



UNIVERSITY OF GOTHENBURG
SCHOOL OF BUSINESS, ECONOMICS AND LAW

**“We value it because it is only on the earth
that you can put your feet”**

**A case study of landscape values and perspectives in the Indigenous
Territory and National Park Isiboro Sécure highway conflict**

Bachelor's thesis in Human Geography
Author: Ida Westman
Supervisor: Marie Stenseke
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Program in Environmental Social Sciences
Department of Human and Economic Geography

Acknowledgements

It is not without a small sigh of relief that I write these words. Producing your first thesis is an experience to anyone. Yet doing a minor field study encompasses much more than the production of a thesis. What you encounter is much different from your usual days at the university campus and the field work experience will make you grow. You meet extraordinary people and encounter unbelievable environments. It is an adventure, an adventure that requires flexibility and patience but provides you with inspiration and reflection.

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Abstract

This is a bachelor's thesis in human geography conducted as a minor field study in the Bolivian Amazon. The aim of the thesis is to examine user values and perspectives of representatives of the Mojeño indigenous people regarding their territory and how these are considered in negotiations with the Bolivian government resulting from protests of a highway project planned to cross the habitat. The territory is the Indigenous Territory and National Park Isiboro Sécore, home of the Mojeño, Yuracaré and Tsimane indigenous peoples. The thesis is based on landscape and place theory and theory on political ecology. Central aspects have been identified and put into a theoretical framework. The methods used are qualitative semi-structured interviews with Mojeño indigenous' representatives, field observations and document studies of the Law that were the result of the negotiations. The results are presented and analyzed in relation to the theoretical framework. The conclusions drawn are that the user values and perspectives are mainly focused on the rights to self-determination and livelihood. There is an underlying perception of the area as inherently theirs because of cultural and religious history, incorporating the area into their identification of themselves. A dissonance is shown between the user values and perspectives presented in the interviews and the document studies of the negotiated Law. The natural environment and its ecological function are given more focus in the Law as well as in the conflict itself than it is given in the interviews. The central term of analysis is the term "inviolable". The interpretation of the term will determine how the Law is interpreted and in prolongation, how the user values and perspectives have been taken in consideration.

Keywords: Bolivia, the National Park and Indigenous Territory Isiboro Sécore, the TIPNIS, landscape values, landscape perspectives, indigenous, infrastructure, political ecology, environmental conflict, identity.

Acronyms and Abbreviations

BNDS	National Bank for Economic and Social Development
CEJIS	Centre of Juridical and Social Investigations
CIDOB	Confederation of Indigenous Peoples of Bolivia
CONISUR	Consejo Indígenas del Sur
CPE	Political Constitution of the State
NDP	National Development Plan
SERNAP	Servicio Nacional de Áreas Protegidas
TCO	Communitarian Lands of Origin
TIOC	Indigenous Communitarian Lands of Origin
TIPNIS	National Park and Indigenous Territory Isiboro Sécure
UIB	Indigenous University of Bolivia

Maps

1. Physiography, Bolivia. Source: Instituto Geográfico Militar
2. Protected areas in Bolivia, the TIPNIS marked. Source: SERNAP
3. The TIPNIS. Source: The Bolivia Diary
4. Villa Tunari- San Ignacio de Mojos highway project. Source: Los Tiempos
5. The TIPNIS management zones. Source: Escuela Nacional de Información Política

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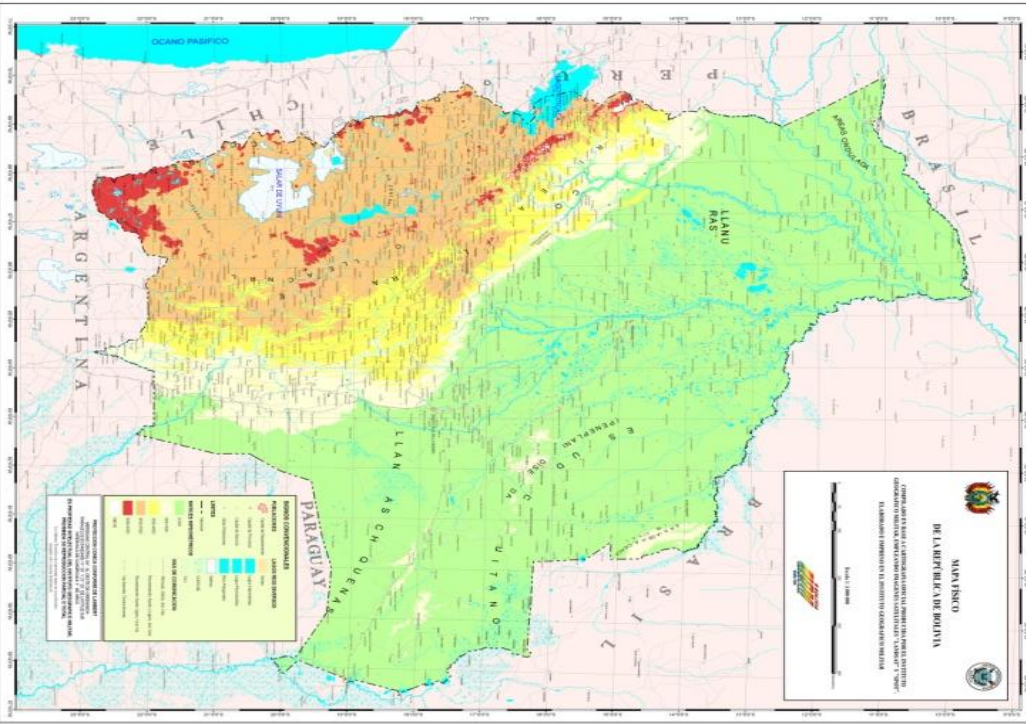
1. Introduction

1.1 Background

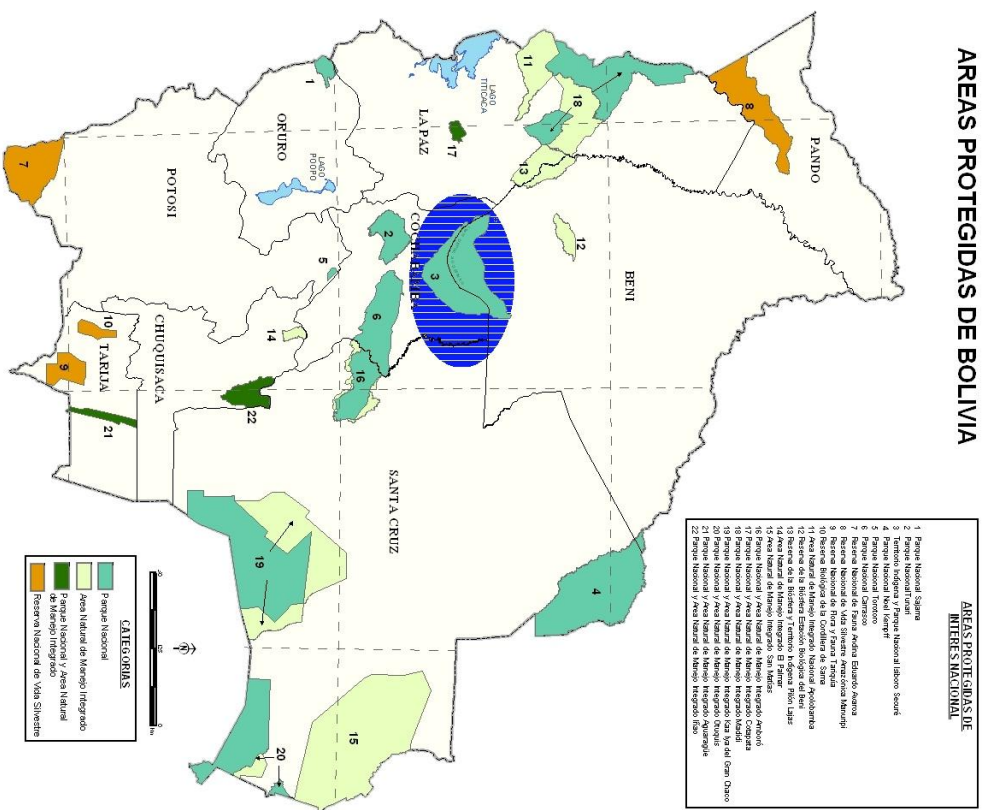
In large infrastructure projects several aspects are involved; political, socio-economic, technical and historical. The nature of the aspects varies depending on what scale one chooses to examine closer. Yet no matter what level, the aspects are influenced by the perceptions and values of those involved. As the project ultimately will be located somewhere, it will have a physical and social effect on an area considered as someone's locale or place. At the same time, the initiative often has a national anchorage as it requires large financial investments. The national and local values and perspectives therefore become a part of the project process. If opposing one another, prioritizations will be required weighing them against each other. This will involve a lengthy and continual process in which decisions need to be made on how to negotiate representations of local user values and perspectives. The difference in values and perspectives are not just between scale levels, but within a level as well. This bachelor's thesis is a case study carried out in the Bolivian Amazon. The Bolivian government has planned a highway project that, if built, will cross a combined national park and indigenous territory. The announcement provoked large protests. The study will focus on user values and perspectives of the Mojeño indigenous' people and how these are taken into consideration by the government in the San Ignacio de Mojos – Villa Tunari highway project.

Bolivia is situated in the center of the South American continent. Because of its geographical location Bolivia holds a great variety of terrains and climates (see map 1). It has an immense variety of species and belongs to the group of "mega diverse" countries. Protected areas occupy almost 20 % of the country's surface (see map 2) (SERNAP 2011a, pp. 5-6). Many of the protected areas are inhabited by indigenous peoples and intercultural communities. Therefore, within the boundaries of the protected areas a considerable part of Bolivia's social and cultural diversity is also represented. In total more than 150 000 people are estimated to live in their interior, having economic relations with more than 2 000 000 of the Bolivian citizens living in its adjacent areas. Many times the protected areas are at the same time Indigenous Communitarian Lands of Origin (TIOC's) giving the indigenous peoples living in the areas legal rights regarding their territory (SERNAP 2011a, pp. 5-10).

The Indigenous Territory and National Park Isiboro Sécure (TIPNIS) is one of the areas that is both a protected area and a TIOC. The TIPNIS is a 1,091,656 hectare area located in the departments of Beni and Cochabamba, in the center of the country. The territory was first established as a national park in 1965. In 1997 the area was legally consolidated as a Communitarian Land of Origin (TCO) of the indigenous communities within the area (SERNAP 2011b, p. 19). Since 2009 TCO's go under the term TIOC. The TIPNIS is considered one of the most well preserved areas in Bolivia and South America in terms of biological diversity. Also, it holds one of the country's most important water basins.

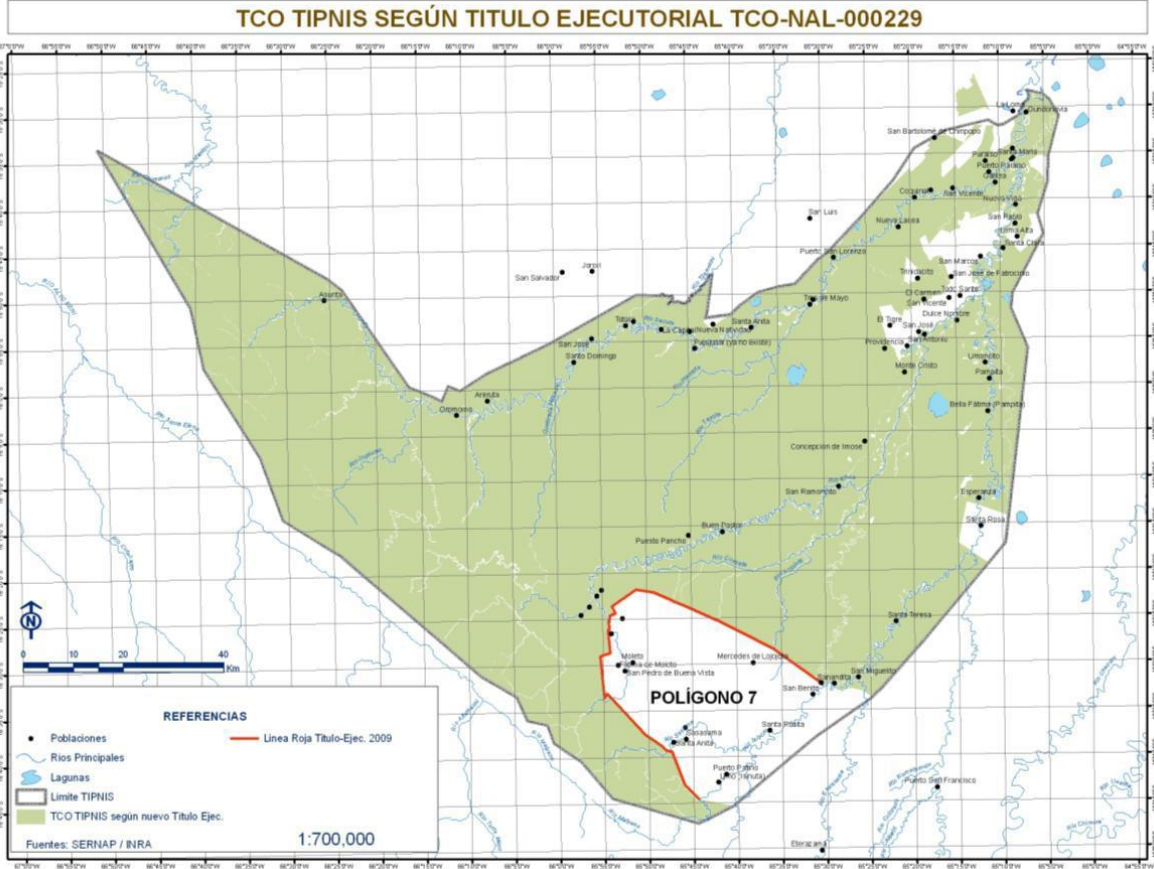


1. Physiography, Bolivia. Source: Instituto Geografico Militar 2012-12-25



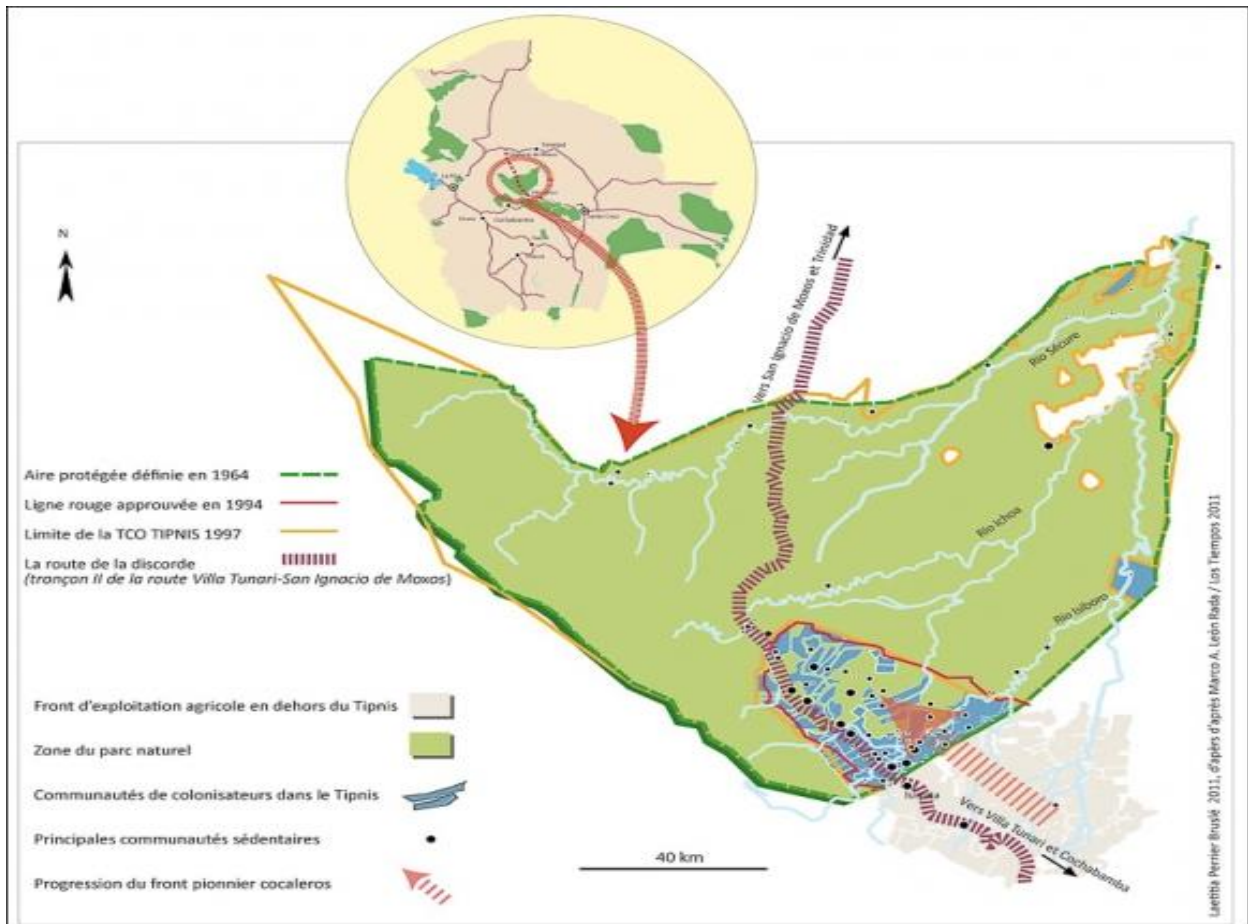
2. Protected areas in Bolivia, the TIPNIS marked. Source: Ecomoticias del Valle 2012-12-25

Three indigenous peoples are the owners of the TIOC: the Mojeños, the Tsimanes and the Yuracarés. They live in small communities close to the riverbeds, dedicating themselves to self-reproduction based on small scale agricultural activities, extraction of forest resources and artisanal production. Also, parts of these communities sell their labor for part of the year to ranchers, timber barons but also to the rich layers of the coca-growing peasantry who live in an area in the south of the TIPNIS called Polygon 7. During the last three decades Quechua and Aymara indigenous have migrated from the western highlands of Bolivia to the tropical lowland. Their main activity is cultivation of the coca leaf (SERNAP 2011b, pp. 3-4, Webber 2012).



3. Map of the TIPNIS Source: The Bolivia Diary 2012-12-25

Infrastructure in the TIPNIS is largely underdeveloped. Large parts of the area are flooded each year as a part of the yearly rainfall cycle. Roads for land-based vehicles are therefore practically non-existent and the usual mode of transportation is by boat on the numerous rivers in the area. The TIPNIS is located in the middle of the two capitals of the Beni and Cochabamba departments. As there are no terrestrial connections between the department capitals, the highway project is of strategic interest to the State to improve the national infrastructural and socio-economic situation. Beni is the country’s poorest department only accounting for 2, 5 % of the country’s GDP and has difficulties in transporting goods to the larger cities in other departments. Cochabamba is one of Bolivia’s major cities and has a strong purchasing power (Ybarnegaray 2011, p. 92).



4. Map of San Ignacio de Mojos - Villa Tunari highway project. Source: Los Tiempos 2012-12-25

Wishes for a highway between the two departments have existed for a long time on national and departmental level. With the current government they have been put into action. The project was announced in 2010. The planned construction has, nevertheless, led to large protests, especially among the TIPNIS communities. In 2011 a protest march was held, led by the TIPNIS indigenous representatives. The 8th march¹ led to the project being postponed indefinitely as a part of a Law, the Law of the TIPNIS, which was negotiated between the TIPNIS representatives and the government. However, shortly thereafter a contra-march in favor of the project was held by the *Consejo Indígenas del Sur* (CONISUR), the coca farmers union representing the inhabitants in Polygon 7. As a response, a second march, the 9th march, was held by the TIPNIS indigenous communities, in the months of April-June 2012 (Fundación TIERRA 2012). When writing the thesis, two of three tracks of the highway had been built. The third, postponed, track meant to cross the TIPNIS is now being re-processed through a consultation process (NACLA 2012-12-13) in spite of the previous cancellation.

¹ See chapter 4.4 *Indigenous marches for rights* for further explanation of the history of indigenous marches in Bolivian modern history.

1.2 Problem formulation

In the San Ignacio de Mojos – Villa Tunari highway project, the level of conflict has reached very large proportions and has become a question of broad national interest as well as reaching international recognition. The large nationwide protests have raised questions on what values and perspectives have been considered, and how the process has been carried out. As the conflict encompasses Bolivia's complex geography, socio-economic and cultural history as well as recent important political changes, the highway project becomes an important case to study. Why did the conflict reach such proportions? Why has the conflict continued after the announcement of the Law of the TIPNIS? Have the indigenous peoples of the TIPNIS been justly represented?

1.3 Purpose and Questions at issue

The purpose of this bachelor's thesis is to examine and analyze user values and perspectives of the Mojeño indigenous' people and how these have been taken in consideration by the government in the San Ignacio de Mojos – Villa Tunari highway project. To fulfill the purpose of the thesis I will answer the following research questions:

1. How do Mojeño indigenous' representatives perceive and use the TIPNIS?
2. How have the user values and perceptions of the TIPNIS perceived by Mojeño indigenous' representatives been taken into consideration in the negotiations resulting in the Law of the TIPNIS?

1.4 Delimitations

To carry out the thesis a delimitation of the group to be examined in the first research question had to be made. As the subject of the highway was rather sensitive at the time, it was not possible to come in contact with the TIPNIS inhabitants opposing the project as well as those in favor of it, namely the coca farmers, as one would have been perceived as a threat (consider revising this part of the statement to make it clearer why you might be considered a threat). Therefore, this thesis only presents the user values and perspectives of those TIPNIS inhabitants that were at the protest march. A further delimitation had to be made focusing on one of the three indigenous peoples, in this case the Mojeño people. The reason for choosing the Mojeño people is that they have been the most active in the protest movement against the highway in terms of engagement as well as in numbers. The user values of the Yuracaré or Tsimane peoples or the coca-farmers in favor of the road have not been a subject of study in this thesis.

A delimitation also had to be made in regard of the second research question. This study focuses on the Law resulting from the week-long negotiations that took place after the 8th march reached La Paz. They were held between the TIPNIS representatives and the government, including president Evo Morales. Therefore this document can be considered a relevant source for how the user values and perspectives have been taken into consideration as it resulted from direct discussions between the two sides. Also, the Law did not end the

conflict. In the discussions, protests and negotiations that followed the content of the Law has been a key topic of discussion, which makes it an interesting subject of study.

1.5 Disposition

After the first chapter the thesis chapters are structured as follows: in chapter two entitled theory, earlier research and the theoretical framework is presented. This chapter has as its purpose to create an understanding of the theoretical concepts and points of departure in this thesis, summarized in the theoretical framework in the end of the chapter. The third chapter is the method chapter. The methodological approach, the scientific view and the methods used are described. The chosen methods advantages and disadvantages, possible other methods and the study's validity and reliability are discussed. In the end of the chapter a closer description of the research process is made and the ethical considerations are accounted for. The fourth chapter is a country context that provides an understanding of recent political changes, a closer description of the TIPNIS, an account of the recent history of lowland indigenous rights and the San Ignacio de Mojos – Villa Tunari highway project conflict. The country contexts purpose is to situate the reader in the context of where the empirical data has been gathered. Chapter five presents the results of the interviews, document studies and field observations. In the sixth chapter they are analyzed in relation to the theory chapter with special focus on the central aspects presented in the theoretical framework. The seventh chapter is a discussion and conclusion of the thesis and its results.

2. Theory

2.1 Introduction

In order to fulfill the purpose of this thesis, it is profitable for the upcoming analysis to depart from an account of theories. Departing from the theories a theoretical framework based on central theoretical aspects will be outlined. The first research question regards how the Mojeño inhabitant representatives perceive and use the TIPNIS. User values and perspectives are two concepts used in the human geography landscape research. The thesis therefore uses theory on landscape as a basis for the first research question. However, the human geography concept of place is also discussed, as it can be seen as closely related to the understanding of landscape used in this thesis.

As the second research question regards how these user values and perspectives have been taken in consideration in the negotiations following the march against the highway project, theory of political ecology will be used to provide theory on environmental conflicts in a third world context. Also, political ecology will provide theory on the role of the State and the role of indigenous peoples in environmental conflicts.

2.2 Landscape

The word landscape has different meanings in different contexts. Originally in Scandinavia landscape represented a reasonably marked area that was identified by those who lived within its borders. The territorial meaning of it was then broadened to include real or imagined environments (Nationalencyklopedin.se December 2012). The word landscape has different meanings in different languages and its meaning has changed through different periods. Historically in Swedish the word *land* has been tied to “open space” and *skap* was a world for sexual organ. During the medieval times landscape came to mean small societies with their own laws (*landskapslagar*). Therefore, from early on the word came to include social and political relations. In Nordic and Germanic geographical tradition therefore, the concept of landscape is connected to the people living there and their relation to their physical territory that results in social and political areas. However, the Anglophone tradition of landscape has consisted of more of the imagery of a landscape, influenced by the 16th and 17th century paintings of romanticized landscapes. As a result, the Anglophone concept of landscape is significantly different from the Nordic-Germanic concept of landscape (Gren and Hallin 2003, pp. 58-63) (Jones 1991).

Landscape became an important concept within many lines within the modern geography. One was the *physical-material* tradition. It focused on how the physical surface was transformed by natural or cultural forces. Within human geography, the human and cultural interactions were emphasized and how they turned natural landscapes into cultural landscapes. The most famous predecessor is Carl Sauer, who in his article *The morphology of landscape* (1925) assumed that culture formed the natural landscape over time to a landscape affected by human actions such as buildings, roads and other things creating a cultural landscape (Gren & Hallin 2003, pp. 56-63).

Another way of interpreting landscape was by incorporating time into the concept, thereby emphasizing the *historical-geographical* landscape. The landscape and its values are involved in a constant ever-changing process where the humans living in the landscape take part in the shaping of its content. This research came to be very important in Sweden, Germany and France where landscapes were studied as regions where human and nature interplayed as a sort of landscape-evolution. The Swedish human geographer Torsten Hägerstrand is perhaps the most influential scientist within this field of research (Gren and Hallin 2003, pp. 58-63).

Humanistic geography emphasized landscape as something that should have its point of departure in the observer and that landscape was what you could experience with your five senses. Yi-Fu Tuan, Edward Relph and Anne Buttner were among those who wrote the larger and more influential works on how the human being perceived and lived in different places. In this context *meaning* became an important notion (Gren and Hallin 2003, pp. 58-60f). However, the concept of landscape as something that can be perceived through your five senses has been criticized, as it has been seen to be too dependent upon the interpreter. Also, the institutions that form part of the landscape cannot be experienced with your senses. It is nevertheless important to point out, that the physical-material, historical-geographical and humanistic scientific traditions within landscape research has not been replaced one by one throughout time. They should rather be seen as scientific traditions that evolve simultaneously and influence and provide useful critiques of one another (ibid.).

In the 1970's, a feminist critique of human geography emerged. Initially, the critique regarded the fact that human geography had considered humans to be genderless. Later human geography was problematized as a male discourse (Gren & Hallin 2003, pp.149-150). Rose (1993) criticized the way a masculine gaze seemed to be inherent in the Anglophonic interpretation of the scenic and visual landscape. She was one of the leading Anglophonic feminist landscape researchers who argued that the landscape, as a way of seeing, reproduces a masculine power relation. This argument has also received criticism as it regarded landscapes as visual entities or texts rather than real entities. Setten (2003) notes that in Nordic landscape research gendered perspectives have not been given much focus. She suggests that there is a need for an approach that focuses on the “*doings of women rather than being objectified as static 'natural' women*” (Setten 2003:143), but also that instead of just focusing on dichotomies of gender, class or race, instead focusing on identity through practice. That way the dichotomies become re-defined as new categories will emerge when the focus is on what people do and not who they are (ibid.).

Apart from the geographical traditions on how to approach landscape, there is also the question of whether landscape shall be seen as objective or subjective. Depending on which, the research focus changes. Jones (1991) identifies three approaches of studying landscape. If the landscape is approached as objective, the focus will be on the physical as something that can be objectively registered. This way the landscape becomes “everything visible”. If approached as objective, but value laden, there is an objective, “visible”, and understanding of the landscape. However, this objective landscape is seen as holding underlying ideas that some physical objects in the landscape have a certain special right to exist. If approached as subjective, the landscape is a “*mental conception of reality*” (Jones 1991, p. 123). This way,

the perception of landscape will depend on individual expectations and experiences. The landscape is an expression of social values, consisting of symbols. A subjective landscape approach has a humanistic point of departure which is concerned with the meaning of landscape (Jones 1991).

Many landscape scientists (Jones 1991, Setten 2003, Stenseke 2001, Tilley 2006) argue that the landscape is not a neutral space but rather a subjective perception of the same. Depending on the subjective interpretation of the landscape different elements will be found valuable and purposeful creating struggles of meaning between groups and individuals. The interpretation depends on such things as economic interest, cultural beliefs, ethnic affiliation social class or gender. What is perceived as valuable therefore vary between groups, sub-groups but it also changes over time within the group.

What values perceived also depends on what level or scale is being examined. On national societal level, goals are put up to preserve or transform the physical landscape through for example policy or management guidelines (Simmons 2010). The goals are based on the image of said landscape on national level, thus reflecting the subjective values and perceptions. Some values on national level that cannot be observed from a regional or local perspective, i.e. cultural or natural values of importance to more than the local population. Equally true is that local values cannot be observed on national level, i.e. cultural and natural values essential for the local population (Jones 1991, Stenseke 2001). The local values and perspectives have been acquired in a day-to-day setting, where the daily activities are carried out in the physical landscape and form part of the historical context. The physical landscape is a part of the local community. Those who live and work there are key actors in transforming or preserving the landscape, being a part of it and evolving with it. As a result, an important factor in how an individual relate to the local landscape is what she does there and how she lives out her day-to-day life, therefore stressing the importance in investigating those activities and how they are valued and perceived (Setten 2003, Stenseke 2001).

2.3 Place

Place typically refers to a part of the earth's surface that is distinguished from other places around it by the sense of belonging and attachment that makes it unique. Thus as Cresswell states: "*place is a meaningful portion of space*" (Cresswell 2006, p. 357). The concept of place was revived in the 1970's by humanistic geographers. It was drawn from phenomenology and philosophy as a critical response to the in-human nature in spatial science (Cresswell 2006, Gren and Hallin 2003, Tilley 2006). Place studies emphasized place as a concept to capture the meaning, experience, intentionality and emotional bond that humans form and that are important to them. Places are in humanistic geography, but also within the geographic tradition as whole, seen as unique in character. Their uniqueness is built on their difference from their surroundings, including other places. The difference between places can be established in at least three ways. First there is a qualitative difference, which makes us perceive it differently from other places. These differences can be both physical and mentally perceived. Second, the combination of visible material signs make them unique, both in a material sense but also in the depicted geography. Third, is how the places are used, such as the difference between private and public places (Gren and Hallin 2003, pp. 140-145). To sum

up, places have both spatial and temporal characteristics. They are always changing and their qualities can only be understood in relation to other places and on different scales (Tilley 2006).

The most characteristic sign of the humanistic geography's use of place was how it was related to the human *identity*; how place was an integrated part of being a human. The humanistic geographers meant that people create their identities by living and developing meaning in places. It is the everyday routines in places and through movements between places and landscapes that human create their everyday lives. As a result, the physical characteristic creates restrictions on the possibilities of reality and what can be done there (Gren and Hallin 2003:143ff). The *emotional* was an important aspect in humanistic geographers place studies. How people create emotional bonds to the places where they live was referred to as *sense of place*, or *place attachment*. (Cresswell 2006, p. 357, Setten 2006, p. 39).

Place and landscape are both well used concepts in human geography. It is mainly humanistic geographers who have occupied themselves with the relationship between the two concepts. Gunhild Setten (2006) provides analysis of landscape and place and their fusion and exclusion of one another. As previously mentioned there is a difference between the Nordic-Germanic understanding of landscape and the Anglophone understanding. As the concept of landscape has evolved, more focus has been placed on the subjective landscape. It has more and more become closely related to place. Setten's thesis is that the place and landscape concepts are frequently conflated and mixed up in "*on the ground*" (Setten 2006, p. 42) practices. It is not as much about whether we need one term more than the other. Setten concludes that the struggles over the terms landscape and place can be seen as struggles over discourse, credibility and truth-making in a social-cultural setting. The main blame of the polarity of the two concepts is the conceptualization of the "visual". Thus, the Nordic-Germanic understanding of landscape appears not to be significantly different from the Anglophone conception of place (Setten 2006).

2.4 Political Ecology

2.4.1 Introduction

Political Ecology (PE) emerged in the 1970's and formed a new, diverse and trans-disciplinary field. By analyzing how environmental and political forces interacted and mediated social and environmental change and arguing that political, social and environmental relations were intrinsically linked, PE intended to integrate the fields of human and cultural geography with the field of political economy (Adams and Hutton 2007, Bryant 1992, Robbins 2012). The discipline is not built on a set of ideas, a formula or a specific mode of procedure. Instead, the patterns and orientations of the research are what make political ecology coherent. Usually, the characteristics of PE are described as four forms of expressions. PE; firstly, tracks winners and losers to understand the persistent structures of winning and losing, secondly, is narrated using human and nonhuman dialectics, thirdly, starts from, or ends in, a contradiction and fourthly, simultaneously makes claims about the state of nature, and claims about the claims about the state of nature (Robbins 2012, pp. 82-84). The

forms of expression are inscribed in a two element PE framework. The first element identifies contextual sources of environmental change. In a world of increasing political and economic interdependency, national and transnational forces increase the pressure on the environment. The second element of the framework is used to address conflict over access, stressing location-specific struggles over environment. By including historical and current dynamic of conflict the framework can portray how groups “without” power fight for their rights to the environmental bases of their livelihood (Bryant 1992, p. 14).

2.4.2 Environmental conflicts, environmental subjects and emerging identities.

In Political Ecology much research has been devoted to the study of environmental conflicts. It has been shown that what is at first perceived as an environmental conflict has other, deeper lying reasons such as class, gender or ethnicity (Robbins 2012, pp. 199-214). It is a dual form of conflict as it studies both how power of protected areas has been wrested from people living in the area under the pretext of “conservation” and “protection” (Agrawal and Redford 2007, Chatty and Colchester 2002, Rangarajan and Shahabuddin 2006), as well as “development” of areas where the local people has not received any revenues from the development or been allowed to participate in decisions regarding what development is desirable (Nygren 2000, Ribot 1995). Within this field of PE, critics have argued that the groups in an environmental conflict have been described to be stable categories or groups. The critics have maintained that the political identity of these groups is not only the product of cultural or social values but also of the surroundings. If the economy, environment or politics shift, the group will reform or new potential groups with other interests and characteristics will take its place. Also, an important critical viewpoint is that this branch of PE research has been too focused on what causes the environmental conflict and therefore missing out on explaining when a conflict does not happen (Robbins 2012, pp. 199-214).

Another field of study in PE has been the emergence of new environmental subjects and identities. As focus on environment and environmental management has become stronger there has been a creation of opportunities for new, often local, or small sized, groups to present themselves politically. The new groups or movements often make a connection over otherwise divided groups, connecting people of different class, gender, location and ethnicity. The field emerged as critique has been brought up against the sometimes tight frame for some environmental identities, forcing the group to maintain a specific type of discourse or behavior to not fall outside the criteria for their own identity (Robbins 2012, pp. 215-236).

2.4.3 Third World Political Ecology

Where conflicts over the environment and the access to it exist all over the world, the case has been made that there is often a difference between environmental conflicts in third world and first world countries. Because of the high levels of poverty in third world countries the environmental conflicts are primarily livelihood based, where first world environmental conflicts are more often based on esthetic concerns. Political ecologists argue that environmental problems cannot be treated in isolation from the much wider development crisis to which they are inextricably linked. Therefore, political ecologists talk about a “politicized environment”, where the environment is a part of the political and economic

development agenda. The State has played a very important role in such interaction (Bryant and Bailey 1997, pp. 150-154).

The State occupies a dual role as a developer and protector of the environment, the nation and its inhabitants and does therefore play an especially prominent role in studies regarding unequal power relations of actors (Bryant 1992). Due to having the prerequisite of acting in the “national interest” the State exercises power through creation of national policy, seeking different ways to manage the environment and the people within the country’s jurisdiction. Generally speaking, there is very often an imbalance between policy and practice regarding protection and development (Bryant and Bailey 1997, pp. 48-75). Political Ecologists have studied how the State “as a protector” has created policy meant to decrease pressure on the environment through rents or fees. Often the policies have proven useless (Hecht and Cockburn 1989, Hurst 1990). Also, many studies have examined how the State “as a developer” has created economic policy allowing unsustainable environmental practices. Many Third World countries depend on the production and exportation of one or two primary products. The lack of alternative sources of income does not exist leaving them with no choice but to continue with unsustainable practices (Andersson 1990, Hall 1989).

2.4.4 Indigenous peoples in PE

Indigenous peoples have been especially disadvantaged by the spread of “modern development”. The process has in many studies been associated with disrupted livelihoods, cultural genocide and degradation of local environments undermining their way of life (Bryant 1998). For example the large economic development projects in the Brazilian Amazon have led to severe social consequences for the indigenous peoples (Andersson 1990, Bolaños 2011, Coombes et al. 2011). Portraying indigenous peoples as “wise stewards” of the environment that do not participate in the global economy has been a concern and a critique towards all research made on indigenous peoples, including research in PE. Many political ecologists have claimed that there is a common interest between the indigenous peoples who wish to maintain the control of and rights to land, and conservationists who wish to maintain the land for its biodiversity. The common interest is however only to a certain degree as many conservationists see conservation as a mean to preserve all species while the indigenous peoples strive for control of and rights to land to preserve their livelihoods, which are dependent on usage of the natural resources within it (Adam and Hutton 2007). Also criticism has been made on precarious claim of indigenous peoples being a homogenous mass united in poverty and destitution. As any other group they have been shown to have internal power structures, hierarchy and differentiated relations to one another as well as with powerful institutions, enterprises or groups outside the own group. This translates to diverse interests and objectives in their struggle over access to their land. Nevertheless, some groups are more affected than others. Deprivation is not a uniform process (Bryant 1992).

2.5 Theoretical framework

Revising the chapter, theory on landscape can be considered useful to answer the first research question. An infrastructure project will have an effect on the daily lives of those who live where it will be located. Therefore, by comparison of the Nordic-Germanic and Anglophone schools’ concept of landscape, the Nordic-Germanic understanding of the

landscape can be understood as more helpful in this thesis as it considers the landscape to be connected to the people living there and their relation with their physical environment that results in social and political areas.

As the research focus depends on whether the landscape is seen as objective or subjective (Jones 1991) a demarcation of the point of departure in this thesis can be helpful. Landscape scientists who have departed from a subjective landscape view have been concerned with the meaning of landscape. When seen as subjective, the landscape will be interpreted and different elements will be found valuable and purposeful. The interpretation will differ between groups and individuals and change over time between, and in-between, groups and individuals. The interpretations will also differ depending on what scale level is examined. These differences can potentially create struggles. A subjective view of landscape can in this thesis be considered useful as it captures the complexity of values and perspectives that exist between levels and within each level.

In this chapter I have accounted for the concept of place. Setten (2006) concluded that the Nordic-Germanic understanding of landscape appears not to be significantly different from the Anglophone conception of place. Theory on landscape and landscape values and perspectives has influenced the research questions. Therefore, the Nordic-Germanic concept of place is not significantly different from the Anglophone concept of place. As a result, looking into the two concepts have been useful. Anglophonic research has largely influenced Hispanic scientific research on the concepts. Also, in an everyday context in Bolivia, the word place and how it is used, is more closely related to the understanding of landscape in this thesis than the use of the word landscape. Also, place theory has focused on the concept of sense of place. How humans become emotionally attached to places I consider an aspect helpful in this thesis.

Theory on PE can be considered useful to answer the second research question. In political ecology, what is at first perceived as an environmental conflict has been shown to have other deeper lying explanations (Robbins 2012, pp. 199-214). It will be useful to examine whether the environment is at focus in the conflict or if there are other elements that are considered more important. PE has also studied how groups use the environment or environmental management to present themselves politically. The focus on the environment presents them with more political power, however in some cases forcing them to maintain a specific type of discourse not to fall outside their presented and supposed identity (Robbins 2012, pp. 215-226). This risk seems to be particularly large in the case of indigenous peoples as they have often been presented as “wise stewards” of the environment and as a very homogenous group (Adams and Hutton 2007).

To fulfill the requisite of scientific ability, it is required to put the phenomenon I study in a context, which is what this theory chapter should be interpreted as an intent to do.

3. Method

3.1 Introduction

Method can be described as the systematic way through which we examine reality. It is the procedure used to answer the questions at issue. In the following chapter the methodological approach, the research method and methodology is narrated and motivated. This thesis has the form of a case study. Within social sciences a case study gives the researcher the opportunity to do in-depth research about a specific phenomenon, a specific case. It gives the possibility to examine and analyze the processes, relations and experiences of the case. Case studies are about the complexity and specific nature of the case involved; a community, a person, an organization or an event (Bryman 2012, pp. 66-71). In this case study, semi-structured interviews have been carried out to examine the Mojeño indigenous representatives' user values and perspectives of the TIPNIS and a document study has been carried out on the Law negotiated by the TIPNIS representatives and the government. Field observations have been used support and create a triangulation of the material. The interviews were carried out at the 9th march. Field observations and document studies were carried out alongside the field work and study has continued after returning from the 'field'.

3.2 Scientific view and the role of pre-understanding

To conduct scientific research there must first be an understanding of what qualifies as knowledge and how it can be obtained. Two scientific views are hermeneutics and positivism. A dividing line can be drawn between the two, though they are not mutually exclusive. The base of positivism is its conviction that scientific studies can identify secure knowledge. Positivists believe that sources of this knowledge is twofold; the human senses and logic. That is to say that knowledge can be obtained through observing, using our human senses, or through using the logic of the human intellect (Thurén 2007, pp. 16-19). Hermeneutic scientists do not deny the positivist tools ability to obtain knowledge about physics, chemistry or biology. Nevertheless, hermeneutics distinguishes itself by looking to *comprehend* and *interpret* to obtain knowledge (Thurén 2007, pp. 74-97). Gilje and Grimen (2007) explain that human actions and results from human actions possess meaning. Also, the conditions (values, norms etc.) for these actions and results have meaning. To be able to study such phenomenon, using our senses or applying logic is not enough, and therefore the hermeneutic tools of comprehension and interpretation are necessary. As this study is focused on examining and analyzing user values and perspectives and how these are taken in consideration in the highway project process the scientific view of this thesis is hermeneutic.

When using a hermeneutic approach the pre-understanding of the researcher is essential. Here, I maintain that the pre-understanding is helpful to understand a phenomenon. When doing research, you have to start with some kind of idea of what to look for; otherwise the research would not have any sense of direction. It is from the pre-understanding of the phenomenon that the first idea will form (Gilje and Grimen 2007, pp. 179-181). My academic, socio-economic and cultural background will affect my interpretation of the research. This background, my pre-understanding has shaped how I see "reality" and it will as a result affect my comprehension and interpretation. Thus, I maintain that there is no

objectivity in social research. The research questions are colored by my personal experience and what I regard as important to conduct research about. The pre-understanding of a phenomenon can create misinterpretations and should be taken seriously. Therefore I maintain that by being aware of my pre-understanding it will help me reflect upon my way of looking at my research problem, and how my pre-understanding, values and beliefs affect how in interpret my research results. This will help me ensure the study's validity and reliability (Valentine 2005, p. 112).

3.3 Methodological approach

3.3.1 Deductive, abductive or inductive approach

When choosing a methodological approach, the overall objective is to find a way to integrate theory and empirical material. There are usually three modes of procedure that are discussed; the deductive, the abductive and the inductive approach. The deductive method, or approach, aims to test the validity of a theory by testing it in a real setting. Therefore, one starts with an abstract formulation of an object or phenomenon and then tests if there is any correlation between theory and results. An inductive approach means that the researcher starts in reality and through observation and collection of data tries to find correlations between phenomena. In contrary of the deductive method, the inductive method starts in the empirical material and then tries to formulate conclusions and regularities (Bryman 2012, pp. 24-28).

The abductive method is a combination of the deductive and inductive method where the researcher can test the theory on a case and then develop it to become more general. The mode of procedure in this thesis has been abductive, as I have worked alternating between theory and empiric material. (Bryman 2012, p. 401, 709). According to Gren and Hallin (2003, p. 36), the majority of research is conducted in this way. Also, I maintain that before doing an empirical study I have to base it on some sort of theorization of the world that I will study. This thesis has been built in two steps. First I have studied the user values and perspectives, and from those results studied how they have been taken into consideration in negotiations following the 8th march.

3.3.2 Qualitative method

In this study, qualitative research methods have been used in forms of interviews, field observations and document studies. The purpose of qualitative research is to describe a phenomenon and its characteristics where quantitative research, on the other hand, has as its purpose to describe the extent of the phenomenon. In qualitative research, knowledge is obtained through the subject and it is created and situated in a historical and cultural context (Bryman 2012, pp. 686-672). Since I am looking for a nuanced and profound image of the user values and perspectives of the TIPNIS as well as how they have been taken in consideration, I found that a qualitative research method is the most appropriate for this study.

To answer the first question at issue that aims to examine user values and perceptions of Mojeño inhabitants' representatives I have chosen to conduct semi-structured interviews. By using semi-structured interviews the respondents have the possibility to answer the questions any way they like as they are not composed with a set of pre-defined answers to choose from.

That way I believe that a more correct and thorough insight to the user values and perceptions can be achieved. Seven interviews were carried out, but only six used as empirical material (see 3.4 *Selection of respondents*). The interviews had their basis in an interview guide (see Annex 1). The second question that aims to examine how the user values and perspectives have been taken in consideration in the negotiations about the highway held after the 8th march, has been researched by using the results from the first research question and comparing them with document studies of the Law that the negotiations resulted in. Field observations have been used to support both research questions. Through triangulation of the empirical data, the aspiration is to give the following analysis and conclusions more weight and substance.

3.4 Selection

3.4.1 Selection of respondents

Since my research questions regard people's values and perceptions I had to consider the population I was planning to interview. My aim is to capture a wide range of values and perspectives. Since people of different ages and gender have different experiences of life I felt it necessary to interview both women and men, young and old, (Willis 2006, pp. 147-148). My intention was to conduct ten to twelve interviews. The result was seven interviews. Three were with women and four with men and the age ranged from 19 to 54. All of them had some kind of *commission of trust* ranging from Corregidor (community leader) to President of the Subcentral (the president of the corregidores) or President of the march. This is related to the issue of representativeness (ibid.) which concerns to what degree a small number of respondents can be seen as representative for a larger group. I believe it would have been very useful to interview also those who do not hold any kind of commission of trust. However, because of the delicate situation it resulted easier to create a personal contact with the corregidores, presidents and vice-presidents as they were more used to being in contact with foreigners like myself. The difficulty in finding voluntary respondents led to only seven interviews being conducted. Six of seven interviews have been used as material. The seventh interview was with the president of the march. She is Mojeño, but from a neighbor TIOC that also participated in the march. Therefore the interview was excluded from the material. Nevertheless, the interview was carried through as an opportunity to learn more about the march and the lives of indigenous peoples in protected areas in general.

Valentine (2005) talks about the importance of reflecting upon who you chose to interview and what affect that will have on your results. Also you must be aware of yourself and how you, with your certain characteristics will shape the interactions with the informants. In my case I conducted interviews in a Latin American, developing country and I am a young, white woman. I had to be aware of the existing power relationship between me and my informants. Especially important to be aware of for me was the colonial power relation. Because of the long history of having a white oligarchy in power of country's resources, political posts and enterprises, in spite of Bolivia having an indigenous majority, fair skin is often seen as a sign of power, money and influence. Also I had a privileged position in terms of having received more formal education in relation to those I interviewed (Valentine 2005, pp. 150-151). This will affect what is referred to as the issue of accuracy (Willis 2006, p. 150). Although the

respondents had to voluntarily agree to an interview, the fact that I am European and white can make them feel either as if they cannot trust me with the true answer, or that they should exaggerate because of the belief that I might have powerful connections. However, it is important to remember that in most situations and to most questions there is no correct answer. Rather, all answers can be related to their specific context and are therefore partial. What is important is to be able to reflect upon this and that even the research frame itself will affect the material.

3.4.2 Selection of documents

The document I chose to study was the Law of the TIPNIS. In a standard case, a consultation is required to hold before initiating a large infrastructure project and would thus have been the document of choice. However, as no consultation has been conducted of the second track prior to the announcement of the project, and still does not exist today this was not a possibility. Instead, I have chosen the Law that was created in the negotiations between the government and the TIPNIS representatives after the 8th march. I maintain that this document presents the best alternative to tell us how the user values and perceptions have been taken into consideration. The negotiations after the 8th march were the first time the TIPNIS representatives and the government held a fruitful dialogue that resulted in an agreement. Of the initial list of demands only half of them were included in the Law after the negotiations were completed. Reviewing what demands were cut and what demands were included can help shed light on what is considered comprisable from the government's side and as Laws are documents that require interpretation the terms used will affect how a Law is applied and ultimately the practical consequences of it.

3.5 Method discussion and alternative methods

3.5.1 Interviews

In this study, semi-structured interviews have been chosen as a method to examine how the TIPNIS is perceived and used. By using interviews as a method I have a possibility to study the respondent's subjective thoughts, values and perceptions (Bryman 2012, pp. 469-478). When doing interviews the personal contact between the researcher and the respondent is very important. Therefore, I saw an advantage in using a semi-structured interview guide. As the interviews were conducted in Spanish I felt more comfortable using a semi-structured interview guide instead of an unstructured guide. It enabled me to relax more during the interview and focus on the respondent. Also, by using interviews I had the possibility to ask for a further explanation if there was something about an answer that I did not understand. By using an unstructured interview technique the respondents would have been allowed to speak more freely, and that would have enabled an even deeper understanding of the research phenomenon. Nevertheless, unstructured interviews are often hard to compare and deep interviews often have to be more extensive to fulfill their purpose. Compared to a closed answer interview, a semi-structured interview requires more motivation to answer on behalf of the respondent. On the other hand, by using a semi-structured interview with open answers the respondent is not forced into a category that gives an unrepresentative image of him or her (ibid.).

As recommended by Valentine (2005) and Willis (2006) I always started off with more standardized, factual questions to ease the respondent into the situation of being interviewed and later on entering into the deeper, more reflective questions (Valentine 2005, p. 119, Willis 2006, p. 149). The questions were influenced by the interview guide used by Stenseke (2001) in *Landskapets värden – lokala perspektiv och centrala utgångspunkter: om ökad delaktighet i bevarandeplaneringen*. The questions were divided into a set of five blocks (Annex 1). The first block was about the respondent, asking for personal facts such as name and age. The second block was about the home, with questions about dedications, daily activities and family. The third block was about the community. The questions were about the number of families in the community, how they collaborate within and in-between communities and also with their Subcentral. I also asked if there were any governmental or NGO projects in the community. The fourth block was about the view on the community and the TIPNIS as a whole. I asked questions about the nature and the wildlife, the history of the community and the cultural traditions. I followed with questions about what had changed in their way of life and if there had been any changes during the time that they had lived there, but especially during the last 10-20 years. I asked how they would prefer the community and the TIPNIS to be like, along with what they would like to preserve or develop. Then I followed with questions about what the respondent values, takes care of and finds important. I finished the block by asking what it means for the respondent to live in the TIPNIS. The fifth block was about the highway project and the march. I asked what the respondent thought of the project and if the government had consulted them in any way, and if so, how they had been consulted. I asked if the respondent thought the government had taken in consideration their values and perspectives when approving the project and what impact they thought that it would have on the area. When finishing the fifth block a couple of questions usually had formed during the interview, which I asked and ultimately I thanked them for giving me their time.

When performing the interviews I used a dictaphone during the interviews for two reasons. First, in order to be able to listen more attentively to what the respondent was talking about instead of being occupied taking notes. By only writing down if they mentioned anything I wanted to ask more about, I could listen more actively and create a good and comfortable interview situation. Dictaphones can on the other hand make people nervous (Willis 2006, p. 150), and I was therefore very careful to explain why I used it and that I would be the only one listening to the material. When having been informed about the circumstances all respondents agreed to have the interview recorded. Second, I wanted to record the interviews due to the nature of my research questions. Since I was looking for their values and perspectives I felt that recording would prove important to preserve not only what they said but the way in which they said it as well as providing me with accurate quotes. Also, by later on listening to the interviews it would enable me to pick up themes and ideas that I had not noticed while doing the interview.

The initial problem with the interviews was to get them in the first place. During the time I spent in the field, at the march, the government was accusing the marchers of being controlled by foreign NGO's, environmentalists and the opposition parties (Noticias 2012-06-02). Although they knew who I was and what I was doing there it led to a more restrictive

behavior towards me and rendered my search for respondents more difficult. In order to achieve the interviews I therefore had to build a closer personal contact with the respondents in order to get the interview. That way they respondents felt that they had personally verified that I was who I claimed to be. The second problem, which I quickly discovered, was that due to the fact that we were at a protest march of the highway project, the answers tended to return to the highway project when they could. That the special situation has, at some degree, influenced the interviews is highly likely and it is something I have had to take in consideration when processing the results.

3.5.2 Document studies

To examine how user values and perceptions of Mojeño representatives and how they are considered in the negotiations resulting in the Law of the TIPNIS, a document study was made. May (2001, pp. 183-184) points out that a document cannot be read in a detached way. This emphasizes the hermetic character of document studies. The social and political context is a factor of how the document can be interpreted. Documents can be viewed as a medium through which power is expressed and can be interesting for what they leave out as well as what they contain. They have the power to create social reality as well and versions of events. To approach a document this way will allow the researcher to examine how the documents reflect events and opinions. Valentine states that documents can be seen as deposits of social practices or interpretations of social events. They also allow the researcher to draw conclusions about future dreams and aspirations, as well as being able to describe places and social relations in real time. (May 2001, pp. 183-189, Valentine 2005, p. 249). The document I have chosen to study is the Law of the TIPNIS. It was studied by first comparing the eight demands having been cut from the final Law with the demands that were included. Then Law itself was examined with special focus on the meaning of the key words expressed in the Law and compared with the Constitution. Later on, the results from the document study were compared to the results from the interviews and the field observations to see overlaps and exclusions.

3.5.3 Participant Observation

As the collection of empirical material was carried out in the field, observations were used as a complementary method to the semi-structured interviews and document studies. Field observations are used when a researcher wants to investigate the meetings with humans and their surroundings. The researcher herself is who make up the instrument through which data is gathered and therefore require much in terms of reflection and questioning. Observations create a constant, reciprocal relationship between theory and data (Baker 2006, May 2001, pp. 153-154). The field observations can be divided into two parts. The first part was carried out in the cities both before and after spending time at the 9th march. During this time it was possible to observe how the conflict was viewed and portrayed from the outside, by newspapers and TV-channels. The second part of the field observations, which is given most emphasis, are the field observations made at the 9th march. I participated for 14 days, marching roughly 120 kilometers between the communities of Santa Ana de Moseruna and La Embocada and during the time I lived with the march and participated in daily activities while at the same time conducting interviews.

When doing field observation the research can be either overt or covert research. When studying a very dangerous milieu or a very sensitive question there can be a necessity in hiding your purpose, doing so called covert research (Bryman 2012, pp. 440-445). However, although being a sensitive subject, I found no reason for hiding or not disclosing why I was there or what my research was about, rather, being honest about my motives were a question of ethics. Therefore I chose overt participation. What role you assume in the field may also differ depending on what kind of research you are looking to conduct. Several schemes have been designed to describe these different roles. Generally the classifications define the degree of involvement of the researcher in the social world she is researching. (Baker 2006, May 2001, pp. 154-161) As I spent what in comparison with many field observation studies relatively little time in the field the observations have been used to complement the interviews and document studies. My “role” in the field can therefore be categorized as a “Partially Participating Observer” (Bryman 2012, p. 443). This role implies that although participating in the social activities, observation is not my main data source, but one of many.

The data obtained by doing field research is in the form of field notes. The quality of the field notes will have an important effect on the analysis and on the results. As a result, there is a reason to treat field notes systematically. To do this I followed Tim May’s guidelines (2001) on how to achieve *subjective adequacy* in my field notes. The aim of achieving subjective adequacy is according to May obtaining an enhanced understanding and thereby and enhanced validity of the research. He presents a six category scheme for subjective adequacy, the categories being; *time, place, social circumstances, language, intimacy* and *social consensus*.

- Time refers to the time spent at the social scene. E.g. the more time you have spent there the greater adequacy achieved. As time passes the possibility to see how strongly people feel about things and also for the researcher to become closer to the group or community.
- Place refers to how the physical settings have an influence upon actions. Therefore an important part of the notes is to describe the actual physical environment where everything takes place.
- Social circumstances refer to the ways in which the researcher can relate to the group. The more varied the opportunities are the greater will be the understanding as the researcher can observe the relationship between actions and social environments.
- Language refers to both the language spoken but also non-verbal language. The more familiar the researcher is with the language the better she can understand not only the words but the meanings they convey, both about what is being said and not said.
- Intimacy refers to that the greater the personal involvement with the group the more the researcher is able to understand the actions and meanings that the group undertakes.
- Social consensus refers to the capability of the researcher to indicate how the meanings within the culture of the group are employed and shared among people.

(May 2001, pp. 160-164)

As all methods have disadvantages, as do field observations. The data production in participant observation is very dependent upon the researcher herself and her powers of observation and selection. The field notes guidelines for subjective adequacy described above are a way to ensure the reliability of the data production. Participant observation has also received critique for lacking external validity as the findings are local, specific and not generalizable. In this thesis I have drawn on several sources of information, this to achieve what in science is referred to as triangulation (Valentine 2005, p. 112) Triangulation is a common method to ensure the validity and reliability of the research results. The critique towards participant observation can therefore be mitigated through using triangulation.

3.5.4 Alternative methods

Instead of examining one group's user values and perspectives, it would have been interesting to do a comparative study between the indigenous peoples of the TIPNIS and the coca farmers. As the groups are located on opposite sides of the highway project conflict it would have made an interesting comparison. However, as the conflict was going on while I was there, it would not have been possible to contact one group after having been in contact with the other. I was repeatedly told by Bolivians not to go to Polygon 7 as I would be seen as an intruder. And as a delimitation has to be made regarding what group to examine, the study is only on Mojeño indigenous' representatives.

As an alternative method for my semi-structured interviews a document study could have been made. Anthropologists and ethnologists have conducted much research on amazon indigenous peoples and there are several studies on the Mojeño, Yuracaré and Tsimane peoples. That would have enabled a more generalized view of the inhabitant's user values and perspectives as the previous studies have examined certain communities or even one or all three peoples. The disadvantages with a document study would be that there are no studies on user values and perspectives in the way that I have chosen to use the term. Therefore I would have to interpret an already interpreted material. That would lower the validity of the study as the risk of an incorrect interpretation of the material (Bryman 2012, pp. 315-316).

As an alternative method for the document study I could have carried out interviews with responsible ministers and government officials regarding the highway project. This would have been an interesting method to use. I then would have used a structured interview technique with both closed and open answer questions since government officials in general, and Bolivian government officials in particular, have the ability to talk endlessly without answering the actual question. The danger with using closed answer questions would however be that the respondents' answers would be misrepresentative as their preferable answer was not a choice (Bryman 2012, p. 213). Because of the sensitive subject and lack of contacts in the political circuit, my applications for interviews with ministers related to the project or with protected areas and environmental issues were not approved.

3.6 Validity, reliability and generality

In social science, reliability in its original meaning cannot be fulfilled. As reliability is a measurement of the credibility of collected data, it has originally meant that a study of high reliability should present the same results if reproduced in the same mode of procedure.

However, when studying humans, for example by interviewing them, the results can never be replicated in the same way a physics experiment could. Instead to ensure a high reliability the mode of procedure must be carefully explained to create insight into the research process, so that the reader can understand and portray for themselves how the study was carried out. This way, the study can be reliable without being replicable (May 2001, pp. 92-93). To ensure the reliability of this study I have provided a thorough description and explanation of the study's mode of procedure.

Where reliability is about how data was collected, validity is about whether the data coincides with the questions the research aim to answer. If the data is not able to answer the questions at issue, it will not matter how thoroughly and correctly it has been collected. The choice of method is therefore essential to provide the research with a high level of validity, as it will determine the nature of the data (ibid.). The methods chosen in this thesis have been proven to provide a high validity in previous research of this type and are commonly used in research conducted from a hermeneutic scientific view.

The generalizing ability of qualitative research is often considered problematic. Often, case studies are criticized as a method for lacking generality and external validity. As the case study draws on the results from a specific case, it cannot be generalized and the results are only valid in this specific situation (Bryman 2012, p. 406). However, I maintain that this study does not have generalization as an aim, but rather is to engage a single case in analysis through an intense examination.

In scientific research, data is divided into primary and secondary sources, a primary source being material written down by those who were actually there and secondary sources as data already collected and analyzed. By this definition, in this thesis the primary sources are the interviews, the field observations and the Law of the TIPNIS (Valentine 2005, pp. 75-76). However, to understand the empirical data, it is necessary to provide it with a context, which I will do with help of other secondary sources. The National Development Plan, the Constitution and reports from the ministry of Environment and Water have been used as sources for the country context. All documents are either Laws or official reports and I judge their credibility to be high. To explain the events of the 8th march, the contra march and the event leading up to the 9th march I have used reports from NGO's and scientific articles. As the scientific articles are published in scientific journals and the NGO's involved in the protests are considered technical experts in indigenous rights, I judge their credibility to be high. I have also studied books on contemporary political and socio-economic history. Put together, this will provide me with context for my research in three ways; historical-cultural, socio-economic and geographical. My perspective is that the secondary sources can be seen as cultural products (Valentine 2005, pp. 63-64) and therefore reflect underlying objectives and attitudes of the producer of the source. Therefore, it will be necessary to use a critical perspective when I am using my chosen secondary sources.

3.7 The research process

In this section I have chosen to give an account of the time I spent in the field. Usually, a description this detailed would not be required. However, during the stay I came upon

setbacks that required me to change my initial research plan. Therefore I maintain that an account of the research process might prove useful for this thesis. Also, it might prove helpful for those students looking to conduct similar research, as a practical account of doing a minor field study.

When arriving in Bolivia the first week of April, the initial plan was to enter the TIPNIS and perform the interviews about the values and perspectives in a community, which would be considered a more common way in conducting this research. Nevertheless, when arriving in Bolivia the date of departure for the second protest march was announced and rendered it impossible to enter before the march departed. To enter the approval of the TIPNIS Subcentral president and the Corregidor of the community intended to do research in is required. Since those who could give me access to the TIPNIS would be at the march I decided to conduct my interviews there instead as that would be my chance to get the interviews. When doing research in a specific environment, or on a specific group, to gain access to the community or group is essential. Some communities or groups are more guarded than others and access often has to be negotiated though what literature on field observations refer to as “gatekeepers”. Gatekeepers are the people who can give you access to your community or group (Willis 2006, pp. 147-148). In my case an NGO worker who had been involved in the previous march and had worked for a long time with indigenous organizations in the area, provided me with access to the march. When having gained access it took me three hours from the “okay” to leaving for the march. But it took me a month to get the access.

During that month I also tried getting in contact with ministers involved in the highway project as well as with the ministers of the department of environment and water and the department of development. Those attempts did not bear fruit. To get an interview with important ministers and government officials it is usually required a much elaborate contact network. Otherwise it is only possible if you are able to fill out all the forms of applications required and then hope to get lucky.

I spent two weeks at the march between the 10th and 24th of May. During that period I participated in the march like everyone else, marching, camping and participating in everyday activities such as cooking, attending march meetings or watching people play soccer while small-talking to the others watching. The interviews were carried out usually some time before or after lunch, as that was the time when people were just hanging out at the camp site. It was however hard to predict if a meeting was to be called or if something of importance turned up that would require people’s assistance. As previously described, conducting interviews proved to be a more difficult task than expected due to the political climate. Nevertheless, semi-structured interviews turned out to be successful in terms of length. Longer interviews would not have been possible as they would easily have been interrupted. On the 24th I left the march to return to La Paz to complement any documents necessary before returning to Sweden.

3.8 Ethics

When conducting research it is important to consider the ethics in the specific case. To ensure that I would not commit ethical transgressions I chose to use the ethical principles described by Bryman (2012, p. 130); 1. Whether there is harm to participants. 2. Whether there is a lack of informed consent. 3. Whether there is an invasion of privacy. 4. Whether deception is involved. By using these guidelines I could ensure the ethics of my research. When arriving at the march I made sure that the participants at the march knew who I was and what I was doing there, explaining that I was not involved in any organization or group that might have an own agenda in the conflict. I explained that I was a university student from Europe writing my bachelor's thesis. Before interviewing I ensured that the respondent was well informed about what my interview was about and that he or she had consented to do the interview. Since the highway project is a sensitive subject I have chosen to keep the names of the respondents anonymous. Also, since we were at a camp site it would have been easy for me to find people just by "knocking on their tent". However, as a respect of privacy I chose to only approach possible respondents after meetings or meals when we were in the common areas of the camp. By taking these precautionary steps I made sure that I did not harm the participants by (1)keeping their anonymity, (2)ensuring that they had had given me an informed consent before interviewing them, (3)respecting their privacy and (4)telling the truth about who I was and what I was doing there.

4. Country context

4.1 Introduction

To understand a phenomenon, it must be put in its specific context. This chapter will provide an account of the political changes that have taken place in Bolivia during the last decade. It will provide a review of the most important legislative and policy documents that are important to the study's purpose; the 2009 Constitution and the National Development Plan. The TIPNIS will be described more closely. An account of the 8th march leading to the creation of the Law of the TIPNIS will be made together with a description of the marches for indigenous rights that have taken place in Bolivia. Together this will form a political, geographic, socio-economic, historical and cultural context for the results and analysis of this thesis.

4.2 The “post-neoliberal” government of Evo Morales

After a couple of turbulent years in the beginning of the 21st century, Evo Morales, the leader of the coca growers union emerged as Bolivia's new president in 2005. He brought a new seemingly, “post-neoliberal”, indigenous, environmentalist agenda to the table and has been known as the green, indigenous president in the international scene. In 2009 he was re-elected with even larger popular support (Klein 2011, Radhuber 2012). As a part of the “post-neoliberal” agenda the country's natural gas findings were nationalized soon after Morales having won his first election. The finances received by the exportation of the country's natural resources have during the following years turned the government into an important financial actor in the national economy, using its incomes to support, among other things, poverty-relieving projects and large investment in the country's infrastructure. In spite of what seemed as a new “green indigenous” era, Morales have continued the extractivist politics of his predecessors. This while at the same time continuing the discourse of “*buen vivir*” (good living) in harmony with nature (Laing 2012). Seven years into his regime it is clear to many that the country has not quite been able to break its role as a primary product producer in the international context. Morales is being accused of continuing the colonialist structure that has marked the country also after declaring independence from the Spanish colonial power in 1825. The phenomenon has been referred to as internal colonialism (Klein 2011, Laing 2012, Radhuber 2012)

Together with the re-nationalization of natural resources Morales installed an assembly to re-write the country's 1994 Constitution. In 2009 the new Constitution was voted through. It stated that the country is to move in a process towards a “decolonized” and more democratic State, able to respond to the great number of societies and political and economic organizations that the country holds. The pre-colonial indigenous peoples were given the right to define themselves as a nation. Although not recognizing the exact number of peoples and nations in Bolivia the Constitution recognizes 36 official languages. The Constitution takes a greater hold on indigenous rights than the previous Constitutions. Article 2, the entire fourth chapter (articles 30 to 32), 289-90, 293, 352, 385, 394-5, 403 of the Constitution are specifically devoted to the rights of the indigenous peoples of Bolivia. The Constitution as a whole is heavily influenced by the worldview of the indigenous peoples opting for a “*good*

living in harmony with nature” and even talks about *Mother Nature* (CPE 2009, p. 3). However, at the same time the Constitution and the National Development Plan present a conflict, between the legal framework and policy regarding natural resource extraction goals, and the legal framework regarding indigenous rights. The hierarchical order is in favor of an extractivist development stretching the extraction rights or even ignoring indigenous rights in order to keep extracting (Radhuber 2012).

The National Development Plan (NDP) used as reference in this thesis is for the period of 2010-2015 and is in the most, a continuation of the 2006-2010 NDP. The NDP is supposed to describe more closely the mode of procedure in which the country will live up to its new Constitution. The cultural diversity forms an important part of the NDP and is expressed in the following way:

“The cultural diversity concludes; the respect between peoples and the practice of cultural diversity, the different identities, beliefs, expressions and values – the heart of the culture of life, which promote the original and indigenous peoples of Bolivia; the acceptance and recognition of the different relations between human beings, their forms of producing knowledge and production. This will allow for the pacific coexistence and integration for a better equilibrated world, denying the existence of one sole culture, modern and superior to the others.”

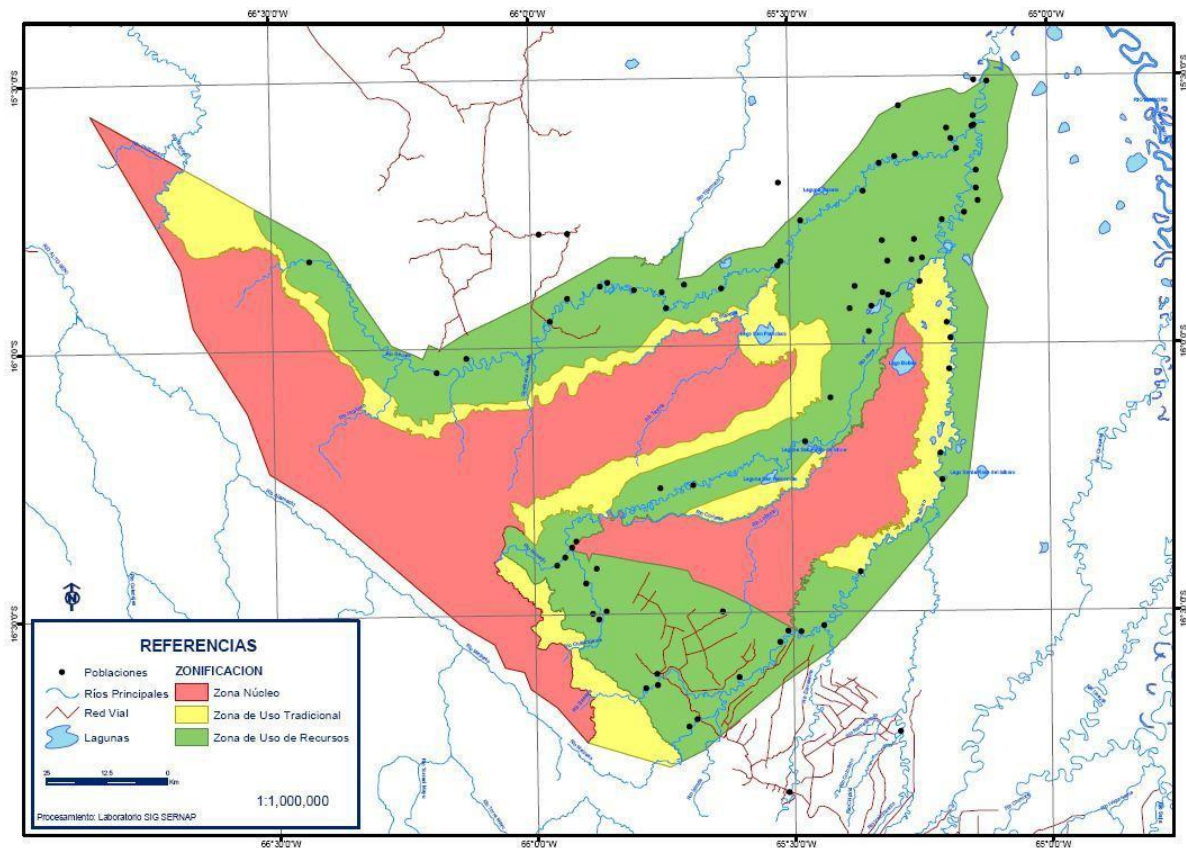
(NDP 2009, p. 56)

The Plan presents a four pillar strategy for development of the country; *Democratic, Plurinational and Autonomous Bolivia, Productive Bolivia, Dignified Bolivia and Independent Bolivia*. The first pillar regards the consolidation of the Plurinational State, through which the people can execute social and communitarian powers and are responsible for the decisions regarding their own development and the country’s. The second pillar regards the economic development of the country. The third pillar regards the reduction of inequalities created by former socio-economic and socio-cultural structures in the country. The fourth pillar regards the exterior politics of the State that are supposed to create geopolitical regional alliances in order to protect their natural resources (NDP 2009, pp. 45-56). Included in the second pillar, *Productive Bolivia* is the development of the country’s infrastructure and most importantly, road network. The aim is to create a *“Road Revolution”*. Through the strengthening of five transnational terrestrial corridors, the connections between the country’s departmental capitals and between Bolivia and its adjacent countries, the social and economic development will increase. A set of smaller road projects are also introduced to improve the connections between the corridors. The San Ignacio de Mojos - Villa Tunari highway is one of those projects (NDP 2009, p. 93).

4.3 The Indigenous Territory and National Park Isiboro Sécure (TIPNIS)

The TIPNIS is both a national park and an indigenous territory. The national park was established by the Decree Law 07401 on November 22, 1965. It was recognized as an indigenous territory September 24, 1990 by a Supreme Decree as a result of the first indigenous march carried out earlier the same year. Through the 2009 Constitution, the

TIPNIS is now a territory of a communal, co-owned and inalienable character, a TIOC (CPE 2009 article 289).



5. The TIPNIS management zones. Source: Escuela Nacional de Información Política 2012-12-31

In a regional but also national context the TIPNIS environment is very important. The area regulates, distributes and stores the hydric flows of the foothills and the Amazonia. It is one of the mega diverse areas of Bolivia and has a very well preserved environment of typical foothills and grass plains. Through the National Service of Protected Areas (SERNAP) the area has been divided into three management zones (see map 5.) as a part of the requirement of all protected areas to have a management plan. The zone process has been carried through in cooperation with the indigenous peoples of the TIPNIS as its purpose is to maintain both the socio-cultural productivity and the ecological and biological diversity. Occupational history of the indigenous peoples, probable future occupation and potentiality of the natural environment has been taken into consideration. The three zones are; the nucleus zone, the traditional use zone and the resource utility zone. The nucleus zone is intended not to be submitted to any kind of use, as it is not either by the indigenous peoples. Direct exploitation of natural resources, tourism, recreation and education is prohibited. The zone of traditional use is intended to be used through low impact, traditional practices of the indigenous peoples. Public use for education, low impact infrastructure and scientific research has to be regulated but is allowed. In the zone of resource utility, use of natural resources is allowed within the limits of the ecosystem and the regulations for protected areas. Ecological tourism,

environmental recreation and education and scientific investigations are allowed (SERNAP 2010, pp. 100-132).

The TIPNIS is the key habitat for the indigenous peoples Mojeño, Yuracaré and Tsimane, whose occupational system is built on a pattern of spatial occupation that combines stable communities with spatial mobility, taking advantage of the yearly flooding of the region. (SERNAP 2011b, pp. 30-35). The population in the TIPNIS is 12 388, living in 64 communities: 4 228 of the Mojeño people; 6 351 of the Tsimane people and 1 809 from the Yuracaré people (Fundación Tierra 2010, p. 269). The economic model of the Mojeño, Yuracaré and Tsimane is based on family-based economies combined with communal economies. During the latest years the familiar economy has become somewhat stronger than the communal, and a small integration into the market economy has emerged. Still, the major source of monetary income is from selling manual labor to the coca farmers in the south, and the livestock proprietors who operate within the north of TIPNIS (SERNAP 2011, pp. 22-25).

Institutional presence in the TIPNIS is low. At the moment two indigenous subcentrals exist; (TIPNIS Subcentral and Subcentral del Sécre) and CONISUR, the coca growers' union. Each of them has their own area of influence and "their communities". The level of coordination is low and also the co-management of the TIPNIS that is supposed to be between SERNAP and Subcentral TIPNIS is practically none-existent (SERNAP 2011b, pp. 181-183).

Although recognized as an indigenous territory of origin, it is at the same time a space where two different models of development are taking place. In the southern parts of the TIPNIS, coca farmers have colonized parts of the area. The settlements of the coca farmer have little by little entered the TIPNIS from the Chapare region of Cochabamba. During the last three decades Quechua and Aymara indigenous have migrated from the western highlands of Bolivia to the tropical lowland. The area of coca farmer settlements is referred to as Polygon 7. During the land sanitation process concluded in 2009, Polygon 7 was re-recognized as private land of the coca farmers. Polygon 7 therefore forms part of the protected area but not of the TIOC (SERNAP 2011b, pp. 187-194). At the present day, a minority of the TIPNIS communities, those that are located in Polygon 7, have left the communitarian ownership and become individual land owners like the Quechua and Aymara coca farmers. The only exception in Polygon 7 is the community of Santísima Trinidad, which still remains a part of the TIPNIS preserving their communitarian ownership traditions. The TIPNIS inhabitants who still maintain their traditional lifestyle often refer to the Quechuas and Aymaras as *colonizers* as they are perceived as unwelcome neighbors in the area. Polygon 7 is differentiated from the TIOC TIPNIS by what is referred to as the red line. This line was declared as a frontier beyond which the coca farmers are not allowed to settle. Nevertheless encroachment of the TIOC is still occurring (ibid, Webber 2012).

4.4 Indigenous marches for rights and the 8th march

The TIPNIS indigenous peoples have played an important part in the latest decades of recuperation of the rights of lowland indigenous peoples. The first indigenous march, the march for territory and dignity in 1990, resulted in the TIPNIS being declared an indigenous territory and it was consolidated in 1997. As a result of the 1st march, Bolivia later adopted the

169 Convention of the International Labor Organization (ILO) regarding indigenous rights. The rights would later be inscribed in the 2009 Constitution (Radhuber 2012).

Between 1990 and 2010 six other marches took place. Where the highland indigenous often favors roadblocks, the indigenous of the amazon basin usually choose marches as a protest practice (Radhuber 2012). In late 2010, the highway project of San Ignacio de Mojos - Villa Tunari was announced ready for construction. The Brazilian company OAS had already been contracted as Construction Company and the Brazilian National Bank for Economic and Social Development (BNDS) had agreed to finance 80 % of the project (americaeconomia.com 2012-04-10). The TIPNIS indigenous chose to march in protest. The reason was that the Constitution grants indigenous peoples the right to be consulted through their own institutions, prior to deciding on any legislative or administrative measures that may affect them (CPE 2009: articles 2 and 30). Inscribed also in Law 1333 of the Environment, as a part of the regulations regarding prevention and environmental control , article 162 states that a public consultation should be held to take in consideration the observations, suggestions and reservations of the affected public (Law 1333). As they had not been granted this right, and because of preoccupation of their territorial rights being disregarded, it was decided that a protest march would be held (Correo del Sur 2012-03-20).

The 8th march left the TIPNIS on August 15th and reached La Paz on October 19th. During the more than two month long journey the march gathered support from environmentalists, NGO's and human rights groups in the cities. On September 24th there was a confrontation with the national police and several were injured. The confrontation led to even greater support of the march and the confrontations made the conflict internationally known. After arriving in La Paz the marchers made camp outside the presidential palace. After a week the negotiations resulted in the Law of the TIPNIS (latinamerika.nu 2011-10-25). In the wake of Law of the TIPNIS one term used in the Law came to be much debated. The term was "inviolable" and the repercussion of what this term meant and was to be interpreted as, made the relation between the government and the TIPNIS representatives frosty. In protest of Law of TIPNIS, the coca farmers union CONISUR, decided to hold a march in favor of the highway. Reaching La Paz on the 1st of February, CONISUR representatives sat down with the government and the negotiations resulted in a new Law, Law 222. Law 222 re-opened the possibility of the highway construction through the declaration of consultation that was meant to be held (latinamerika.nu 2012-02-01). In response of what the TIPNIS indigenous perceived as a new violation of their rights, and the Law of the TIPNIS, the 9th march was held between the 27th of April and the 27th of June in 2012. The main demand was to cancel the plans of a consultation as the Law 222 has included the coca farmers in the consultation process. However, the 9th march did not reach the same successes as the 8th march. The consultation process, where the term "inviolable" is also being discussed, is currently being processed (latinamerika.nu 2012-11-18).

5. Results

5.1 How do Mojeño indigenous' representatives perceive and use the TIPNIS?

5.1.1 How do they use it?

The description of day-to-day life and the activities carried out in the TIPNIS are fairly consistent in all interviews. The main focus is on activities for self-subsistence. Agriculture, fishing and hunting are described as daily activities by all respondents. Half of the respondents also mention collection of citric fruits and other natural goods in the forest. Two of the respondents describe farming activities. Community projects are mentioned by two of the respondents. They are described as small scale projects and the two most common types are cultivating native chocolate trees and cayman hunting. One respondent mentioned that some communities used to have small tourism projects. The projects are described as a way to create incomes and possibilities for development of the communities. What all respondents have in common is that they describe the activities as being carried out in the family or in the community as a whole. None of the activities are described as something you do individually.

One respondent describes collection of medicinal plants as an activity. The respondent works in health care, and is more involved in the use of medicinal plants. In general, the use and knowledge of medicinal plants is either described as something rare and disappearing, or is not mentioned at all. Three respondents mention it, saying that there are only a couple of wise elders who still know how to practice it and that it is a disappearing knowledge. One respondent explains that during the last decades modern medicine has become common in the communities. Now there are infirmary posts with trained personnel in almost every community, some have micro hospitals. As a result, today less traditional medicine is used according to two of the respondents.

Half of the respondents speak about transportation. They do it in relation to the highway project. They say that in the TIPNIS the most common way of navigation is by boat on the rivers. According to them, roads are not very functional due to the seasonal flooding and the location of the communities. The remaining three, do not mention the mode of transportation in the TIPNIS.

Three of the respondents reflect upon the issue of the manner in which they use their land. For two of them, the fact that they are living close to nature is directly related to how they use it. They claim that they live responsibly and in harmony with it, because they live “in it”.

“The TIPNIS communities are more responsible when it comes to natural resources and the conservation of the environment. That is to say that they aren't much for exploiting the animals, the fish or the forest. Everything is maintained by daily consumption.”

The third respondent describes their use as something they actively have a responsibility to reflect on, that they have to be careful not to damage or exploit the environment. The

remaining three respondents do not reflect upon the character of their activities in relation to their environment and surrounding nature.

All respondents mention on many occasions in their interviews, that they live a “traditional way of life”. This way of life regards both what they refer to as cultural and religious traditions as well as their activities of self-subsistence. Five of the respondents speak about the traditional festivities, where each festivity has its own music and dances. This is something that they emphasize as an important part of the day-to-day life. One respondent however, speaks of traditions in a more elusive way. The cultural traditions are in this case described as something that exist but in comparison with the other respondents’ answers no closer explanation is made.

5.1.2 How do they perceive it?

The respondents perceive the TIPNIS as endangered, but to different extents. The threats are perceived as stemming from outside of the TIPNIS, threatening them as an entity. One of the respondents is from Santísima Trinidad in Polygon 7. As the respondent living closest to people with another lifestyle, the perception of threat is the highest of all respondents. The sensation of threat is described as very tangible by the respondent. Threats are in the form of the imposition of outside influences that could have a detrimental effect on their traditions and customs. For the five other respondents the threats perceived are seen as more remote. They are also perceived as something that has not happened yet but might in the near future. All respondents perceive the highway as a threat. Three of the respondents mention the coca farmers as a perceived threat.

Four of the respondents perceive a loss of cultural traditions. The loss is described as a slow, almost unnoticeable change that they cannot put their finger on.

“No one knows why. The years pass and those who practice passes away and no one any longer knows how to practice the customs. It stays there and never comes back.”

Various and somewhat opposing statements are made about their cultural traditions. By four of the respondents they are perceived as maintained until now, yet at the same time fragile. One out of four, perceives the loss of cultural tradition as more alarming than the others. To the respondent their culture and cultural traditions are described as a way through which people can strengthen themselves. This respondent also perceives there to be a trend among the younger inhabitants to leave the TIPNIS for further studies and then not come back. The fifth respondent does not perceive the cultural traditions as being lost, however as having changed. In this case the change is not perceived as something negative, but as a part of life evolving. Change and maintenance of cultural traditions are not mutually exclusive, according to the respondent. The sixth respondent has a different perception.

“It’s [the custom] the inheritance of the ancestors. It doesn’t change because now, if we change our customs we change religion as well. Our custom is the only one. We can’t change into another way of being.”

According to the respondent, there is no loss, or change, at all. Standing out from the rest, the respondent claims it to be impossible for them to change their way of life.

In the interviews, four respondents use the concepts of “loma santa” and “casa grande”. The concepts were not included in the interview guide. Yet as they were commonly used, the respondents were asked to explain them further:

“The loma santa is supposedly where they [the ancestors] searched for a place without illnesses and preoccupations.”

“The loma santa is the patrimonial territory where we have lived for hundreds of years.”

“The casa grande is where all the indigenous peoples like us have chosen to be...[] it is the house of the indigenous peoples and the nature.”

The same respondents were then asked if there is any difference between the two concepts. The difference is explained either as “loma santa” being the older term and “casa grande” the newer, or as “casa grande” being a little more extensive in character. From the quotes of the respondents the difference can be read as “loma santa” being of a more religious or mythical character whereas “casa grande” is more related to the practical day-to-day life and their distinction from other people.

“They are more or less the same, but casa grande goes a little further, there is a difference in how you use them.”

The perception of the TIPNIS as their “loma santa” or “casa grande” is used by the five respondents as an argument to why the TIPNIS is inherently theirs. Related to the concepts of “loma santa” and “casa grande”, four respondents mention their view of the TIPNIS as being the land inherited from their ancestors. According to the four respondents, seeing the TIPNIS as inherited by their ancestors is a demonstration of the area as being the most resource rich area in Bolivia, otherwise the ancestors would not have chosen it. One respondent, the youngest, does not use the concepts. Instead the concept of “pulmón verde”, green lung, is used. It is a term used by environmentalists and the media to describe the Amazon. On one occasion the second youngest respondent uses the same term. One respondent uses none of the concepts.

Three respondents perceive themselves as a part of nature in the way that they see themselves as coexisting with it in harmony. Only one respondent perceives their relation with the natural environment as possibly problematic. According to the respondent they have a responsibility to take care of the TIPNIS and not over-use it. The remaining five respondents do not reflect on this at any point. Instead, another view is expressed. One respondent, when asked if an increase of cultivated land might be less sustainable, portrays a perception of their practices being sustainable no matter what.

“I believe that it will not have an effect... If anything the tree plantations will help nourish the land. It doesn't affect anything around it. It will be on the mountainside.”

Concerns about the environment in general terms, such as preserving ecological functions and biodiversity, are only expressed by one respondent, the same respondent that perceived there to be a responsibility from their side to care for the environment. By two respondents the environment is not mentioned. Three respondents perceive the TIPNIS to be under a risk of contamination if people that are not from the TIPNIS would continue to encroach, particularly if the highway is to be built. However, the concern of contamination is almost only expressed in relation to water reserves and rivers. By one respondent contamination is also mentioned as a characteristic of food and goods outside of the TIPNIS, in comparison with the TIPNIS, which is pure.

“Here we have our own marketplace, it is better than in Trinidad because it is not contaminated. Here we have fish and meat. If we want fruit, we have fruit. The best marketplace, that’s what we have.”

The largest difference between the respondents is shown when they are asked about how they see the future. Some are very optimistic and some are very negative. One respondent believes that everything will stay the same as it always has been. One respondent states that they cannot tell about the future, as it will be determined by the highway. Two respondents perceive the future as optimistic, expressing the thought that there will be a growth in population, production and development of the communities. Two of the respondents are very pessimistic. One of them perceives their independence to being lost resulting from the continuing coca farmer encroachments and one respondent is pessimistic about the future of the TIPNIS as a TIOC.

“I believe that as long as there are leaders who fight, not only for respect but for the existence of the indigenous peoples, and as long as the government fulfills its responsibilities, TIPNIS will remain. But the moment that there are leaders who are not interested in nature, biodiversity or the life of our people, the TIPNIS will no longer stay a national park or indigenous territory.”

One perception, that was not asked about but was spoken about in four of the interviews, was the perception of the two other indigenous peoples living in TIPNIS; the Yuracaré and the Tsimane. Three of the respondents perceived themselves as a people different from the Yuracaré and Tsimane. The difference was perceived as them being superior; as they fought harder for their territorial rights and that they had preserved their traditional way of life in a better way.

“The Mojeños we know how to live. The Yuracarés, the Tsimanes they live in another way...[] They let themselves be convinced and leave their territory. Is that good government? They let the government give them boat motors.”

Although the three respondents expressed this negative view, one respondent said that it was not entirely their fault [the Yuracarés]. They had been fooled by the government and the coca farmers. The fourth respondent that spoke of this difference expressed it in a more diplomatic way.

“They practice their culture [the indigenous peoples]. The Yuracaré people, the Tsimane people, the Mojeño people have their own customs. But they respect each other. The culture is from the beginning of their existence.”

5.1.3 What are the user values?

From the uses and perceptions of the TIPNIS there are certain characteristics, from which the most appreciated user values can be distinguished. They are; communitarian ownership and lifestyle, self-sufficiency, continued development, access to natural resources and the TIPNIS as a free zone where they as a people can remain undisturbed. In other words, they seek autonomy from external pressures and influences, including the State.

The user value of communitarian ownership is the possibility to move freely within the borders of the TIPNIS and its communities as well as being able to leave it for a time period and then return. Because of this, the idea of private landholding is seen as something negative and undesirable. If land was to be individual, the possibility to move within the TIPNIS as well as spending periods of time outside the TIPNIS would be impossible, as the land would have to be sold when moving. The communitarian ownership valued as a means to freedom. The communitarian lifestyle is related to the communitarian ownership. Activities of self-subsistence, fishing, agriculture and hunting is carried out in family or in the community as a whole. The traditional festivities are carried out in the community and the sharing of everyday life is seen as valuable.

“What I value is our culture, our religion and all that we experience together.”

Self-sufficiency is a user value related to the ability to live off the natural resources that exist within the boundaries of the TIPNIS. This way, the inhabitants do not have to worry about economic resources in the same way they would have to in a city. As the respondents perceive the imposition of foreign customs as a threat, to be self-sufficient is a part of maintaining the traditional lifestyle. The user value of self-sufficiency is closely related to the value of access to natural resources, especially the easy access to them. Four of the respondents speak of nature and the resources as just being there, right in front of them with large amounts of fish, trees or water. Although not expressed in the exact terms the perception of having unlimited access to the TIPNIS nature and resources seem to provide respondents with a sense of well-being and satisfaction of life.

All respondents see themselves continuing to live in the TIPNIS. The environment and its resources are considered having user values, as they are necessary to maintain and continue developing their day-to-day life. Although portraying a large difference in the perception of the future, none of the respondents expresses a wish for things to return to how they used to be. Rather, although only two respondents mentioning development as something they specifically want, five respondents state in the interviews how things have changed for the better, especially in terms of education, indigenous rights and health care. Two respondents say that they have received more rights, only that the highway project is a low point. Therefore, the highway project may be seen as having a large impact on how the future is perceived.

The foremost user value of the TIPNIS is that it is seen as the territory where they can exist freely as an indigenous people. Through the expressions of the TIPNIS as the “loma santa” or “casa grande”, the TIPNIS is perceived as unique, and with that, highly valued. Although two respondents do not use the terms “loma santa” and “casa grande”, all six respondents express TIPNIS as the land where they can exist as an indigenous peoples. Without it they can no longer live accordingly to their traditions and ways of life.

“We value it [the land] because it is only on the earth that we can put out feet. It has to be defended because without it we cannot survive.”

5.2 How have the user values and perceptions of TIPNIS perceived by the Mojeño inhabitants representatives been taken in consideration in the negotiations following the 8th march?

5.2.1 The Law of TIPNIS

The document examined is the Law of the TIPNIS, or as is its full name, the *Law in protection of the Indigenous Territory and National Park Isiboro Sécuré – TIPNIS*. The Law was elaborated between the representatives of the 8th march and the government after the march had reached La Paz. Of the 16 demands presented by the indigenous representatives when arriving at the march, eight came to be included in the Law. The remaining eight were not included in the final result. Five demands did not concern the TIPNIS in particular, but other indigenous peoples or territories. Three demands were denied due to lack of funds; free access and use of communication media, the immediate completion of the Indigenous University of Bolivia (UIB) and the inclusion of the TIPNIS indigenous as co-beneficiaries of the Bolivian Universal Health Security. The Law is five articles long, of which the first article has three paragraphs. The Law was voted through by the Constitutional assembly on October 24th 2011.

The *first article’s first paragraph* declares the TIPNIS as a socio-cultural patrimony and zone for ecological preservation, historical reproduction and the habitat of the three indigenous peoples Mojeño, Yuracaré and Tsimane, whose protection and conservation is of foremost interest of the Bolivian State. The *first article second paragraph* declares that in the legal mark of the 30th, 385th, 394th and 403rd articles of the CPE and other applicable norms, the TIPNIS is ratified as an indigenous territory of the Mojeño, Yuracaré and Tsimane peoples of irreversible, inalienable, indivisible, indispensable, “unconfiscateable” character as well as a protected area of national interest. These characteristics defining the TIPNIS are quoted from the 394th article regarding indigenous territories. Through the 30th article, Law of the TIPNIS is to fulfill the 18 specifically stated rights of indigenous peoples. Three of those specifically stated rights are pluri-lingual education, free and universal healthcare and availability and free use of communication media, all in respect of the indigenous peoples’ traditional practices. A fourth right stated is the right to prior consultation in case a legislative or administrative decision could have an effect on them. The 385th article regulates the protocol of areas that are both indigenous territories and protected areas. They are according to the 385th article supposed to be co-managed, respecting the characteristics of each category. Through the 403rd article the indigenous peoples are exclusively entitled to the renewable resources within their

area, and the right to prior consultation regarding non-renewable resources within the area. A TIOC is defined as composed of areas of production, use and conservation of natural resources and spaces of social, spiritual and cultural reproduction. Resulting, *the first article second paragraph* includes all these constitutional rights. *The first article third paragraph* states that likewise, the TIPNIS is additionally declared an “inviolable” zone. As “inviolable” was a new term, the full meaning of the word had not been specified when approving the Law. Somewhat generalizing, two meanings can be discerned. The term could either be described meaning it in a direct and metaphysical way, making the TIPNIS “untouchable” even for those living there. Or, the term could be considered as “inviolable” considering outside forces like enterprises, the non-TIPNIS indigenous and oil prospectors. Being undefined the term has created large discussions in the aftermath of the approval of the Law. *The second article* declares that, as the TIPNIS is both an indigenous territory and a protected area, it provides (as guarantor of conservation, sustainability and integrity of life supporting systems) the functionality of the ecological cycles and natural processes in harmonic coexistence with Mother Nature and her rights. *The third article* declares that the San Ignacio de Mojos – Villa Tunari highway, and any other roads or highways, will not cross the TIPNIS. *The fourth article* states that because of the “inviolable” character of the TIPNIS, corresponding legal actions can be adopted to reverse, cancel and stop acts that would transgress this judicial state. In accordance to the first article of the Law, as it has been declared an “inviolable” territory, *the fifth article* states that the settlements and occupations promoted and protagonized by people, other than the owners of the TIPNIS, are declared illegal and will be submitted to removal by public force, if deemed necessary by administrative and concerned authorities. From examining the Law of the TIPNIS in total, one term can be considered key for how the Law will be interpreted. It is the term “inviolable”. First stated in the first article third paragraph the term is then used as foundation for the fourth and fifth articles. “Inviolable” is a term without established practice, it is yet a term that will have great impact of further decisions and definitions of activities in the TIPNIS. The debate that followed the declaration of the Law therefore came to surround the meaning of the term “inviolable”.

5.2.2 How have the user values and perspectives been taken in consideration in the Law of the TIPNIS?

The results of the first research question suggested that the most important user values were; communitarian ownership and lifestyle, self-sufficiency, continued development, access to natural resources and the TIPNIS as a free zone where they as an indigenous people can live undisturbed.

Communitarian ownership was identified as a user value by the respondents. In the Law of the TIPNIS communitarian ownership is regulated in the first paragraph of the first article. In the paragraph the TIPNIS is declared the patrimony of the Mojeños, Yuracarés and Tsimanes and by also expressing the question of the patrimony as of “foremost interest” to the Bolivian state it suggests that this value has been well represented in the negotiations.

Communitarian lifestyle was also identified by the respondents as a user value. Their way of life is not specifically regulated in any of the articles in the Law of the TIPNIS. From the first

article first paragraph one can read the protection of the indigenous peoples and their habitat is important to the state. Since the communitarian lifestyle is valuable to the respondents, the paragraph can be read as protection of their lifestyle. Also, as the first article second paragraph includes all norms and constitutional articles regarding the rights of indigenous peoples, the 30th and 403rd articles specifically mention the right to use their land according to their cosmovision and organizational structures. Therefore, indirectly the user value of their communitarian lifestyle can be read into the first article second paragraph as well.

Self-sufficiency is another user value expressed by the respondents. As with the previous user values, the user value of self-sufficiency can be seen as loosely expressed in the first articles first paragraph. Also, since the respondents perceived the highway as a threat to their independence, the third article, that states the cancellation of the highway, can be read as an indication of them being able to maintain their self-sufficiency possibilities. Self-sufficiency was identified as closely related to the user value of access to natural resources. In order to have access to natural resources first they must be kept intact. The first article first paragraph states the TIPNIS to be an area of ecological preservation as well as a patrimony of the TIPNIS indigenous peoples. This can be interpreted as an expression of this user value, as ecological functions are necessary for the continued provision of natural resources. The second article states the TIPNIS to be a guarantor of sustainability, conservation and integrity of life systems, as well as an area of ecological functionality in harmony with Mother Nature. This is interpreted as a more restrictive view on the use of natural resources, but still an expression of the importance of the preservation of the areas ecological functionality.

Self-sufficiency can be seen as closely related to the user value expressed regarding *continued development*. The possibility of continued development is dependent on the existence and availability of the TIPNIS resources as well as the availability of educational possibilities, communication and health care. Of the eight demands that were not included in the Law of the TIPNIS, three of them were left out of the negotiations due to lack of funds. These demands are found in the rights articulated in the 30th article second paragraph, which is incorporated in the first article second paragraph in the Law of the TIPNIS. The user value of continued development can be considered as dependent on such factors as education possibilities, good health care and the availability to communication media. Also, the right to prior consultation is expressed in the same 30th article. Any legislative or administrative decision that might affect the TIPNIS indigenous will also affect their continued development. As no prior consultation was made in the case of the process of the San Ignacio de Mojos - Villa Tunari highway project, and as the three demands regarding communication, health care and education were cut from the negotiation table, the user value of continued development can be seen as insufficiently taken in consideration.

Also, the term and interpretation of the declaration of the TIPNIS as an “inviolable” zone will have an effect on the user value continued development. If the term “inviolable” is interpreted as TIPNIS being protected from encroachment to the extent that the second article is fulfilled, it could be interpreted as meaning that those living within the borders of the TIPNIS still could use the resources in the TIPNIS as long as it is done in a careful and sustainable way, thereby situating the area’s status as a TIOC and a protected area on an equal footing. With

that, the user values regarded continued development can be partly read into the first article third paragraph if read together with the second article. However it would only be as long as the population and use of the TIPNIS remain more or less unchanged. If the term “inviolable” on the other hand has a stronger meaning, it would mean an impediment to the activities carried out, not only by external people, but also by the TIPNIS indigenous today. Then the second article could be read in as more inclined towards the TIPNIS juridical status as a protected area, making human activity considered a threat to the area at a lower threshold. Depending on the interpretation of the term “inviolable”, the implications of the fourth article will change as all “inviolable” activities according to the article can be reversed, annulled and stopped. Thereby, the interpretation and therefore the meaning of the term “inviolable” will determine what activities are allowed in the TIPNIS or not. With that, one could suggest that the user values regarding continued development are inadequately taken into consideration. In its strongest sense “inviolable” could suggest and impediment on other user values as well, such as access to resources.

The perception and user value of the TIPNIS as a *free zone where they as an indigenous people are left undisturbed* was identified as important to the respondents. It was also suggested that this user value was closely related to the coca farmers living in Polygon 7 and the perception of them as a threat to this user value. The highway project was also considered a threat, as a highway through the TIPNIS would increase the rate and number of settlements within the TIPNIS by others than the TIPNIS indigenous. This user value can be interpreted as taken in consideration in the fifth, but also to some extent in the third article, supported again the first article’s first paragraph. As the fifth article states all settlements and occupations within the TIPNIS, other than those of the TIPNIS indigenous to be illegal, this can be interpreted as a statement in agreement with the user value expressed by the respondents. Also, the cancellation and declaration that no road or such shall be built in the TIPNIS also suggests the user value of the TIPNIS as a free zone to be taken in consideration.

6. Analysis

6.1 How do the Mojeño indigenous' representatives perceive and use the TIPNIS?

In the theory chapter, theory on landscape and place was presented and aspects identified as most relevant for the thesis purpose were presented in a theoretical framework. The theoretical framework departed from a Nordic-Germanic landscape interpretation as it focuses on those who live in the landscape and their relation to their physical, socio-cultural and political landscape. The people living in the landscape are here seen as key actors in the conservation and transformation of a landscape. The view of the landscape in this thesis was identified as subjective, departing from the understanding on landscape as having meaning. The meaning differs between groups and individuals depending on the scalar level examined. The meaning also differs between levels. These differences in meaning can create struggles. From place theory the aspect of sense of place, the emotional bond form with places was identified.

From the aspects of the people living in a landscape as key actors in its preservation or transformation, Mojeño indigenous' representatives' user values and perspectives have been examined and analyzed. The interviews presented a mostly homogenous result on how the TIPNIS is used in day-to-day practices, sometimes differing depending on the geographical characteristics between the communities that the respondents are from. The uses of the TIPNIS also varied depending on what was the respondent's main activity. One respondent is involved in health care and therefore were more involved in the use of natural medicine. As all respondents had some kind of commission of trust the level of participation in the daily activities within the TIPNIS could differ as they spent more time outside the TIPNIS because of their responsibilities.

The theoretical framework also pointed out that if seen as subjective, how the landscape is perceived, and thereby found valuable and purposeful, differs between groups and individuals. Four of the respondents spoke of the TIPNIS as being the "loma santa" or "casa grande". The terms were used frequently. Seeing TIPNIS as the "loma santa" or "casa grande" is used as an emotional argument and expression of the area as having a special value to them because of historical, cultural and religious reasons. These arguments of why the TIPNIS is theirs, differs from the arguments of the TIPNIS being theirs according to the Constitution, as this argument is more of an objective statement. Describing the TIPNIS as "loma santa" or "casa grande" is a more emotionally bonded expression the areas value to them.

In the theory chapter Jones (1991) and Stenseke (2001) maintained that cultural and natural values on local level cannot be observed on national level. Local user values and perspectives could therefore become harder to convey in national negotiations. Also, Stenseke (2001) and Setten (2003) argued that local values and perspectives have to be acquired in a day-to-day setting, where the activities form part of the historical context. This corresponds well with the perceptions of the TIPNIS as "loma santa" or "casa grande" and their cultural traditions. It can explain why the reason why the perceived disappearance of the cultural traditions is worrisome for many of the respondents. The results showed that one respondent however, was

not worried, as the cultural traditions in this case were perceived as constantly evolving. This respondent spent more time outside the TIPNIS than any other respondent. The general way for this respondent to describe the TIPNIS, user values and perceptions was generally expressed in a less personal way than by the other respondents. The answers were more objective, focusing considerably on the environment and ecology of the TIPNIS, whereas the tone in the interviews was as much more personal. Also, the most common way of answering questions was in plural form focusing on the group and not the individual. This can be interpreted as related to the respondents doing many day-to-day activities in groups or family-wise.

In general, the results from the interviews portrayed that the closeness to nature and their way of life provided the respondents with a sense of well-being. The creation of emotional bond to a place is within place theory referred to as sense of place. This sense of well-being, or sense of place, seems closely related to the respondents' affection of the TIPNIS as their "loma santa" or "casa grande".

The expression of a difference between the three indigenous peoples living in the TIPNIS was, for me, surprising. I had not expected this to be expressed in such clear terms. The focus on coca farmers as a threat and being different from the Mojeños, as they are not considered the TIPNIS indigenous, was expected. However, the perception shown by several respondents regarding a difference between them and the two indigenous peoples of Yuracaré and Tsimane was not. By reference to the theoretical framework the expression of differences between the three indigenous peoples of the TIPNIS could be due to a struggle of meaning. The Yuracarés are the indigenous people who has become most integrated with the coca farmers as their communities are mostly located in the south of the TIPNIS. This might explain why they were the ones receiving the harshest comments. The Mojeño people generally live furthest away from the Polygon 7.

Struggles of meaning in-between the respondents are not very prominent. Rather, the results from the interviews proved to be relatively coherent. Small differences could be distinguished between the respondents. This relative coherence could stem from the situation occurring when the interviews were carried out. The perceived threat of the highway could make the respondents views more similar, and the environment of being at a march could create an additional focus on certain aspects.

A difference that was distinguishable in the interviews is the perception of the necessity to take care of the environment. Half of the respondents do not reflect upon their use of the environment at all. Those who do express different views, either claim their practices are completely sustainable or encourage a careful approach to the use of the environment. This is an interesting part of the results. Degradation of the environment was by the respondents generally seen as stemming from contamination caused by others. As their own impact on the environment is considered much it could become an issue later on if the population increases. As the TIPNIS is a large area the current practice does not have a large impact but that does not suggest it will always stay that way.

Making an overall assessment of the interviews the respondents appear to represent a relatively homogenous group regarding user values and perspective. The general focus is on user values connected to livelihood and not recreation. The perceptions of the TIPNIS as “loma santa” and “casa grande” effect how they perceive the TIPNIS and its user values. The respondent group is relatively homogenous with the exception of one respondent. This respondent is also the only one who reflects upon the need to ensure sustainable practices to preserve the environment. The focus of this respondent is ecology and the natural environmental functions. I interpret this as related to the respondent spending more time outside the TIPNIS and having received more natural science formal education than the other respondents. Factual and technical arguments are therefore used instead of emotional arguments.

6.2 How have the user values and perceptions of the TIPNIS perceived by Mojeño indigenous’ representatives been taken in consideration in the negotiations with the government?

In the theory chapter, theory on political ecology was presented and the aspects identified as most relevant for the thesis purpose was presented in a theoretical framework. The theoretical framework identified the aspect of environmental conflicts often having other, underlying reasons, such as ethnicity or class. Another aspect identified was the risk for a group to be forced into a certain kind of discourse and thereby only allowed to portray certain aspects of their identity. This risk was identified as prominent in the case of indigenous peoples being portrayed as “wise stewards” of the environment and as a very homogenous group.

The results of the second research question were gathered through the document study of the Law of the TIPNIS, then put in comparison with the user values and perspectives presented in the first research question. From the document study of the Law of the TIPNIS, the user values of communitarian ownership and lifestyle, self-sufficiency and the TIPNIS as a free zone where the TIPNIS indigenous can live undisturbed, can be seen as represented. The first articles first and second paragraphs as well as the fifth article includes these user values. Also the fourth article can be seen as representing the user value of the TIPNIS as a zone where they can live undisturbed as it allows the stop and annulment of activities in the TIPNIS.

The environment and environmental functions are given more focus in the Law of the TIPNIS than it is by the respondents. As previously discussed reflections upon the environment was not given much focus, especially not their own effect on the environment. A reason for this I maintain is that the Law is created to protect both the TIPNIS as an indigenous territory and the TIPNIS as a protected area. The first articles first and second paragraphs also regard the TIPNIS environment and status as a protected area. The second article is the most focused on the environment and the functionality of it. As the TIPNIS is also a protected area and therefore subject to more Laws and Norms in addition to those regulation the indigenous territory, that regulation of the environment and its functions is given more focus in the Law of the TIPNIS than in the interviews is expected.

From the document study the first article third paragraph can be considered the most crucial paragraph for the analysis of the second research question. The term “inviolable” and the

meaning it holds could to a large extent determine the level of user values and perspectives taken in consideration. Two opposing meanings can be discerned. “Inviolable” can through one interpretation be considered a way to protect the TIPNIS from external forces and encroachments on the area. If so, then the first article third paragraph, the fourth and the fifth article can be considered to concord well with the user values and perspectives expressed in the interviews. “Inviolable” meant in this way would enable the inhabitants to use the TIPNIS as they may choose as long as they fulfill the requirements of sustainability and preservation of ecological functions expressed in the first article first and second paragraph and second article. By the other interpretation, “inviolable” could hold the meaning of being “inviolable” also for the TIPNIS inhabitants. “Inviolable” meant in this way would severely affect the day-to-day activities of the TIPNIS inhabitants. Tourism, native chocolate, cayman hunting and all other activities except for the most low-impact activities would be considered against the Law and thereby stopped according to the fourth article. The first article third paragraph could therefore, through such interpretation be considered as rendering the, in interviews expressed, user value of continued development unconsidered. The expressed user values and perceptions of communitarian lifestyle, self-sufficiency, access to resources and the TIPNIS as a zone where they can live undisturbed would be considerably reduced. The TIPNIS would still be considered a TIOC but the possibilities to live there would decrease. As a result the possibility to live where the land is perceived as the “loma santa” or “casa grande” would decrease as well. Depending on where the final interpretation and meaning of the word “inviolable”, the Law of the TIPNIS will, to a more or a less extent, represent the user values expressed by the respondents. The more allowing the interpretation of “inviolable” will be the more will the user values and perspectives have been taken in consideration.

Returning to the aspects identified in the theoretical framework (Robbins 2012:199ff), I conclude that in compliance with studies previously made in political ecology, the conflict regarding the highway project is not an environmental conflict but has other reasons. In this case it is a conflict about indigenous rights. The conflict partly stems from the critique of the government as practicing internal colonialism. The fact that the TIPNIS is both a protected area and an indigenous territory makes the conflict more complex as there are more factors to consider, as it is regulated by both Laws and Norms regarding protected areas and indigenous territories. However, the environment has been given much focus in media and also, as the document shows, in the Law of the TIPNIS. I consider that this should be considered an example of what political ecologists refer to as emerging environmental identities. An example of this I believe to be the difference in expression between respondents in using technical terms in their interviews. The more time spent outside the TIPNIS working with indigenous rights and management of the TIPNIS and the higher level commission of trust the more focused the respondents were on the natural environment the respondents were.

Finally, from the theoretical framework the aspect of portraying indigenous peoples as “wise stewards” of the environment was identified as important to the thesis purpose. I consider that through the larger focus on the environment in the media and the negotiations the identity portrayed of the Mojeño inhabitants’ representatives is angled towards a “wise stewards” representation. This focus has created the necessity for the representatives themselves to

maintain this image, forcing them into an only partly representative discourse. As the respondents hold commissions of trust, their statements and discourses will inevitably be seen as representative of Mojeño indigenous in general, and also of the TIPNIS indigenous in general. This further creates the image of the indigenous peoples as “wise stewards”. However, this “wisdom” is not necessarily true. As previously described in the interviews this identity as inherently sustainable in their practices has for some respondents become a part of their self-concept. Therefore, even if the practices would change or the population were to increase, the identity if inherently sustainable would remain although the effect on the ecosystem and the environment would bring increased pressure on it.

7. Discussion and conclusion

The purpose of this bachelor's thesis has been to examine and analyze user values and perspectives of the Mojeño indigenous people and how these have been taken in consideration by the government in the San Ignacio de Mojos – Villa Tunari highway project. The research questions were: 1. How do Mojeño indigenous' representatives perceive and use the TIPNIS? and 2. How have the user values and perceptions of the TIPNIS perceived by Mojeño indigenous' representatives been taken in consideration in the negotiations resulting in the Law of the TIPNIS?

The results from the interviews depict user values and perceptions of the Mojeño inhabitants' representatives as more related to the rights to self-determination and livelihood maintenance in the manner they choose. Affection is shown towards the area and is related to the historical-cultural beliefs of the TIPNIS as being the land of their ancestors, their "loma santa" or "casa grande". As a part of the user values and perceptions is the continued use and development of the TIPNIS. The possible impact that they themselves might have on the area, is not much reflected on, and if it is, it is then considered that they are sustainable in practice as they live close to nature. Until now the TIPNIS indigenous peoples have lived in small semi-permanent settlements organized in a resource rich and large area. Therefore the area has been able to carry the population without larger effects on its ecological functions. However, my opinion is that if the population was to grow, and the communities become larger and permanent, environmental problems will eventually occur.

Much debate arose and is still going on regarding the interpretation of the term "inviolable". The government and the TIPNIS representatives have taken opposing sides in the interpretation. The question is important. The taking into consideration of user values and perceptions displayed by the respondents depends much on where the definition will land. The larger focus on the San Ignacio de Mojos – Villa Tunari highway project as an environmental conflict has led to a certain dissonance between the user values and perceptions in the interviews and the Law of the TIPNIS. The degree of dissonance can however not be fully estimated as the term "inviolable" has not been fully defined yet. Also, as the interviews showed how the Mojeño representative who had spent more time outside of the TIPNIS showed a different kind of discourse regarding user values and perspectives I consider to be related to political ecology theory on environmental identities and the portraying of indigenous peoples as "wise stewards". In order to be allowed into the political agenda and be of interest of the media it is necessary to adapt to this role or "identity".

The thesis has depicted a flawed process in which the government has not fulfilled requirements stated in the Constitution regarding large projects like this highway. This has led to large scale protests both in favor of and opposed to the project. As described in the country context indigenous peoples in Bolivia in general, but lowland indigenous peoples in particular, have only recently begun obtaining rights and political power because of the colonization patterns remaining from when Bolivia was a Spanish colony. From general observations I noticed that much disappointment was directed towards the government

because of the previously fast improving situation regarding indigenous rights under the Morales government. It makes me believe that the controversy regarding the project might not have been so prominent if only legal requirements had been met.

This thesis is a small contribution to the research fields of landscape values and perspectives and political ecology. As the conflict has not yet reached an end, only speculations can be made of how it will turn out. Nevertheless, the investigation process has raised more questions that are important to answer. To what extent can indigenous peoples in a protected area really choose their development? Who is to be considered indigenous? How shall balance between the user values and perspectives of indigenous and non-indigenous peoples be maintained? In the need of development and resources, for how long will a protected area remain protected? In a case like Bolivia, how shall the nation-state be maintained and developed while at the same time allowing each ethnic nation the rights to their own development? Whose user values and perceptions have the prerogative to be considered at the cost of someone else's?

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Annex 1 - Interview guide Spanish

Guía de entrevistas

Persona

- Edad?
- Cuantas personas son en su familia? Niños?
- De que comunidad es?

Los hogares

- Cuanto tiempo han vivido en la comunidad?
- Ha vivido en otra comunidad?
- A que se dedica? Cultivan? Cazan? Pescan?
- Hace algo otro que esto? Ir a Trinidad para vender? Artesanía?
- Cómo se organiza el trabajo? En familia o con toda la comunidad?

La comunidad

- Cuantas familias son?
- Como colaboran la comunidad con el subcentral y con las organizaciones que trabajan en TIPNIS?
- Hay proyectos?

La comunidad y el TIPNIS

- Me puede describir la comunidad? Naturaleza?
- La historia de la comunidad?
- Tradiciones culturales?
- Cómo ha apredido lo que sabe?
- Como ha cambiado en los últimos 10-20 años
- Hay actividades que ya no se hace? Ya no cultivan ciertas verduras o cazan ciertas animales? Por qué?
- Cómo quieres ver la comunidad, el TIPNIS? Que quiere mantener? Desarrollar?
- Que cuidan?
- Qué valoran?
- Que es importante para usted?
- Que significa vivir aquí? Podría considerar moverse a otra comunidad o fuera de TIPNIS?

Otro

- Que piensa usted del proyecto carretera entre SIDM y villa Tunari?
- Ha consultado en alguna manera con los habitantes del tipnis el gobierno?
- Como ha consultado?
- Como creen que el gobierno ha tomado en cuenta sus usos y valores del tipnis en el proyecto del tramo 2?
- Que impacto cree que tendría sobre el area