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Race and Indigeneity as Gramsci's Passive Revolution

Case Study: Mercado Campesino de Arocagüa, Cochabamba, Bolivia

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Abstract

The informal and peri-urban settlement of Mercado Campesino de Arocagüa, Cochabamba, a cluster of wood and tarpaulin shacks on waste ground, is a majority Quechua speaking community of people living precariously poor lives at the periphery of the city. The community is almost entirely cut off socially and economically from the rest of the city that they inhabit. The majority of the community having migrated from the Amazonian region of Chapare. Poverty is endemic in the community, the majority of which, work unskilled casual jobs in the informal sector and whose children generally leave formal education around the age of 12, to help provide for their families.

The community was established in 1996. In that time, different governments have attempted reforms aimed at alleviating the structural racism and social exclusion within the Bolivian state. The current government of President Evo Morales, the country's first self-identifying indigenous president, compared his election to the end of apartheid in South Africa and has embarked on a Decolonial project that aims at including all Bolivians into the new Bolivian Plurinational State, created by a new and inclusive constitution drafted and ratified during his presidency.

However, despite land reforms, decentralization and efforts at indigenous autonomy throughout the community's history, the lives of the people of Mercado Campesino have not improved. They still live on land that is not their own, with no legal status. Nor are they provided with basic public utilities such as electricity, gas or running water. The community endures social exclusion from the rest of the city and abandonment from the new Indigenous State institutions.

This is the situation that this thesis will consider, attempting to view how and why the overall living conditions of indigenous internal migrants in Bolivia are not improving, due to systemic factors enhancing the exclusion and apartness of indigenous urban communities. The Mercado Campesino will be used as a relevant and representative single case study to view as a generalization of other cases in Bolivia.

This thesis will use Gramsci's theory of Cultural Hegemony as a framework, within which concepts and theories from both the Postcolonial and the Latin American Decolonial schools will be applied, in order to understand how European-made concepts such as Race and Indigeneity are internalized in the Bolivian Plurinational State. A series of interviews were made with members of the community in order to help understand their lived experience on the periphery of the city, along with local news reports about the community and the land that it is situated on. National statistics, the relevant academia and local media reports, have supplemented this data to create as broad an understanding for the phenomena encountered.

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Introduction

In 1996, a group of around 10 indigenous families arrived on the periphery of the city of Cochabamba in Bolivia, building precarious shacks and founding what became the community of Mercado Campesino. They had migrated from the rural Amazonian region of Chapare. By the next year, the settlement had reached around 60 families and the local municipality granted a concession for the community to remain on the land for 20 years. However, the concession stipulated that no permanent structures were allowed to be built on the site. This meant that the community would not be allowed to improve their housing or living conditions, from the home-made shacks they had built.

In 2005¹, the self-identifying indigenous politician, Evo Morales was elected President of Bolivia. He promised, and delivered, a series of reforms aimed at the emancipation of Bolivia's indigenous peoples. Morales adopted a discourse and platform of supporting indigenous rights around 2002. (Postero, 2017). The emancipation project of Indigeneity has been used to frame the political agenda of the new Indigenous State², which has supported a continuation of extractivist and neo-liberal policies, in spite of the anti-capitalist and anti-imperialist rhetoric of the new government (Postero, 2017; Gudynas, 2015).

The case study will be analyzed within a Gramscian theoretical framework that allows the authors to critically contextualize the Bolivian situation in the international context and understand the different power relations in place. Within this theoretical framework, the following hypothesis will be analyzed merging interviews made with the community of Mercado Campesino de Arocagüa, local newspaper reports and official statistics with the tools of analysis outlined in the theory section, making use of key Latin American scholars, such as Anibal Quijano and Walter Mignolo.

¹ Morales was elected on the 18th of December 2005, his inauguration took place on the 22nd of January 2006.

² Indigenous State is the name Postero (2017) gives to the Plurinational State of Bolivia, referencing the incorporation of Indigeneity into the State. It refers in this thesis to Bolivia since the Inauguration of Morales in 2006 until today, whereas Plurinational State of Bolivia does not refer to the period between 2006-2009 when the Plurinational Constitution was outlined and ratified.

In this context, this thesis will analyze the effect of what Quijano calls the Coloniality of Power, which dominates the structures of contemporary Bolivia. This lingering influence stems from the colonization of Bolivia by the Spanish, and the structural changes made in the organization of society. One of the main concepts deriving from the Coloniality of Power is the imposition of a racial hierarchy that has stratified people based on their relative Europeaness. Race, as it is understood in this thesis, is a constructed concept created by the European epistemology as a method of standardization. Thus, placing the non-European, as defined by Europeans, in a subordinate position.

The case study of Mercado Campesino, where one of the authors worked for five months in 2018, will be considered. The community has lived statically at the periphery of Cochabamba, without improving their situation or living standards. This thesis will explore the community's social exclusion from the rest of the city and its neglect by state institutions. The situation of the community is defined as peri-urban. The peri-urban setting is relevant, as it exemplifies the situation of the community, neither rural, nor truly urban.

Key Concepts

Cartesian Dichotomy

Sometimes referred to as mind-body dualism, Descartes' dictum of '*cogito, ergo, sum*' (I think, therefore I am), is the founding principle or "*point zero*" of the Western production of knowledge and Coloniality (Castro Gómez, 2005, p. 13). The Cartesian dichotomy, breaks the production of knowledge into a subject/object relationship, by which the subject, the thinking individual, examines and studies the object, nature, to gain knowledge. In this thesis, it is the basis for understanding the relationship between the colonizer and the colonized.

Western

The West, as Mignolo defines it, is the "*Western Christian to the West of Jerusalem with the center in Rome*" (Mignolo, 2017, paragraph 3). The white European Historical Bloc, including those nations with European ethnicity and non-European nations such as the US and other

colonial states, whose ruling class generally descend from European colonizers. Therefore, this thesis uses Europe and the West interchangeably.

Peri-urban

The term peri-urban can be contextualized as a stage in between the urban and the rural, on the periphery of urban areas. It differs from suburban, as it is not related to a commuter belt of inner-city workers. The term is often used to describe city peripheries in Africa, where rural and urban modes of living meet. In this thesis, peri-urban also has another meaning, regarding a mode of living that is neither urban nor, rural, a peripheral existence that is both spatial and symbolic.

Problem Formulation

The situation outlined above and the author's lived experience with the community of Mercado Campesino de Arocagüa, gives way to the following research question:

"How are Race and Indigeneity understood in the Bolivian context and what impact do they have on the integration of peri-urban indigenous communities?"

This problem formulation allows for a specific and critical look at the colonial construct of Race and how it has been transformed throughout the previous five centuries. From the creation of the objectified 'Indian' identity, with the arrival of the Europeans, until the advent of President Evo Morales, and how it affects the lives of the people who make up the community of Mercado Campesino de Arocagüa.

From this problem formulation, this thesis proposes the following hypothesis:

The community is enduring discrimination that is a consequence of the construction of Race, stemming from the colonial era. This has placed indigenous people at the bottom of a racial hierarchy, which despite the emergence of an indigenous elite, excludes many indigenous peoples from the Bolivian state.

Thus, this thesis underlines that the inclusionary policies of Bolivia under Morales, do not include the whole population and that the political discourse of Indigeneity, as co-opted by the new state, has not transformed into policies of emancipation, leaving many people behind (Postero, 2017). Morales' Indigenous State is instead, deeply influenced by the international context of inequality between first and third world countries, and by Bolivia's history of domination.

Methodology

In this section, the philosophical and methodological aspects of the thesis will be set out and explained. The thesis pinpoints a specific community, Mercado Campesino de Arocagüa, in the outskirts of Cochabamba, Bolivia, examining it as a single case study. It is the assumption of this thesis that such a community is not unique, and that with research, other communities throughout Bolivia, Latin America, and the post-colonial world can be found that exhibit similar aspects of exclusion.

What interests the authors, specifically, is the lived experience of the community. Given the large body of excellent research and the intense interest in Indigeneity, and indigenous people in Bolivia, there is still a large gap relating to urban indigenous peoples. People who neither conform to the ideal of *Buen Vivir*³, proposed by the left-wing government of Bolivia, nor to the contemptible description of indigenous peoples as 'children' by Jair Bolsonaro, the right-wing president of Brazil. Thus, the thesis' philosophy and methodology reflects the need for a greater understanding of Indigeneity. It needs to be removed from a purely rural background and contextualized in a peri-urban and urban setting. As Canessa (2014b) states, the majority of indigenous people live in urban environments. This is reflected by the approach and objective of this thesis.

The methodology chapter will outline the thesis' philosophy, divided into the ontological and epistemological standpoints of the authors. Following this, the research design will be explained, arguing for the choice of theories, the choice of the case study and the choice of the data used. Moreover, an ethnographic standpoint, arguing for the data collection method is outlined.

Finally, the scope of the thesis is defined. Within the scope of the paper, the specific thesis objective and the limitations of the paper are described.

³ It translates to 'live well'. It refers to a community-focussed mode of living that is not consumerist. Based on indigenous principles.

Thesis Philosophy

Ontology

This thesis will adopt a Relativist ontology, influenced by the authors' reading of Gramsci's work and from his perspective on metaphysical philosophy (Jubas, 2010). Relativism, argues that it is impossible to find an objective knowledge. Gramsci describes the idea of an objective reality without mankind, and thus human relations, as "*a form of mysticism*" (1999, p. 808). As argued in the "Prison Notebooks", reality, or what is conceived as reality, cannot exist outside human interpretation (Gramsci, 1999). Therefore, reality is a production of mankind.

"We know reality only in relation to man, and since man is historical becoming, knowledge and reality are also a becoming and so is objectivity, etc." (Gramsci, 1999, p. 808)

A Relativist Gramscian ontology denies the assumption that there is an objective reality to be discovered, relying on a subjective production of knowledge. Accordingly, humans are only so in relation to other humans, they do not just be (Jubas, 2010). This challenges the dichotomous Cartesian subject/object relationship and the founding principle of the Modernity/Rationality paradigm, *cogito ergo sum*.

In undertaking a Relativist ontological approach, this thesis is able to align itself with a Decolonial project, delinking from, and thus, mounting an epistemic challenge to the Eurocentric hegemony.

Epistemology

This thesis will apply a Social Constructivist epistemology, derived from Gramsci's notion of 'conceptions of the world', an important and often used concept in Gramsci's "Prison Notebooks". It permeates the whole work and it is fundamental in understanding Gramsci's theorizations (Wainwright, 2010). Gramsci's conceptions of the world are the way an individual sees the world and relates themselves to it, dependent on previous knowledge, social forces,

folklore and ideology. In this, Gramsci is similar to social constructivists (Gramsci, 1999; McMahon, 1997; Hacking, 1999), as in both Gramsci's epistemology and Social Constructivism every individual has their own conception of the world.

This thesis, with a Relativist ontology, adopts a Social Constructivist epistemology enabling a critically analysis of the constructed concepts of Race and Indigeneity.

Research Design

In this section, the choice of the theories used will be outlined and argued for. Afterwards, a description of the case study will be given, in order to contextualize the community objective of the analysis. A short history of Bolivia, highlighting the history of the indigenous population, will be presented and a description of the Mercado Campesino de Arocagüa will follow.

The methodology used for carrying out the interviews will be explained. In addition, an ethnographic standpoint will be outlined, making the case for the data collected.

Finally, the scope of the paper will be discussed along with this thesis' main limitations.

Choices of Theories

This thesis, according to the authors' ontological standpoint, which challenges the Cartesian dichotomous subject/object relationship, encompasses a number of Decolonial scholars, facilitating the authors in the task of delinking from the European-based production of knowledge. With a Social Constructivist epistemology as its point of departure, this thesis will adopt Gramsci's theories of Cultural Hegemony and Subalternity as a main theoretical framework. The authors are then able to be broadly aligned with the schools of Postcolonialism and Decolonial thinking, recognising a standing and dominant Eurocentric epistemology as a global structure of power. Reading and analyzing the works of scholars, such as Mignolo, Quijano, Escobar, de Sousa Santos, Postero, Tlostanova, Raftopoulos and Coletta, has been of great inspiration both for the selection of theories and for the analysis section.

Regarding the theories of Cultural Hegemony and Subalternity, the authors would like to establish that despite the age of Gramsci's work, and the specific Italian context of Gramsci's

theorizations, his work is both relevant and illuminating when applied to the context of contemporary Bolivia. Although Gramsci's theories have been formulated over the class struggle of Italy during the Fascist regime, many authors affirm the validity of Gramsci's theorization to the Latin American context such as, Chodor (2015), Raftopoulos & Coletta (2018), Burrón (2014). Gramsci's theory is therefore applicable to the current situation of Latin American countries, peoples and to the struggle for epistemic independence, as opposed to flag-independence, by non-Western peoples from the Western controlled global bloc. As explained by Decolonial scholars, such as Quijano (2007) and Mignolo (2014), there is a need for a Latin American epistemological reconstruction, beginning with a delinking from the European production of knowledge (Quijano, 2007; Mignolo, 2014). The authors believe that Postcolonial and Decolonial thought within a Gramscian framework provides a useful explanation of the current situation. An explanation that pictures Western countries and elites as proponents of a global Cultural Hegemony, that places non-Western countries and peoples in the status of Subaltern, concepts that are explained in the theory chapter of this thesis. Here, Gramsci's distinction between structure and superstructure becomes relevant, prioritizing the cultural-ideological aspect over the economic one, treating the second as the consequence of the first. Thus, for Gramsci, the superstructure is the cultural/ideological sphere and the structure the economic base. In the Bolivian context, this thesis will use this theoretical framework to understand the social and economic exclusion of peri-urban indigenous people in the periphery of the city of Cochabamba.

The concepts of Eurocentrism, the Modernity/Rationality paradigm and the Social Contract will be outlined, within the Gramscian framework. These concepts are fundamental for the analysis of Cultural Hegemony at work in the Latin American context.

Eurocentrism represents the global hegemonic epistemology, that has invalidated any production of knowledge formed outside the Western world's borders since the colonial era. This has drastically diminished the possibility of the creation of a counter-hegemony, stemming from non-Western countries and peoples. The Eurocentric paradigm works at the level of the superstructure, the ideological and cultural level. Eurocentrism is the creation of a single

European source of knowledge production. The Modernity/Rationality paradigm, provides a tool of validation for Eurocentrism, endorsing European domination at the Gramscian superstructural level, providing what Mignolo calls the '*Myth of History*' and the '*Myth of Science*' (2011). As will be explained in the theory chapter of this thesis, the Modernity/Rationality paradigm, also called the Modernity/Coloniality paradigm (Mignolo, 2011), endorses the European mode of production, denying the validity of different modes of production, including that of knowledge. This thesis' conceptualization of the Social Contract will then be explained using Edward Said's concept of 'Orientalism' as a point of departure. This will explain the philosophy behind the white European Historical Bloc's creation of the 'other', an opposite body or antithesis, in a subordinate position, contraposed to the European. This is done in order to justify the ideology of the Modernity/Rationality paradigm and the domination of the white European Historical Bloc.

Mignolo's (2011) conceptualization of Quijano's (2000) original Colonial Matrix of Power will then be outlined in order to provide an analytical framework. The Colonial Matrix of Power will outline the practical pillars over which the Eurocentric paradigm of Coloniality is constructed.

Along with the Colonial Matrix of Power, the concepts of Structural Racism and Societal Fascism will be outlined according to this thesis' Social Constructivist epistemology, allowing the authors to understand the Eurocentric construction of racial stratification and how the stratified categories have been geographically separated within cities. In this context, Said's theorizations on the creation of the 'other' in Orientalism has been of particular help. This concept has been fundamental in the analysis of the constructed concepts of Race and of the Social Contract. Furthermore, an outline of the socially constructed concept of Race and how it forms an 'Abyssal Line' (de Sousa Santos, 2014), between peoples will be examined. The concept of Societal Fascism and this thesis' conceptualization of the Social Contract will be laid out in order to explain the systematic exclusion of the people who live in the community and their separation from the rest of society. In addition, these concepts can help explain the characterization of the community as the 'other', and why this is useful to the maintenance of a Cultural Hegemony.

According to the authors' belief, the internal situation of Bolivia can be explained and traced back to the standing Cultural Hegemony. In doing this, the authors' have found a theoretical gap in linking the Gramscian theorizations, with the conditions of Mercado Campesino. The exclusion of indigenous peoples living in peri-urban contexts has not been specifically analyzed. Analysis of urban indigenous peoples have generally been confined to disciplines such as, water management and economics, with little interdisciplinary focus. Cultural Hegemony is applicable to the level of states and explains the connections between the current international Cultural Hegemony, controlled by a white European Historical Bloc, and the Bolivian Plurinational State.

This thesis therefore establishes a link, between Gramsci's theorizations and the effect that a global European-led Cultural Hegemony has had on a formerly colonized country such as Bolivia. Thus, the effect that the Bolivian context has had on a settlement like Mercado Campesino de Arocagüa.

Case Study Selection and Description

The case study of Mercado Campesino de Arocagüa allows for a generalization to other similar cases, at least, within the Plurinational State of Bolivia. This thesis will use a single case study method. This is because a single case study, with an ethnographic standpoint, explained later in this chapter, provides a far more detailed analysis and understanding of the community, as opposed to a multiple case study method. In this regard, the case study chosen is, in Bryman's terms, an "*exemplifying*" (2012, p. 70) case study or a "*representative or typical*" case (Yin, 2008, p. 48). An exemplifying case study has the "*objective [...] to capture the circumstances and conditions of an everyday or commonplace situation*" (Yin, 2008 p. 48). This is because the Mercado Campesino de Arocagüa appears to be representative of many similar urban-type communities of indigenous peoples in Bolivia (Postero, 2017). The benefits of an exemplifying case study is that it represents a broader strata of society in Bolivia, this case study is able to show "*key, social processes*" (Bryman, 2012, p. 71), that might not have been clear with a broader multiple case study, or a different type of case selection (Bryman, 2012; Yin, 2009).

Bolivia is in fact, one of the only two countries in Latin America, along with Guatemala, with an indigenous majority (Canessa, 2018). In Mercado Campesino, a number of similarities with other cases in Bolivia can be found. The majority of the community is non-Spanish speaking, with precarious job and low and uncertain incomes. These people are rarely able to speak Spanish, having grown up and lived in a Quechua speaking context, with almost no interaction with the Spanish speaking population of Bolivia. This 'apartness' has heavily influenced their ability to integrate themselves into the new city context, where they tend to replicate the same rural behaviors and power structures as before, thus characterizing it as a peri-urban community. The majority of the inhabitants of the Mercado Campesino make a living by selling vegetables or fruits produced in their original village, transporting the products to the city by public bus and selling them at the market. All of the people in the community, around 425 people, live in homemade shacks, not spacious enough for the large families that live in them. The shacks contain a single room where the family sleep and cook on wood burning stoves. The community lacks basic hygiene facilities, such as showers or toilets and is not provided with public utilities such as electricity, gas or running water.

Bolivia, according to its president Evo Morales, is undergoing a Decolonial process in order to delink from a Eurocentric epistemology of white superiority and capitalistic accumulation as the basis for the state (Postero, 2017). Instead, the Bolivian government aims at creating a national counter-hegemony, rooted in an interpretation of Indigeneity, against the Global Cultural Hegemony of the white European Historical Bloc. The Vice President of Bolivia, arguing for the relative success of this Decolonial project, García Linera explains that:

"The colonial order of a society and a State can be measured by the presence and importance of ethnicity as accumulable and re-convertible capital, in our case that of "whiteness" as a social good, desirable and cumulative, therefore the Indianization of the Bolivian State and the Bolivian national identity of the last few years has devalued this "whiteness", as capital." (2014, p. 51)

The country, itself a colonial construct as a political entity, was under Spanish colonial rule since 'la conquista' in the beginning of the 16th century, until 1825. The history of Bolivia,

since independence onwards, has been tumultuous, with rare governmental stability. During the Spanish colonial era, Indigenous people were not considered full citizens, a situation that will be explained in the theory chapter. Systems of labour owed to colonial landholders, such as *corvée*⁴ in mines (Canessa 2018) meant that, despite not being full citizens of the state, the indigenous peoples were beholden to it for the exploitation of their labour. An incredible number of indigenous lives were lost, due to this exploitation and the arrival of ‘imported’ diseases. It is estimated that in 1492 there were 60 million people living in the Americas, a number that had reduced to less than 6 million within one hundred years (Amos, 2019).

The situation for indigenous people, despite fighting in the independence war, and for Bolivia in the subsequent Latin American wars of the 19th Century, did not improve drastically with the end of colonialism. Rather, despite the nominal granting of full citizenship to indigenous peoples by the new republic, they remained exploited and obligated to pay tribute, to the new state with no access to power (Canessa, 2018). This systematic exclusion is crucial in understanding the divisions still present in contemporary Bolivia. Indigenous peoples continued to be segregated from the rest of society, access to schooling was denied and consequently many indigenous people remained “*monolingual and illiterate*” (Canessa, 2018, p. 4). The Bolivian National Revolution of 1952 gave indigenous peoples full citizenship, as well as various rights to education, better life conditions and political participation. However, the revolution of 1952 merely shifted the existing power structure to include *mestizo*⁵ Bolivians, not structurally changing it (Canessa, 2018). This will be further analyzed later in the thesis. From the revolution until the transition to democracy in 1982, Bolivia experienced thirty years of turbulence, alternating between weak democratic governments and military dictatorships. The period between the democratic transition and the election of Evo Morales, was marked by a string of neoliberal governments, prioritizing privatization and integration into the global capitalist system, culminating in the ‘Water War’ of 1999 and ‘Gas War’ of 2003 (Postero,

⁴ A system of indentured servitude during the era in mining. Analogous to the agricultural variants of the *encomienda* and later *hacienda* systems,

⁵ A person of mixed race. A mestizo can trace back one or more descendants from both Spanish and indigenous origins (Canessa, 2018).

2017). In 2005, Evo Morales was elected, becoming the first president of Bolivia to identify as indigenous, and remain Bolivia's president to date. The Morales government has prioritized the rights of indigenous peoples in Bolivia, ensuring their rights in a new constitution (Canessa, 2018; Postero, 2017; García Linera 2014). However, Morales' support for Indigeneity and his own indigenousness is controversial (Postero, 2017) and will be explored in the analysis section.

The difficulties in integrating the community of Mercado Campesino are surprising, especially in the Bolivian context. Bolivia is constitutionally a Plurinational state with an indigenous majority. In fact, president Morales claimed, in his presidential inauguration speech, to have ended apartheid, comparing the situation of Bolivian indigenous peoples to that of black peoples in South Africa during the apartheid era (Morales, 2006). Thus, it is relevant to consider the characteristics of the community juxtaposed to the current Bolivian state's discourse of Indigeneity and enhancing the representativeness of indigenous peoples in the government. Therefore, it is interesting to analyze the lack of success of the integration policies and the state of exclusion in which these people live. Specifically, the situation of Mercado Campesino de Arocagüa allows for an analysis of how, the constructed concepts of Indigeneity and Race can influence the life of this peri-urban indigenous community, from where it is possible to argue for a generalization of the structural condition of communities in similar situations.

Choice of data

A qualitative data set will be used in this thesis, in order to help the analysis of the settlement conditions with field data. Qualitative data has been chosen over quantitative data considering the purpose of this thesis and the theoretical framework in which it relies. For the purpose of this thesis, the "*multi-dimensional nature of lived experience*" (Galletta, 2013, p. 2) is fundamental for understanding the community situation.

Semi-structured interviews have been chosen as methodology for the collection of qualitative data. The benefit of conducting semi-structured interviews is to leave enough space to the interviewees to talk about their personal experiences. With semi-structured interviews, there is

a set of fixed questions and a set of flexible ones, that the interviewer can decide to pose or not according to how the interview is going (Adams, 2015). This enhances the openness of the interviews, increasing the ability of the interviewer to discuss and understand the lived experiences of the interviewee (Adams, 2015). On the other hand, semi-structured interviews require a long preparation time and certain sophistication of the interviewer (Adams, 2015). These aspects have been critical in carrying the interviews, for lack of both time and experience of the interviewer, this being the interviewer's first experience with semi-structured interviews. The other reason behind the use of semi-structured interviews can be found in the depth of the responses that the interviewer is able to get from the interviewees. Adams defines a semi-structured interview as:

“Conducted conversationally with one respondent at a time, the SSI [Semi-Structured Interviews] employs a blend of closed- and open-ended questions, often accompanied by follow-up why or how questions” (2015, p. 493)

Adams and Galletta have both pointed out the importance of the selection of the respondents within the group, highlighting the importance to randomize it (2015; 2013). In this thesis case, the randomization has not been possible. The respondents have been chosen by the interviewer within the families willing to take part in the study. A local coordinator was used as a gatekeeper and helped with the introduction to the families; however, he did not help with performing the interviews. Many families refused, due to the closeness of the community as they did not like the presence of foreigners, such as the authors, and were therefore mistrustful.

An important downgrading of the interview reliability is the need of a translator. The interviews have been translated from Quechua, the indigenous language spoken in the community, to Spanish, the language in which the interviews were made. According to Berman & Tyyskä, the translator can be seen as a source of knowledge, with the possibility of misreporting the question or the answer growing with the less skill he has (2011). Furthermore, the authors have themselves translated the interviews from Spanish into English, increasing the possibilities of mistranslation and misinterpretation. Due to restrictions in time and funding, it has not been possible to hire professional interpreters or translators. That is why, in order to avoid the

misinterpretation of the respondents' answers, this thesis will analyze just the core data provided, without interpreting the interviewees answers.

Another critical aspect of the interviews regards confidentiality (Adams, 2015). The interviews were recorded, with the approval of the respondents. In one interview, however the interviewee did not agree to being recorded and notes were taken instead. This interview was discarded, and has not been used as data in this thesis. Regarding confidentiality, a problematic aspect of the interviews was the impossibility of full privacy while conducting the interviews. The interviewees refused to leave the community for interviews and, at the same time, would not allow a stranger, the interviewer, into their houses. Thus, the interviews had to be made either at the market during working hours, or just outside the front doors of the interviewees' homes. In both cases, there was a risk of being interrupted and distracted by other people, which happened in one interview at the market and two at the houses.

A relevant point to be mentioned is that, in conducting the interviews, although it had been intended to have both male and female interviewees, only female interviewees were available to take part. This is because the long working hours of the men makes them unavailable during the day. Also, it is noteworthy that the women of the community have proved keener to share their experience with a foreigner, being more closely related to the daily activity of the author, explained in the following section. Thus, being better acquainted with the author and more likely to agree to an interview with him. The interviewees did not want to share their personal details; therefore, they will be referred to as Interviewee 1, Interviewee 2, etc.

Ethnographic Standpoint

The author worked with the Fundación Bolivia Digna for five 5 months, collaborating with administrative tasks and having the opportunity to work with the community. Fundación Bolivia Digna operates an educational project with the children of the community of Mercado Campesino de Arocagüa. In this context, the author has been able to gain information, through the method of legitimate peripheral participation, when working at the community project. Moreover, the collaboration with the foundation director and founder, hereby called Project

Coordinator, has been crucial when contextualizing the interviews and a reliable source of information about the community. The Project Coordinator has worked with the community for the last 5 years, collaborating with them to improve their everyday lives. This thesis believes that this person is relevant to the study and capable of providing usable data due to the role he plays in the community. Using Gramsci's concept of the role of intellectuals in society, which he splits into urban and rural types, the Project Coordinator can be viewed as playing the role of the rural-type intellectual. This is because he brings into "*contact the peasant masses with the local and state administration*" (Gramsci, 1999, p. 148). Today, in the opinion of the authors, he represents the best available source, outside of the community, for the history of the community as well as the problems faced by the community. Moreover, he attends meetings with the municipality in behalf of, or along with, community members. An informal Skype call was made, in order to gain specific data. The Project Coordinator will be treated as both a source, for the history of the community and as an interviewee, referenced as (*Project Coordinator, 2019*) throughout this thesis.

Legitimate peripheral participation was performed throughout the 5 months as a data collection method. Eric Laurier finds the objective of a participant observation is to "*gain the authority of 'insider' knowledge*" (2016, p. 169). This goal could not have been achieved by the author, due to the lack of time and opportunities to be directly involved in normal daily activities and the inability to speak Quechua. Therefore, since fully participant observation could not have been used, the author has adopted the method, defined by Lave & Wenger as "*legitimate peripheral participation*" (in Laurier, 2016, p. 174). This method allows for an observation-oriented participation, when, for different reasons, full participation is not an option. This method has been used in order to collect field data when working with the community. Thus, the position of the author was not one of a community insider. Nevertheless, the constant presence of the author with the community permitted the conduction of the interviews. In other circumstances, it is unlikely people from the community would have allowed a complete stranger around their houses, but the time spent working in the community meant that the community members somewhat recognized the author, making them less mistrustful and allowing the interviews to be conducted.

Scope of the Paper

Due to the scope of the thesis, different research opportunities have been discussed and not pursued. Interesting possibilities for analysis have been left, according to the scope of this thesis. The use of purely Decolonial and Postcolonial theories has been set aside, given the better picture provided by a Gramscian framework. A more extensive analysis of the interviews could have given a more detailed provision of data on how the life in the community is conducted.

However, the scope of this thesis is to achieve an explanation of how an international Cultural Hegemony influences the lives of Bolivia's indigenous peoples in a peri-urban context, such as Mercado Campesino de Arocagüa.

Thesis objective

This thesis aims to partially fill the gap in analyzing indigenous peri-urban communities and their struggle for integration. The difficulties of indigenous people already living a city context have been little analyzed. Communities like the Mercado Campesino de Arocagüa present an intersectionality of disadvantages. In the studied community, different difficulties in integration arise. These can be linked to standardization and categorization by the European colonists during the colonial era. Thus, creating a multi-faceted problem given the lack of analysis.

Moreover, the analysis is made more interesting when contextualized, as mentioned, with Morales' claim to be an 'indigenous' president and that his government is prioritizing indigenous rights. However, despite his international discourse e.g. lobbying the UN to rename 'Earth Day' as 'Mother Earth Day', and international standing as the world's "*indigenous President*" (Canessa 2018, p. 309) the integration of indigenous peoples into the Bolivian state is not complete. Indigenous rights have been walked over in the name of extractivism and economic agreements (Postero, 2017).

Limitations of the Paper

The authors understand their European origin, being both white, educated men, who have grown up and are currently living in Europe. From this perspective, there are difficulties in analyzing a community living on the brink of extreme poverty in one of the poorest countries in South America. Various conceptions and assumptions of an everyday life in Mercado Campesino de Arocagüa cannot be fully understood by the authors, having lived in entirely different contexts. The community's beliefs, traditions and morals are not graspable for the authors, and can therefore, only be interpreted. Considering such context, the authors understand the difficulties in having an impartial and objective approach.

Another limitation of the paper is represented by the lack of time and funds. With more time, it would have been possible to live with the community for a longer period, giving an improved participant observation and improved interview results with a higher level of confidentiality. Along with an extension of time, more funds would have meant hiring a professional translator that would have given the authors the possibility to have improved interview data.

Finally, the language barrier has been a crucial limitation. During the time spent with the community, if the author had spoken Quechua, the integration with the analyzed community would have been improved, allowing the collection of more precise data, with a lower possibility of misinterpretation.

Theoretical Framework

The authors' point of departure is aligned with that of the Postcolonial and Decolonial schools of thought, claiming that both during and after the colonial era, the European epistemology has dominated the world system.

According to this standpoint, an analysis of the Gramscian concepts of Cultural Hegemony and Subalternity will be outlined as a frame for viewing the current situation of Bolivia and the mechanisms and structures that have made it so. This thesis takes the opinion that, though both the Decolonial and Postcolonial schools are not to be treated as the same, the macro theory of Gramsci's work on Cultural Hegemony, both in the "Prison Notebooks" and "The Southern Question", allow the two schools to complement each other, without necessarily agreeing on the nature and process of colonialism and Coloniality.

Within this framework, the concepts of Eurocentrism, Modern/Rationality and the authors' own conceptualization of the Social Contract will be explored. Included sections will explain how this thesis links both the Decolonial and the Postcolonial schools through the work of Antonio Gramsci and explain Decoloniality and its application to this thesis. Furthermore, the Colonial Matrix of Power will be outlined as a fundamental part of Decoloniality. Finally, within the theoretical framework, the concepts of Structural Racism and Societal Fascism will be explained and later used as tools of analysis.

Postcolonialism

The Postcolonial school originated in the post-World War Two era of rapid decolonization, beginning with Frantz Fanon and Edward Said in the 1950s. The basic premise of Postcolonialism as a theory is that, the relationship between the colonizers and the colonized did not fundamentally change with political "*flag-independence*". Thus, the domination of the so called third world by the Western colonial powers continued (Slemon, 1995, in: Rukundwa & van Aarde, 2007, p. 73), leaving the formerly colonized countries in a subordinate position to the former colonizing countries, both economically and in terms of their stake in global institutions.

Postcolonialism is distinct from the post-colonial, the latter merely representing the aforementioned era after political flag-independence. In the Latin American context, this relates to the 19th century wars of independence against the Spanish, with the exceptions of Brazil and the Caribbean island colonies. Postcolonialism however, affirms that there has been no “*chronological or ideological supersession*” (Moore, 2001, in: Rukundwa & van Aarde, 2007, p. 73) between the colonial period and its aftermath (Rukundwa & van Aarde, 2007). From the Postcolonial perspective, although the methods of colonial oppression have changed shape since independence, the inequality and subjugation of colonialism has been reproduced in a new relationship, between the former colonizer and the colonized. This has been internalized within the societies of both (Hall, 1996). Hence, Postcolonialism shows that it is important to define and understand how and when, an oppressive state ceases to be oppressive, rather than the end of direct colonial rule (Rukundwa & van Aarde, 2007).

Postcolonialism renews the term Orientalism originally coined by Said. Said affirms that the ‘Orient’ and its consequent derivations, are the creations of Europeans as their “*contrasting image*” (Said, 1958, p. 1), in order to outline themselves and underline the power relationship between the two (Said, 1958). Indeed, the Orient has no meaning other than in its relationship to the ‘Occident’, Europe. Thus, the term does not merely have a geographical significance, but rather an unequivocal objective of strengthening European power, in relation to the non-European world, the ‘other’.

Europeans, from the first contact and colonization in 1492, shaped and controlled the structures of power in Latin America (Escobar, 2008). Gramsci’s theory of Cultural Hegemony explains that elites construct a system that aims to maintain and reinforce their controlling position. Postcolonialists argue that it was the Europeans who created and imposed identities on the ‘other’ in the first place, whether they are cultures, nations, states or religions. The construction and identification of the ‘other’ created a dichotomous Cartesian subject/object relationship, by which the European could omit any reference to any other subject outside of the European context (Quijano, 2007, p.173). The European aimed to portray the ‘other’ as inferior, constructing a world-vision based on a European epistemology of history and values,

diminishing those of the 'other'. The concept of the 'other' will, in this thesis be linked to Gramsci's concept of Subalternity, representing the 'other' within the Cultural Hegemony of the current Eurocentric global order, controlled by the white European Historical Bloc. This is how the world is structured today. Orientalism shows how the 'other', has been constructed to frame the non-European as weaker and naturally subordinate to the conquerors, in order to affirm their cultural superiority (Escobar, 2008).

Gramsci's Cultural Hegemony

Gramsci's theory of Cultural Hegemony has been used to explain the relationships between elites and subordinates, powerfulness and powerlessness (Jackson Lears, 1985). It can be explained as a dominant epistemology of the elites over the powerless, in order to maintain the relative power structures in place. In Gramsci's context, he was dealing with the rise of Fascism in Italy and the failure of the Second International, trying to make sense of the historic period. Finally, a Cultural Hegemony can be defined as a coherent conception of the world, historicist and self-sufficient enough in order to include every other conception of the world present in the system, becoming the only valid one (Wainwright, 2010).

In his "Prison Notebooks", first published in the 1950s, Gramsci concerns himself with the characteristics of the relationship between the rulers and the ruled. Taking cue from Machiavelli's Prince, Gramsci argued that, regardless of the political system in place, the ruling elite always needs, what this paper will call, a 'quantum of consent' from the population they rule (1999). An indeterminate level of support that is enough to maintain the hegemonic structures of power without being seriously threatened by the creation of a counter-hegemony from below (Gramsci, 1999). A counter-hegemony would be, according to Gramsci, the creation of a conception of the world coherent, historicist and self-sufficient enough to challenge the hegemonic one. However, the pluralism of these conceptions of the world provides an obstacle to achieve solidarity (Wainwright, 2010). If a ruling class attempts to rule without consent, Gramsci states that it would "*have the function of "domination" without that of "leadership": dictatorship without hegemony*" (Gramsci, 1999, p. 288). This relationship,

and the necessity of consensus between the rulers and the ruled in the Eurocentric nation-state model is conceptualized in this paper's view of the Social Contract, which will be discussed in a subsequent section. In his analogy with Machiavelli's work, the modern Prince is replaced with political parties who need the same quantum of consent from the population they rule (Gramsci, 1999).

Structure & Superstructure

Gramsci expands on the Marxist concepts of the structure and the superstructure. For Gramsci, the structure represents the economic and materialistic base, indeed the production base, while the superstructure represents the political and ideological institutions of a society (Gramsci, 1999). The structure and the superstructure are mutually dependent yet separated by a dichotomous Cartesian subject/object power dynamic. The superstructure is the subject and the structure is the object. Both are influenced by each other in a biunivocal and dependent relationship (Gramsci, 1999). The superstructure cannot operate independently from the structure, nor the structure from the superstructure, both are fundamental parts of the same organism, a society. By gaining control of the superstructure a potential hegemony, is able to produce the dominant discourse within society, thus, controlling the ethics, explanations, values and beliefs of a society. By controlling the superstructure, control of the structure is also achieved. Gramsci explains that this happens with the formation of a 'Historical Bloc', where classes unite to create a power base, capable of taking control of the superstructure. This is the creation of a Cultural Hegemony (Gramsci, 1999, p. 689). Gramsci, in his work "The Southern Question", gives the example of the Northern Bourgeoisie uniting with Southern Landowners (Gramsci, 1926) to form a Historical Bloc. The Historical Bloc is subjective, and able to both identify itself and create and impose the identity of the objective subordinate classes. A class that gains subjectivity, consciousness of their position and the ability to identify themselves, outside of the created identity, can challenge for power within the superstructure. For Gramsci, therefore, autonomy within the structure and the classic Marxist maxim to 'seize the means of production' is not sufficient to fundamentally challenge the power structures of a Cultural Hegemony. Gramsci, in "The Southern Question" criticizes the notion that the Southern Peasant

should merely seize land and the Northern Proletariat accept offers of syndication in factories (1926). Rather, Gramsci suggests that the only way to challenge the Cultural Hegemony is to form class alliances within the subordinate classes to form a new Historical Bloc, able to pose an ideological challenge within the superstructure itself (Gramsci, 1926). When a group is able to operate autonomously at the superstructural level, a Gramscian ‘catharsis’ is reached, the *momentum*, when economic aspirations are ideologically transformed into ethico-political ideals, for the greater good (Gramsci, 1999, p. 690).

Cultural Hegemony

Hegemony is understood in a Gramscian sense, as the capacity of a ruling class, to dominate with consensus; hegemony cannot be achieved solely with the use of military force, it needs a quantum of consent (1999). Rather, culture itself needs to be hegemonic, reinforcing and reproducing the aforementioned, ethics, explanations, values and beliefs of the ruling class, for the maintenance of the current power structures. This is Gramsci’s concept of Cultural Hegemony (Gramsci, 1999). As explained earlier, a quantum of consent is necessary for this to be maintained. Consent is reproduced thanks to the application of Cultural Hegemony by the ruling classes over the subordinate classes; rendering it a cyclical structure of power.

“The hegemony will be exercised by a part of the social group over the entire group, and not by the latter over other forces in order to give power to the movement, radicalize it, etc.” (Gramsci, 1999, p. 288).

There are four identifiable categories for the construction and maintenance of a Cultural Hegemony. Firstly, for the ruling class, it is important to create a dominant discourse that receives consent, knowingly or not from the subordinates (Gramsci, 1999). This is in order to reduce opportunities for the creation of a counter-hegemony, stemming from the subordinate, the Subaltern in Gramsci’s word, the subject of a later section in this theory chapter. The dominant discourse must co-opt the historical experiences of the Subaltern, and represent them as justification for the current system, of which the Subaltern is a fundamental and indissoluble part. Thus, Cultural Hegemony constructs a historical *“prestige and confidence”* in the

Subaltern, towards the current system and ruling class (Gramsci, 1999, p. 145). It is therefore important for the subordinates and the hegemonic groups to be somewhat aligned, to maintain belief in the dominant discourse as the only possible ‘truth’.

Secondly, it is important to construct and validate the position of power with the creation of a certain language and certain categories (Jackson Lears, 1985). This ought to accentuate and confirm the existing power structure by linking positive meanings to the features of the current system, and negative features to any proposed alternatives, if the dominant discourse allows any to be perceived. In addition, the dominant discourse will emphasize the possibility of improvement for the exploited subordinates, in regards to the position of the ruling class, or “*dominant fundamental group*” within the established hegemonic system (1999, p 145). These categories also feature groups that are to be excluded and discriminated against, within the Cultural Hegemony. This will be expanded upon with the concept of the ‘other’ in a subsequent section.

The third component of Cultural Hegemony is the paternal aspect (Jackson Lears, 1985). Relations with the Subaltern are paternalistically shaped; meaning the objectivity of the subordinate is emphasized, as well as the patronizing actions of the dominant fundamental group towards the Subaltern. The dominant fundamental group will always ‘light the way’ for the subordinate, paternalistically encouraging the reproduction of beliefs, norms and activities that have been marked out for them in the dominant discourse. This is in order to constantly compel the Subaltern to conform to the path laid out by the dominant fundamental group, and insulate the existing power structures from the possibility of change (Jackson Lears, 1985).

The fourth aspect is identification. The consequence of the aforementioned features of Cultural Hegemony is that the subordinates are likely to identify with the current Hegemony, possibly for ‘safety’ reasons (Jackson Lears, 1985). If the dominant discourse is strong enough, the subordinates will, consciously or not conform, *ergo*, drastically diminishing their willingness and ability to challenge the current hegemony. Within the fourth aspect, it is possible to include a desire to please power in order to achieve it (Jackson Lears, 1985).

Passive Revolution & Coercive Power

The main tool for gaining and maintaining the Cartesian subject/object power dynamic of the dominant fundamental group over the Subaltern is represented by consent, rather than military force (Gramsci, 1999). Accordingly, Gramsci outlined two instruments of control, “*coercive power*” and “*passive revolution*” (Gramsci, 1999; p. 145).

Coercive power, is the dominant fundamental group’s capability to resort to overwhelming strength if the hegemonic superstructure is seriously endangered (Gramsci, 1999). In fact, strength, and the constantly present threat of coercive action, represents a deterrent for the Subaltern to organize and unify. This can be applied at both the state and international level, differentiating between the internal hegemony of the state and the international capitalist hegemony.

Passive revolution, which this paper will focus on, is the means by which the revolutionary aims of the Subaltern are co-opted by the dominant fundamental group (Gramsci, 1999). It is not a revolution for emancipation, but for confirmation of the current system. The ruling class aims to “*spontaneously*” control the subordinate masses without the use of coercive actions, reproducing and referring to the “*prestige and confidence*” acquired during the historic rule of the dominant fundamental group (Gramsci, 1999, p. 145). Thus, a passive revolution aims at securing the continuity of the established order.

Three characteristics of a passive revolution are outlined in Gramsci’s work. Firstly, the lack of mass participation, which exemplifies the elite-controlled aspect of the revolution and the absence of ‘frontal attacks’ to achieve revolutionary aims (Gramsci, 1999). Here Gramsci distinguishes between ‘war of manoeuvre’ and ‘war of position’, concepts that will be explained at the end of this section.

Secondly, a passive revolution involves a “*molecular social transformation*” (Gramsci, 1999, p. 194), a paradigm shift, whereby the revolution and its aims are converted in the dominant discourse to support positions that are acceptable to the dominant fundamental group. The ruling class are thus, able to ensure that change comes from above and that the Subaltern’s demands for structural change are converted into non-structural changes.

Thirdly, Gramsci underlines the fact that when a passive revolution takes place, the progressive class, those demanding change, are blocked from taking control of the dominant discourse. Thus, the progressive class is unable to create class allegiances and create a subsequent counter-hegemony. The ruling class expropriates the revolutionary position from the progressive class and leads the new struggle. Gramsci depicts this with the example of the Italian *Risorgimento*, the demand for liberation and land reform of the Southern Italian peasant class being co-opted by Piedmont's Savoy monarchy, who imposed the Kingdom of Italy, while maintaining the power structures of landed elites over the Southern Peasants (Gramsci, 1999). Gramsci then underlines the difference between an elite-led passive revolution and a mass-led 'popular initiative'.

Furthermore, the passive revolution is described as the 'thesis' of a dialectic that within its development incorporates parts of the 'antithesis' itself, making the passive revolution the hegemonic position (Gramsci, 1999, p. 294). The co-option of the aims of the subordinate/antithesis by the ruling class/thesis restricts the Subaltern from creating a counter-hegemony and gaining subjectivity, therefore maintaining the objectivity of the subordinate (Gramsci, 1999).

The dominant fundamental group reinforces its hegemonic position by the standardization of the Subaltern. As mentioned in the section of the superstructure and structure, the ruling class, in withholding subjectivity from the Subaltern are able to produce and impose identity on the subordinate masses (Gramsci, 1999). In the imposition of different identities, the ruling class promotes competition and distrust between the divided masses with the production of the dominant discourse. Thus, in "The Southern Question", Gramsci notes that the Northern Bourgeoisie have created propaganda aimed at the Northern Proletariat, portraying the Southern Peasant as "*the ball and chain which prevents the social development of Italy from progressing more rapidly*" (Gramsci 1926, p.4). The masses are incentivized to jostle for the same positions within the level of the structure, without challenging the power structure itself. Thus, the masses deny themselves the possibility of achieving subjectivity, which can only occur through class alliances. Gramsci calls this process mass formation with the aim of creating within the masses "*standardized individuals both psychologically and in terms of individual qualification*",

(Gramsci, 1999, p. 147). Standardization is a product of the main hegemonic discourse, creating competition within the Subaltern classes, which are incentivized to reject solidarity, in favor of individuality. An individual catharsis merely reinforces the Cultural Hegemony, permitting the elite to carry out a passive revolution (Gramsci, 1999). Gramsci also highlights the weaker nature of a passive revolution when compared to an active revolution that becomes possible once the masses are unified (1999). In fact, the passive revolution adds to the hegemonic control of the elites in charge, not structurally changing the distribution of power.

This thesis will argue that Bolivia has experienced multiple passive revolutions since the end of the colonial era and that these have permitted the standardization of the Subaltern. This in turn has allowed the colonial power structures of the white European Historical Bloc to be maintained.

Subalternity

In Gramsci's work, the concept of 'Subalternity' is often used interchangeably with the concept of 'subordinate', representing the non-hegemonic groups, those who are not in a position of autonomous political power (1999).

Louai conceptualizes the Subaltern below:

"[the Subaltern refers to] any "low rank" person or group of people in a particular society suffering under hegemonic domination of a ruling elite class that denies them the basic rights of participation in the making of local history and culture as active individuals of the same nation" (2011, p. 5).

The Subaltern is a production of culture, that is to say it is shaped at the superstructural level. Therefore, Subalternity is not merely referring to a subordinate position in terms economic power, i.e. the structure level. This however, is an expected consequence of Subalternity. Rather, Subalternity is the suppression and control of identity and knowledge at the level of the superstructure. The Subaltern is made objective and a Cultural Hegemony is constructed to withhold subjectivity, and maintain consent from the Subaltern for a system that exploits them both at the superstructural and structural levels (Gramsci, 1999).

The dominant discourse is shaped, according to the aforementioned ethics, explanations, values and beliefs of the ruling class, in a way that seeks the support and consent of the Subaltern (Gramsci, 1999). Thus, a Cultural Hegemony is structured to promote standardization, correspondingly enacting a passive revolution to satisfy the Subaltern with non-structural societal changes.

Cultural Hegemony is seductive, according to Jackson Lears (1985). The aim of a Cultural Hegemony is not only the reproduction and internalization of the dominant discourse by the Subaltern, but also for the Subaltern to spontaneously admire the dominant fundamental group, with the aspiration to be part of it (Gramsci, 1999). The paternalistic aspect of a Cultural Hegemony, as explained earlier, allows for this kind of individual aspiration. However, it is imperative that the vast majority of the Subaltern remains Subaltern, for the current hegemony to continue. Gramsci gives the following example to explain the constant struggle of the Subaltern groups:

“[They] are always subject to the activity of ruling groups, even when they rebel and rise up: only “permanent” victory breaks their subordination and that not immediately. In reality, even when they appear triumphant, the subaltern groups are merely anxious to defend themselves” (Gramsci, 1999, p. 207)

The Subaltern is therefore, held in a subordinate position, both ideologically and epistemologically in the superstructure and economically in the structure. Unification of the Subaltern by class alliances between Subaltern classes, such as the example of the Italian Northern Proletariat and Southern Peasants (Gramsci, 1926) would produce a counter-hegemony, able to challenge the *status quo*. However, *“the subaltern classes, by definition, are not unified and cannot unite until they are able to become a “State””* (Gramsci, 1999, p. 202). Thus, the Gramscian catharsis needs to be on a national level at least, not of the individual class or the individual person. Class alliances, forming a Historical Bloc and a counter-hegemony would allow the unified Subaltern masses to acquire subjectivity, breaking their situation of objectivity and the current Cultural Hegemony through revolution.

Gramsci views the Subaltern and the dominant fundamental group as two sides of the same coin, with complex histories, development paths, and with their own characteristics (1999). Gramsci rejects, arguments of superiority stemming from modernity paradigms, stating in “The Southern Question”, in regards to the northern Bourgeoisie racist propaganda against the Southern Peasants, ““*Science*” was used to crush the wretched and exploited” (1926, p. 4). Gramsci instead explains the subordinate position of the Subaltern *vis-a-vis* the ruling class not by nature, technology or economic supremacy but by the imposition of a Cultural Hegemony. The Subaltern’s culture lacks unity and identity because it has been shaped, subordinated and repudiated by the passive revolution enacted by the dominant fundamental group. This is done in order to bar them from the creation of a counter-hegemony (Gramsci, 1999). The Subaltern is thus, cut off from the creation of its own history and rhetoric. The dominant discourse instead, provides a history and an identity with the passive revolution and will accept no epistemic challenges. Gramsci views the Subaltern as oppressed by the elite, subjected to the dominant discourse and targeted by the constructed Cultural Hegemony (Green, 2000, in Smith, 2010).

War of Position & War of Manoeuvre

Finally, Gramsci suggests that Cultural Hegemony is structured as a “*war of position*”, instead of a “*war of manoeuvre*” (1999, p. 291), whereby the dominant fundamental group and the Subaltern are inexorably jostling for power, relative to each other, in order to maintain or improve their respective positions. The war of manoeuvre is conversely an ‘active revolution’, a revolution coming from below, aiming to subvert the current power structure, while the war of position is inherent to the passive revolution for maintaining the *status quo*. Gramsci attempts to portray how a Cultural Hegemony maintains the *status quo* structures of power, by creating a ‘revolution from above’ (Mcnelly 2007, p. 435). The war of position, despite its name, is not static. Rather it is an ever-moving system, with the two sides becoming comparatively better or worse off. In this dialectic struggle, there could not be any dominant or hegemonic position without the presence of the Subaltern (Smith, 2010). Hence, the constant re-shaping of the discourse from the hegemonic power. This view applies to the modern world system. In fact, within Cultural Hegemony, cultural as well as economic ties are created, in order to continue

and reinforce the hegemonic power structure (Jackson Lears, 1985). The masses have to take an active position, have to unify and create class alliances, ideologically and politically in the superstructure level, in order to challenge the current Historical Bloc's Cultural Hegemony and constitute a new one (Gramsci, 1999).

Postcolonialism, Cultural Hegemony and Subalternity

The Gramscian concepts of Cultural Hegemony and Subalternity can be applied to Postcolonial theorization. Orientalism can be described as the "*result of cultural hegemony at work*" (Said, 1958, p. 7). Although Gramsci's work was specifically regarding Italy and class struggle at nation level, as Said implies, it is possible to use Gramsci's theorization to analyze the post-colonial world.

Coletta and Raftopoulos reprised the work of Nestor García Canclini, in underlining the importance of the culture being hegemonic, over land dominion, linking Cultural Hegemony with the paradigms of European colonialism (Coletta & Raftopoulos, 2018). Although Gramsci did not deal with European colonialism, the creation of the 'other' and the European Modernity/Rationality paradigm are well placed to be applied within Gramscian thought. From the Gramscian perspective, racial ideology has been a 'critical unifying principle' in the creation and justification of a white European Historical Bloc (Anderson, 1988, p.130).

From this, European Modernity, Colonialism, and Coloniality can be seen as a Cultural Hegemony, an epistemic European dominant discourse from the 16th century onwards, created and re-shaped for the maintenance of the power structures of the white European Historical Bloc, claiming a global supremacy over the structure, economically and the superstructure, ideologically. European labour division and means of production have been promoted globally as the most efficient at the structural level. At the superstructural level a Eurocentric ideology has dominated, presenting colonialism and Coloniality as, rather than a method of controlling and exploiting the Subaltern masses, a benevolent project of the Modernity/Rationality

paradigm. The White Man's Burden⁶ narrative was produced as the dominant discourse of the white European Historical Bloc, promoting the subjugation and domination of non-Europe, and the imposition of capitalism as a superstructural ideological mission.

Specifically, for colonized countries, the dominance of the European epistemology means that history was written firstly by the colonizers and, post flag-independence, by the elites in control, themselves products of colonization and Coloniality. These elites are part of the Cultural Hegemony, they have been assimilated, and are not able or willing to represent the country as a whole or address the specific needs of the population independently from the hegemony (Louai, 2011).

The Postcolonial perspective of there being no “*chronological or ideological supersession*” (Moore, 2001, in: Rukundwa & van Aarde, 2007, p. 73) between the colonial period and flag-independence, is an example of Gramsci's passive revolution, whereby, the structures of colonial power have been maintained. Being part of the Cultural Hegemony, the local elites, now raised to the position of power, share interests and economic ties with the former colonial elites. Therefore, creating bonds and alliances between the two classes.

The flag-independence of the former colonies means that the former colonial elites are transformed into global elites to produce “*profitable alliances*”, between the new nation states and capital, which is controlled by these global elites (Coletta & Raftopoulos, 2018, p. 110). The new nation-states are therefore orientated to the continuation of exploitation and extraction, for the benefit of the Historical Bloc, formed between the local elites and the global elites. Thus, despite the long independence struggle, the revolution against colonialism was made into a passive revolution that did not challenge the structures of power, or provide opportunities for the Subaltern to gain subjectivity. Rather, Bolivia, as part of the wave of post-colonial 19th Century Latin American independent states, experienced the “*consolidation of socio-economic relations of power through the symbolic sphere*” (Modonesi, 2013; in Coletta & Raftopoulos p. 110). As during the colonial era, the Subaltern of the new independent nation-states lacked

⁶ The paternalist and fundamentally racist belief that it was the duty of white Europeans to ‘civilize’ the other races of the world.

access to the “*social and cultural institutions of their own state*” (Louai, 2011, p. 5). This exclusion from the state is conceptualized in this thesis, as the dichotomy between the Social Contract and the State of Nature.

The cultural representation of the Subaltern in the dominant discourse is constructed merely for endorsing the existing Cultural Hegemony (Louai, 2011). The subordinate classes, of the post-colonial era, are unable to be autonomous within the superstructure, and thus, cannot create their own rhetoric and history, independent of the Myth of History imposed by the colonizers (Mignolo, 2011). Identity, is imposed by the ruling classes, is epistemically and economically, part of the Eurocentric Cultural Hegemony. Therefore, identifying oneself is a method of resistance. This thesis uses Gramsci’s notion of Cultural Hegemony to explain the Postcolonial paradigm of the continuation of Coloniality in a new form in the post-colonial era. Thus, the Eurocentric Cultural Hegemony, the Coloniality of Power, is a stronger and longer lasting means of control than a simple colonial occupation by force (Quijano, 2000).

Eurocentrism, Modernity/Rationality and the Social Contract with Gramsci

This section will outline the concepts of Eurocentrism and the consequent Coloniality and Modernity/Rationality paradigm, within Gramsci’s Cultural Hegemony. Furthermore, the authors’ conceptualization of the relationship between the rulers and the ruled, the Social Contract and its converse the State of Nature, using Hobbes, will be explained. The concepts of Eurocentrism and Modernity/Rationality are inextricably intertwined, being both productions of the white European Historical Bloc.

Eurocentrism

The concept of Eurocentrism is predicated on the idea that the global system is centered on, and thus controlled by, the white European Historical Bloc, both economically in the structure and ideologically/politically in the superstructure. By fitting both Eurocentrism and Said’s

Orientalism within Gramsci's Cultural Hegemony, it is possible to see that these terms are two sides of the same coin. The white European Historical Bloc has constructed a world system of ethics, explanations, values and beliefs that reinforce its hegemony and simultaneously constructs the 'other'. A dominant discourse that imposes identity upon all non-European knowledge and peoples, objectifying and presenting the 'other' as alien and inferior, a Cartesian subject/object dynamic that Said describes as "*Orientalizing the Orient*" (1958, p. 65). Thus, the centrality of European culture in the world system is due to the suppression of other cultures and epistemologies throughout time. Both Eurocentrism and Orientalism explain the centrality of the white European to the current world system, and the ideology of European superiority over the non-European, within this global hegemony.

The ideological foundation of the white European Historical Bloc is that Europe is the cradle of 'civilization'. Gramsci explains that the ruling classes of Europe, now the Western world, produced an ideology that begins with a mythologized history of ancient Athens and Rome (1999, p. 182). The European is the inheritor of this 'civilization', and the non-European is proclaimed 'savage', a dichotomy that will be explored in the section on the Social Contract.

The dominant discourse aims to keep the dichotomy of 'civilized'/'savage', to gain consent from those Subaltern classes deemed 'civilized', and to prevent them from forming class alliances with those of the Subaltern deemed 'savage'. The Bolivian context of this process of standardization will be explored in a later section on Indigeneity.

The Western ruling classes are united by the common interest of maintaining the *status quo* at the international level, the geopolitical and economic leadership of the rest of the world through the Cultural Hegemony. The white European Historical Bloc, in forming the current world system has interacted with the 'other' in two ways, 'assimilation' or 'destruction' (Gramsci, 1999, p. 765). A Subaltern, that aspires to scale the power structure and be part of the dominant class, needs to accept and conform to the European economic model and epistemology. In the case of destruction, the Subaltern's epistemology will be dismantled and left out of the hegemonic delineation of true and valid epistemology (Escobar, 2008); de Sousa Santos calls this *epistemicide* (2014). Assimilation however, would merely leave the Subaltern conforming

to the dominant discourse of the Western Modernity/Rationality paradigm, accepting and internalizing their inferior position within the current power structures. Thus, regardless of assimilation or destruction, the Subaltern's culture, will be subordinated to the European Culture, as fundamentally backward and inferior. Escobar affirms that the Subaltern groups "*have always lived in a pluriverse of culture and knowledge. But they have done so as dominated groups*" (2008, p. 12). In this way, the white European Historical Bloc reinforces its dominance over the structure and superstructure and denies Subaltern cultures the opportunity to create a counter-hegemony. This leaves the Subaltern confined in its objectivity, as in both Postcolonial and Decolonial thought, this process has continued past the political flag-independence of post-colonial countries, with the Western Modernity/Rationality paradigm still hegemonic in the global world system (Quijano, 2007).

In the Latin American context, Quijano refers to "*Eurocentered colonialism*" (Quijano, 2007, p. 168), as the importation and imposition of the European structures of social, political and cultural domination from Europe to the Americas during the colonial era. As the European ruling classes became world dominant classes, the same ethics, explanations, values and beliefs that had been used to dominate the Subaltern classes in Europe were transposed into the dominant discourse of the colonized societies. A process of "*Cultural Europeanisation*" (Quijano, 2007, p. 169) ensued, whereby the subjectivity of the cultures of the colonized peoples of Latin America were eradicated, the aforementioned epistemicide, or the "*murder of Knowledge*" (de Sousa Santos, 2014, p. 92).

The colonized cultures of Latin America underwent epistemicide in the following fashion. Firstly, physically, for example, the systematic recovery and burning of Mayan books by the catholic bishop Diego de Landa in Colonial Mexico (Behar, 1987) and the genocides of indigenous populations. Secondly, culturally, by imposing Cultural Europeanisation and establishing European culture as the unique source and means of power, the object of aspiration, both seductive and dominant (Quijano, 2007). Eurocentric Colonialism was thus, the imposition of a single European epistemology, a Cultural Hegemony imposed by the white European Historical Bloc.

However, this is not to say that violence and force were not fundamental parts of the Colonial power structures, they were and remain part of the Eurocentric world system of domination. As posited by Gramsci, coercive power is, of course, still present and necessary to the maintenance and construction of a Cultural Hegemony, an apparatus ready to work when spontaneous consent is missing, and the passive revolution is not sufficient to end dissent (Gramsci, 1999).

These constructed elements of superiority, have been topped by the construction of a racial hierarchy at the superstructural level, with white Europeans as the superior Race. This accounts for and is used to justify the socio-economic superiority of white Europeans.

Excavating more of Race as a means of standardization, it is possible to see how the presence of a structural dichotomy between the colonizers and the colonized is used as a justification for Coloniality due to the superiority of the colonizers. Quijano explains that the importance of racial differentiation is a concept of Western construction, in order to legitimize the superior position of the west within the global power structure (2000). From this perspective Race is merely an exploitation of a pre-existing division by the white European Historical Bloc. The division of Races into a hierarchy has been necessary for the construction of the Western Cultural Hegemony. In using racial stratification as a dividing line between Subaltern classes of different Races, the European Cultural Hegemony has put the Subaltern in a position without the means to create a counter-hegemony. Along with the division of the world by a hierarchical racial stratification, a geopolitical division follows, linking the Race division with a geographic one. This has allowed the reinforcement of the colonial power structure, with the stereotypical European white-man at the top (Quijano, 2007).

The European capitalist economic paradigm has been presented by the dominant discourse as the most efficient and the only valid one (Moloney, 2011). Along with de Sousa Santos' epistemicide (2014), the means of production of the indigenous peoples were also either assimilated or destroyed by the capitalist system.

However, the parameters used to assert Western economic efficiency and the unique validity of Western epistemology are products themselves of the West. This is what Escobar calls the 'Eurocentrism of thoughts' (2008).

Thus, the European construction of a Cultural Hegemony is reaffirmed over and over by the highlighting of European structural and superstructural superiority. At the same time looking to reinforce consent for the system within the Subaltern classes, as well as the standardization of the Subaltern, legitimizing and securing the hegemonic power construct against the formation of a counter-hegemony (Jackson Lears, 1985).

Eurocentrism is therefore a constructed model of power that classifies the world by both Race and economy, creating the dichotomy between the European and the 'other', consolidating the European model as the most efficient and therefore gaining legitimacy, thus structuring Cultural Hegemony over these two pivot points. Quijano addresses this paradigm of European culture, as inherently superior to all others, Coloniality (2007).

The Modernity/Rationality paradigm and Coloniality

The Modernity/Rationality paradigm is the pillar of European hegemony over the rest of the world, functioning in the superstructure as the production of knowledge and in the structure as the global capitalistic system. The paradigm presents a teleology asserting that progress, a Western construct, is achieved by the reproduction and internalization of the ethics, explanations, values and beliefs of the European epistemology and the hegemony of the white European Historical Bloc. Catharsis is presented to the Subaltern as Europeanization. Within a Gramscian framework, the Modernity/Rationality paradigm is the ideological justification for the domination of the European Historical Bloc over the Subaltern 'other', in the superstructure. In the structure, the paradigm acts as the mechanism, which keeps the Subaltern in a subordinate position, within the global capitalistic system.

Thanks to the domination of the Modernity/Rationality paradigm, Europeans have enjoyed what Gramsci defines as the prestige of the dominant fundamental group, within a Cultural Hegemony (1999). A structure of power has been created, throughout the centuries following the European conquest, which compels the Subaltern to spontaneously give them support. The Subaltern is therefore inexorably annexed to this system, perpetually subordinate to the Eurocentric structures of power and objectified, unable to identify themselves.

The Modernity/Rationality paradigm puts the Subaltern into the category of the 'other'. Although he does not use the term himself, the Modernity/Rationality paradigm is outlined in Gramsci's "The Southern Question". The paradigm of Modernity/Rationality is used to place the Southerner as the 'other'. The Southerners, according to Gramsci, are portrayed as:

"[...] biologically inferior beings, semi-barbarians or total barbarians, by natural destiny; if the south is backward, the fault does not lie with the capitalist system or any other historical cause, but with nature." (Gramsci, 1926, p .4).

As Quijano explains in his paper "Coloniality and Modernity/Rationality", Western knowledge has been constructed with a Cartesian dichotomy, whereby the subject represents the individual, the person and the thinker, while the object is a phenomenon, external to the subject (2007). Therefore, the object's relationship with the subject is to passively generate knowledge for the latter. Knowledge is thus, something that the subject acquires from an interaction with the object, an interaction in which the subject uses the object. The unidirectional relationship between the subject and the object is fundamentally unequal, as is the relationship between the dominant fundamental group and the Subaltern, the white European Historical Bloc and the 'other'. European epistemology is characterized by the subject's production of knowledge and the objectivisation of the external. The 'other' is therefore, recognized but only as an object (Quijano, 2007).

As the aforementioned racial and geopolitical stratifications established, everything that was not European, the colonized world⁷, is objectified as the 'other'. The 'other' was the focus of the production of knowledge, no more nor less than nature (Quijano, 2007). At the same time, the production of the subject took place, with the identification of Europe, or Western (Quijano, 2007). This is thanks to the common features that have been highlighted to distinguish them from the 'other', such as Race, economy, culture. The dichotomy between the subject and the object deeply shaped the relationship between the colonizers and the colonized. The colonized

⁷ The former second world is described by Tlostanova as having possessed its own socialist modernity paradigm, which itself was a reaction to the Western paradigm (2011).

are made object, not a subjective entity in possession of their own knowledge, instead merely a phenomenon to study (Quijano, 2007). Quijano address this as the “*European paradigm of rational knowledge*” (2007, p. 172), that, along with the territorial colonization of the ‘other’, constructs the dominance of the Western epistemology. This is Quijano’s concept of the Coloniality of Power (2007).

Quijano’s Coloniality of Power makes the assumption, that the current societal structure and international order are the consequences of the colonial period (2000).

“The model of power that is globally hegemonic today presupposes an element of Coloniality” (Quijano, 2000, p. 1)

Coloniality has left a structured society that continues the racialized differentiation between indigenous, *mestizos* and whites. This is built from the colonial construction of a racial hierarchy for the legitimization of the colonizers dominion and superiority over local peoples (Quijano, 2000).

Coloniality can be explained as the consequences of the colonial period and the perpetuation of colonial power structures in the post-colonial era (Quijano, 2000). As previously explained, the production of knowledge since the beginning of the colonial era has been exclusively the Western paradigm of Modernity/Rationality, commodified and exchanged for the natural resources of the ‘other’ (Quijano, 2007; Mignolo, 2011 p. 13). This unequal exchange has served to reinforce the established Cultural Hegemony of the European epistemology. Thus, a Western-made hegemony supplants indigenous concepts with its own, either because of a lack of understanding of the ‘other’, or because of a deliberate ignorance (Mignolo, 2011). Thus, Western Modernity discards and suppresses indigenous knowledge, culture and means of production as primitive and good-for-nothing (Mignolo, 2011). Instead replacing them with the European ‘truth’ of the Modernity/Rationality paradigm emphasizes the paternalistic aspect of the colonizer/colonized relationship.

This exchange, adds to the European “*rhetoric of modernity as salvation*” (Mignolo, 2011, p. 14). Therefore, the reproduction of Coloniality in the post-colonial world demonstrates that colonialism and its consequences are not merely an aberration of Modernity but an outcome

fundamental to the structure of Modernity itself. Mignolo describes Coloniality as ‘the dark side of Modernity’, saying “*there is no modernity, there cannot be, without Coloniality.*” (Mignolo, 2009, p. 43). Coloniality is thus, the ‘underlying logic’ of the western paradigm of Modernity/Rationality (Mignolo, 2011) installed as the dominant paradigm. Mignolo also resumes his concept of no Modernity without Coloniality, expanding it to a global scale, denying the possibility of the contemporary global system without the period of global colonialism (2011).

Social Contract

The Social Contract in this thesis is together with its converse, the State of Nature, used to conceptualize the relationships that are constructed between the Subaltern masses and the ruling classes within a Cultural Hegemony. In the Social Contract of Thomas Hobbes, John Locke and Jean-Jacques Rousseau, human society, specifically European society, has undergone a teleology of progression from an individualistic State of Nature, to a societal Social Contract (Laskar, 2013). The purpose of the Social Contract in Modern Social Contract theory is to provide guarantees of security, rule of law and, in Locke's' case, property by a fixed and consensual relationship of submission to a higher authority, the state, in return for ending the “*fear and selfishness*” of the State of Nature (Laskar, 2013, p. 1).

From a Gramscian perspective, the Social Contract can instead be re-conceptualized as the tool of a ruling class, to maintain its hegemony. As previously explained a ruling class must gain a quantum of consent from the Subaltern classes. This is done through the production of a dominant discourse (Gramsci, 1999). However, it is not sufficient to portray the current system positively, with symbolic imagery. Rather, an antithesis must be produced and discriminated against, dividing the Subaltern classes into two broad sections. Within Coloniality, these divisions are made using racial stratifications. Firstly, those within the Social Contract, representing those of the Subaltern masses who are included in the state, and from whom consent is sought, and those living in the State of Nature, representing exclusion, the ‘other’. The aim of the ruling class is to preclude class alliances between Subaltern classes. Thus, the

ruling class provide guarantees to one section of the Subaltern, of security, rule of law and property rights and withhold them from another section.

The dichotomy of the Social Contract and the State of Nature in the Colonial state is constructed in two different ways. Firstly, the Subaltern masses are standardized, incentivized to compete with one another. Secondly, the dominant fundamental group labels one or another Subaltern class as the 'other'.

In Mignolo's "The Darker Side of Western Modernity", colonialism by the white European Historical Bloc is justified by the Modernity/Rationality paradigm itself (2011). Western Modernity has produced what Mignolo calls the Myth of History and the Myth of Science (2011), the Eurocentric application of history and science as extensions of the Modernity/Rationality paradigm. There is no history but that told by Europeans and there is no Science other than European science. In "The Southern Question" Gramsci explains that the Southern Peasant, in Northern Bourgeois propaganda, was not considered lazy and inferior because of disparities in economy and education but by 'nature' (1926, p. 4).

In conceptualizing the Social Contract and its converse, the State of Nature, within Gramsci's interpretation of "The Southern Question" (1926), it can be said that the ruling class have gained the consent of the Northern Proletariat for the current structures of power by placing the Southern Peasant in the State of Nature. The Northern Proletariat is thus encouraged to feel both superior to the Southern Peasant, as well as aligning itself with the current power structures. These separate the Southern Peasant economically and socially by identifying the Northern Proletariat with the current power structures. A further section will expand upon exclusion within the colonial state due to exclusion from the Social Contract, and be used through de Sousa Santos' (2014) concept of the Fascism of Social Apartheid to analyze the exclusion of urban indigenous people in the Bolivian city of Cochabamba.

Pivoting through Postcolonialism & Decoloniality

This paper, with the overview of Gramsci's work, uses both Postcolonial and Decolonial thought. It is important to recognize that although both schools adopt different positions, a basic

framework of understanding can be built between the two. Both schools were conceived in different historical and geographic contexts. Postcolonialism emerged in the aftermath of the Second World War and the great de-colonization period. Decoloniality came out of the end of the Cold War, partly as a reaction to the problems of applying Postcolonial thought to the Latin American context (Mignolo 2007). Decolonial scholars, do however, make good use of Postcolonial work, with Mignolo considering Frantz Fanon the first Decolonial thinker (Mignolo, 2007). The different experiences of Latin America compared to the rest of the formerly colonized world means that the application of Postcolonialism and Orientalism to the Latin American context “*becomes problematic when applied to post-nineteenth-century Latin America*” (Mignolo, 2007, p. 88). For the purposes of this thesis, both schools are used within a Gramscian framework of Cultural Hegemony. Decoloniality specifically, will allow a more detailed look into the Latin American context.

Decoloniality

Decoloniality is the option presented by this thesis for delinking from the Cultural Hegemony of the white European Historical Bloc (Tlostanova & Mignolo, 2009).

As previously explained, Coloniality is the structure of control and domination of the white European Historical Bloc over the Subaltern classes of the world. This structure, in keeping with both the Decolonial and Postcolonial paradigms, has been in place since the colonial era and has remained in place in the post-colonial era. Coloniality can be conceptualized as the application of the Western Modernity/Rationality paradigm. From a Gramscian perspective, the Modernity/Rationality paradigm is the dominant discourse of the white European Historical Bloc, and operates uniquely in the superstructure as an ideology justifying and framing Coloniality, using Mignolo’s concepts of the Myth of History and the Myth of Science (2011). Coloniality operates in both the Superstructure, and the Structure, both as an ideological representation of the global system, based on the Western Modernity/Rationality paradigm, and as the means of which the global political economic structures are shaped to preserve the current Hegemony. Quijano (2000) conceptualized this structure of domination as the Colonial Matrix of Power, a theorization that has been expanded upon by Mignolo. Mignolo’s interpretation of

the matrix will be explained in the subsequent section. Mignolo, underlying the strict correlation between Coloniality and the Modernity/Rationality paradigm also uses the term Modernity/Coloniality (2007).

In order to create a counter-hegemony, firstly the Subaltern needs to acknowledge Coloniality, hence, recognising the current Cultural Hegemony, starting a Decolonial process. (Mignolo, 2011). What Tlostanova & Mignolo call ‘the first step’ towards Decolonial thinking is also associated with the idea of Modernity (2009). Modernity is presented by the white European Historical Bloc as having a purely positive meaning, representing a teleology of progress within set stages of development. The ruling class acts as a paternalistic guide towards development. The idea of de-modernization, rejection of the Western Modernity/Rationality paradigm, is linked with a retrograde concept of tradition as a ‘dark age’ (Tlostanova & Mignolo, 2009). Conversely, from a Decolonial perspective, de-modernization would mean stepping out of the capitalistic development paradigm laid down by the dominant fundamental group and pursuing a new subjectivity, not merely returning to a more backwards position, nor returning in time to a pre-Colonial context (Tlostanova & Mignolo, 2009).

Tlostanova & Mignolo use the term “*revolution of Coloniality*” (2009, p. 140) to explain the revolutionary nature of the imposition of colonial rule by the European powers over the non-European world, destroying old orders of power and applying a new one. The global system of Coloniality has, according to Tlostanova & Mignolo, stifled any further revolutions (2009). This is because previous revolutions, specifically the bourgeois revolutions of Europe, all took place “*within the same cosmology*” (Tlostanova & Mignolo, 2009, p. 140). Thus, never challenging the European epistemology of the Modernity/Rationality paradigm. Even the Marxist revolutions of Russia, Cuba and China did not fundamentally challenge the Western Modernity/Rationality paradigm, rather they attempted to co-opt it with variations of what Tlostanova calls the project of “*socialist modernity parallel to the western one*” (Tlostanova, 2011, p. 73). Thus, it can be argued, from a Decolonial perspective, that revolution, whether violent or democratic, with revolutionary aims towards a progressive state of materialistic development, are examples of Gramsci’s passive revolution (1999). Whereby, the fundamental

structures of power are not challenged. Rather, some form of continuation of the Western Modernity/Rationality paradigm of capitalistic acquisition is envisaged within the revolutionary aims. For the Decolonial school then, an active revolution could only be achieved by the implementation of Decolonial thought, recreating the subjugated epistemologies of the 'other' and the recovery of subjectivity. This is the achievement of self-identity, the catharsis of the Subaltern. With the reclamation of subjectivity, in the form of self-identity, the Subaltern can form new class alliances, create a new Historical Bloc and construct a counter-hegemony. Therefore, the aim of Decolonial thinking is to regain the lost and suppressed epistemologies of the Subaltern, to leave the European boundaries of thinking. The current Eurocentric epistemology is, in the eyes of Mignolo, a colonial epistemology, specifically constructed to pursue a European hegemony, both ideologically in the superstructure and economically in the structure (2007). Coloniality and the Western Modernity/Rationality paradigm are thus, a *"wound inflicted by five hundred years of the historical [...] modernity as a weapon of imperial/colonial global expansion of Western capitalism"* (Mignolo, 2007, p. 165). Decolonial thought therefore, attempts to reject the dominant discourse of the Western Modernity/Rationality paradigm and its presentation of the European epistemology as the only possible 'truth'.

Quijano (2007) criticizes the foundation of the Western Modernity/Rationality paradigm as being fundamentally irrational.

"Nothing is less rational [...] than the pretension that the specific cosmic vision of a particular ethnies should be taken as universal rationality, even if such an ethnies is called Western Europe because this is actually pretend [sic] to impose a provincialism as universalism" (Quijano, 2007, p. 177)

From this perspective, Decolonial thought, not only challenges the system of domination that Coloniality has constructed, but also the ideological legitimacy of the dominant discourse, the Western Modernity/Rationality paradigm. Coloniality and the Colonial Matrix of Power make up the structures of power of the contemporary world system. They have existed since the 16th century. However, the European Cultural Hegemony has not always been global. Even during

the Colonial era, there was space for non-European thought outside the colonized world, although none ever challenged the European Cultural Hegemony (Mignolo, 2011). Therefore, the global dominance of Coloniality has only been achieved in the aftermath of the colonial era.

The categories of the Colonial Matrix of Power, explained below, are the pillars upon which the global system of Coloniality sits. Any structural change would mean dismantling the constructed superiority of the white European over the 'other', the ideological basis for the Eurocentric Cultural Hegemony. Mignolo thus, calls for Decolonial thought to spread as much and as quickly as possible, in order to reform the Colonial Matrix of Power (2014). Accordingly, for Quijano, de-colonization is the epistemological reconstruction, the recreation of non-European ways of thinking (2007). Quijano explains:

"Epistemological decolonization, as Decoloniality, is needed to clear the way for new intercultural communication, for an interchange of experiences and meanings, as the basis of another rationality which may legitimately pretend to some universality" (2007, p. 177).

However, Decolonial thinking is not enough to break free from Coloniality and the Modernity/Rationality paradigm. As in Tlostanova & Mignolo, Coloniality would maintain the *status quo* as long as *"the final horizon of human life is guided by the desire to accumulate capital"* (2009). Thus, any change that does not aim at a paradigmatic shift could only be an example of Gramsci's passive revolution. The decolonization of the Colonial Matrix of Power would be an achieved Decoloniality (Tlostanova & Mignolo, 2009). Decolonial thinking is the process that would allow the *"decolonization of knowledge"* (Tlostanova & Mignolo, 2009, p. 144). Tlostanova and Mignolo are arguing for the importance of understanding both the source of the production of knowledge and the aim that the knowledge serves (2009). This allows for an understanding of the European production of knowledge, reproducing and reinforcing the Western Modernity/Rationality paradigm and serving the final aim of the Eurocentric Cultural Hegemony, identifying and subordinating the Subaltern to the white European Historical Bloc.

Colonial Matrix of Power

The Colonial Matrix of Power is a model that understands the world as ordered according to a Western-centric selection of categories that maintain and reinforce Western Coloniality (Mignolo, 2011), the domination of the non-Western world by the white European Historical Bloc. The model that will be used in this paper is Mignolo's updated version of Quijano's original Colonial Matrix of Power, which considers four interrelated domains. Two of these domains, namely "*Knowledge & Subjectivity*" and "*Racism, Gender & Sexuality*" (Mignolo, 2011), will be outlined for the purposes of this thesis.

Knowledge & Subjectivity

The Western production of knowledge is inexorably linked to the suppression of non-Western epistemologies, with the pretense of being the only epistemology in town. Western production of knowledge thus, endorses the imperial and colonial assumptions of superiority (Mignolo, 2014). As previously explained, knowledge and its production have been constantly shaped by Western elites for advocating their superiority.

An example of this is provided by Mignolo in an interview released in 2017, where he talks about the institution of universities. A European construct that has been transposed to Latin American countries, based on European knowledge and method (Mignolo, 2017). Therefore, the production of knowledge within the post-colonial countries is deeply influenced by the European establishment (Mignolo, 2017). The subject remains the Eurocentric epistemology while other forms of knowledge are kept object, even within the societies that created them. All the while, these Western institutions in the post-colonial world are ranked lower in terms of quality compared to the 'true' Western institutions in Europe and North America. The example provided, fits into the validation of the main Eurocentric dominant discourse, based on Race classification. In order to justify the Race division, the Subaltern has to consent to standardization, as previously explained, in this case to an epistemological standardization (Mignolo, 2014). Coloniality, as described by Mignolo (2014), is thus, the means of gaining a spontaneous quantum of consent from part of the Subaltern masses to reaffirm the power of the white European Historical Bloc.

Racism, Sexuality, Gender & Patriarchy

The construction of a Race classification, as explained in the previous sections, has been fundamental for the construction of Coloniality and the Eurocentric epistemology. Mignolo (2014) makes the point that every conceivable culture or society had the need to make classifications and throughout history, many classifications have been made. However, the European-made ones have the 'merit' of linking and fitting those classifications into the Colonial Matrix of Power, or rather, into the Eurocentric Cultural Hegemony, as a tool of supremacy. This is an example of Gramsci's standardization, the splitting of the Subaltern classes in order to foster competition between them (1999). From the enlightenment and industrial revolution on, Race has been associated with, and considered in relation to, capital and labour, condemning indigenous and black populations to the lowest steps in the racial stratification (Mignolo, 2014). Therefore, the stratification of the Subaltern Races made it unimportant for the ruling class to distinguish between the panoply of different ethnicities, cultures and Races that existed in the colonies, because there was no practical need, they all have been grouped into the big Subaltern array (Mignolo, 2014). Thus, the Europeans created the 'Indian'. A Race, that neglects the incredible diversity of two continents, and which would be absurd if not for the Coloniality of racial stratification.

Structural Racism, against the 'other', on top of serving to endorse a superiority in the power structure, has been used as a mechanism to seize the means of production and the control of knowledge by the European white men from the 'Indian' that they have created (Mignolo, 2014). Thus, the Cultural Hegemony of the European, impeding access to the Social Contract.

Sexuality is the second component of this domain. Women in European society have been pictured in relation to men. Their sexuality has been constructed as pure and passive, subjugated to men and with the only objective to reproduce the white European dominant men (Lugones, 2007). This control over sexuality became also a control tool over Race, economic and political power, the women being banned from any authority position (Lugones, 2007), in a Subaltern position.

The European configuration of gender has been hegemonic, erasing any different understandings of gender configuration, letting the male prevail over the female counterpart (Mignolo, 2011). As aforementioned, the concept of gender in a European hierarchy, as a method of standardization, has been introduced by the colonizers. Lugones refers to this structure as the “*modern, colonial, gender system*” (2010, p. 742). A hierarchy of gender, intrinsically emphasizing male superiority, which was imported and imposed by the European colonizers on the colonies (Mignolo, 2011).

In Latin American, in the pre-colonial era, gender was not necessarily associated with different roles in society, as in Europe. Women were not systematically excluded from political and economic life, nor from positions of power. On the contrary, it was common for women to be involved in the decision-making body; instead, there was neither a patriarchy nor a matriarchy (Lugones, 2007). However, the epistemicide committed by the white European Historical Bloc assimilated or destroyed, in a Gramscian sense, the local societal structures, systems of knowledge and belief. Instead, it imported and imposed the European power structures of society. This is the aforementioned revolutionary aspect of colonialism.

In European epistemology, a category was constructed for women, opposite to the category of men. Women were Orientalized, made objective. Identified by men, only as non-men and in relation to men, without the subjectivity of self-identity, as Lugones explains, “*those who do not have power*” (2007, p. 197).

This patriarchal power structure helped the white European Historical Bloc to shape the Cultural Hegemony, changing the original power structures with new ones, making them easier to control.

In Mignolo’s eyes, racism and its related concepts are classifications that do not merely reflect skin color or other ethnic markers; rather they are categorizations, differences that are exploited to create the ‘other’. The subject/object relationship of the ruling classes and the Subaltern classes manifesting as the relationship between the classifiers and the classified (Mignolo, 2017).

Structural Racism, Racial Stratification and Internal Colonialism

This section will explain the global hierarchy of Race that was born out of Coloniality, in order to fulfil the Eurocentric Cultural Hegemony, standardizing the ‘other’ according to Race categorization.

The imposition of a hierarchy of Race is conceptualized in Structural Racism. This is, from a Gramscian perspective, the reproduction and reinforcement of the standardization of the Subaltern through racial divisions. The racial hierarchy or stratification is maintained by the white European Historical Bloc, by both the policies of governments and cultural representations within society (The Aspen Institute, 2016). Structural Racism is thus, for this thesis, the racial hierarchy of the colonial era being constantly replicated and reproduced, intrinsically permeating society through the dominant discourse, creating stereotypes and pre-concepts that reinforce white European superiority. Therefore, Race is the constructed method of the categorization of ethnicity born in Europe and out of Coloniality, for the Coloniality purpose, while Structural Racism is its endorsement and confirmation in the society.

In order to explain the concept of Structural Racism, it is useful to introduce the concept of white privilege, described as the “*historically accumulated white prestige*” (The Aspen Institute, 2016, p. 1). Throughout the years, the white European Historical Bloc has enjoyed better education, better job opportunities, better life tenor, better social welfare etc. purposely widening the gap between them and the ‘other’ (The Aspen Institute, 2016).

Lugones explains Modernity, and its application by colonialism as organizing “*the world ontologically in terms of atomic, homogeneous, separable categories*” (2010, p. 742). As explained in the previous sections, the need for the ‘other’ is crucial for the maintenance of control, from a Gramscian perspective this is standardization, the separation of the Subaltern classes into competing categories. In order for a Cultural Hegemony to be maintained, a certain group must take control of societal institutions, values and norms. As explained before it can be the uplifting of men only to decision making positions, or allowing the emergence of an indigenous elite (Mignolo, 2014). The colonizing powers, after establishing control over the colonized, made use of Structural Racism, including and forming the core group necessary for

the Cultural Hegemony to work and excluding the ‘other’ in a Racial Stratification. The degree of inclusion of these categorizations in the European society is well explained by Anderson:

“Racial theorizing pervaded the social consciousness of Europeans and a rigid epistemology of separation had been constructed between those classified as ‘us’ and those deemed to be outsiders” (1988, p. 128)

In this way, the Eurocentrism paradigm of European superiority over the ‘other’ could be enforced along basic ethnic lines. See interprets Gramsci in the context of Race by stating that *“racial ideology has been a ‘critical unifying principle’ in consolidating and justifying the rise to hegemony of a white European “historical bloc”*” (See, 1986, p. 79).

The European colonists were thus, privileged in relation to the colonized peoples. This privilege encouraged the European colonists to refrain from rejecting their social status and class stratifications from Europe (MacLachlan & Rodrigues, 1980), seeing that there were people in a worse off position in the power structure. Therefore, accepting the legitimacy of a power structure within the colonial state, based on the stratifications created in distant Europe, allowing European elites to project their social status and power into the colonies, replicating the old world in the supposed new world.

Furthermore, the contraposition of the ‘other’ to Europe, helped create a sentiment of unity within the European society, an ‘us and them’ dichotomy that would unify the European ‘us’ in an imaginary struggle against the ‘other’ ‘them’, also helping to distract from growing internal problems within the European capitalistic society (Quijano, 2007).

The arrival of the conquistadors in the Americas and the imposition of a racial hierarchy was fundamental to the colonial structure of power throughout the era. In Spanish America, racial classification was established as a legal concept that, along with gender, decided a person’s position in society (Martinez, 2008). However, it is important to underline the significance of the colonial period in shaping the ethics, explanations, values and beliefs of the power structure in independent Bolivia.

Internal Colonialism, according to Mignolo, explains how the newly independent states had two priorities; firstly, the maintenance of the *status quo* of power structures within the state, with the *criollos*⁸ replacing the *peninsulares*⁹ and secondly the making of alliances with the European Colonizing powers (2016, p. 104), replacing colonial domination with a post-colonial dependence. The structures and relationships of colonial domination, both internal and external to the state were thus, reforged. As we have seen with the exploration of Gramsci's work and Postcolonial theory, colonialism, the usurpation and domination of peoples and their lands, did not end with flag-independence. Internal Colonialism is then, the structure of oppression that has reproduced usurpation and domination in the post-colonial era within post-colonial states (Torres Guillén, 2014).

Societal Fascism and the Problem of the Social Contract

The teleology of the Western Modernity/Rationality paradigm, that European civilisation is superior and that history is bound to arrive at a point where the whole world mimics an approximation of Europe, demonstrates that savagery is the past of the European and the present of the 'other'. This is best summed up by a line from Joseph Conrad's "Heart of Darkness", referring to London: "*this also [...] has been one of the dark places of the earth*" (1899, p. 5). The linkage of Europe to progress is a product of the ideology of the white European Historical Bloc, explained in the section on Eurocentrism and is integral to the Cultural Hegemony of the current world system, created during the colonial era. This is the fundamental aspect of the paradigm of Western Modernity/Rationality. The Western Modernity/Rationality paradigm is conceptualized by de Sousa Santos as being composed of two projects, the twin pillars of Social Regulation and Social Emancipation (2014, p. 138). Social Regulation is the Hobbesian and Lockean domain of the Modern Social Contract, representing the European state and its organization. Social Emancipation consists of the aesthetics of art and particularly the Rationality of Science and Technology. In "The Southern Question", Gramsci argues that the

⁸ Criollo: a person from Spanish Latin America, especially one of pure Spanish blood.

⁹ Peninsulares: it refers to white people residing in Latin America but that were born in the Spanish peninsula.

south of Italy was made a colony of the north and explained that with the annexation and subjugation of Southern Italy along with the imposition of ‘otherness’ on the Southerners “*“Science” was used to crush the wretched and exploited*” (1926, p. 4).

In fitting the paradigm of Western Modernity/Rationality into Gramscian theory and looking at how this led to the Eurocentric Coloniality of Power, it is important to explore the linking of the twin pillars, Social Emancipation and Social Regulation. This will be done by looking at how both Thomas Hobbes and John Locke viewed the American colonies, and how Indigenous peoples fitted into the 17th century Social Contract.

Thomas Hobbes, although not primarily concerned with colonialism, considered the native peoples of the Americas to be ‘savages’. In his look at the American colonies, Hobbes sees a dichotomy between the ‘civilized’ settler colonists, building a European-style state under a Social Contract, and the Indian ‘savages’ existing in the State of Nature (Moloney, 2011). The paradigm of Modernity as a progression from a ‘savage’ State of Nature to a ‘civilized’ Social Contract is however, made hollow.

“By positioning savage peoples within his state of nature, Hobbes located them both before sovereign states (in time) and beyond sovereign states in the anarchic periphery. Trapped in an analogy not of their own making” (Moloney, 2011, p. 202).

The anarchic periphery, rather than being the point at which a society leaves the State of Nature to become ‘civilized’, instead acts as what de Sousa Santos calls an Abyssal Line, a border where both those under the Social Contract and those in the State of Nature coexist (2014). The legal principles of the Modern Social Contract, equality, justice, democracy etc. are practiced with some and withheld from others, their proclaimed universality uncompromised due to the deliberate and systemic hegemonic blindness of the state and its civil society, to those living in the State of Nature (de Sousa Santos, 2014, p. 122).

John Locke, who dealt more with the Americas, considered how indigenous people utilized a form of ‘common land’ that was, in his view, inefficient and unproductive. Therefore, the

‘civilized’ settlers with their property enclosures and agriculture techniques justified colonial acquisition. The European model was considered a far better use of the land and, taking land from the ‘Indian’ to be farmed and owned in the European manner, was considered by Locke to be the “*completion of God’s creation*” (Moloney, 2011, p. 191). The colonial state, as an extension of Europe was therefore, never meant to include the indigenous peoples. If people were ‘savage’, non-European, then they were to be excluded from the Social Contract. Only the European or Europeanized people of a colonial territory could exist under the Social Contract, the options being either assimilation or displacement, resembling Gramsci’s conditions for the construction of a Cultural Hegemony, epistemic assimilation or destruction (Gramsci, 1999).

The systematic exclusion is an ongoing process, whereby exclusion and subjugation is reproduced and continues to be a fundamental part of the Modernity paradigm itself, its dark side, as Mignolo describes it (2011). The process of exclusion and the continuing division of the ‘Abyssal Lines’ is what de Sousa Santos calls Societal Fascism (2014), which he describes in the following quote:

“A set of social processes by which large bodies of populations are irreversibly kept outside of [...] any kind of social contract” (2016, p. 50)

Societal Fascism, as opposed to political fascism, is compatible with the modern democratic state, and as we will see, it is in fact reinforced by the democratic structures of modern states (de Sousa Santos 2014, p. 49). de Sousa Santos breaks his concept of Societal Fascism into five distinct spheres, explaining the structures that reinforce the systemic exclusion of peoples from the Social Contract. They are the Fascism of Social Apartheid, Contractual Fascism, Territorial Fascism, The Fascism of Insecurity and Financial Fascism (2014). For the purposes of this thesis, the Fascism of Social Apartheid will be explained below.

The Fascism of Social Apartheid

The Fascism of Social Apartheid is the division of cities and social spaces into a dichotomy of ‘civilized’ and ‘savage’ zones. Though these zones may be in extreme proximity to each other, divided by a few meters of road for example, the zones and the people living within them live entirely separated lives. Referring to Hobbes and Locke, de Sousa Santos explains the dichotomy as those living under a Social Contract, and those living in the State of Nature (2014). The strength of the word apartheid cannot be underestimated here; it does not refer to the legislative separation of Races as in South Africa, nor merely to the difference between slums and well-to-do areas. The Fascism of Social Apartheid, rather, is the process in which cities and social spaces are divided by surreptitious means. de Sousa Santos uses the example of gated communities and private security companies (2014). The primary function of this division is the protection of the ‘civilized’ zone from infiltration by the ‘savage’ zone. A more illuminating and extreme example, can be found in Malcolm X’s description (X & Haley, 1965) of the Harlem ghetto in the 1930s. He criticizes the idea that the absence of the southern Jim Crow segregation laws in the north of the country, an application of political fascism, meant that African Americans had more freedom in the north of the country. On the contrary, as Blacks from the segregated south migrated to the northern cities they found that the only available accommodation were the ghettos. Although, the worst quality and least secure of all accommodation in the city, ghettos ranked amongst the most expensive rent zones. African Americans were not legally barred from living in other, cheaper, areas of the city. Instead, various structures were used by both the state and civil society to enforce the separation between the ‘civilized’ white zones and the ‘savage’ black zones (Tyner, 2006, p. 787). Landlords in ‘civilized’ areas, under societal pressure, would refuse to rent to black tenants. However, the system was not a two way street. Tyner states that whites were encouraged and facilitated to buy up land and businesses in the ghettos and to “*profit from the spatial entrapment of African Americans*” (2006, p. 78). Landlords in the ghettos could charge exorbitant rents, higher even than many of the ‘civilized’ zones.

Here we see an inherent link between Societal Fascism and Colonialism, whereby the ‘savage’ zones of the world are used only for the enrichment of the ‘civilized’.

The ‘Indian’

It is important to understand, in the Latin American context, that the concept of Indigeneity could not exist without the construction of the ‘Indian’. The ‘Indian’, came into existence in 1492 (Mignolo, 2014). The category and idea of the ‘Indian’, was created by the European colonizers to differentiate the native inhabitants of the Americas, who had lived there for millennia, from themselves, the white Europeans. Thus, the ‘Indian’ is the ‘other’, an object in the gaze of the white European subject, an imposition of a Eurocentric Cartesian dichotomy. Without colonialism, there was no ‘Indian’. Even the name ‘Indian’ reflects the cartographic error of the first Europeans, who believed they had reached the Indies, rather than a vast new land separating the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans,

The objectification of indigenous peoples as the ‘Indian’ shows the “*importance of ethnicity as accumulable and re-convertible capital*” with the European epistemology and power structures, justifying “*whiteness as a social good*” (García Linera, 2014, p. 51). The subject Race of the white European is responsible for distinguishing between the objectified ‘Indian’ and *mestizo*, ethnicities of their own construction and distinguished only by their relative relationship to Europeanness. As explained in the theory section, whiteness was, and remains, a status protected by the white European Historical Bloc as a fundamental pillar of their power.

The Spanish colonial authorities conceptualized the colonial territories into two republics. The Republic of the Indians, containing indigenous peoples, and the Republic of the Spaniards containing the Spanish Europeans (Canessa, 2018). Black African slaves were brought to the Americas by the colonists. However, they were a Subaltern Race, only seen as a commodity within the Republic of the Spanish (Mignolo, 2011). The system of the two republics did not create an equal separation of the indigenous and the Europeans, rather it created a structural *casta*¹⁰, a hierarchy of Races, with the white Europeans at the top and the Indians and Black Africans at the bottom. Maclachlan & Rodrigues (1980) claim that European immigrants expected to be identified as *hidalgos*¹¹, relative to the ‘Indian’, regardless of their social status

¹⁰ Casta: the institutionalized system of racial and social stratification.

¹¹ Hidalgo: it literally translates to ‘son of something’, in Spanish ‘*hijo de algo*’, a member of the aristocracy.

in Europe. This led to the sidelining and subjugation of indigenous power structures and nobility (MacLachlan & Rodrigues, 1980). Looking at the Colonial Matrix of Power within a Gramscian framework, it is possible to see the many-faceted mechanisms of the white European Historical Bloc in garnering the quantum of consent needed for the reproduction and reinforcement of their global hegemony. In identifying and standardizing different groups based on the categories of the Colonial Matrix of Power, the white European Historical Bloc creates a social stratification. A hierarchy of groups who are incentivized to maintain their relative positions of privilege. As aforementioned, in the Latin American context, the lower classes of European colonizers consented to the European elite projection of their power and status into the colonies because the ruling class allowed them to identify as *hidalgos*, relative to the 'Indian'. Indigenous peoples who accepted assimilation, and adopted European modes of living were thus placed higher within the *casta* system. Indigenous men were placed above indigenous women, creating positions of power and status even at the bottom of the hierarchy. The stratification of the Colonial Matrix of Power thus, creates an intersectional array of relative privileges, placating Subaltern groups to achieve a quantum of consent. The power structure is thus, shielded from the possibility of a counter-hegemony forming through Subaltern class alliances.

Application of Theories

As aforementioned, this thesis places the Decolonial and Postcolonial schools along with the concepts outlined above within the framework of Gramsci's Cultural Hegemony. By applying these theories, the authors are able to analyze both the social exclusion of the community of Mercado Campesino and the mechanisms and structures of the Bolivian state and society that has led them to migrate to this place. Structural Racism and the Fascism of Social Apartheid will be used to examine the condition of the community and the discrimination they face, while the theory of the Colonial Matrix of Power will be used in gaining an understanding of why this is the case.

Analysis

Firstly, this section of the analysis will contextualize the Plurinational State of Bolivia within the international context. Secondly, the history of the community of Mercado Campesino will be contextualized within the policies and legislation at the local and national level during this time and the wider trend of rural-urban migration. Finally, this thesis' understanding of Indigeneity and its application to the community will be outlined. This will be done to understand why the community exists in the way that it does and what were the drivers behind its establishment.



Mercado Campesino de Arocagüa is an “*island of poverty*” (Project Coordinator, 2019). A poor settlement placed in the center of a middle-class suburb, Mercado Campesino is clearly defined by the architectural differences between the community and market area and the surrounding middle class neighborhoods seen in the above aerial photograph. As this thesis will argue, the

¹² Aerial view of the area of Mercado Campesino de Arocagüa, provided from Google Earth, picturing the community as an ‘island of poverty’.

picture provides a visual representation of the symbolic Abyssal Line that separates those living in the Social Contract and the community of Mercado Campesino living in the State of Nature. The ordered grid systems of the ‘civilized’ middle class suburbs are in stark contrast to the ‘savage’ zone of the city, the chaotic shack settlement of Mercado Campesino in the center of the picture. This dichotomy between the ‘civilized’ and the ‘savage’ is the Fascism of Social Apartheid, which will be explored later in this analysis.

Considering the Human Development Index, Bolivia is ranked 118th out of the 189 countries by the United Nations (UN, 2019). Life expectancy, schooling years, illiteracy rates, mobility and communication access and gender inequality, place Bolivia in the Western category of a developing country (UN, 2019), backwards within the frame of the Western Modernity/Rationality paradigm. According to the Instituto Nacional de Estadística de Bolivia¹³ - INE, the country ranks around the middle regarding human development in Latin America, although there are only five countries with a lower Human Development Index score (2015). However, a stark difference is present when splitting the data between urban and rural areas. In the Cochabamba department¹⁴, access to sanitary services, education services, healthcare provision, transport links and other public services are all heavily concentrated in the city, drastically declining in quality and access when looking at rural areas (INE, 2012). The Cochabamba department also ranks relatively high when considering poverty: 40.7% of the departments population lives in poverty, while 18.9% live in extreme poverty (INE, 2017). The community members, as generally non-Spanish speaking indigenous peoples endure low wages for informal work, such as selling the families produce at the market or casual labour on building sites: 68% of Bolivian labour is informal (IFAD, 2016). The community of Mercado Campesino is quite clearly living in poverty with many of the community members relying on the precarious income of the informal sector. Added to the insecurity of the availability of informal work, informal wages are lower and these jobs do not provide benefits such as holiday pay, sick pay, social security benefits or pension contributions. Meaning a day without work is

¹³ Instituto Nacional de Estadística de Bolivia: National Institute of Statistics of Bolivia

¹⁴ Departments are the largest administrative division of Bolivia.

a day of lost income. The children of Mercado Campesino are often required to work to supplement the families' income. In urban areas, 26% of indigenous children are in employment, 23% of which are in hazardous work, such as construction. This is much lower in urban non-indigenous children with 15% in employment and 11% in hazardous work (Ulandssekretariatet 2014, p.14). One of the community members interviewed explained that her 14-year-old son was working on a construction site alongside the father (Interviewee 1, 2019).

Bolivian inequality in wealth distribution ranks amongst the highest in Latin America (IFAD, 2017). There are around 2.7 million people living in the condition of extreme poverty, defined by the World Bank as lower than US\$ 1.90 per day, divided between 1 million in urban areas and 1.7 million in rural areas (World Bank, 2015b; IFAD, 2017). In Bolivia, around 34.2% of indigenous people live in conditions of extreme poverty, whereas the percentage of non-indigenous people living in extreme poverty is 15.5% (IFAD, 2017). It is clear then from this data that indigenous peoples, 62% of the population (IFAD, 2017), endure a higher percentage of extreme poverty than their relative percentage of the population. This thesis argues that this is due to a structural discrimination against indigenous peoples at the core of the Bolivian state, which can be traced back to the continuation of colonial power structures stemming from the European conquest of Bolivia in the 16th century.

Mercado Campesino is an example of how the different categories composing the Human Development Index can converge in the same community. Poverty is endemic in the community, with unskilled casual labour being the only option for the community members.

Bolivia is one of only two countries in Latin America, along with Guatemala, with an indigenous majority (Canessa, 2018). Bolivia's population circa 2010 was estimated at 9.995.000 with an indigenous population of around 6.216.026, as aforementioned, 62.2% of the total population (IFAD, 2017). Bolivia's urban living population is 69% having risen from 59.6% in 1996 (World Bank, 2018). It is predicted that in 2025, 75% of the population will live in urban areas (World Bank, 2015a). Around 52% of indigenous people live in urban areas, yet they are a minority in these areas, which are 66% *mestizo* and other non-indigenous peoples.

Whereas 78% of rural dwellers are indigenous (Gigler, 2009). The domination of urban areas by non-indigenous peoples and of rural areas by indigenous peoples is one factor along with environmentalist indigenous discourse that leads to the characterization of indigenous people, in Bolivia, as a proxy for rural (Gigler, 2009). This is not only seen in the imagery of Bolivian society but is also present both nationally and internationally, and is both promoted and rejected by many different indigenous groups (Postero, 2017). The majority of discourse around indigenous people and academic study of Bolivian indigenous people is focused on rural indigenous people. This is partly due to the lack of clear definitions regarding who is indigenous and who is not. This will be contextualized as one of the reasons why the community of Mercado Campesino cannot be definitively placed as either rural or urban, they lie somewhere in between this dichotomy.

Mercado Campesino de Arocagüa is an example of an indigenous peri-urban community, which represents part of the majority indigenous people of Bolivia, yet is not represented proportionally in the literature or in the political discourse.

The purpose of this analysis is then to understand why this is, and how some of the most vulnerable people in Bolivian society, are experiencing social exclusion and institutional abandonment, despite the inclusionary project and policies of the Plurinational State of Bolivia under Evo Morales.

The traditional-elite Governments and the Neoliberal period

The community of Mercado Campesino was established in 1996, when around 10 families migrated from the Amazonian Chapare region to the outskirts of the city, in what was at the time an uninhabited and unused land. The next year the community had grown to around 60 families (Project Coordinator, 2019). The migration of indigenous peoples from the countryside to the cities in Bolivia is part of a long history of urbanization that began even before the arrival of the Spanish (Heins, 2011). The last two decades of the 20th century saw the beginning of an exponential increase in the amount of rural-urban migration that has continued into the 21st century (Postero, 2017). To understand the people of Mercado Campesino it is important to

take a look at the national and regional context of government legislation and policies as well as the global context of international economic factors. The Mercado Campesino will be looked at in its historical context, to understand why the people of Mercado Campesino moved from their rural homelands to the periphery of the city of Cochabamba.

The economic crisis of 1982-1985 in Bolivia, where inflation reached 12.000%, was especially disastrous for the indigenous poor of the country; the poorest in society being the least able to withstand price shocks (Biddle et al., 2006). The subsequent neoliberal New Economic Policy (NEP) stabilized prices, however, Bolivia's GDP per capita decreased by 5% in 1986-1987 (Biddle et al., 2006). In the long term, the NEP structural reform programs of privatization led to the closure of mines, while the liberalization of markets saw a marked decline in the agricultural sector (Gigler, 2009). The shrinking of the two largest rural industries led to rural unemployment and the inviability of many farmsteads. This was the driving factor of a new wave of rural-urban migration over the next two decades with many rural people seeking work in the urban informal sector (Gigler, 2009). This is the economic reality of the community of Mercado Campesino and one of the drivers for the migration from the Chapare area.

This was a sea change in the causes for rural-urban migration in Bolivia. Previously the migration of people from the countryside to the cities had been related to social, political and cultural forces (Mariscal et al., 2011). The economic crisis of the 1980s meant that the reasons for migration became "*eminently economic*" (Mariscal et al., 2011, p. 20) as the increasing inequality between rural and urban areas in terms of access to services and employment opportunities grew.

The Project Coordinator was asked the following:

Author: "Why did people move to the Mercado Campesino?"

Project Coordinator: "[...] their communities in Chapare did not have schools, they did not have basic services, they did not have access to hospitals [...] they were not protected by the municipality, no one. Therefore, they arrived in this place [Mercado Campesino], which is very close to hospitals; it is very close to schools."

After the spectacular economic failure of the Latin American military dictatorship model with the debt crisis of the 1980s. The post-dictatorship governments of traditional bourgeoisie elites, until the election of Evo Morales in 2005, struggled with the dual necessity of finding an adequate alignment with the society of Bolivia and the global pressure for enacting neoliberal structural adjustment policies. The bottom-up demand for reforms was in the main part driven by the emergence of a distinctly and self-consciously indigenous movement of resistance and protest, which centered on economic and property reform (Postero, 2017). The National Revolution of 1952, a leftist overthrow of the conservative government, had adopted an indigenous cultural imagery as a form of identity, turning Indigeneity in Bolivia, “*from a despised category into the basis of a re-conceptualized mestizo nation*” (Postero, 2017, p. 9). The reforms that were created regarding educational, citizenship and land rights were focused on creating a new Spanish speaking, property owning *mestizo* nation (Postero, 2017; Canessa, 2018). Cusicanqui calls this a “*cultural mestizaje*” (1993, p. 64). Instead,

“The call to “Mestizaje” was [...] destroying indigenous identities to consecrate a single dominant identity [...] it was colonial because [...] the Indians buried their own national identity, their history [...], their language and worldview”
(García Linera, 2017, p. 71).

The inclusionary policies made during the 1952 National Revolution, rather than an attempt at the cultural emancipation of Bolivia’s indigenous population, were instead an attempt to assimilate the ‘other’, framed within the teleology of the Modernity/Rationality paradigm, of Europeanisation. This is exemplified in the following speech extract from Paz Estenssoro, the president of Bolivia installed by the revolution:

“In grand historical perspective, [...] the only thing that will register [...] will be the incorporation of the Indians, [...], into civilized life, into human life” (Paz Estenssoro, 1956 in Pacino, 2017, p. 1).

The 1990 march for territory and dignity was the first of what has become a traditional route of long protest marches by lowland indigenous peoples marching from their homes to the highland

capital city of La Paz (Postero, 2017). The march itself, was to demand the deliverance of the land reforms and citizenship rights that had been promised by the 1952 National Revolution (Postero, 2017), adding to the growing pressure in the 1990s and early 2000s for meaningful reform.

As the demand for structural reform increased from below, international pressure for structural adjustment and the implementation of the Washington Consensus from above intensified. This pressure came from Western controlled international finance institutions such as the World Bank and IMF. It became imperative in this period for the traditional-elite¹⁵ led governments to attempt a passive revolution, in order to co-opt the revolutionary aims of this new indigenous movement and align it with the neoliberal agenda of the government (Gigler, 2009). The first government of Gonzalo Sánchez de Lozada (1993-1997) introduced a number of legislative reforms that were intended to be part of this attempt to achieve the passive revolution needed to satisfy both societies demand for state intervention and redistributive reforms, and the requirements of the hegemonic paradigm of the Washington Consensus.

This thesis has identified two pieces of legislation from the era that were crucial for the establishment and growth of the Mercado Campesino and other similar settlements. These are Law 1551 from 1993, the Law of Popular Participation and the 1996 Law 1715, the Agricultural Reform Law.

The Law of Popular Participation (LPP) granted a greater degree of autonomy to the municipalities and departments of Bolivia and redirected 61% of the national budget to the departments, up from 8% (Heins, 2011). The purpose of the law was to reduce poverty, as well as an attempt to stop the large increase of internal migration to the cities (Peirce, 1997). The migration, by mostly indigenous peoples, had begun to rise exponentially during the financial crisis of the 1980s and was clearly leading to more poverty. Many small farms were becoming unsustainable and the inequality between rural and urban areas led to a large growth in rural-urban migration. In 1976, 41% of the Bolivian population lived in urban areas; by 2002, it was

¹⁵ Traditional-elite: it is meant to represent the elite that has symbolically taken control of the power structures after the colonial era.

64% (Gigler, 2009, p. 5). Many indigenous people, who were moving into the city, began arriving in and constructing informal settlements on the peripheries of the cities, the Mercado Campesino de Arocagüa is a typical example of this.

As the law granted more autonomy to the departments regarding the exploitation of natural resources, it was hoped that more private investment in natural resource extraction would be encouraged, aiming to “*guarantee transnational firms access to low-cost Bolivian natural resources and labour*” (Altman & Lalander, 2003 p. 71). Thus, reversing somewhat the rural unemployment driver for rural-urban migration. However, the new legislation did not succeed in alleviating the rural-urban migration trend. The fundamentally neoliberal law required that “*no more than 10% of the resources of the Popular Participation are spent on the municipal government's current expenses*” (Portal Jurídico Libre de Bolivia, 1994, chapter 2, article 10). Despite the increase in responsibility and the much higher funding, the administration budgets of many department and municipal bodies had actually fallen. The department and municipal staff were not sufficiently trained on the implementation and purpose of the law and the money intended to be spent on improving services in the rural areas instead was mainly spent on improving the department's large cities (Peirce, 1997)

In 1996 Law 1715 was enacted as the Law of the National Institute of Agrarian Reform, (INRA) (IFAD, 2017), the same year as the establishment of the community of Mercado Campesino de Arocagüa. The issue of land reform was a key factor in the Bolivian National Revolution of 1952. This revolution was itself a passive revolution, whereby the Subaltern instigators were promised a round of key reforms to education, citizenship rights and other inclusive policies, that did not challenge fundamentally the position of the ruling class (Canessa, 2018; Postero, 2017). One key element of the revolution and its most controversial was the end to the hacienda system and a new program of land reform. Large estates were to be broken up and redistributed to the predominantly indigenous rural *campesinos*¹⁶ (IFAD, 2017). However, the land reforms were not successful. By the beginning of the 1990s, large landowners, some 1.8% of the population, owned 85.5% of the land (Flores, 1998). INRA was an attempt to complete the

¹⁶ Campesino: rural peasant.

process of land reform, intending to pursue an equal redistribution of state and private lands, that had been gained through corruption during the dictatorship era (Flores, 1998). Thus, INRA was instituted with the ostensible goal of reforming land ownership and access in favor of predominantly indigenous rural peasants.

A positive aspect of the law is that it did promote a more egalitarian redistribution of land. However, the peasants, generally indigenous and non-Spanish speaking were usually unable to pursue their rights through the judicial system (IFAD, 2017). Added to this, was that the peasant's property rights were still not well established, and the redistributed land was not permitted to be mortgaged (Portal Jurídico Libre de Bolivia, 1996). Therefore, peasants, without capital to fund their own investments, were forced to take informal debt from private individuals with crippling high interest rates (Flores, 1998). Predatory landholders were able to take the land or keep it from being redistributed. Thus, rather than redistributing land, INRA encouraged absentee landlords and land speculation (Flores, 1998; Fabricant, 2010).

Once again, the fundamental neoliberal agenda behind these laws is quite clear. The program of land reform also included a zero-tax policy for the redistributed land (Flores, 1998). As the land was bought up by larger landholders, its tax-free status remained, merely increasing the inequality between the landholding elites and the predominantly indigenous rural peasants (Fabricant, 2010). This, acted as another driver for rural-urban migration during the early years of Mercado Campesino. The fundamental problem of the laws is that, though they were designed to help the rural peasants, the vast majority of whom are indigenous, the Coloniality of the relationship between the ruling class and the peasant Subaltern remains one of the Cartesian dichotomy. The Bolivian government themselves were paternalistically pushed by the institutions of the globally hegemonic white European Historical Bloc, such as the IMF and WTO. These institutions, who control access to international finance, were able to impose the Washington Consensus economic ideology of structural adjustment, which was the price of access to international finance.

Similarly, domestic laws such as INRA, objectified once again the landless peasant, making the paternalistic assumption that they would be satisfied with land redistribution only, without any access to the resources or support needed to make it viable (Flores, 1998). Gramsci, makes this

exact point in “The Southern Question”, referring to the idea of redistributing land to the southern peasants, without the means to work it, sardonically as the “*magical formula*” (1926, p. 1).

Equally, the LPP rather than providing the impetus for rural economic growth, instead “*decentralized poverty*” (Kohl, 2003, p. 162). Though none of the interviewees directly linked either of these laws with their migration to Mercado Campesino, many of the community members were evicted from their rural lands. Interviewee 2, for example, stated this:

Author: “Why did you move here?”

Interviewee 2: “They have thrown us out of the land in Chapare”

The woman does not specify why her and her family have been thrown off the land, but it reiterates that, against the interests of her family, they were compelled to move. Here we can see Mercado Campesino as a refuge.

Thus, the reforms of the traditional-elite led governments were unable to satisfy the demands of the Subaltern classes. Land reform and decentralization on their terms, failed to adequately deal with “*the underlying racism of the country*” (Postero, 2017, p. 42), while the enormous burden of the neoliberal structural adjustment programs were “*anti-indigenous*” as they disproportionately hurt the countries indigenous people (García Linera, 2014, p. 53). The traditional-elite led governments were thus, unable to combine the neoliberal nation state project and the emancipation project that was required by the population of Bolivia. This culminated in the resignation of Lozada, during his second (non-consecutive) term and the collapse of the government under his Vice President, Carlos Mesa in 2005. The reforms rather than gaining the consent of the Subaltern masses, appear to have instigated a greater level of class solidarity within the Subaltern, as different groups of peasants began to mobilize under the banner of an indigenous identity, in opposition to the traditional-elite led neoliberal state (Postero, 2017).

Morales, the Discourse of Indigeneity & the Passive Revolution

The traditional-elite led governments entered into a series of crises in 1999 and 2000 when the government privatized the water utilities, as part of the structural adjustment and privatization plans demanded by the World Bank (Postero, 2017). The new private water utility immediately hiked prices by 35% upon taking over, as the state company had heavily subsidized the utility (Claridge & Latsch, 2006, p. 52).

Concurrent to the structural adjustment reforms, the United States placed immense pressure on the Bolivian government to eradicate coca crops¹⁷ as part of their war on drugs, threatening to withdraw aid in 1994 (Pineo, 2014). The Aymara speaking congressman and *cocalero*¹⁸ union leader Evo Morales supported the protests and began linking it with his own political agenda of anti-imperialism and ending the coca eradication policies (Pineo, 2014). Morales himself, was born in an Aymara community completing only a primary education. Working as a *cocalero* in Chapare, where the majority of the community of Mercado Campesino originate. He became leader of the *cocalero* trade union, and was elected as a senator in 1995. Morales represented MAS¹⁹, a political party made up of a large leftist conglomerate of unions, peasant and indigenous groups that had set itself in opposition to imperialism and the traditional-elite led neoliberal governments representing the Coloniality of Power (Postero, 2017). By linking the MAS agenda with the ‘Water Wars’ protests and the subsequent 2003 ‘Gas War’ over the export of gas to Chile, Morales began building a larger coalition of supporters, linking his political agenda with a Decolonial discourse, focused on indigenous rights and anti-neoliberalism (Postero, 2017).

Evo Morales won the Presidential election in 2005 with an outright majority, the first candidate to do so since the return of democracy in 1982, winning 53.74% of the vote with record turnout of 84.51%, compared to 66.72% in the 2002 presidential election (IFES, 2019). Morales won

¹⁷ Coca: cash crop from which cocaine is produced. Used as traditional medicine in Bolivia to alleviate altitude sickness among other ailments.

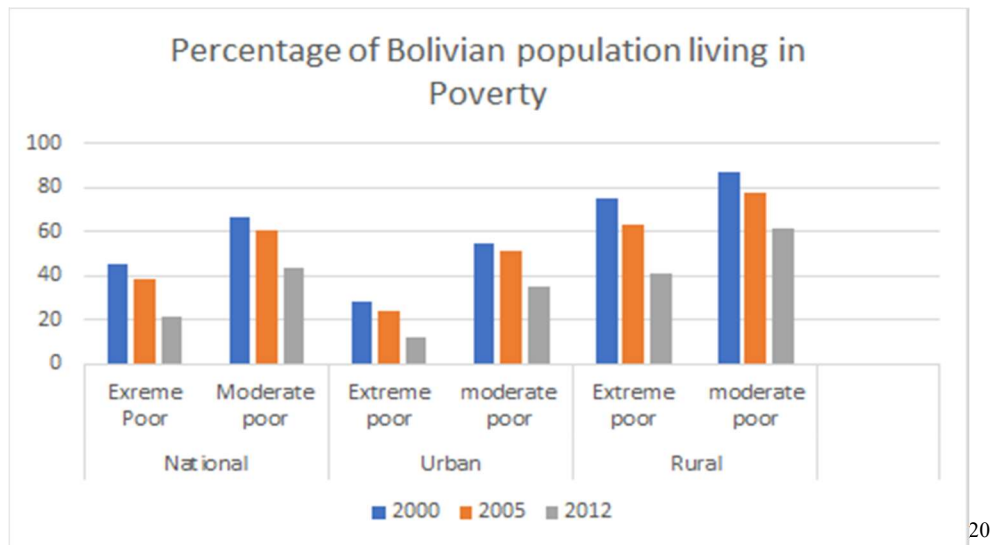
¹⁸ Cocalero: coca leaves grower.

¹⁹ Movimiento al Socialismo: Movement towards Socialism

the two subsequent elections in 2009 and 2014 with an increased majority of 64.8% and 61.36% respectively (IFES, 2019). The elections have been graded as 4/4 for freedom and fairness (Freedom House, 2019). It is clear then, that the Morales government has a much larger degree of support and thus, consent than the previous administrations of the traditional-elite led governments. Morales was able to take power in this instance precisely because of his involvement with the state. MAS was already a “*legitimate political party*” and rather than a rise to power involving revolutionary action was instead able to win a presidential election on a transformist platform within the structural parameters of the existing neoliberal state (Postero, 2010, p. 24). The Morales election and subsequent government is a passive revolution, whereby the structures of the state have not been changed.

In his 2006 inauguration speech, Morales proclaimed that his election was the start of a new era of inclusive politics, comparing his election to the presidency with the end of apartheid in South Africa (Morales, 2006). Morales performed two inauguration ceremonies, one in La Paz, and an indigenous based ceremony at the pre-colonial site of Tiwanaku, where he was handed a staff of office and proclaimed *Apu Mallku*, leader of people in Aymara (Canessa, 2018). Morales centered his discourse on Indigeneity, through which he claimed legitimacy for his political agenda. It is important to note that Indigeneity was absent from his political discourse prior to 2002 (Postero, 2017).

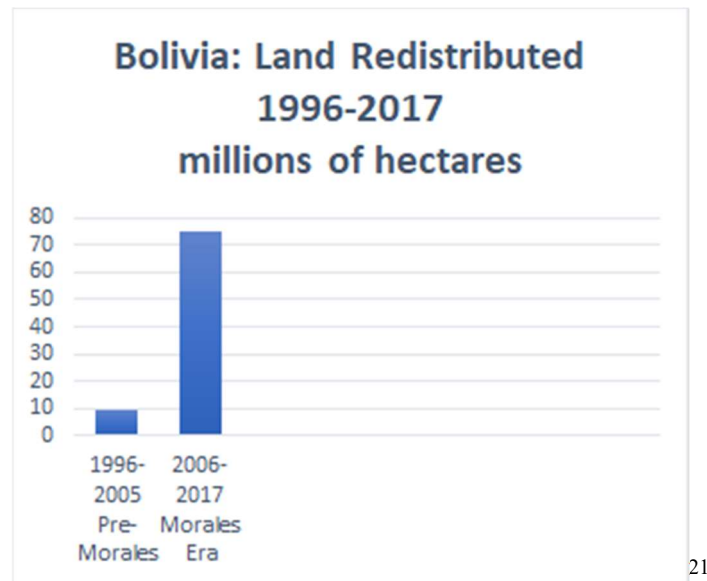
Programmatically Morales reversed many of the previous governments’ neoliberal reforms, nationalizing key industries and core service providers (Heins, 2011). Poverty reduction under Morales is impressive. Between his inauguration in 2006 and 2012, GDP per capita more than doubled from \$1,182 USD to \$2,238 USD and GDP growth averaged at 5% annually (Pineo, 2014).



Poverty has clearly fallen at a faster rate under Morales than the traditional-elite-led governments between 2000 and 2005. However, there is still a huge gap between urban and rural communities. Urban extreme poverty is at 12.2% and rural at 40.9% (Vargas & Garriga, 2015, p. 31). The national poverty reduction however has not significantly changed the situation of the community of Mercado Campesino, who still live in poverty, working in the precarious informal sector.

In 2006, Morales' government tabled a new land reform bill to replace law 1715, allowing more private land to be redistributed. Morales' agrarian reform plan called again for the implementation of the promised reforms of the 1952 National Revolution. Morales presented land deeds for 3 million hectares to 60 indigenous communities and promised a further 20 million hectares over the course of his first term, roughly 13% of the country's land being owned by 28% of the population (AIN, 2006).

²⁰ Authors' own graph. Data courtesy of International Monetary Fund (2015a, p. 31).



Right wing members of congress attempted to prevent the law from being passed and groups of wealthy landholders threatened armed resistance (AIN, 2006). The bill was signed into law, despite the objections and the scale and relative success of the land redistribution program under Morales. This can be seen in the above graph. Of the 84.3 million hectares of land redistributed between 1996 and 2017, 75 million hectares were distributed under Morales (INRA, 2017).

Yet, despite the relative successes in land reform and reduction in poverty, communities such as Mercado Campesino still live marginalized and poor lives at the periphery of the cities. The community of Mercado Campesino live on the land because of a temporary concession granted for twenty years, with no right to construct permanent dwellings, nor the financial capacity to find alternative and permanent housing in the city. This can be described in de Sousa Santos' terminology as the Fascism of Social Apartheid (2014). The community is denied the protection of the Social Contract, by their lack of legal status, to the land and the failure, or disinterest of the city authorities in finding or constructing alternative accommodation for them.

The discursal elements of Morales' reforms, i.e. the dominant discourse produced by the organs of state, is that Bolivia is undergoing a Decolonial process (Coletta & Raftopoulos,

²¹ Authors' own graph. Data courtesy of Instituto Nacional de Reforma Agraria (2017).

2018). From the perspective of the theories used by this thesis, the goal is to delink from the hegemonic Eurocentric epistemology of the Modernity/Rationality paradigm of white superiority and capitalistic accumulation as the basis for the state. Instead, the Bolivian government aims at creating a national counter-hegemony, rooted in an interpretation of nationalism based on Indigeneity, against the global Cultural Hegemony of the white European Historical Bloc. A counter-hegemonic narrative (Coletta & Raftopoulos, 2018). The Decolonial project is at the heart of Morales' reform program. It is enshrined in article 9 of the Plurinational Constitution of Bolivia:

"To establish a just and harmonious society, based on decolonization, without discrimination or exploitation, with full social justice, to consolidate plurinational identities." (Constitución Política del Estado, 2009)

Indigeneity in the Constitution and Exclusion of the Community

The process of drafting a new constitution was initiated by Morales shortly after his inauguration, convening a Constituent Assembly in 2006. In January 2009, the new constitution was ratified by national referendum with 61.3% of votes in favor and a 90.26% turnout (EU EOM, 2009, p. 32). Although the new constitution was not a priority for the MAS government, the expectations of indigenous and other Subaltern groups who had supported Morales against the traditional-elite candidates, made expectations of his government high (Postero, 2017). The new constitution was intended from the start to define a new understanding of Indigeneity and reorganizes indigenous concepts and the state's relationship with them as a whole. The importance of Indigeneity to the project of Morales' state is shown in Article 2 of the State Constitution.

"Given the pre-colonial existence of indigenous nations and indígena originario campesinos²² and their ancestral domain over their territories, their self-

²² Indígena Originario Campesino: Indigenous Original Peasants

determination is guaranteed within the framework of the unity of the state”

(Constitución Política del Estado, 2009, article 2)

The linkage with ancestral territories is seen throughout the constitution. The community of Mercado Campesino, as a majority Quechua speaking community with some Aymara residents are considered as indigenous in article 5 of the constitution, which lists both indigenous languages as official and equal in the new state (Constitución Política del Estado, 2009). However, indigenous rights and linkage with the occupation of ancestral territories is exemplified in article 2 above and article 290 which states:

“The conformation of [the] autonomy of indígena originario campesinos is based on the ancestral territories, currently inhabited by those peoples and nations, and in the will of its population, expressed in consultation, according to the Constitution and the law.” (Constitución Política del Estado, 2009, article 290)

In Bolivia, indigenous rights are based on the right of indigenous groups to autonomy, in councils known as AICO's, which are intended as *“mechanisms for free, prior and informed consent for legislative measures”* (Tockman, et al. 2015, p. 49). The community of Mercado Campesino however, do not live on ancestral lands, having established the community in 1996. Therefore, they have no right to form an indigenous council and protect their constitutional rights, nor can they expect to be asked for their consent regarding their removal or right to stay in Mercado Campesino. All AICO's are rural (Tockman et al., 2015), despite the majority of indigenous people in Bolivia living in urban areas.

The community, are discriminated against by their neighbors because of their Indigeneity, whilst denied their rights as indigenous peoples because they no longer inhabit their ancestral lands. The community is thus trapped in the periphery, neither indigenous nor non-indigenous.

The new constitution renamed the state as the Plurinational State of Bolivia, including different and strengthened regional autonomies and allowing for an understanding of the State that includes different ethnic groups as equals (Constitución Política del Estado, 2009, article 1). The delegates for the Constituent Assembly included a majority of indigenous representatives,

popularly elected, though through the existing political parties. The Constituent Assembly sat through three years of protests and conflicts between indigenous and MASistas²³ on one side against the opposition parties who declared the constitution illegal (Postero, 2017). Those political parties opposing the new constitution were generally part of a liberal *mestizo* elite (Postero, 2017), whose support base is located in the eastern lowland area known as the ‘half-moon’, responsible for around 45% of Bolivia's GDP (Dangl, 2007).

As aforementioned, in dealing with the concept of Indigeneity, the Bolivian constitution defines indigenous people as “*indígena originario campesinos*”, reaffirming the “*ancestral domination*” over indigenous territories (Constitución Política de Estado, 2009, article 2). Here, the link between indigenous peoples and rurality is reinforced by the association with *campesinos*, now constitutional. Indigeneity is linked with undefined ancestral lands. This redundant link between indigenous people and peasants is one of the main factors explaining why the inhabitants of the community of Mercado Campesino are labelled as indigenous by the rest of the city, although they do not recognize themselves as such.

Author: “Those of Mercado Campesino, are they considered indigenous by the rest of the city [...]?”

Project Coordinator: “From the city they are called [...] indigenous”

Even with a new constitution, supposedly empowering indigenous people, the continuance of Bolivia's colonial racial hierarchy is shown in society by the objectification of the community of Mercado Campesino as indigenous people, by the residents of Cochabamba.

Conversely, regarding their identification as indigenous, the inhabitants of Mercado Campesino do not tend to self-identify as indigenous. Rather, when speaking to members of the community, the author experienced how the concept of Indigeneity in the minds of the people who live in and around the community relate to themselves. The members of the community prefer other

²³ MASistas: MAS party supporters.

signifiers to identify themselves, such as *campesinos*, which is exemplified in the name of the settlement, *cocaleros* or *Chapareños*, related to their trade or regional origin.

Author: "Do they [people from the community] identify as indigenous?"

Project Coordinator: "more than calling themselves indigenous, they identify themselves as cocaleros [...] or Chapareños"

When asked the question; who are indigenous people? The community members of Mercado Campesino identify people living in the Amazon rainforest (Project Coordinator, 2019). Indigeneity then, rather than a matter for self-identification is used as a dichotomous Cartesian subject/object imposition. Indigeneity is internalized within the racial hierarchy of the Modernity/Rationality paradigm in Bolivia. This occurs from two perspectives. The 'civilized' zones of the city, have assumed that, according to their conceptions of the world, those people living in the 'savage' zones of the city are indigenous, identifying them as objects from a higher position, within Bolivia's racial hierarchy. Conversely, the people in question do not recognize this identity as relating to themselves and instead, based on their own understanding of Indigeneity, objectively impose it on another people, who they consider, within the Modernity/Rationality paradigm as relatively backwards to themselves, less Europeanized, *ergo*, less 'civilized', than themselves.

While it is clear that the reforms and policies of the Morales government have helped the lives of many indigenous peoples, it is also clear to see that with the linkage of rurality and Indigeneity, urban indigenous peasants become forgotten people. The multi-ethnic, peri-urban, indigenous community of Mercado Campesino endures a historical objectification.

"The constant rural migration [of indigenous peoples] to urban centers reconfigures the situation of the towns. Indigenous peoples [have] the lowest degree of economic income for their families, which makes it a highly vulnerable population, feeling marginalized and discrimination in their rights as "second-class citizens", [...] the conditions lack infrastructure services, in the peripheral areas of the urban centers" (IFAD, 2017, p. 11)

Peri-urban indigenous peoples such as those in Mercado Campesino are thus, some of the most vulnerable people in Bolivian society. The community, trapped in the periphery of the city, between an urban and a rural environment, is also trapped between inclusion and exclusion, in the State of Nature, while others who fit more closely the agenda of the Bolivian state have been welcomed into the Social Contract.

In analyzing, how Structural Racism and the Colonial Matrix of Power affects the daily lives of the community of Mercado Campesino, it is possible to see the transposition of Structural Racism from an international context, to a national one. The Bolivian traditional-elites, and the indigenous elites, are the inheritors of a 'historically accumulated white privilege'. No longer necessarily referring to white people. This is due to the continued superstructural dominance of the white European Historical Bloc in a Cultural Hegemony, founded and maintained by the Coloniality of Power. The white European Historical Bloc has reserved for elites, better education, better job prospects and better access to state institutions. The Bolivian elites have thus, enjoyed better overall opportunities compared to the majority of the indigenous population, contrasting with the inclusionary rhetoric of the Morales-led Indigenous State (Postero, 2017). Many indigenous self-identifying groups have been ignored by the state institutions, placed in the State of Nature. Self-identification for groups can be problematic, however; *"conventionally, international indigenous spokespeople point to the necessity of [...] self-identification. But self-identification sometimes leads to more layers of contradiction"* (2007, p. 38). These contradictions are exemplified by the situation of Mercado Campesino. Identity has become a generational process whereby the children who have spent most of their life in the community already identify themselves differently from their parents (Project Coordinator, 2019). They are re-signifying their identity, shifting from their parent's identities as *cocaleros* and *campesinos*, to spatial identities of Mercado Campesino de Arocagüa (Project Coordinator, 2019).

However, it is worth mentioning that other groups of indigenous people have managed to achieve a commodity driven middle-class lifestyle, and integrate successfully into urban areas as an indigenous bourgeoisie (Financial Times, 2014). Thus, the excluded indigenous groups

represent the ‘other’; they have been objectified and framed into the State of Nature, hence outside the Social Contract, outside of their own Indigenous State, even while some groups are welcomed into the new Bolivian Social Contract. This thesis argues that the Bolivian state has, through passive revolutions, admitted a class of indigenous and *mestizo* elites into the dominant fundamental group. The failure of the traditional-elite led governments in the 1990s and early 2000s to gain consent from the Subaltern was rectified by the ascension of Morales, whose government has continued a modified form of the previous neoliberal state. Morales has thus, managed to somewhat satisfy the emancipation project with a modicum of land and wealth redistribution, the majority of which remains in the hands of the traditional-elites. In addition, his government has supported a state-run version of the neoliberal and neo-extractivist policies of his predecessors (Gudynas, 2015). Despite this, wealth inequality remains the highest in Latin America (CIA World Factbook, 2019)

As aforementioned, indigenous people are typecast as rural due to a variety of reasons. After the National Revolution of 1952 and the reclassification of indigenous peoples as peasants, a category that includes non-indigenous peoples, there was a lack of census data on indigenous peoples. This is because censuses did not distinguish between indigenous and non-indigenous peasants. Studies frequently use “*rural*” as a proxy for indigenous and “*urban*” as a proxy for non-indigenous (Gigler, 2009 p. 70). The constitutional re-categorization of indigenous peoples as *indigena originario campesinos*, once again inextricably links, indigenous people with rural peasants. In addition, the global inter-connections of indigenous groups are often established by non-indigenous groups, such as western NGOs and international institutions (Tsing 2007). Indigeneity itself is a concept that was produced in New York and Geneva (Canessa, 2018) and has often been packaged with a number of different international concerns, particularly environmentalism. Often these issues do not necessarily represent the modes of life or the agenda of many indigenous peoples (Canessa, 2018; Postero, 2017; Tsing, 2007). Some indigenous groups “*have actively fought environmentalism*” (2007, p. 41).

The community of Mercado Campesino, as a peri-urban community, are neither urban nor rural, enduring the imposition of a rural peasant identity, despite the urban reality of their location.

Mercado Campesino is the target of local environmentalist and neighborhood campaign groups who have lobbied for the removal of the settlement and the strict enforcement of the ‘no permanent structures’ rule (Los Tiempos, 2009). This is because both the neighbors and environmentalists are campaigning for the land the community and the market are on to be incorporated into the Parque Metropolitano de Arocagüa. They fear that if permanent structures are built by the community and an extension of the concession is granted, or the land is distributed to the community that it will lead to the urbanization of the park (Los Tiempos, 2016a).

In response to complaints that the community would be allowed to build permanent settlements, the legal advisor of the municipality stated that *“there have been one or two cases in which they [the community] wanted to build [permanent constructions], but we have a regulation that allows their demolition”* (Los Tiempos, 2016a).

A well-produced campaign video available on YouTube by a channel calling itself Periodistas Bolivia²⁴, explains the conflict over the use of the land from the perspective of the environmentalists and the middle class neighbors of Mercado Campesino. The video is overlain with highlighted extracts of official documents and images of the settlement, showing the dilapidated shacks of the community, *“precarious houses of brass, wood, plastic and fabric”* (Los Tiempos, 2009). Other images of mounds of trash in the community are shown, while the presenter fails to mention that is the municipality that fails to collect the refuse (Project Coordinator, 2019).

The presenter repeatedly refers to the settlement as illegal and frames, what he calls the consolidation of the community, which means the right to build permanent structures and have some right over the land, as part of a conspiratorial plot by the municipality to urbanize the surrounding Parque Metropolitano de Arocagüa. The presenter explains his perspective on the

²⁴ The channel has uploaded precisely two videos, the one analysed here named Parque Metropolitano de Arocagüa Cochabamba and another about Bolivian migrants in Jaque, Argentina. It provides no information about itself and the authors have failed to find any organisation with that name. Save one twitter account which gives no indication of being related to the YouTube channel. The presenter appears to be Jaime Ponce, who is the leader of the group protesting the urbanization.

community and his fears of it consolidating as a legal and permanent settlement: “*not only has the Mercado Campesino²⁵ been consolidated, but they are also consolidating an important number of residents²⁶ who were initially precarious but who [...] begin to acquire more the form of true urban settlements*” (Periodistas Bolivia, 2017, 5:12). The middle-class neighborhoods that surround the Mercado literally do not accept the people of the community as a part of their city; instead, they are treated as the ‘other’. Despite the 23 years of the community’s existence, the presenter repeats that it is a temporary community. The settlement can thus, be said to exist in a state of enforced temporality. Those opposed to the community of Mercado Campesino think of the community members as “*usurpers*” and the granting of even the temporary concession of the land for twenty years in 1998 as a usurpation (Los Tiempos, 2016b). Though an open statement that asks for the removal of the community has not been made, the surrounding neighborhoods and environmentalists have repeatedly complained about the establishment of the community. Jaime Ponce stated, “*trees have been felled to build a market that does not have the support of the neighborhood*” (Los Tiempos, 2014). A local group calling themselves the Cochabamba Socio-Environmental Collective (NAC, 2018), have mobilized against the consolidation of the community, the building of permanent dwellings and the legalization of the settlement after the end of the concession, under the banner; “*Urbanization, don’t consolidate it!*” (Periodistas Bolivia, 2017, 3:42).

The protestors do not engage directly with the community of Mercado Campesino, rather directing their protests solely at the municipality. The municipality then responds to the complaints without consulting with the community, who are left alone, or served with a desist order, when they have constructed something against the rules of their habitation (Los Tiempos, 2009). The result is the objectification of the community by both the citizens of Cochabamba, those within the Social Contract, whose treaties to the municipality are heard and the municipality by refusing to constructively engage with the community. It is worth noting that the headlines of the articles in Los Tiempos all explain the point of view of the neighbors,

²⁵ Mercado Campesino: the presenter is referring to the permanent structures of the market business itself.

²⁶ Residents: the presenter is referring to the community of the Mercado Campesino.

“Arocagüa Houses Illegal Neighborhood” (2009), “Controversy over Market Expansion in Sacaba” (2014) “Arocagüa Park Requires Management Plan” (2016a) with the community either ignored (2016) or relegated to a short paragraph at the end (2009).

Leonardo Cala, a leader of the Mercado Campesino settlement, was the only member of the community to have been interviewed in all of these sources. In the 2009 article, Cala responded to the complaint made by the neighbors by saying that the community could not be thrown off the land because the concession was still in force and because their stay for 12 years gives them the right of ownership (Los Tiempos, 2009). This right to ownership, which it can be assumed comes from the INRA law, which was kept in Morales’ land reform, states that unused state land can be redistributed. However, the land where Mercado Campesino is situated on, is officially part of the Parque Metropolitano (Periodistas Bolivia, 2017), parks are exempt from redistribution. The Mercado Campesino is now part of a legal dispute over ownership. The community is not able to challenge this and although an observer has been allowed to attend the hearings, the community representative, who was interviewed by this thesis states:

Author: “The community is not legal [...] they do not have rights to the land. How is the situation with the municipality? [...] What do the state [institutions] do?”

Project Coordinator: “Absence. Absence of [...] state institutions there [in the community]. The municipality gave them [the community] a concession 20 years ago, which is already not valid, not legal. But it never permitted them to build anything permanent. [...] The municipality now it is telling them ‘you have to go’, and does not say when. There is ambiguity. [...] The elections are this year. If they [the municipality] force them out of there [the community], unions, peasants, voters... There will be repercussion; there will be a lot of protests. Therefore, they will not do anything this year [...] until the municipality, elections are over. [...] [The municipality will] look away, they do not want to have problem, they do not want not have conflict.”

The community is worried that after the coming elections, they will be thrown off the land as their concession has ended (Los Tiempos, 2009; Project Coordinator, 2019). Having no legal

rights to their homes and living in enforced temporality has contributed, along with the outright hostility of the surrounding neighborhoods, to a social exclusion that has discouraged the community from integration with the city.

From the perspective of the community members, it appears from the interviews conducted that the community of Mercado Campesino has little, if any contact with the rest of the city outside of their professional life, selling produce in the market or working casual construction jobs.

Author: "Do you have any contact with outside Mercado? [...] For selling, buying, working?"

Interviewee 1: "For selling"

Author: "[you are going] Outside the community?"

Interviewee 1: "Only for working"

Interviewee 3, repeats a similar feeling:

Author: "Do you have any contact with outside the community? Or only [the father] for working?"

Interviewee 3: "Only my father."

Author: "And you all stay here?"

Interviewee 3: "Yes we do"

Author: "So you don't have contact with people outside the community? That live in the city [...]?"

Interviewee 3: "No"

Again, it is made clear that the community of Mercado Campesino is isolated from the rest of the city of Cochabamba, the community identify themselves with either their rural villages or with the Mercado Campesino itself, rather than the city. There is little non-professional interaction with the surrounding communities. The Project Coordinator was asked:

Author: "How is the integration between Mercado and the neighbors?"

Project Coordinator: "It is an island of poverty. It is surrounded by middle class housing; there is no integration [...]"

The disconnection between the community of Mercado Campesino, exemplified in both the hostility of the surrounding neighborhoods and the insular nature of the community itself, is the outcome of the Fascism of Social Apartheid. As aforementioned, this is the way in which social forces and indirect government policies separate people living in cities along standardized lines. In the case of Mercado Campesino, despite being in the center of a middle-class suburb, the community is segregated. This is done via a variety of factors such as the denial of the right to own or have legal status on the land on which they live and the denial of the right to build permanent structures. Furthermore, it is a virtual impossibility for any member of the community to save up enough money to rent, let alone buy a permanent house in the city. The municipality, by not providing more suitable and permanent housing, again imposes an enforced temporality to their lives. However long a family stays in the community, their house will have to be replaced every few years or so.

In denying the Social Contract to the community of the Mercado Campesino, the Bolivian government reinforces the consent of the surrounding neighborhoods. Societal Fascism explains how these neighborhoods eagerly respond negatively to any attempt at catharsis by the community, protesting and lobbying local government to ensure that no permanency is permitted to the community and that they are kept in the State of Nature.

This thesis has used the above outlined data, merging Laws of the pre-Plurinational State of Bolivia, the Plurinational Constitution, interviews with members of the community of Mercado Campesino and the Project Coordinator as well as national statistics, evaluated with the concepts and theorizations provided in the theory chapter. The following chapter will discuss these findings within the theoretical framework of Gramsci's Cultural Hegemony and the passive revolution.

Discussion

Bolivian indigenous peoples “*have been historically excluded from power and denied citizenship, even after independence from Spain*” (Canessa, 2018, p. 310). The foundational argument of this thesis is that the colonial power structures set up by the Spanish colonists in the 16th Century, have remained intact. The conquest was an active revolution in Gramsci’s terms (1999), as it structurally changed the society of what is now Bolivia, introducing new power structures, based on a classification that is conceptualized in the Colonial Matrix of Power. New methods of standardization and stratification, such as Race, gender, sexuality, knowledge, subjectivity etc, were instituted as a Cultural Hegemony with the formation of the white European Historical Bloc, the power structure of Coloniality that has endured to become globally hegemonic.

As aforementioned, the European style-nation state, as transposed to the Americas, was never meant to include the ‘Indian’. Bolivia has undergone numerous passive revolutions since the colonial era to maintain these power structures, whilst retaining the necessary quantum of consent for their maintenance and reproduction. To this end the founding white-elites of Bolivia “*opted for the institutionalized exclusion of the indigenous as the foundation of a nationality of the few*” (García Linera, 2017, p. 29), standardizing the Subaltern masses, and excluding indigenous people who did not Europeanize, in the form of *mestizaje*, from the Social Contract. This is the result of the Internal Colonialism of the Bolivian state, the internalization of the colonial power structures of international domination to the people that it dominated.

In looking at the Structural Racism and social exclusion that is endured by one small community within Bolivia, it has been necessary to take a close look at the history of the community along with the concurrent history of Bolivia during this time. Various governments have attempted reforms that, on the surface were meant to help people, such as the community of Mercado Campesino in their integration into not only the city of Cochabamba, but into the state of Bolivia as part of an enlargement of the Social Contract.

With the election of Morales and his claim to have ended 500 years of exclusion (Morales, 2006), there were high expectations that his government, the first led by a self-identified indigenous person, would found a new state, providing the active revolution that would finally break the wheel of the Coloniality of Power. The constitution was redrafted, specifically to incorporate indigenous people into a new Plurinational Social Contract. Morales titles his presidential preamble to the Plurinational Constitution; *“So That We are Never Again Excluded”* (Constitución Política del Estado, 2009, p. 3). It is clear however, that the community of Mercado Campesino are excluded. The land they live on is not theirs; they are not allowed to build any permanent structures. The community face hostility from the surrounding neighborhoods and what can only be described as indifference from the local authorities. Thus, despite decades of reforms, the community remains trapped by the same structures of oppression that have discriminated against them and their ancestors since the arrival of the European Colonists in the 16th Century.

The refounding of the now Plurinational State of Bolivia has maintained the same power structures as the previous state of the traditional-elite led governments, both democratic and dictatorial. Morales' state, instead of creating a new conceptualization of the European-style nation-state has instead, merely co-opted Indigeneity to form a new nationalism. The Indigenous State can thus, be seen as a passive revolution, whereby a revolutionary agenda has been made reformist by the emergence of a new indigenous elite, making room for itself within the existing power structures of the state. From a Gramscian position, the question to ask, regarding the emergence of a new group of elites is; *“what modification in the fundamental balance of social forces is taking place beneath the surface”?* (1999, p. 195). The reforms of Morales, like his predecessors, though positive for the lives of many indigenous peoples has not structurally changed the Cultural Hegemony of the traditional-elite over the Bolivian state. Morales and the MAS have gained power, yet it is still the same people who are oppressed. When the neighboring residents and environmental groups protest about the community to the local municipality, the mayor and municipal council are now governed by MAS party officials instead of representatives of the traditional-elite led parties, MAS having controlled the mayoralty since 2007 (Los Tiempos, 2007). However, despite the governance of a pro-

indigenous party at both local and national level, the community is still denied a voice over their right to live on the land they occupy and are denied any feasible alternative accommodation in the city. The Morales government and the rise to power of a new indigenous elite, represents a non-structural change and is a passive revolution.

In its exclusion from the Social Contract, the community has been made the 'other'. This has occurred because of a nexus between the municipality and the surrounding 'civilized' society. The neighbors, in protesting the consolidation of the community, despite them having lived there for 23 years, and the acquiescence of the municipality in maintaining the community's illegality, despite the fact their only 'crime' is to have remained in their homes. The community, living in enforced temporality are denied the right to stay and without the means to go, trapping them at the periphery. The community exists in this periphery, neither indigenous nor non-indigenous, trapped by an identity they do not recognize themselves. The community is constitutionally indigenous by language, but without the ancestral land that would afford them indigenous rights. Symbolically, they have become trapped by the Abyssal Line that separates the Social Contract and the State of Nature. Geographically they are trapped on the periphery of the city, neither rural nor truly urban.

The community lack any of the basic utility services of modern urban life; running water, electricity, gas, yet they are surrounded by middle-class suburbs that take these utilities for granted. In protesting the consolidation of the community, the neighbors also preclude the community gaining any of these basic utility services. In making the community the 'other', and denying them modern utilities, the surrounding neighborhoods and the municipality enforce the Fascism of Social Apartheid, maintaining the distinction between the 'savage' zone of the city, Mercado Campesino, and the 'civilized' zone, where the middle-class neighbors live. This is the result of the application of the Western Modernity/Rationality paradigm, the backwardness of the community is enforced, maintaining the standardized distinction between those within the Social Contract and those outside, encouraging the separation of the community from the rest of the city. This negates the possibility of the community forming

class alliances with those who are relatively privileged, such as the neighbors, themselves Subaltern, and creating a counter-hegemony that could force a change.

This is not to say that the Indigenous State is entirely insincere, it is clear that legal reforms and identity-based politics have led to an improvement in the lives of many indigenous people. However, the non-structural change has demonstrably been insufficient for the community of Mercado Campesino, and many other communities like it, to attain the equality that is their constitutional right. Moreover, the Morales state and its paradigm of indigenous rights and Decoloniality has shifted from the revolutionary aims of its discourse, “*moving from the site of emancipation, to one of liberal nation-state building*” (Postero, 2017, p. 5). The state may have removed legislative barriers to their emancipation, but the emancipation of indigenous peoples is not a project without significant social resistance. The neighboring citizens have mobilized against the community and clearly aim, in keeping it as precarious as possible, for them to be removed. Leonardo Cala, a member of the community of Mercado Campesino, explains the tragedy of the community he represents and the tragedy of their situation saying that the community’s position is provisional, despite the number of years, they have lived there and that they do not want to leave the area, because they “*have nowhere to go.*” (Los Tiempos, 2009).

Conclusion

In answering the research question:

“How are Race and Indigeneity understood in the Bolivian context and what impact do they have on the integration of peri-urban indigenous communities?”

This thesis has argued that, the project of the Indigenous State under Evo Morales, although adopting Indigeneity as a focal point of its political discourse, is enacting a passive revolution, which has allowed for the continuation of colonial power structures, whereby Race was used to discriminate against indigenous people, the Internal Colonialism of the Bolivian state. This continuance of racial stratification is in spite of the emergence of indigenous elite. Thus, allowing the continuation of the exclusion identified and explored by this thesis, of the people who live in Mercado Campesino de Arocagüa, and the stiling of the emancipation project of Indigeneity in Bolivia. The community, the vast majority of whom are indigenous, still live in poverty and perform precarious, and often dangerous, informal work. This, in the opinion of the authors, confirms the hypothesis of this thesis.

The community is enduring discrimination that is a consequence of the construction of Race, stemming from the colonial era, that places indigenous people at the bottom of a racial hierarchy, which despite the emergence of an indigenous elite, excludes many indigenous peoples from the Bolivian state.

With the co-option of the revolutionary aims of Indigeneity, the indigenous peoples of Bolivia who still find themselves excluded from the supposed new Social Contract of the Plurinational State, which in reality is a chimera, hiding the power structures of Coloniality, find themselves unable to satisfy their demands for emancipation. The community of Mercado Campesino is still denied the right to permanent constructions on the land they occupy despite an ostensibly pro-indigenous and pro-redistribution administration, both locally and nationally. They are thus, denied integration into the city of which they live, enduring an enforced temporality.

This thesis has argued, within the framework of a global Cultural Hegemony, that the Bolivian Plurinational State has reproduced Coloniality in a process this thesis has identified as Internal Colonialism, merely incorporating indigenous elites while still objectifying the indigenous masses of Bolivia.

White, it is true that the Morales government and indigenous policies have helped many indigenous people, it is only those that have facilitated the building of the fundamentally liberal Indigenous State that have benefitted. For those designated as the ‘other’ trapped outside of the Bolivian Social Contract, Morales’ Indigenous State is mainly a rhetorical idea (Postero, 2017). The community of the Mercado Campesino de Arocagüa are trapped, symbolically and geographically at the periphery of the city, neglected by the Indigenous State, placed in the institutional vacuum and insecurity of the State of Nature.

“[...] by smashing the oppressive apparatus of the capitalist State and setting up a workers' State that will subject the capitalists to the law of useful labour, the workers will smash all the chains that bind the peasant to his poverty and desperation.” (Gramsci, 1926, p. 2).

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