphenomenal to underlying capital

developments, to understanding power and political change in the city (du Gay and Pryke 2002). She illustrates the power of popular cultural responses and the ‘everyday’ -the tactics used by those living in the city to make the space their own, and exert rights to space that the powers that be may overlook or deliberately curtail (Beebejaun 2017). Popular culture – film, news media, and more recently social media – reflects and characterises different areas of the city, and shapes and recreates ideas of belonging. It is hence a rich source of language, categories and identities via which to understand the urban the city, urban processes and mobility.

The wealth and economic agency represented by the image of Comadre Remedios challenges the gendered assumption at the heart of much liberal theory, in which women are associated with the private sphere, care economy, secondary income generation, and consumption (Peake and Rieker 2013). However, the fact that new accumulated wealth is represented by a woman *de pollera* comes as no surprise to anyone who knows the city of La Paz or is familiar with the gendered dynamics of markets there. The economic power of the Andean woman is rooted in traditional household, community and market structures, which prize hard work, business acumen and an ability to manage money, as feminine ideals. Despite women’s economic power, however, reproductive and care labour remain entirely women’s responsibility, and rates of domestic violence in the area are exceptionally high. The forces of development and globalization have brought material and discursive influences on these ‘traditional’ ideas of gender and family, and have led to increased pressure for women to generate income and in some cases migrate (Maclean 2014). Nevertheless, the ideal of the Andean woman as hardworking, savvy and in control of

business and money has endured and shapes gendered economic subjectivity in informal commerce in La Paz and El Alto.

Indigenous Rights to the City: Conflicting realities in Bolivia and Ecuador¹

Philipp Horn

Setting the scene

Indigenous peoples were never fully excluded from urban life. Since the second half of the 20th century, in particular, indigenous peoples have increasingly moved to cities and engaged in a variety of bottom-up urban political struggles to voice their specific interests and demands. Building on the work of Anibal Quijano and Henri Lefebvre, I define these processes as ‘indigenous rights to the city’ struggles – a decolonial struggle to be recognised as urban indigenous residents with distinct interests, and to be involved in urban decision-making processes.

In Bolivia and Ecuador, urban indigenous uprisings in the early 2000s led to the ousting of governments and to the election of new governments which, for the first time in history, recognise urban indigeneity in national constitutions. In this paper, I take these constitutional reforms as analytical starting point to explore the translation of indigenous rights to the city into urban policy and planning practice in Bolivia and Ecuador, with specific focus on the cities of La Paz and Quito. I conceptualise this process of translation as involving a multiplicity of social actors – officials working in government institutions associated with urban governance but also urban indigenous residents and their community-based organisations (CBOs).

On the one hand, it is important to state that the official revaluing of urban indigeneity and the recognition of indigenous rights to the city have immense positive effects in La Paz and Quito. In La Paz, residents mentioned how having a President, Evo Morales, who himself identifies as Aymara has not only boosted their pride in being indigenous but also provided them with new opportunities. Indigenous residents are increasingly holding positions in government institutions and in the business sector which were previously reserved for ‘white’ and *mestizo* elites. This has important class effects, allowing some residents to become part of a new Aymara bourgeoisie. In both cities, indigenous residents also highlight their satisfaction with government redistribution policies, such as pension schemes or school bursaries, which contributed to a reduction in poverty levels and socio-economic inequalities between different ethno-racial groups. These are very positive accomplishments and represent an important historical transformation of ethno-racial relations within urban Bolivia and Ecuador.

On the other hand, though, understandings of indigenous rights to the city – whether in the realm of everyday life, state interventions, or bottom-up political struggles – are characterised by a set of conflicting realities. The remainder of this paper focuses on these conflicting realities.

Urban indigeneity as lived experience: Embracing heterogeneity and difference

Spatial-temporal static understandings of indigeneity continue to dominate scholarly and policy debates on indigenous peoples. This is evident in Bolivia where, despite the recognition of indigenous rights to the city in the constitution, the authentic indigenous person is considered to be an ‘indigenous original peasant’ or, in other words, a person living in remote rural areas or isolated forests. In principle, only people who fit this definition are granted with collective indigenous rights. Similar trends can also be noted in international campaigns which continue to portray indigenous peoples as ‘guardians of the forest’. Such representations offer an essentialising, romantic and ruralist account of indigenous peoples and thereby explicitly ignore the urban indigenous majority that lives outside forests in concrete jungles,

¹ This paper provides a summary of my recently published book [‘Indigenous Rights to the City: Ethnicity and Urban Planning in Bolivia and Ecuador’](#) (Horn 2019).

including in peri-urban neighbourhoods such as Chasquipampa and Ovejuyo in La Paz or in *communes* and migrant communities in Quito. In these urban settings, different indigenous residents aspire to make the best of different worlds. They want to lead a modern life in the city while preserving or revitalising their traditions. They claim universal and individual rights but also seek to gain recognition for collective indigenous rights. It is perhaps this combination – between traditional and modern, individual and collective – which defines contemporary urban indigeneity.

It is also important to highlight that in La Paz and Quito, being indigenous in the city means very different things to different people. In both cities, interests and demands varied depending on origin (eg migrant or *comunero*), age, gender, and political position. The only thing indigenous residents shared in common was that they articulated their interests and demands in relation to land. For example, indigenous residents referred to land or public space when raising conflicting demands to access cultural (eg traditional *fiestas* vs modern rap events), financial (eg money generated from re-selling and subdividing collective land), physical (eg access to urban amenities such as water, electricity or roads vs access to agricultural land), natural/ productive (eg for agricultural activities vs urban speculation) or politico-legal (eg collective vs. individual rights) goods and resources.

From discourse to implementation: The state and indigenous rights to the city

As highlighted above, urban indigenous residents' express multiple and sometimes contradictory understandings of indigeneity, leading them to articulate different interests and rights-based claims. This makes it difficult for policy makers and planners to come up with one coherent political agenda on urban indigeneity.

My findings from La Paz and Quito also challenge generalisations made in previous studies which claim that the interests and demands of indigenous peoples cannot be met as long as different actors involved in urban governance follow liberal approaches to urban development and planning, and prioritise individual rights over specific group rights. As highlighted above, most urban indigenous residents in La Paz and Quito want to receive individual tenure rights in order to access to basic public services such as water, electricity or road infrastructure. In this regard, they are not that different from other urban residents who want to benefit from the modern amenities of urban life. Planning models which follow individual rights-based approaches should therefore not be automatically disregarded as they do yield results which are responsive to the interests and demands of many urban indigenous residents.

My research in La Paz and Quito also reveals that constitutional rhetoric on indigenous rights to the city is not translated into policies and planning interventions as public officials responsible for their implementation continue to hold preconceived views of cities as non-indigenous spaces, follow different political priorities, or operate in a political environment characterised by conflicts between different local authorities. At the same time, I discuss national and local government interventions which tackle the different interests and demands of urban indigenous residents and, therefore, offer some ideas on how state interventions can positively embrace indigenous rights to the city, in all their diversity. Examples include, among others:

- Efforts to design and implement an alternative indigenous urban plans which follow principles of the 'ayllu' by La Paz's intercultural unit;
- Attempts by Quito's co-government unit to embrace conflicts between semi-autonomous indigenous communes and local government authorities through integrating municipal and indigenous governance schemes as well as individual and collective tenure rights.

This demonstrates that state interventions around the promotion of indigenous rights to the city are by no means monolithic. Instead, different social actors operating within the state offer different responses

towards the translation of indigenous rights in cities, with some yielding more positive results than others. For this reason it is, perhaps, better to depart from *a priori* assumptions or ideal-type models on 'what could be done' to address indigeneity in urban policy and planning practice. Instead, it is important to identify what works best in specific local settings. Rather than conclude with a set of universal policy recommendations, then, I call for further in-depth and empirically grounded research which captures the perceptions, interests, views and associated practices of diverse social actors involved in urban governance who operate in different cities characterised by their own institutional, political and structural environment. In doing so, it is possible to identify local and context-specific pathways for the successful translation of indigenous rights to the city.

Claiming indigenous rights to the city from below: Disentangling 'community'

My findings from La Paz and Quito also speak against (1) an understanding of indigenous communities as harmonious and egalitarian collective entities and (2) interpretations of the right to the city as a 'collective' cry and demand articulated by the marginalised and excluded. Instead, I demonstrate how historically marginalised indigenous 'communities' or 'collectives' are heterogeneous entities composed by members with distinct capabilities, interests and demands, as well as characterised by internal conflicts and uneven power relations. Power matters in relationships between the state and indigenous 'communities'. Here, power refers to the relevant political (eg knowledge of a system) and social (eg friendships, connections) resources needed to engage in processes of political negotiations with government authorities. Power also matters within indigenous 'communities'. Here, power determines whose interests are taken forward and addressed and whose interests are ignored.

In La Paz and Quito, it is mainly indigenous community leaders, predominantly older men, who play a key role in negotiating rights to the city claims with local authorities. But community leaders rarely have the collective interests and wellbeing of other community members in mind. Instead, they often (ab)use their position to enrich themselves personally and to preserve their powerful position within the community. In the meantime, the specific interests and demands of women and young people are often not addressed.

To date, insufficient attention has been paid to such intra-community struggles. I therefore finish this paper by stating that engaged scholars, activists and practitioners would do well by identifying and strengthening existing emancipatory interventions which not only confront unjust government practices but equally condemn uneven and gendered power dynamics within historically marginalised communities.

Capitalising indigeneity or indigenous capitalism

Angus McNelly, Queen Mary, University of London

Introduction

The goal of this brief presentation is to introduce some of the characteristics of urban indigeneity found in the Bolivian city of El Alto. I seek to explore the relationship between capitalist social relations and indigenous practices and social forms, arguing that the incorporation and modification of 'indigenous' features into city life here does not dilute capitalism or imply anything out of the ordinary. It is simply the particular historic form that capitalism has assumed in El Alto, allowing groups well-positioned to take advantage of the rapidly constructed city and absence of the state to accumulate whilst those well fortunate than them experience capitalist exploitation untrammelled. To advance this contention, I briefly sketch out urban indigeneity and capitalism in El Alto before exploring some examples of the way they have been altered by (and in the process themselves shaped) the dynamics of capitalism here.

A brief aside is needed before the argument unfurls. Although urban indigeneity and capitalism are the broad topics of the presentation, there are three other terms upon which the analysis pivots. First is the 'popular economy', which has operated as a centre of gravity for a variety of scholars studying urban indigeneity and informality across Latin America. Here it is defined as a heuristic device to capture the historical social and cultural forms of the working-classes who operate in small-scale and/or artisanal production, services and commerce, forms that on the surface are quite particular to Bolivia. Secondly, 'informality' is understood as the confluence of dynamic processes stripping workers of legal rights and recourse, increasing the inconsistency and irregularity of the working day and the forms of tasks that expend labour power, transforming the working conditions and everyday lives of the working-classes. It also includes practices the working-classes perform in the gaps left by the neoliberal state: these produce the homes, neighbourhoods and spaces of residence, as well as those needed to ensure the reproduction of their families and the working-classes writ large under these constraints. Thirdly, the term 'working classes' as used in this article denotes people who do not control the key productive resources of a society and thus are either directly or indirectly dependent on the sale of labour power for their daily reproduction (Selwyn, 2016: 1036). It captures the variable experiences of working-class people. The working classes include not just those who enter the workplace but the swathes of

unemployed who were and will again be wage-earners and those who appear self-employed but who are, in fact, disguised wage labourers earning just enough to sustain themselves. The working classes are marked by ‘extensive and complicated “grey areas”, replete with transitional locations between the “free” wage laborers and slaves, the self-employed and the lumpenproletarians’ (van der Linden, 2008: 32). Moreover, intra-class stratification between different informalized groups is leading to the increased exploitation and pauperization of many at the hands of a few, processes hidden by sociological or structural class definitions (Bremen, 2015: 70).

An Indigenous City

Sitting high above the bowl containing the city of La Paz at over 4000m above sea level is the sprawling metropolis El Alto. According to the 2012 census, the population of El Alto is 848,000, although given both the underestimation of the size of households and the omission of entire new neighbourhoods from the census—residential zones that are represented as empty spaces on the official maps (see figure 6.1)—the actual population is likely to be significantly higher. Although La Paz has a large Aymara population, El Alto is the ‘Aymara capital’ (Albó, 2006: 334), with 74.2 percent of *altenos* (the city dwellers of El Alto) over the age of 15 self-identifying with this indigenous group in the 2001 census (INE, 2001). El Alto itself is divided approximately along ethnic lines, with the north of the city mainly Aymara *campesinos* (peasants) and the South home to the city’s 6.4 percent Quechua population (as well as the relocated miners who now live in Santiago II) (Sandóval and Sostres, 1989: 35). El Alto is also associated with urban indigenous people or *cholos*, who enter the public imaginary as the stereotypical market vendor (Lazar, 2007; Lazar, 2008).¹ *Chola* street vendors sitting on the curb side by side selling basically the same produce, chatting away in Aymara or Quechua is a typical picture of life in Bolivian cities. This visibility has provoked negative, at times racist, reactions from the *mestizo* elites, who for a long time denied indigenous people entry to urban areas. Since colonial times indigenous people in the cities have been labelled *cholos* to separate them from the *mestizo* population, painting them as ‘unclean’, ‘dirty’ and possessing ‘excessive sexuality’ (Lazar, 2008: 17).

The city of El Alto is a result of historic processes of self-construction and the

¹ *Cholo/a* is an ethnocultural category used since colonial times to denote indigenous people in the city. However, they are not indigenous nor are they *mestizo*, they are betwixt, standing between indian/creole, rural/urban and commodity market/community (Lazar, 2008: 17—18). See also Canessa (2012), and Seligmann (1989; 1993) and Weismantel (2001).

dynamics of the popular economy that emerged during the 1990s. Indigenous practices—including rotation and obligation—coupled with interpersonal relationships brought to the city from rural communities were vital to processes of self-construction. This has traced urban indigeneity into urban space in El Alto.

Figure 6.1: Map of El Alto



Source: Alejandra Rocabado

The quickest growing regions are districts 7, 8 and 14 along the two principal highways—the Pan-American Highway going to Lake Titicaca, and the road going south towards Oruro, Cochabamba and eventually Santa Cruz. These areas are the poorest, most indigenous areas and have the lowest access to basic services. As of 2018, 36 percent of *alteños* live below the official poverty line and according to the 2012 census, 49 percent of

alteños are indigenous (46 percent Aymara and 2 percent Quechua) (Instituto Nacional de Estadísticas 2012).² Although there has been a significant improvement in recorded *alteño* household services between the 2001 and 2012 censuses, the city is still lacking in many ways (see table 6.1).

Table 6.1: Household Services in the City of El Alto

El Alto (%)	2001 Census	2012 Census
House made of Brick	22	54
House made of Adobe	77	45
Water service (in house)	35	88
Water service (out of house)	54	6
Household without access to basic services	16	n/a
Household with electricity	85	92
Household with gas	91	95
All basic needs satisfied	37	n/a

Source: Adapted from INE 2001 and 2012

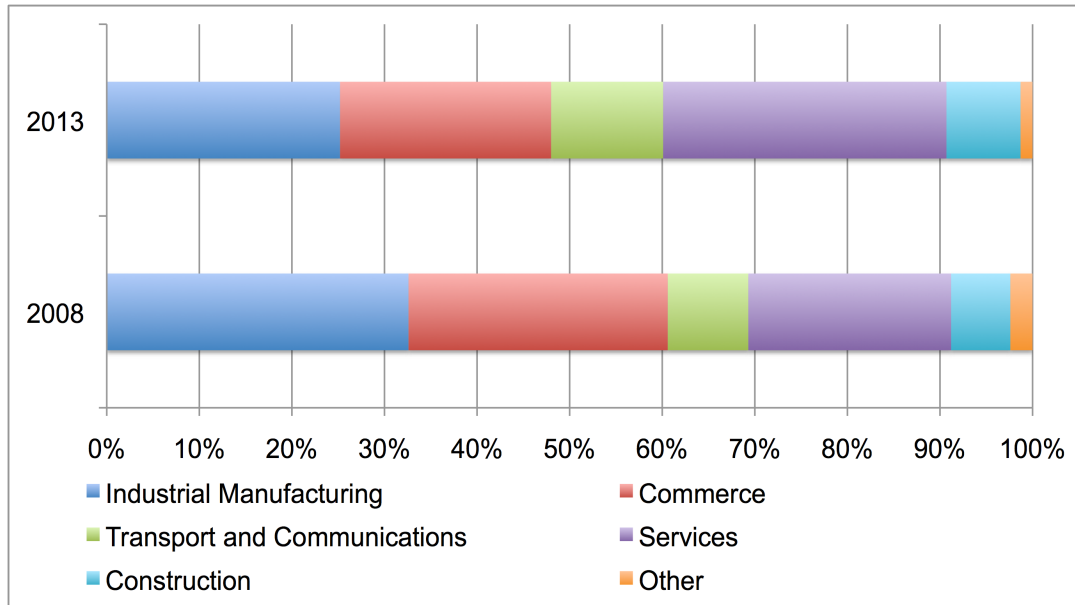
Officially, over 50 percent of houses are now constructed from brick, 88 percent have in-house water services, 92 percent electricity and 95 percent gas. However, it must be noted that the newest neighbourhoods are excluded from this data, much in the same way that they are merely blank spots on the map. The white space in the middle of the city is the airport (see figure 6.1), a constant reminder of El Alto's unplanned nature and its rapid growth of the past four decades.

The Structure of the Working-Classes

As well as being an indigenous city, El Alto is a working-class city. As graph 6.1 demonstrates, most residents in El Alto are employed in services (31%) followed by industrial manufacturing (25%), commerce (23%), and transport and communications (8.7). The big change over the past decade has been the growth of service employment, overtaking both industrial manufacturing and commerce to become the most significant source of employment (see graph 6.1).

² This is a massive decrease from the 2001 census when 81 percent self-identified as indigenous (74 percent Aymara and 6 percent Quechua). See discussions in the first chapter for debates around the radical decrease in reported indigenous groups between the 2001 and 2012 censuses.

Graph 6.1: Occupation by Economic Activity



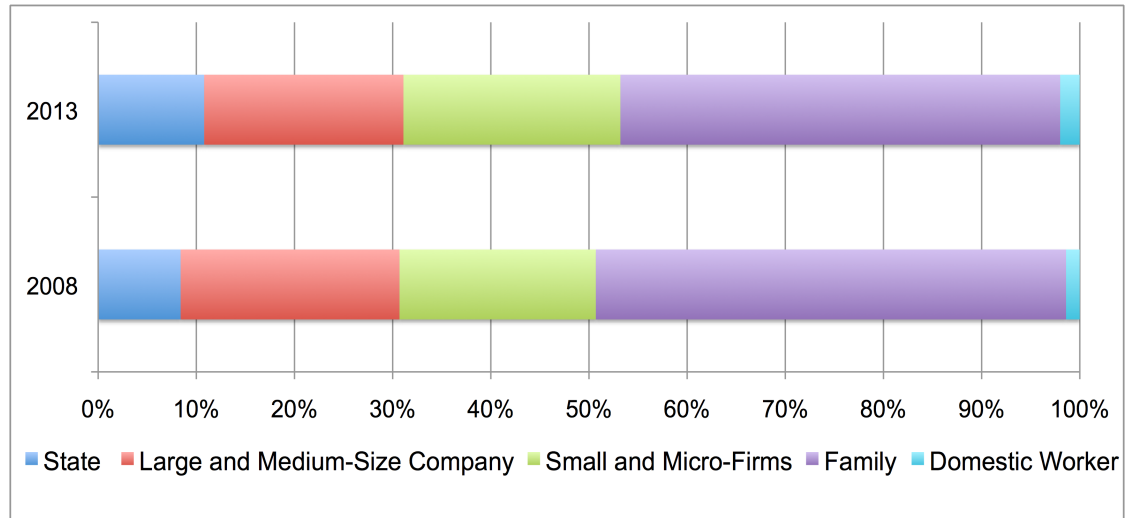
Source: (Escóbar de Pabón et al., 2015: 53)

On the one hand, women dominate commerce (51% of economically active women aged 15–24 work in commerce) and are more likely to work in services linked to reproductive roles, particularly due to the growth of the restaurant sector in the city in recent years.³ However, a quarter of economically active women aged 15–24 still work in industrial manufacturing. Young economically active men (15–24), on the other hand, are more likely to work in manufacturing (36%), services (25%), transport (20%) and construction (14%) (Escóbar de Pabón et al., 2015: 54). The quality of this work has not changed dramatically under the government of Evo Morales (2006—present) and remains low, with over 22 percent of the EAP working for informalised semi-firms and almost 45 percent working for a family firm (see graph 6.2).

Unsurprisingly given these employment trends, formalised work with an official salary only accounts for 45 percent of all employment in El Alto (Escóbar de Pabón et al., 2015: 57).

³ The CEDLA data only differentiates by gender for the age group 15–24, a group which is more likely to work in manufacturing and commerce and less likely to work in services (Escóbar de Pabón et al. 2015, 53). However, the figures illustrate the general trends in the gendered organisation of the labour market.

Graph 6.2 Occupation by Type of Employer (2008–2013)



Source: Escóbar de Pabón et al. 2015, 60

There is still a significant gendered division of unpaid labour within the home that assigns women nearly the entire burden of social reproduction. They are responsible for most unpaid household tasks, including cooking, cleaning and care activities, a division of labour that impacts on their ability to perform paid work and that structures the job opportunities available for women in El Alto (Escóbar de Pabón et al., 2015: 56).

The Peculiarities of the *Alteño* Popular Economy

Scholars studying the social and economic relations and practices in El Alto marvel at the hybridity that has come to characterise the city. The current social formation found in El Alto is a consequence of the transformation and mutation of existing social relations, beliefs, practices and knowledges into unique economic forms able to fill the interstitial spaces of Bolivian society (Tassi et al., 2015: 118). These spaces exist in the gaps between the abstract realms of liberal theory (and public policy) and the concrete historical form of capitalism. In postcolonial places inserted unevenly into the global market like Bolivia, the cracks between market, state and society are more like chasms, bridged by the everyday comings and goings of the largely indigenous population.

Unconventional practices are used to mediate exchange between vendor and consumer and to act as market mechanisms and the articulation of the market within the popular economy occurs through the establishment of interpersonal networks, and cultural and religious links (Tassi et al., 2015: 63). Borrowing money from relatives or

fictitious kin allows newly arrived migrants entry into the market in the popular economy. Ritual co-parenthood, known as *Compadrazgo*, forges fictitious kinship bonds between godparents and the families of their godchildren and gives families access to otherwise out of reach economic means (Goldstein, 2004: 37—38). In the Andes there is a long history of families exchanging children with their godparents in return for past or future favours (Buechler and Buechler 1996: 194). This both provides start-up capital for commercial and service endeavours and helps built conglomerates allowing popular economy actors to share transport, the costs of a shipping container or a newly constructed shopping mall (Tassi et al., 2013: 124). This has enabled processes of self-upgrading studied by anthropologist Julianne Müller (2017), who has explored the integration of the ‘formal’ and ‘informal’ economies in La Paz, overcoming the perceived antagonisms between the two and discussing the uneven processes that formalise and informalise actors and the ways that actors themselves try to be formalised or informalised from below.

In the popular economy certain other cultural practices have been modified and deepened by popular economy actors too. Andean spiritual/religious leaders, *yatiris*, have remained important figures in the local community in El Alto (Tassi et al., 2013: 130). However, their blessings to *pachamama* (Mother Earth) and readings of coca leaves have been put to new uses. A theft or disturbance within popular marketplaces will be investigated through the *yatiri*’s reading of coca leaves and new business enterprises will receive their blessing. New taxis, trucks, stalls and shopping malls are all blessed by *yatiris*, who have seen their place and role within the community change in the context of urban indigeneity. Similarly, sponsoring the local *fiesta* has become an important part of structuring and maintaining commercial relationships within urban indigenous communities (Tassi, 2010). As the work of anthropologist Daniel Goldstein (2004) in the city of Cochabamba demonstrates, this is not without its difficulties to be navigated, as the right balance of generosity and ‘showing off’ to the rest of the community must be struck. With the increasing rate of accumulation in the popular economy, this has begun to change, with the sponsoring of *morenada* fraternities in Gran Poder, the *fiesta* associated with the popular economy actors in La Paz, used to construct hierarchies and stress differences between different popular economy actors (Salazar, 2016).

For some, these practices and the different understanding actors have of accumulation, investment and work signal the ‘not-quite capitalist’ nature of the urban indigenous forms of commerce and services found in El Alto (see in particular Tassi

2013, ch.6). However, I contend that the intertwined character of capitalist relations and indigenous practices and episteme do not mark a departure from capitalism. On the contrary, this is merely the *form* capitalism assumes in this context.

Capitalism in the Popular Economy: Neutral Markets and Cultural Particularities?

One of the principal arguments of scholars who have studied the popular economy in El Alto is its embedded nature in particular places. It is constructed through translocal chains that are at once multi-scalar and anchored in the possibilities and limitations of specific localities (Tassi et al., 2015: 35). The success of the popular economy in places like Bolivia, it is argued, can only be accounted for by personal relationships of family and kinship that structure economic flows (Tassi et al., 2013). These social relations—strengthened through cultural displays of dance fraternities, local fiestas and the reinvestment in the local communities—ostensibly reveal a logic distinct to that of the impersonal relations developed under capitalism. In the words of Müller (2017: 394), the ‘transnational connections and local markets’ that comprise the popular economy ‘are made through the mediation of traders with *social and cultural attributes as well as economic ones*’ (my emphasis).

For the scholars studying urban indigeneity in Latin America, the social and cultural facets of economic relations within the popular economy make it unique. The reinvestment of profits in not only localised productive activities but in the production of the space of particular localities—through constructing new shopping *galerías* and other shared infrastructure, sponsoring and dancing in local parades and fiestas, and entering into relations of *compadrazgo*—demonstrates a logic within the spheres of the popular economy which is insulated from the exigencies and vicissitudes of the global market (Tassi et al., 2015: 89). They have argued that this is a distinct logic to that normally followed by capital. Indeed, when addressing globalisation from below, Gustavo Lins Ribeiro (2006: 234) asserts that actors of the popular economy ‘are non-hegemonic because their activities defy the economic establishment everywhere on the local, regional, national, international and transnational levels’. In short, the popular economy does not represent the ravages of capital untrammelled’ because it is ‘anchored in the social, cultural and political structures in the lives of those who practice it’ ((Mathews and Alba Vega, 2012: 11).

Exactly how, on a theoretical level, the dynamics of the popular economy *defy* those of the economic establishment—or in Marxian terms, dominant fractions of capital—remains unclear and under-theorised at best. Moreover, counterposing the popular economy with ‘hegemonic globalisation’ and stressing its uniqueness and exogenous character conjures a dominant economy only occupied by *homo economicus*, a realm that has only ever existed in neo-classical economics textbooks. Following from this the popular economy school often assumes (implicitly or explicitly) that global transnational companies only make investments that affect the production relations. One only needs look from the philanthropists of the capitalist elite to the golf courses, the Michelin star restaurants and country clubs where business relations are fostered and deals brokered to see that capital has always invested in social relations and the social spaces where these relationships operate. A brief consideration of the ideas of Marx laid out in the *Grundrisse* and subsequently developed by Marxist theorists further reveal the weaknesses of this perspective.

In the introduction to the *Grundrisse*, Marx argues that it is virtually impossible to find the general conditions of production, and underlined the folly of classical political economy—in particular that of John Stuart Mill (1885)—in advancing thinking that ‘reduces itself in fact to a few very simple characteristics, which are hammered out into flat tautologies’ (Marx, 1993: 86). Instead, ‘production is always a particular branch of production’, that is to say that production always assumes a *historically contingent form*. Productive relations are developed through historical processes and shaped not only by economic determinants but also by local cultural and social forms. Far from being purely ‘economic’ relations, argues Derek Sayer (1987: 25) in his elaboration of Marx’s dialectical method, productive relations necessarily contain economic, political and legal relations:

‘it is not that social relations are caused by material production but that it irreducibly involves them. They are part and parcel of it... the connection between people’s productive relations with nature, or labour process, and social relations of production, is internal and necessary, not external and contingent’.

Indeed, for Marx the product of production was nothing more or less than society itself:

‘When we consider... society in the long view and as a whole, then the final result of the processes of social production always appears as the society itself, i.e. the human being itself in its social relations’ (Marx, 1993: 712).

The production processes within capitalism do not only produce commodities, surplus value and capital, they also produce the social relations that comprise society too. Whilst

there is an important missing dynamic in this formulation—the production of the labourer herself discussed below—it does highlight the internally related character of social relations and the impossibility of talking about economic relations without also accounting for social and cultural considerations.

These insights are furthered in the work of philosopher Henri Lefebvre. In his seminal text *The Critique of Everyday Life*, Lefebvre turns to (amongst many other things) how distinctly non-material symbols and representations mediate out experiences of everyday life. Lefebvre (2014: 441) contends that social relations

‘cannot be explained comprehensively either as a sum total or as an interaction: as productive force/productive relations... all societies imply a non-material and yet practically creative production, namely the various "services", [which] are woven into the texture of social relations, productive relations and properly relations. *They make them more complex*’ (my emphasis).

These ‘services’ to which Lefebvre refers help ‘articulate production and consumption (whether it be distribution, transport, health and medicine, education and training, leisure activities, advertising, specifically cultural works, etc)’ (Lefebvre, 2014: 441). They are services that include ‘social needs *generally*’ and those that are historically specific to a society, i.e. ‘*specific* social needs’ (Lefebvre, 2014: 441, original emphasis). The experience of everyday life and the types of social practices that social actors engage in are mediated through ideological representations, symbol, signs and formants, implying the impossibility of experiencing the ‘purely’ economic facet of a social relation. Moreover, the *specific* social needs play a vital role any society, which necessarily will be shaped by local customs, cultures, languages and histories. Lefebvre concludes that social practices—what Marx calls productive relations, and as oppose to merely production practices—form a totality that ‘never appears to be other than fragmentary, contradictory, and composed of levels, contradictions on differing levels, and of partial totalities’ (Lefebvre, 2014: 442).

Herein lies one of the fundamental errors of studying the urban indigeneity found in El Alto as outside capitalism. It is to treat a contradictory, fragmented, multi-scalar reality as proof of multiple systems rather than as part of a social totality. A brief discussion of Marx’s dialectical approach to economic, cultural and politico-ideological relations—treating them as internally related within all social relations (rather than separate relations that can be divided, separated and discussed in isolation)—underlines the different dimensions that capitalist social relations assume. The embedded nature of

the popular economy in local cultural practices is an interesting yet far from unique phenomenon, as productive practices are never found to have only economic features.

By Way of Conclusion: The Particular Form of Capitalist Relations in El Alto

The question of the relationship between urban indigeneity and capitalism is a delicate one, and one which neither anthropologists studying urban indigeneity nor Marxists have dealt with adequately up until now. It is not that capitalism determines the particular social formation found in a place constructed by indigenous practices and knowledges that have their roots outside of capitalism, but that it is impossible to understand urban indigeneity in its current form without trying to understand the particular ways in which capitalism has penetrated, altered and been altered by these practices and knowledges. Here I am not making a normative assertion equating the capitalist nature of relations to everything bad (as I have been accused of doing by Nico Tassi), assuming a position that tacitly reproduces the uncritical perspective of indigenous peoples, practices and communities as unblemished and without their own internal contradictions. I am making an analytical claim about how we should study urban indigeneity. I would also add that this is complemented by the need for further empirical study into this relationship: into the ways *compadrazgo* and debt bondage function; how the circulation of capital has altered the rural/urban migration patterns of Andean populations; and the ways that religion and ritual have become part and parcel of capitalist production regimes.

Thus, far from being the final word on the matter, this presentation was designed to provoke a reaction. To start a debate. To force those studying urban indigeneity take the study of relationship between capitalism and indigenetiy seriously.

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From Sateré-Mawé villages to urban “family homes”: gender, indigeneity and homemaking in the city of Manaus, Brazil

Ana Luísa Sertã

Manaus is the capital and largest city of the Amazon state in Brazil, with over 2 million inhabitants. It is estimated by different groups and institutions that 4,000 to 30,000 of them are indigenous – numbers that indicate not only political controversies around the category of indigeneity but also a city where the indigenous presence is increasingly notable and in dispute. Although this presence is not new, the topic has only recently captured the attention of Brazilian Anthropology, emerging with greater strength in the last decade. In this scenario, some terms have been devised to define the phenomenon, being often triggered and less frequently questioned: “urban indians”, “city indians”, “villageless indians”. All of them evoke the image of an indigenous person displaced from her or his “proper” environment, which finds echoes in the classic anthropological division between nature and culture. This essentialization sounds particularly out of place when, following their paths, we are faced with an intense circulation between spaces taken as segregated, such as city and village. The increasingly acknowledged multilocal character of anthropological practice becomes therefore inescapable when the field is the city and our interlocutors are indigenous. Taking the form of paths, narratives and references, this multilocality evinces a constant circulation of people, words, things and ways of doing that are formed and rearranged within the urban space, while also transforming it. In this presentation, my aim is to address some aspects of these circulations by exploring narratives of Sateré-Mawé women between city and villages and their practices around domestic spaces and homemaking.

Between the 1970s and 1980s, Manaus saw a great intensification of indigenous migration, driven not only by land disputes in the villages and the creation of a Free Trade Zone in the capital but also as a result of the intervention of religious missionaries, military and government officials. Based in indigenous villages, these agents then mediated the migration of indigenous women to work as housekeepers in so-called “family homes”. It is in this context that the Sateré-Mawé matriarch Tereza Ferreira de Souza arrived in the city, widowed with a son and seven daughters, who would later be responsible for the current configuration of Sateré-Mawé territories in the urban landscape. Shortly after their arrival, the family experience was marked by intermittent work in factories and “family homes”, but also by the creation of collective living spaces through the occupation of lands – a practice that emerged in the city in the 1970's and gave rise to many of its districts. Today, the Sateré-Mawé presence in Manaus is

made evident by seven communities (also called "urban villages") and two women's associations created in 1990s in the lands occupied by the Ferreira de Souza's family in Manaus and neighbouring municipalities, such as Manaquiri and Iranduba.

It is noticeable that, in the city, other ethnic groups have established different housing arrangements and ways of living. In the case of the Sateré-Mawé, the creation of communities became a particular way to inhabit the urban space and to establish relations with its many agents. Contrary to the villages' patriarchal tradition, these collectives are mainly led by women, configuring political spaces subjected to continuous processes of exchange, dispute and negotiation. It is common for people to live in different communities for certain periods or to travel back to the villages, located three days distant by boat, embodying in the communities a combination of "urban" and "indigenous" references and practices that are shared and transformed through mobility processes.

The narratives around the creation of these spaces are intrinsically linked to the personal history of certain women, being regarded by many of them as a way to escape white people's homes towards what is claimed to be an "indigenous way" of dwelling. The women's association founded in 1992 and, later, the creation of communities allowed Sateré-Mawé families in Manaus to politically organise, to claim an indigenous identity that was previously made invisible and to carry on ways of living regarded as more attuned to the Andirá-Marau indigenous land while also allowing for families to integrate a circuit of fairs and tourism centered around certain cultural practices. Three components became central to the consolidation of every Sateré-Mawé community so far established in the city: the construction of a "shed", which is a cultural centre where collective activities take place; the production of seed necklaces and bracelets, which triggers an extensive network of seed collection and exchange between women in the city and villages; and the completion of a Tucandeira ritual, a male rite of passage in which the initiate's hands are inserted in straw gloves woven with hundreds of poisonous ants inside. The collective activities involved in the making of such communities and in the domestic reproduction of everyday life are the focus of this presentation.

Drawing on ethnographic work conducted between 2010 and 2017, I will address the trajectories of certain Sateré-Mawé women across different generations focusing on key elements of their individual biographies that indicate collective processes related to displacements between the Andirá-Marau indigenous land and Manaus, the work as housekeepers in "white people's homes", flows between city and villages, and the construction of collective living spaces. Based on these narratives, I propose to discuss continuities and transformations of Sateré-Mawé practices of domestic care in the urban context, where

indigenous knowledges collide and combine with "white people's ways of doing". Focusing on practices of homemaking, I propose thinking about how identities, gender dynamics, ways of doing and meanings of home, tradition and modernity are imagined, crafted and transformed in mobility processes, which are also expressed in domestic spaces.

Within and against indigeneity: narratives of social and spatial mobility amongst Bolivian market women in São Paulo, Brazil

Aiko Ikemura Amaral¹

In this presentation, I discuss the racialisation of Bolivian migration in Brazil, exploring the narratives of Bolivian women who work in street markets in the city of São Paulo. I argue that, in a context where Bolivian migrants are overwhelmingly represented as '*indios*,' and associated with 'modern slavery' in the city's garment industry, their supposed indigeneity is often described as contributing to alienate their agency over their own social and spatial mobility. The women I met at the markets of *Kantuta* and *Coimbra* were at odds with these representations and, although they recognised that exploitative living and working conditions were widespread in the garment workshops, they also emphasised that not all Bolivians were subjected to it, particularly not their current selves. In contesting the representation of Bolivian migrants as 'indian slaves,' market women emphasised their trajectories of and aspirations for social and spatial mobility, whilst also reinforcing similar forms of exclusion to which they were subjected. This was revealed by the ambiguous appraisals of their rural-indigenous backgrounds, the outcomes of their socially ascending trajectories in relation to other migrants and to the family members' who 'did not leave' the rural community, and to how indigeneity is represented in the urban context. In this paper, I introduce the background discussion and some of conclusions of this analysis, which will be further detailed in the presentation alongside a more thorough description of the narratives of the women I met at these markets.

Bolivians constitute one of the largest recent migratory flows to Brazil, having set a foothold in the garment industry in the city of São Paulo (see Buechler 2014, Freitas 2014). The gross disparity found in different sources regarding the total of Bolivian-born individuals currently residing in Brazil is but one of the indicators that much of the dynamics of this group remain unknown to Brazilians.² When their stories do emerge to the public eye, they are usually part of media reports on the exploitative and unsafe living and working conditions to which many are subjected in garment workshops.

¹ This research was sponsored by CAPES Foundation, Brazil.

² Data from the latest Bolivian census (2012) indicated there were around over 65,000 Bolivian nationals in Brazil. These figures contrast sharply with the 10,000 given by the Brazilian Ministry of Work and Employment (in Buechler 2014) and the 200,000 suggested by the Brazilian Public Defensory (in Cymbalista and Xavier, 2007).

Problematically, however, the growing awareness of labour conditions 'akin to slavery' faced by many is coupled with a process of racialisation that portray Bolivians as 'indios.'³ In fact, the construction of Bolivian 'other' in Brazil is anchored in the association between Bolivianness, slave work, and indigeneity, the latter being communicated through phenotypic features, 'anti-modern' working practices, as well as the 'traditional' and appeal of their culture as celebrated in, amongst others, the street markets where this research took place (Simai and Baeninger 2015; Vidal 2012; see also Silva 1999).

Outside the garment workshops, thousands of Bolivian migrants meet every weekend and the ever-popular street markets of *Kantuta* and *Coimbra*, located at São Paulo's city centre. Described in the literature as 'spaces of Bolivianness' (Grimson 2005; Freitas 2014), these marketplaces can be seen as the product of migrants' fight for their 'right to the city,' having emerged out of the organisation and struggle of vendors who congregated in the areas surrounding garment workshops since the 1990s. As it is the case for the markets that dominate the streets of many Bolivian cities, at *Kantuta* and *Coimbra* the majority of vendors are women of rural origins. The processes triggering their move out of the rural areas in Bolivia framed the sharp increase in urbanisation in that country since the 1980s, in particular the effects of climate change, political and economic crises, and neoliberal reform, which contributed to the rise of inequality, unemployment and informality in the last decades of the 20th century (Ledo 2009). Prospects for a (better) living in Brazilian-based garment workshops marked the trajectories of all the women I met at these two markets. Market vending, on its turn, was usually described as a business venture, as a source of income to materialise dreams and repay debts, and as a safety-net to make ends meet. In many cases, however, meagre sales also pointed to the importance of the marketplace in the reproduction of everyday forms of sociality and spaces for sociability of Bolivian migrants in Brazil.

It is worth indicating that in Bolivia, as in other places in the Andes, street vending is an activity both gendered and racialised, being historically been performed by indigenous and mixed-race women of rural origins seeking to make a living for themselves and their families in the urban context (Barragán 1990; Rivera 1996). The *chola*, addressed as the *quintessential* representation of the market vendor (Peredo, 2001), is ambiguously located in relation to the dualities that associate indigeneity with rurality, poverty, as well as cultural and spatial immobility, as opposed to urban, modern and socio-spatial mobile whites/*mestizos*. As a result, *cholas* simultaneously embody and challenge the

³ See more on Baeninger's (2012) edited volume on Bolivian migration to Brazil.

validity of these dualities, as exemplified by the profusion of terms used to describe them such as 'urban indigenous' (Bigenho 2006), 'indian mestizas' (de la Cadena 2002), 'neither "indio" nor "mestizo"' (Albro 2010), 'at once indian and white' (Weismantel 2001), or even 'hybrids' (Tassi 2010). Most commonly, however, it is the *chola*'s sartorial distinctiveness that market women in Bolivia often chose to describe this very Andean character to me: a *mujer de pollera*, that is, a woman wearing the multi-layered *pollera* skirts. Nowadays, a woman in *pollera* encapsulates both the representation of an Andean idyl, on the one hand, and the very recent rise of an indigenous (mostly Aymara) political and economic elite in Bolivia (see Maclean 2018). 'More indian,' yet socially and spatially mobile, *cholas* are located 'in-between' and simultaneously at rural and urban, local and global socio-spatialities (see Seligmann 1989; Tassi 2017).

Market women in Brazil do not describe themselves as *cholas*, but their narratives also express the contradictions that permeate these dualities. In fact, many times it was through the medium of the *pollera*, often described in this context as a marker for indigeneity and rurality, that market women addressed the transformations brought about by social and spatial mobility to their own identities. In the presentation, I will follow the narratives of three of the women I met at the markets: Doña Barbara, Doña Julia and Esther. These women varied in their age, migratory trajectories and roles at the markets. Yet, the three of them addressed, albeit often indirectly, the process of racialisation experienced by Bolivians in Brazil from the lenses of how rurality and indigeneity often emerge as one in the Andean context.

In their narratives, these women's appraisals of their rural-indigenous backgrounds ambiguously transpired a sense of proximity and distance, sameness and difference (see also Wade 2003), with the latter growing as they reported the successes of their trajectories and their aspirations for the future. Their identities were at once, built from within and against their understanding of indigeneity. On the one hand, their rural-indigenous backgrounds sets the tone of their search for better life against rapidly deteriorating living conditions in the rural areas of Bolivia. In some cases, these women denounced the prejudice suffered by themselves and others which they often attributed to their 'rural backgrounds.' In some cases, indigeneity was directly addressed in their narratives with women often taking the side of 'the indian,' as opposed to the colonisers, bosses, and official bureaucracy. However, as we discussed their present-day lives, particularly their agency through processes of and aspirations for social and spatial mobility, these women were also keen to emphasise their difference from their former selves, from other family members, and from other vendors and customers at the markets. These 'others' were often described as 'coming from the *provincias*,' that is, the rural areas of Bolivia, as more ignorant, and as more prone to being exploited by

garment workshop bosses. While these women came from the *provincias* themselves, they used other elements to reinforce their distinction. In many cases, the *polleras* that characterise market vendors in the Andean cities were the chosen representation of the *provincia*: Doña Julia removes her *pollera* to cross the border and avoid detection of her rural origins by border officials; Doña Barbara argues that she does not do the garment for having 'refined herself' as opposed to her sisters who still live in the Bolivian *provincia*; and Esther associates the *pollera* with the practices and knowledges exercised by her mother since rural village and, much to Esther's ambivalent judgement, continues to do so to this day regardless of their new religious faith and their dwelling in São Paulo.

In many ways, the process of racialisation of Bolivian migrants in this transnational urban context reveals the difficulties in addressing the urbanisation of indigeneity and the increased mobility of indigenous individuals, particularly beyond the rank and file of organised social movements. While detaching themselves from the alienating associations between the labour exploitation and indigeneity in the Brazilian context, market women ambiguously relied on stereotypes that represent indigeneity as conflated with permanence and rurality once at the urban context. Contradictorily, while the mobility of Bolivian migrants, borrowing the words of de la Cadena (1995), rendered them 'more indian' once in Brazil, this very process of categorisation contributes to the active distancing, even if in ambiguous ways, between market women and indigeneity. They are aware that the 'traditional' appeal of the *polleras*, which seldom appear at the marketplaces save festivities and other celebrations, might contribute to render them even 'more indian' to the Brazilian eyes. In their everyday struggle against the racism that strip migrants from their agency, they contradictorily reinforced similar forms of exclusion to which they were subjected, themselves reproducing the same alienating discourses that imputes migrants with the blame over the exploitation they endure on the grounds of their indigeneity.

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