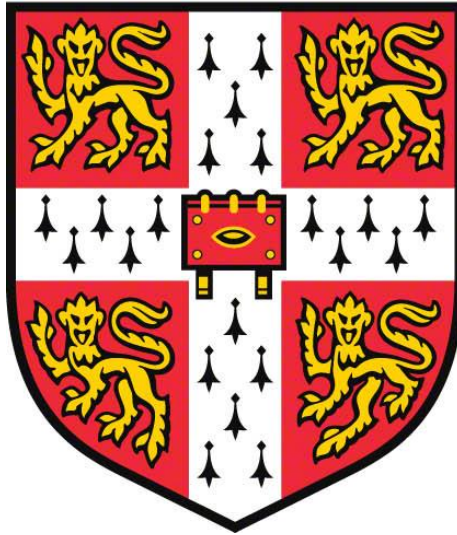


Assembling Economic Citizenship: Indigenous Women's Work in Post-Neoliberal Bolivia



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This thesis is submitted for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

Declaration

This thesis is the result of my own work and includes nothing which is the outcome of work done in collaboration except as declared in the Preface and specified in the text. It is not substantially the same as any that I have submitted, or, is being concurrently submitted for a degree or diploma or other qualification at the University of Cambridge or any other University or similar institution except as declared in the Preface and specified in the text. I further state that no substantial part of my thesis has already been submitted, or, is being concurrently submitted for any such degree, diploma or other qualification at the University of Cambridge or any other University or similar institution except as declared in the Preface and specified in the text. It does not exceed the prescribed word limit for the relevant Degree Committee.

Summary

Despite a wide-ranging literature on the 'post-neoliberal' shift in Bolivia post-2006, there has been limited attention to women's working lives. Furthermore, literature on urban indigenous women's work in Bolivia, as with the Andean region more widely, has centred on highland women's work as (informal) market vendors and traders, while lowland indigenous women as economic subjects have been largely invisibilised. Through a qualitative case study with Guaraní and other low-income women in peri-urban Santa Cruz de la Sierra, this thesis explores how lowland indigenous women have been incorporated as economic citizens during this 'process of change'. Through a feminist political economy perspective, the thesis adopts an assemblage lens to interrogate how intersectional labour market stratification is reproduced or shifting. Developing the concept of the 'gender-ethnic assemblage of labour', the thesis argues that despite new women's rights legislation, development planning continues to marginalize and misrecognise (low-skilled) women's labour and the gendered work of social reproduction, with implications for the persistence of unequal gender norms around work and limits to women's substantive economic citizenship. Yet, Guaraní women are further disadvantaged in comparison with other low-skilled women given the specific socio-spatial and material configuration of labour in the peri-urban area and city. Unlike other diverse peri-urban women or the paradigmatic highland market vendor of the Andean literature, Guaraní women are generally not traders or street vendors, but often work in casual, paid labour. This uneven assemblage encourages the circulation of racialised representations of Guaraní women as new forms of gendered ethnic-class differentiation are set in place. Despite new equalities legislation reducing the worst direct racist abuse, subtle forms of (embodied) status distinctions persist, highlighting reconfigured 'power-geometries' of ethnicity and race at work through misrecognition. However, the new legislation has resulted in some limited compliance with women's labour rights and possibilities for decent work. Furthermore, an important shift in citizen-subjectivities has taken place, symbolically challenging entrenched forms of colonial-patriarchal-classed power, with material effects for women's agency. Despite limited opportunities for collective action, Guaraní women exercise constrained agency at work through some ambiguous acts of economic citizenship.

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Chapter 1: Introduction

‘The peculiar articulation of ethnicity, class and gender in...[the Bolivian] urban situation...is expressed in a very complex ‘postcolonial chain of stratification’ ...relegating women and indigenous migrant men and women to the most routine, poorly paid occupations and with the least prestige and social recognition’

(Rivera Cusicanqui 1996a: 51–2)¹

As highlighted by the powerful words of Bolivian scholar Rivera Cusicanqui, racialised women from the popular classes have historically faced economic disadvantage and discrimination in Bolivia, working in low-paid, precarious roles in the urban informal economy. However, Bolivia’s wide-ranging ‘process of change’ (*proceso de cambio*) following the 2005 election of Bolivia’s first indigenous president and the left-leaning MAS government, provides an important case study to examine how and whether intersectional economic inequality in postcolonial citizenship regimes may be challenged.

As discussed further in chapter 2, the MAS were elected with the project of combatting entrenched colonial structures and overturning the prevailing neoliberal economic model. For example, the 2009 Bolivian constitution is based around indigenous values and aims to ‘decolonise’ Bolivian state and society (NCPE, 2009, Articles 8.1&9.1) by ‘reversing the logics and practices that enabled the domination of native peoples by whites and mestizos’ including ending ‘racist economic structures’ (Postero 2013: 108). Thus, the political-economic shift in Bolivia and elsewhere in Latin America has been considered part of the ‘post-neoliberal turn’, concerned with ‘redirecting a market economy towards social concerns’, as well as ‘reviving citizenship via a new politics of participation and alliances across sociocultural sectors’ (Yates & Bakker 2014: 64).

The wide-ranging literature on post-neoliberalism has debated many tensions in this shift, particularly around ‘neo-extractivism’ alongside the promotion of indigenous (territorial and

¹ All translations are mine unless otherwise noted.

political) rights and environmental protection (e.g. Ruckert, Macdonald & Proulx 2017: 1595; Goodale & Postero 2013; Radcliffe 2012; Webber 2011; Escobar 2010). However, even though there has been extensive discussion on macroeconomic change and continuities (Radcliffe 2012: 240), there has been limited attention ‘to the implications of post-neoliberalism for the labour market’ as well as ‘the role of labour-market regulation in post-neoliberal policy regimes’ (Ruckert, Macdonald & Proulx 2017: 1589), although Webber (2016) is an exception in the English language literature. However, there is an important literature on (gendered) labour by critical and feminist Bolivian sociologists and economists from academia and thinktanks, with a largely quantitative and policy focus (Wanderley 2008; Wanderley 2009; Farah, Wanderley & Sánchez 2009; Escobar de Pabón 2009; Escobar de Pabón, Rojas Callejas & Arze Vargas 2014; Hernani-Limarino & Mena 2014). Yet the effect of legislative and policy changes on everyday practices and experiences of work has received less interest overall (although see Marco Navarro 2015; Marco Navarro 2014). Furthermore, even though the literature discusses alternative indigenous imaginaries and value systems (Radcliffe 2012; Gudynas 2011), less attention has been given to the everyday social – and gender – norms around work, particularly as they affect indigenous women.

To address this lacuna, this thesis aims to understand indigenous Guaraní women’s experience of work and economic citizenship in peri-urban Santa Cruz. In focusing on women’s quotidian experiences of work, this thesis takes as its starting point Grosfoguel’s call to decolonise political economy through its reorientation to ‘subaltern perspectives’ – in particular ‘the structural location of an indigenous woman’ (2007: 213, 216). Drawing on and extending Quijano’s concept of the ‘coloniality of power’, which places race as the foundational axis of power (2000; Lugones 2007), he argues that this epistemic shift allows us to understand the global economic system as ‘an entanglement or...intersectionality...of multiple and heterogeneous global hierarchies (‘heterarchies’) of sexual, political, epistemic, economic, spiritual, linguistic and racial forms of domination and exploitation’ (2007: 217). As Grosfoguel notes, this shift in perspective aligns with feminist epistemology which grounds knowledge in women’s situated experiences (2007: 213). Thus, as will be discussed in 1.1.2 and 1.4.1, this thesis will focus on the ‘structural location’ of subaltern women by attention to ‘social locations’, which grounds the analysis of intersectionality in specific material or ‘situated’ locations and the operation of power within these

locations (Anthias 2012; Yuval-Davis 2015). Furthermore, this thesis aims to understand indigenous women's intersectional location through an assemblage lens (Puar 2012). As outlined in 1.1.2 such a lens enables us to understand the specific – and changing – socio-material configuration of economic inequality for indigenous and other diverse low-income women within the case study site, as well to link such specific and 'everyday' configurations with wider structures of power (Dyck 2005).

1.1 Theoretical framing

1.1.1 Theoretical framework: Economic citizenship, recognition and redistribution

The thesis takes the concept of economic citizenship as its framework and key problematic. In one of the most influential definitions of citizenship, T.H Marshall argued that 'citizenship is a status bestowed on those who are full members of a community' (1950: 28). On the other hand, feminist and other scholars have gone beyond understanding citizenship as a 'status' to explore the 'practices and processes of inclusion and exclusion, recognition and misrecognition, participation and belonging', which this concept brings to the fore (Le Feuvre & Roseneil 2014: 529; Yuval-Davis 2007; Lister 2000). While 'economic citizenship' has received less although increasing attention in the literature, this section will discuss why the demarcation of an economic domain of citizenship is key to understanding gendered citizenship and indigenous women's belonging in Bolivia post-2006 *through the situated rights and practices of labour and work* (productive and reproductive) and as broadly distinct from political citizenship rights and practices (although see final paragraph of this section on economic 'representation'). Drawing on the concept of a 'citizenship regime' alongside Nancy Fraser's framework of social justice (2003), the concept of economic citizenship also enables exploration of some of the intricate connections between recognition and redistribution (and to a lesser extent, representation).

In his analysis of the historical development of citizenship, Marshall argued that this status has progressively conferred corresponding rights and duties in three distinct 'elements' of civil, political and social citizenship: the civil concerns the 'rights necessary for individual freedom' (including market-based rights), the political relates to 'the right to participate in the exercise of

political power’, while the social involves the right to basic ‘economic welfare and security’ as well as rights to participate fully in social life, such as to education (Marshall 1950: 10–1). For Marshall (writing in the context of the British post-war welfare state), the key question of citizenship was how to achieve social equality alongside individual freedom by ameliorating – if accepting the basic premise of – economic inequality (1950: 28–9). To mediate this tension, he assigned economic rights under ‘civil’ *and* ‘social’ citizenship (Kessler-Harris 2003: 159). Under the ‘civil’ domain, Marshall placed the ‘right to work’ as the ‘right to follow the occupation of one’s choice’ while under social citizenship he placed welfare rights (Marshall 1950: 15–16, 47). He also classified trade unionism and collective bargaining as a ‘secondary system of industrial citizenship...supplementary to...political citizenship’ (Marshall 1950: 44; Fudge 2005).

While Marshall did not consider the economic as a distinct element of citizenship, his theorisation shows that citizenship rights (and practices) cannot all be subsumed analytically under the one umbrella of ‘political’ citizenship as related most closely to representational/associational rights/practices, even if the boundary with other domains of citizenship is invariably fuzzy as Ryburn argues in her analysis of the citizenship of Bolivian migrants to Chile (2016). Drawing on Marshall, Ryburn shows that migrants’ citizenship should not be understood as the distinction between ‘spaces of citizenship/non-citizenship’ but rather ‘the multitude of simultaneous in/exclusions from different aspects of citizenship’ including, she argues, economic citizenship (2016: 49).² These domains, however, are also interlinked or ‘overlapping’ given that ‘a change in one may result in a change in another’ (2016: 48–9). Similarly, a recent project researching gendered citizenship in Europe examined six ‘intertwined’ yet ‘analytically distinct dimensions’ of citizenship: ‘political, social, economic, bodily/sexual, intimate and multicultural’ (Halshaa, Roseneil & Sumer 2011: 85). Furthermore, there may also be tensions between different elements of citizenship, given that rights may be unevenly realised temporally, as well as across different groups (Ryburn 2016; Yashar 2005: 45–53).

The analytical separation of citizenship’s domains is thus separate to the distinction between formal and substantive citizenship, which following Lister may be understood as the difference

² Ryburn proposes four domains of citizenship (political, social, economic and legal) with which to understand migrants’ citizenship as the ‘transnational social spaces of citizenship’ (2016: 49).

between legal status and exercise or realisation of citizenship rights, with in/exclusion across these levels of citizenship a ‘continuum rather than absolute dichotomy’ according to intersectional positioning (2000: 98). This distinction thereby cuts across dimensions of citizenship. For example, non-discrimination in the labour market may be guaranteed by law *de jure*, while discrimination continues *de facto* limiting the substantive realisation of labour rights. Thus, rather than considering legality as a separate element of citizenship as per Ryburn,³ I view legal status as integral to formal citizenship. Attention to substantive citizenship has been explored via the practices of citizenship as well as ‘acts’ of citizenship when citizens claim rights (Staeheli 2011: 394; Isin & Nielsen 2008: 2). Attention to substantive citizenship allows for an exploration of citizen agency and the everyday embodied experiences and ‘meanings, negotiations and contestations’ of citizenship (citation from McEwan 2000: 640; Ryburn 2016: 51; Desforges, Jones & Woods 2005).

Furthermore, as highlighted by feminist scholars, attention to economic citizenship rights is key to visibilising the *gendered* inequalities of citizenship. This literature has highlighted women’s longstanding exclusion from the public sphere given their domestic roles which restrict their political and social citizenship, such as through lack of time and independent resources (Lister 1997: 138–42; McEwan 2000; Nelson 1984; Lister 1990). Furthermore, it has been argued by Kessler-Harris that the splitting of economic rights between civil and social citizenship has compounded women’s exclusion through ‘exacerbating the conflicts between caring and earning roles’ (2003: 165–6). Kessler-Harris has thus argued for the necessity of conceptualising the economic as a new ‘gender encompassing’ domain of citizenship, supplementary to Marshall’s tripartite schema, which joins ‘the right to care’ with ‘economic privileges’ (2003: 158). This ‘new category of citizenship’ requires a range of social benefits, supports and measures to ensure the ‘right to work’ including ‘childrearing and household maintenance’ as well as ‘adequate’ income to maintain oneself and family (2003: 158–9). As part of these social supports, she emphasises the importance of the ‘social environment’ such as ‘adequate housing, safe streets, accessible public transport, and universal health care’ (2003: 159).

³ Ryburn considers legality as a separate aspect of citizenship in terms of migrant status.

Relatedly, Le Feuvre and Roseneil have suggested that it is important to separate out social citizenship from ‘women’s direct access to rights, resources and recognition...*through their own participation in paid labour*’ (2014: 536 original emphasis). However, while attention to women’s paid labour is crucial for understanding gendered citizenship, this again reverts to the exclusionary productive/reproductive binary which Kessler-Harris critiques. Furthermore, it is not always clear that many social rights, such as education or healthcare can be separated from economic rights as they are integral to both social and economic citizenship, as Le Feuvre and Roseneil also recognise (2014: 547, 552), i.e. to full participation in *both* the social and economic life of a community (Halshaa, Roseneil & Sumer 2011: 87 also make this point with regards to care). Yet this does not mean that the two dimensions of citizenship can be reduced to the other, even if they are perhaps more closely interlinked than other elements. I therefore draw on Kessler-Harris as showing the importance of various social rights for a gender equal economic citizenship (through a social reproduction lens, see 1.1.2) *in addition* to social citizenship.

As noted by Lewis, Kessler-Harris draws on the particularities of the US context in terms of women’s ongoing exclusion in an adult-worker family model (2003). On the other hand, Lewis argues that in the context of European welfare states which already have greater ‘collective supports’ for women’s participation in paid work, greater attention is needed to the redistribution of care (2003: 182–3). However, the Latin American context is once again different (despite heterogeneity) where there has historically been less social support for women, either as workers or as partners of male breadwinners (see Martínez Franzoni 2008). Drawing on Martínez Franzoni’s typology of Latin American welfare regimes, Hillenkamp highlights that Bolivia has been characterised by an ‘informal-familialist welfare regime’ in which social protection (outside of the small formal sector) has largely been left to poor, often indigenous households, despite some new social subsidies; however, this regime is also gendered with ‘contradictions’ between women’s productive and reproductive work (2013: 52, 60). Attention to economic citizenship thus highlights the context-specific gendered exclusions of welfare regimes and the ‘public-private divide’ (Lister 2000: 100; Pateman 1989: 179–209) as well as the ‘gender contract’ as ‘the normative and material basis around which sex/gender divisions of paid and unpaid labour operate’ (Vosko 2010: 6).

While following Marshall, Kessler-Harris defines the right to productive work around occupational choice, Ryburn in the context of research with (unskilled) migrants suggests “‘equal opportunity of access’ to ‘*decent work*’”,⁴ as well as taking into account social hierarchies such as gender and race which provide ‘barriers’ for migrants in the labour market (Ryburn 2016: 50–1 original emphasis). Ryburn’s definition is thereby important in emphasising the intersectional inequalities of economic citizenship (Halshaa, Roseneil & Sumer 2011; Riaño 2011), which in Latin America are rooted in the coloniality of power, which has long excluded indigenous women from substantive citizenship (Radcliffe 2015a; Rivera Cusicanqui 2010; Boatcă & Roth 2016: 198).

This thesis draws on Ryburn’s definition as the productive side of economic citizenship, alongside right to equality in caring and domestic labour as the reproductive side. However, I also expand the focus on paid work to include decent self-employment as secure and providing sufficient income, given its gendered importance in the Bolivian informal economy. In the context of Bolivia’s post-neoliberal differentiated citizenship regime (see 1.2), I also extend the (industrial) right to collective bargaining to include indigenous collective action to claim economic rights. Furthermore, through an (intersectional) assemblage lens (see 1.1.2), this thesis takes seriously Kessler-Harris’s emphasis on the ‘social environment’ required to support economic citizenship through inequalities in household and urban infrastructure, yet extends this through attention to the lived spaces of the urban environment, including mobility through urban space, as well as the particular (gendered) dynamics and spatial constraints of the peri-urban economy and public/private divide (Painter & Philo 1995: 114; Desforges, Jones & Woods 2005).

In further developing the concept of economic citizenship, the framework draws on the concept of ‘citizenship regimes’ to situate women’s experiences of citizenship within Bolivia’s transition to post-neoliberalism. As discussed by Fouret et al., this concept was originally outlined in the Canadian context by Jenson and takes into account the ‘the institutional arrangements, rules and

⁴ According to the ILO 2006 definition of being ‘productive and secure’, respecting labour rights, ensuring ‘adequate income’ and ‘social protection’ as well as the freedom to join unions and participate in collective bargaining (Ryburn 2016: 50), therefore also including ‘industrial citizenship’ (Fudge 2005). Ryburn draws on Riaño’s definition of economic citizenship (in research with *skilled* migrants) as ‘equal opportunity of access to jobs which correspond to [one’s] professional qualifications’ (Riaño 2011: 1543 cited in Ryburn 2016: 50).

understandings that guide and shape...policy decisions...and claims-making by citizens' (Jenson and Papillon 2000, quoted in Fourot, Paquet & Nagels 2018: 4), as well as the 'configuration of the relationships between the state, markets, communities, and the family, or private sphere' (Fourot, Paquet & Nagels 2018: 4).⁵ Notably, within the Latin American context, the concept of citizenship regimes has been used to explore indigenous politics under neoliberal multiculturalism (Postero 2007; as discussed by Fourot, Paquet & Nagels 2018: 14; Yashar 1998). Building on this literature in the post-neoliberal context, attention to the specific domain of *economic* citizenship focuses attention to the implications of (shifting) political-economic institutions, particularly as regards to Bolivia's extractivist economic model, for citizenship's in/exclusions through labour and work (Wanderley 2005).

Furthermore, questions of recognition are also central to citizenship regimes, given that a regime 'encodes within it paradigmatic representations of the model citizen' thereby enabling a *normative*, as well as *discursive* analysis (citation from Fudge 2005: 634; Brandzel 2016; Mahon 2018: 32; Fourot, Paquet & Nagels 2018: 4; Postero 2007; Postero 2017: 19).⁶ Conceptualising economic citizenship as part of a wider citizenship regime thus enables attention to the normative aspect of economic in/exclusions and links in important ways with Fraser's theory of social justice. Through a 'perspectival dualism', Fraser has argued that recognition (cultural justice) and redistribution (economic justice) while 'analytically distinct', are deeply interlinked in practice (Fraser & Honneth 2003: 63–4). Social justice requires challenging both 'misrecognition' (involving cultural and symbolic forms of disrespect, subordination and 'nonrecognition') *and* 'maldistribution' (involving exploitation, 'economic marginalization' and material inequality), particularly in the case of 'two-dimensional' social categories such as gender and race, which are rooted in both the 'economic structure and the status order of society' (Fraser & Honneth 2003: 13, 19–25).

⁵ Following Fudge (2005: 641–3) who uses the concept to explore the 'unravelling' of 'industrial citizenship' in Canada from the 1980s. This regime of (economic) citizenship based around a standard employment relationship along a male-breadwinner ideal, social rights and a Keynesian state shifted following the government's 'embrace' of neoliberalism

⁶ Brandzel (in relation to the US context) has gone even further to argue that citizenship as a *normative* ideal is fundamentally anti-intersectional, and indeed violent, in preventing dialogical politics (2016).

In debates on neoliberalism in Latin America, Fraser's dual framework has been used productively to examine the intersectional inequalities of citizenship regimes, as well as citizen agency (e.g. Richards 2006; Postero 2007). In the context of gendered exclusions in Chile, Richards argues that working-class women frame their demands predominantly in terms of socio-economic redistribution, while indigenous Mapuche women claim recognition of 'cultural difference' (2006: 22). In the Bolivian context, Postero has analysed the impact of neoliberal multicultural citizenship reforms in the 1990s for peri-urban Guaraní communities in Santa Cruz. She found that while the reforms offered a 'symbolic' recognition, they did not fundamentally challenge socio-economic inequality (maldistribution), yet 'indigenous citizens' were also able to take 'advantage of political openings' from limited state recognition to make redistributive claims (Postero 2007: 14–17). Some literature has also highlighted connections between misrecognition and maldistribution through women's work, both in relation to the state as well as employers (Cookson 2015; Wright & Madrid 2007). For example, in a study of the cut flower industry in Colombia, Wright and Madrid show how employers' misrecognition of racialised female workers 'as backward, inefficient and irrational' serves to legitimise exploitation (2007: 269). They conclude that applying Fraser's framework to labour relations reveals 'the importance of meaning-making' in the mutual reinforcing of maldistribution and misrecognition (2007: 270).

I draw on this literature to examine how misrecognition and maldistribution are deeply linked in everyday practices of gendered and racialised labour and work in Bolivia, and as related to the post-neoliberal citizenship regime. Writing in the early years of the MAS government, Bolivian academics Farah and Salazar identified that the crucial challenge for women in Bolivia would be how a politics of recognition could be joined with socio-economic redistribution (2009: 125–6). Building on this, I explore how state policies for post-neoliberal development are intersectionally (and normatively) exclusionary for (low-skilled) women's work via misrecognition, drawing on Sayer's insight that recognition is not 'limited to the realms of 'idealised' communication and signification, but is thoroughly materialised in the distribution of material goods' (2005: 63).

In addition to 'state-citizen' recognition, I also explore the labour relation through questions of 'citizen-citizen' recognition (Halshaa, Roseneil & Sumer 2011: 83). For example, Brodtkin shows how in the US context, 'economic citizenship is unequally distributed by race' via employers'

racist devaluation of African American women's clerical work in a medical centre (yet also resisted by the women in their struggle for unionisation) (2014: s117). Brodtkin argues therefore that 'economic regimes of value...are key to constituting social worth and civic belonging' (2014: S116). Thus, in this second aspect, relations of labour and work (including self-employment and reproductive work) are integral to the lived experience of citizenship, recognition and belonging. As Gutiérrez-Rodríguez shows, drawing on Bourdieu with respect to Latin American migrants in Europe, it is through the gendered-racialised labour relation in domestic work that 'symbolic violence' is exercised through devaluation (misrecognition) of domestic workers (2010: 110–25). In this way, the substantive realisation of women's economic citizenship is not only a *means* to fulfilment of their political and social citizenship but must also be considered an important aspect of citizenship inclusion *in its own right*.

Furthermore, while Fraser's third aspect of social justice (representation) defined as the '*political dimension of social justice*' links most strongly to political citizenship (Fraser interviewed by Dahl, Stoltz & Willig 2004: 380 original emphasis), this thesis will also take into account the interrelation between recognition, redistribution *and* representation with regards to economic citizenship, even if representation is a smaller focus. Fraser argues that representation 'allows us to problematize governance structures and decision-making procedures' (Fraser interviewed by Dahl, Stoltz & Willig 2004: 380). Thus, this thesis will explore exclusions in indigenous women's representation in the economic domain of citizenship, not only as collective workers (as related to the industrial aspect of economic citizenship), but also as indigenous via claims to productive projects. This aspect of social justice thereby relates to alternative conceptualisations of economic citizenship more closely linked to the domain of political citizenship, centred around the 'democratis[ing of] economic life' and policy (Pixley 2000: 132; Wanderley 2005).

1.1.2 Theoretical lens: Assemblage, intersectionality and feminist political economy

I take the concept of assemblage alongside intersectionality (following Puar 2012) and feminist political economy/social reproduction theory as the *lens* with which to explore economic citizenship's multifaceted in/exclusions and the complex peri-urban division of labour and 'social

environment’.⁷ Stemming from the philosophy of Deleuze and Guattari, assemblage understands the complexity of the socio-material-spatial world as a ‘composition of diverse elements’ (Anderson et al. 2012; Anderson & McFarlane 2011: 124; McFarlane & Anderson 2011) and thereby focuses attention to the spatial ‘articulations’ and ‘power geometries’ of socio-material inequality (Featherstone 2011; Rankin 2011: 563; Massey 1993). In this way, assemblage opens the possibility of hearing ‘subaltern’ voices in attention to ‘the everyday processes through which capital accumulation gets assembled with other lines of hierarchy and marginalization’ (McFarlane 2011a: 213; citation from Rankin 2011: 5), as well as the varied labour forms within informal urban and indigenous economies (Thieme 2018; Dovey 2012; Gibson-Graham 2008; Anthias 2017). For example, a recent collection of essays has explored women’s work in informal Latin American markets as ‘urban assemblages’ (Müller & Dürr 2019 ELD para 11 & 13).⁸

Assemblage also facilitates a more complex analysis of continuity/change within citizenship regimes. Analysing continuities via shifting assemblages is particularly useful for understanding Bolivia post-2006, given that post-neoliberalism retains features of neoliberalism (Yates & Bakker 2014: 64). Furthermore, attention to the implementation, ‘translation’ and, in Goodale’s term, ‘refraction’ of policies and legislation across assemblages can also illuminate how every-day economic practices change (‘deterritorialise’ in ‘lines of flight’) and restabilise (‘territorialise’) across material and discursive components (McFarlane 2011b: 379; Goodale 2008: 54–5; Lancione 2013: 359; DeLanda 2016: 109). Given attention to materiality, assemblage also opens up the possibility of understanding questions of constrained citizen and labour agency in subtle ways and as ‘distributed’ throughout socio-material assemblages (Dewsbury 2011: 151), which include but are not limited to institutions and (gendered) norms (Coe & Jordhus-Lier 2010: 214; Pearse & Connell 2016; Kabeer 2002; Folbre 1994). Furthermore, in paying attention to assemblage’s unequal temporalities, the thesis draws on Baraitser’s concept of ‘maintenance’, the slow time of social reproduction and the ‘durational practices that keep ‘things’ going’ (2017: 49), Povinelli’s related concept of the ‘durative present’, developed from her work with indigenous

⁷ Scholars have discussed the state and governmentality as assemblage (Koster 2015; Murray Li 2007).

⁸ Where texts are accessed through electronical legal deposit (ELD), the paragraph number will be given as there are no page numbers.

communities in Australia (2011: 13),⁹ and Brandzel's warning of the exclusionary temporality of citizenship which 'situates normative...subjects within time' (2016: 137).

Following Puar (2012), assemblage also provides a way of de-essentialising intersectionality. Intersectionality considers categories of social difference, such as ethnicity, class and gender, as 'interlocking' in the production of socio-material inequality (Collins, 1999 cited in Browne & Misra 2003: 489; Brewer, Conrad & King 2002; McCall 2001; Crenshaw 1991). Postcolonial/decolonial approaches to intersectionality have also recognised the specificity of the (post-)colonial experience (Radcliffe 2015a; Roth 2013: 30; Lugones 2007; Moyo & Kawewe 2002). However, drawing on the philosophical work of Massumi, Puar has argued for the need to problematise (yet also retain) intersectional categories alongside the fluidity of assemblage (2012; 2017: 211–6). She notes that 'Massumi makes the case for identity appearing as such only in retrospect' through which 'grids happen' (2017: 212). Relatedly, Anderson et al. have suggested that 'assemblage can reorientate understandings of race by focusing analysis on iterative performances of social differentiation in moments of encounter' (2012: 173; see also Swanton 2010 and Saldanha 2006).

Puar's problematization of intersectionality through assemblage also links with recent theories of intersectionality, which have attempted to go beyond a focus on static identities through an emphasis on processes (Mooney 2016: 4–5; Choo & Ferree 2010: 133–135; Wang 2015). As highlighted, Anthias has argued for 'a focus on *social locations* rather than a focus on *groups*' which thereby draws attention towards the 'broader landscape of power' and specific processes productive of intersectional inequalities (2012: 130–1 original emphasis; see also Yuval-Davis 2015 on "situated intersectionality"). An intersectional-assemblage lens is also helpful to think through how structures of (gendered) colonial-modern power (Lugones 2007; Grosfoguel 2007; Quijano 2000) continue to 'rearticulate' or re/de-assemble in citizenship regimes through attention to everyday experiences (Boatcă & Roth 2016: 196). For example, Gutierrez-Rodriguez examines

⁹ Page also draws on concepts of slow time from various thinkers to highlight how attention to slower temporalities, in particular the 'unspectacular time of precarity' can contribute to elucidating women's agency in a non-deterministic way (2017: 21–3). Page makes her point with reference to Mohanty's critique (1984: 19–20; see also sections 1.6 & 74).

how, through the ‘circulation of affects’ in Latin American migrants’ domestic work, ‘old and new forms of gendering and racialization are newly assembled’ (2010: 4–8, 122–3).

Alongside intersectionality, the theoretical lens also draws on feminist political economy (and social reproduction theory) which has long highlighted the importance of gender for the marginalised position of women in the labour market, as well as the invisibilisation of women’s reproductive work as an integral part of capitalist exploitation, as well as citizenship exclusions (Rai & Waylen 2013; Sarma, Kitchin & Thrift 2009; Bakker 2007; Peterson 2005; Waylen 1997; Lister 2000: 100–1, 113–4). In the aim to understand the interconnections between parts of a social whole, assemblage also links with social reproduction theory’s emphasis on the interrelation between productive and reproductive work (Strauss & Meehan 2015; Mitchell, Marston & Katz 2003; Bhattacharya 2017: 74; Swanton 2013). Intersectional approaches to feminist political economy have also pointed to the racialised material inequalities of social reproduction, with questions of difference integral to capitalism’s reproduction (Meehan & Strauss 2015; Parker 2015; Mitchell, Marston & Katz 2003: 427). Furthermore, the material turn within feminist political economy has emphasized the relevance of ‘material ontologies’ in the contextual analysis of social reproduction, composed in Katz’ words of the ‘messy, fleshy’ embodied work of sustaining life (Katz, 2001 in Mitchell, Marston & Katz 2003: 425; Strauss & Meehan 2015: 4). For example, Fredericks draws attention to how women’s association with (stigmatizing) household waste in Dakar justified the exploitation of women waste collectors (2015: 148).

1.2 Situating the research questions: indigenous women’s work in (urban) Bolivia post-2006

There has been limited qualitative research on indigenous women’s employment post-2006 beyond highland women’s work in market-vending (e.g. Goldstein 2016; Scarborough 2010), particularly on questions of change. However, Maclean’s research on the used clothes trade in El Alto highlighted exclusions for marginalised women in the informal economy under post-neoliberal policies. In drawing attention to the ‘dismissive characterisation’ of women’s labour in ‘popular discourse’, her research raises important questions as to the (de)-valuation of indigenous women’s

work in post-neoliberal Bolivia (2014: 972). The first research question thus addresses questions of (mis)recognition within the post-neoliberal citizenship regime by asking:

1) How is indigenous and low-income women's work (de)valued in Santa Cruz, and is this changing post-2006?

Drawing on sociological work on categorical inequalities, Wanderley's research on domestic work (in which a high proportion of workers are indigenous), points to the ongoing 'existential' inequalities in which 'the personal experience of unequal recognition as persons' and degrading treatment is (re)produced through the mechanisms of 'exclusion, hierarchy and exploitation' (2014a; 2014b: 201–4). However, most of her paper involves analysis of quantitative data (from 2007) and legislation. As Wanderley herself notes there is a lack of in-depth qualitative work in Bolivia addressing this aspect of inequality (2014b: 5). The second question thus addresses the experiential aspect of economic citizenship by asking:

2) How do diverse indigenous and low-income women in the city of Santa Cruz experience, negotiate and claim economic citizenship in post-neoliberal, plurinational Bolivia?

Studies on women's work have tangentially dealt with indigeneity and change. Balboa's study on women construction workers in La Paz highlights that rural Aymara women are increasingly moving into construction, although vertical gendered segregation still remains (2012). Wanderley's study on cooperative associations aims to understand their importance for indigenous and non-indigenous women's work in urban areas in Cochabamba and El Alto (2009: 153). While not looking specifically at change, she briefly discusses the different positioning of women with regards to the MAS government (2009: 176–7). Hillenkamp's study examines questions of change through a gendered analysis of the growing 'solidarity economy', focusing on migrant Aymara women's experiences in El Alto (2015). She argues that while relations of reciprocity between women are important, impact will be limited unless state support is provided for the redistribution of care (2015). However, wider questions of economic inequalities are not addressed.

Furthermore, the existing literature tends to focus on particular occupations/sectors and therefore does not shed light on wider *spatial* patterns of labour market stratification (Hanson & Pratt 1995: 15). In addition, the diversity of work undertaken by indigenous women in urban areas is not reflected in existing studies, particularly beyond market vending and (live in) domestic work. Furthermore, there is a lack of research on the employment experiences of indigenous women who are not currently in work outside the home. The existing literature also largely focuses on highland women, and so it is unclear how patterns of inequality vary across Bolivia's diverse regions. There is thus a gap in the literature as to how spatial structures of intersectional economic inequality and stratification are changing in Bolivia, particularly beyond the western highlands, and how this inequality is (re)produced or disrupted. The third research question thus aims to interrogate women's equality of access to decent work and self-employment and by asking:

3) *How/why is intersectional stratification reproduced/changing across Santa Cruz's urban labour market?*

In order to address this question, this thesis will follow Barbara Smith's call to focus research:

'Less frequently around paid work, i.e., discrete industries or occupations, and more around workers, investigating the multiple activities, spaces, and social relations through which they seek their own survival'

(2016: 2086)

Research specifically oriented towards indigenous women's economic citizenship in Bolivia post-2006 has also been limited, although other work has looked at the political aspects of indigenous (women's) citizenship (e.g. Diaz Carrasco 2013; Rojas 2013; Rousseau 2011). However, Bolivian scholars' analysis of gendered (economic) rights in the new constitution as well as some other relevant legislation is useful in highlighting certain *de jure* advances as well as exclusions in women's economic citizenship (e.g. Marco Navarro 2014), yet there is insufficient attention to indigenous women's grounded experiences of these changes as citizens, and whether their rights are being realized substantively. Maclean has analysed questions of citizenship as related to the experiences of microfinance among highland Aymara women; she finds that microfinance

schemes continue to support the ‘gender bias in liberal citizenship’ and devalue women’s ‘reproductive and community labour’ (Maclean 2007: 269–70). Yet, her research is oriented towards microfinance, and as the fieldwork was carried out in 2006 before the new constitutional process, questions remain regarding economic citizenship in Bolivia’s current conjuncture as part of the wider post-neoliberal citizenship regime. Thus, the final research question aims to draw on indigenous women’s grounded experience as well as wider legislative and policy shifts to ask:

4) How can post-neoliberal differentiated citizenship regimes challenge intersectional economic inequalities?

This final question also draws on debates around differentiated citizenship for minorities. Theories of ‘multicultural’ citizenship have attempted to retain the importance of individual liberty, while recognising group rights for minority cultures (Gaitán-Barrera & Azeez 2015). However, it has been argued in the Latin American context that (neoliberal) multiculturalism has provided a foil for the continued marginalisation and exploitation of indigenous peoples (Gaitán-Barrera & Azeez 2015: 188; Rivera Cusicanqui 2012; Hale 2002). Other theories of differentiated citizenship reframe universality through difference and inter-group dialogue (e.g. Lister 1997; Yuval-Davis 1999; Young 1989). For example, Young has argued for a ‘group differentiated citizenship’ requiring ‘institutional mechanisms’ for group ‘recognition and representation’ (1989: 258, 261). Thus, in considering Bolivia’s ‘plurinational’ post-neoliberal citizenship regime as a *differentiated* citizenship regime, it will be important to consider how difference is incorporated or (mis)recognised with regards to urban indigenous women’s labour and work, as well the ‘multi-layered’ aspect of women’s citizenship at the national, regional, urban and community scale (Yuval-Davis 1999).

1.3 Case study justification and context

1.3.1 Santa Cruz and lowland indigeneity

To understand the grounded specificity of indigenous women's working lives, it is necessary to choose a location. The 'polarised' geography and economy of Santa Cruz de la Sierra in Bolivia's eastern lowlands makes the city an important case study to understand intersectional inequalities (Kirshner 2013). Despite intentions of city planners in the 1960s for an 'orderly...cityscape' based around four rings, widespread immigration has resulted in expansion of the city through informal settlements in the peripheries (Kirshner 2013: 546–7). This uneven development highlights huge inequalities between elite wealthy neighbourhoods and low-income districts which represent 'typical Latin American slum settlements' (Crabtree & Chaplin 2013: 145; Kirshner 2013: 548). Furthermore, while Santa Cruz's departmental economy has been characterised as the 'most industrialised' in Bolivia with agri-business and manufacturing, in the city it is still mostly tertiary with the informal economy characterised by subsistence and 'low-productivity' activities (APCOB 2014: 15, 34–5; Céspedes Tapia & Oxa Gerónimo 2012: 13–14; PNUD 2007: 17).

The city is also a key location to understand intersectional stratification across spatial vectors of indigeneity within Bolivia. Indigeneity has been defined as 'the socio-spatial process and practices whereby Indigenous people and places are determined as distinct' (Radcliffe 2015b: 2). In Bolivia, constructions of indigeneity, integrally bound up with state power as a complex means of claim-making, have differed across highland and lowland groups (Canessa 2007; Canessa 2012a; Canessa 2014: 156; Weber 2013; Burman 2014). After the 1952 revolution, highland Aymara and Quechua speaking groups (previously constructed as '*Indios*') were incorporated into the new 'mestizo' nation as '*campesinos*' (peasants), while the numerous lowland groups were constituted as 'indígenas' and 'conceptualized as primitive and exotic peoples' (Burman 2014: 250–1; Canessa 2007). With a resurgence of ethnic mobilisation in the 1990s, highland groups have taken-up an identity of 'originario' (originary) with 'roots in traditional socio-territorial forms dating to pre-Columbian times', while lowland groups, have re-claimed the identity of 'indígena', linked to claims for 'political and cultural recognition, resource rights and territory' (Canessa 2014; Perreault 2008: 4). Identification as 'indígena' has also become more common across highland

groups as discourses of indigeneity have been taken up by popular sectors and the MAS government (Burman 2014; Canessa 2014). It has been argued that there are fundamental differences in terms of power post-2006, with some highland groups privileged (Canessa 2014: 159–60; Albro 2010: 73).

Santa Cruz provides an important case study to understand these tensions with relation to women's work, given the largescale immigration from the highlands, as well as the movement for lowland autonomy by *Cruceño* white and *mestizo* elites. In this context, the literature highlights tensions between highland migrants, called by the often derogatory term '*colla*' and the (non-indigenous) lowlanders, under the contrasting lowland and *Cruceño* identity of '*camba*', as well as the racism and discrimination faced by the highlanders in the city (Fabricant & Postero 2013; Perreault & Green 2013; Kirshner 2010; Kirshner 2011; Eaton 2007). Furthermore, *Cruceño* elites have drawn on a particular construction of lowland indigenous (largely Guaraní) identity in attempts to legitimate their movement (Fabricant & Postero 2013; Perreault & Green 2013: 49, 55–7; Fabricant 2009: 773–5; Lowrey 2006). Through these performances, certain lowland indigenous peoples in Santa Cruz have been constructed as the '*indio permitido*' (authorized Indian) in contrast to Andean highland migrants (Perreault & Green 2013: 48).¹⁰ However, although the literature briefly highlights the contentious alignment of some lowland indigenous leaders with autonomist elites (Eaton 2007: 91; Lowrey 2006: 78), the wider meaning around indigeneity for lowland groups in the city post-2006 has been neglected, Postero being an exception here. Briefly revisiting her earlier research with the peri-urban Guaraní as part of a wider project, she finds that indigeneity is increasingly less important as a marker of political identity than it was under the neoliberal multicultural reforms during the 1990s (Postero 2007; Postero 2017: 152–7). The complex configuration of 'highland-lowland' indigeneity thus makes Santa Cruz a key study to understand wider assemblages of economic and racialised power within Bolivia.

Furthermore, the specific constellation of indigeneity with Santa Cruz, also makes the city a useful site to interrogate a further spatial distinction applied to Bolivian indigeneity. Canessa has argued that the distinction between minority 'territorialised' and majority 'deterritorialised' indigenous

¹⁰ The term '*indio permitido*', coined by Rivera Cusicanqui and developed by Hale, reflects the limited recognition of indigenous demands under neoliberal multiculturalism (Hale 2004: 17).

groups has been key to understanding power configurations in Bolivia post-2006 (2014: 160–1).¹¹ He argues that the MAS's state project has tended to include the deterritorialised indigenous, which may exclude territorialised indigenous groups (2014). Discourses of deterritorialised indigeneity thus include certain 'symbols' of indigeneity 'without necessarily rooting these into a particular way of life' (Canessa 2014: 166). This argument also reflects the growing proportion of urban indigenous within Bolivia. For example, in the 2012 census, 48% of the indigenous population were recorded as living in urban areas (APCOB 2014: 13). Albro has characterised this urban phenomenon as the 'plural popular' (2010: 80). However, in making his argument, Canessa draws on research from highland urban centres and does not discuss the identity of smaller *lowland* urban indigenous groups (2014: 161). In addition, in contrast to Canessa, others argue that the new constitutional recognition of indigenous rights has actually been premised on rural and territorial constructions of indigeneity, even though a large proportion of the urban indigenous population, such as in Santa Cruz, live in 'peripheral [urban] zones' (APCOB 2014: 13; Albro 2010: 79–80; Rivera Cusicanqui 2015). In addition, most literature on lowland indigeneity in 'plurinational' Bolivia has tended to focus on rural lowland groups' struggles over territory, as exemplified by the conflict around road building in the TIPNIS (e.g. McNeish 2013), or the 'multi-faceted' constructions of indigenous identity in provincial communities (Lopez Pila 2014: 433; Weber 2013). Lowland indigenous identity in urban areas, on the other hand, has received less attention.

Furthermore, within Santa Cruz, urban indigenous identities may not map neatly onto the distinction between marginalized 'territorialised' and empowered 'deterritorialised' groups, given that both urban Ayoreo and peri-urban Guaraní 'communities' exist within the city (and peri-urban area) and so in a liminal space between such categories (Roca Ortiz 2008; APCOB 2014).¹² However, the specific construction of urban lowland indigenous identities remains underexplored, particularly as related to indigenous economies. As wider research within South America and beyond has largely focused on the *territorialised* indigenous (e.g. Gombay 2017; Anthias 2017), there is thus 'a gap in our understanding of urban multiethnic economies and Indigenous

¹¹ See also Ravindran who makes a related distinction between 'revivalist and expansionist' visions of indigeneity (2019a: 951).

¹² APCOB is an NGO based in Santa Cruz working to support lowland indigenous and peasant peoples. The title of their report, written in coordination with the public university UAGRM, 'Nunca nos fuimos' (we never left) also emphasizes lowland indigenous peoples' longstanding territorial connection with the city (2014).

experiences in intersectional and segregated labour markets’ (Radcliffe 2020: 381). Through choosing Santa Cruz as the case study site, the research aims to understand experiences of employment for urban indigenous women, who are increasingly part of the ‘plural popular’, but who may receive little support or recognition from the state or from indigenous organisations (Rivera Cusicanqui 2010).

There are six main lowland indigenous groups living in Santa Cruz, however, I have limited my research to only one group to provide greater depth. While the Chiquitano, Guarayo, Yurakaré and Mojeño population are mostly dispersed within the city, the majority of the Ayoreo and Guaraní population are concentrated in urban and peri-urban communities and neighbourhoods. I decided not to work with a dispersed group as this would have made recruitment more difficult and would have meant that I could not hold the urban location as a constant, further fragmenting the data in an already complex intersectional study (see 1.4.1). I worked with Guaraní women rather than Ayoreo women for practical and theoretical reasons. Firstly, Ayoreo women speak less Spanish and communities are more closed than the peri-urban Guaraní neighbourhoods, partly as a result of extreme discrimination (APCOB 2014: 117, 128, 135; APCOB 2016: 55, 105–9). Secondly, Ayoreo women commonly work in the sale of handicrafts and so would be less useful in understanding the wider intersectional shifts in employment (APCOB 2014: 138; APCOB 2016: 69).

1.3.2 The Guaraní in Bolivia and Santa Cruz

The Guaraní indigenous people are spread across Brazil, Argentina, Paraguay and Bolivia (APCOB 2014: 111; Ros Izquierdo & Combes 2003: 18). In the 2012 census, 96,842 people were recorded as Guaraní in Bolivia, the fourth most populous indigenous group within Bolivia (INE 2015: 30). Guaraní communities are located in the departments of Santa Cruz, Chuquisaca and Tarija and are conformed of three groups (the Isoseño, the Ava and the Simba).

According to the historiography, small groups of Tupí-Guaraní migrated from Brazil and Paraguay in the 15th and 16th centuries and then settled, intermarrying with the Chané; one explanation is

that the Guaraní arrived in Bolivia looking for the ‘land without evil’ (*ivi maraeti*) (Caurey 2015a: 10–11; Diez Aleste 2012: 9–11; Postero 2007: 25; Saignes 2007). However, this is politically controversial, with the Assembly of Guaraní People (APG) arguing that it has been an ‘invention of *karai* [white] academics’ (Caurey 2015b: 11). The APG has maintained on the other hand that the Guaraní have ‘always’ been in their Bolivian territory (Caurey 2015b: 11; Churimay, 1997 in Zapata Perez 2008: 11–12). According to Postero, other historians provide textual evidence to suggest that the Guaraní arrived in Bolivia 50-100 years before the Spanish (2007: 235n4). During the colonial and republican periods, the influence of Catholic missions, as well as the power of the *haciendas* (landed estates), often resulted in the displacement as well as the slavery and serfdom of Guaraní communities, which has continued in some cases into the 21st century (Caurey 2012: 81–93). The resistance of Guaraní peoples culminated in their brutal suppression (and massacre) at the battle of Kuruyuki in 1892 (Diez Aleste 2012: 16–17; Ros Izquierdo & Combes 2003: 35).

Following the 1932-5 Chaco war, Guaraní temporary migrations to the rural periphery of Santa Cruz to work in the sugar cane harvest were common (Ros Izquierdo & Combes 2003: 36). However, following the agrarian reform in 1953, permanent Guaraní migrations to the city’s then rural periphery increased with the promise of land, particularly in the 1960s when the Guaraní were granted over 500 hectares of land (Postero 2007: 99). Migrants, mostly *Isoseños*, predominantly came from the Chaco due to issues of agricultural production, sometimes via Argentina (Ros Izquierdo & Combes 2003: 36–41). The peri-urban communities of this research were formed from the early 1960s (Ros Izquierdo & Combes 2003: 50).

In 1987, the Guaraní people founded the *Asamblea del Pueblo Guaraní* (Assembly of the Guaraní people – APG), their national organisation, formed of departmental councils and zonal *capitanías* (Vargas Delgado & Álvarez Paniagua 2014: 45). The communities of peri-urban Santa Cruz are part of the *capitanía* of Zona Cruz, formed in 1992 (Ros Izquierdo & Combes 2003: 21). Each community has a communal leadership (including a women’s president), with a *capitán* or *capitana* at its head. Within the municipality of Santa Cruz, 14,687 Guaraní were recorded in the 2012 census, making the Guaraní the fourth most populous indigenous group in the municipality, notably significantly smaller than highland Quechua and Aymara (Appendix Table H1).

1.3.3 Case study sites

According to definitions of the Zona Cruz, my peri-urban research sites would be considered Guaraní ‘barrios’ (neighbourhoods) rather than ‘comunidades’ (communities) as land titles are individual, even though collective titles were originally granted (Postero 2007; Postero 2017; Ros Izquierdo & Combes 2003). However, these definitions are not universally accepted, with Guaraní leaders arguing ‘that they are community because they have their organization’ (Ros Izquierdo & Combes 2003: 53). In 2017, I heard both ‘comunidad’ and ‘barrio’ used. I refer to sites constituted with a Guaraní capitanía as ‘communities’, whereas those organized according to ‘juntas vecinales’ (neighbourhood associations) as neighbourhoods, primarily to distinguish the organisational forms, but also out of respect for the Guaraní communal leadership.¹³

Grassroots participants were recruited from four Guaraní communities and six neighbourhoods. Three Guaraní communities and six neighbourhoods adjoin one another and are located in the south-eastern urban periphery. This area was chosen for pragmatic and theoretical reasons, due to finding a Guaraní host family in one of these communities and contact with community leaders granting permission for the research. Working in adjoining communities made it easier to build links with women, while retaining a theoretical focus in one geographical area.

While peri-urban communities were originally agricultural, outside the city boundaries, processes of urbanisation has meant that many previously rural communities are now part of an intensively populated and growing peri-urban area (Postero 2007; Postero 2017). As Postero notes with regards to the communities of her previous research:

‘The city overtook their rural villages...The result is astonishing: the original Guaraní villages are no longer recognizable, swallowed up by a huge urbanización...two communities, which had about sixty Guaraní families in 1996, now has over twenty thousand residents, the great majority of whom are Andean migrants from the highlands.

¹³ One community has both a *junta vecinal* and *capitanía*.

Once quiet rural communities of mud-and-thatch Guaraní houses, now they are bustling, peri-urban working- and middle-class neighborhoods.'

(2017: 152)

The fourth research community is in a small municipality on the city's northern side (around an hour's journey to the city-centre). According to the 2012 census, this municipality has a population of over 6,000, with around 4% identifying as Guaraní speakers. In contrast to Santa Cruz, this is a higher proportion than Quechua or Aymara.¹⁴ This community has a slightly different history as predominantly *Ava* Guaraní families migrated for male labour in a local sugar factory, where men continue to be employed today. I only included participants from the municipal village, not from surrounding rural communities. This community was included halfway through fieldwork to increase the sample of Guaraní women as the women's president was willing to help recruit participants. While this complicates the aim to keep the location constant, only Guaraní women participated and so this group provided a useful comparison across Guaraní women. The municipality is within commuting distance to Santa Cruz and hence comparable to peri-urban. For reasons of participant confidentiality, the analysis does not distinguish participants in the different communities, except in a couple of instances where living in the comparative municipality seems to make a substantive difference to substantive economic citizenship.

In addition to diverse women from Guaraní communities, predominantly non-Guaraní women from 6 adjoining peri-urban neighbourhoods participated. Social and family networks overlapped, with some children attending common schools, and with one primary health centre covering the entire area. Some street vendors also worked across communities/neighbourhoods.

¹⁴ <http://censosbolivia.ine.gob.bo/censofichacomunidad/> I have not given the exact population figures here to protect anonymity. In providing details of communities, the thesis walks a fine line between providing sufficient information for context, without explicitly identifying communities.

1.4 Methodology

1.4.1 Intersectional methodology

Intersectional research has taken different methodological approaches (McCall 2005). Most analysis has followed the ‘intracategorical’ approach investigating the experiences of a group at a particular site of intersecting categories (McCall 2005: 1780–2). Although useful in gaining in depth understanding, such studies can miss unequal structures across groups, which have instead been investigated through a comparative ‘intercategorical’ approach (McCall 2005: 1786; Perrons & Sigle-Rushton 2012: 70–2). Intersectional researchers also face the difficulty of whether to ‘establish categories of difference at the onset of the study’, which may result in ‘essentialism’ (Mooney 2016: 6; McBride, Hebson & Holgate 2015: 337–8). However, without initial categories, it would be difficult to orient the focus of empirical research (McDowell 2008: 505).

This research combines qualitative intracategorical and intercategorical case studies. Given the gap in the literature on the work of lowland women, the main intracategorical group is Guaraní women, centred on their voices and experiences. However, without any comparative analysis, it would be difficult to understand how Guaraní women’s working lives are situated within wider structures of inequality. While intercategorical studies have often been quantitative, using large-scale statistical data (Yuval-Davis 2011: 166; McDowell 2008: 502; McCall 2001), this research contextualises Guaraní women’s work through qualitative comparisons with other diverse women (see below and 1.5.1) living in the same peri-urban area. This does not mean, however, that ‘spatial constraints’ did not emerge as an important factor for the work experiences of peri-urban women (Hanson & Pratt 1995: 10), but rather through keeping the location (largely) constant, I was able to analyse how place, location and the materiality of the peri-urban area affected diverse women’s work across imbrications of race-ethnicity and migration history.

Firstly, this research compares the experience of Guaraní women with internal highland migrants from the highland and valley departments to understand how structures of race-ethnicity affect women’s work across the complex ‘highland-lowland’ distinction. Secondly, the research includes

the experience of non-indigenous, *Cruzeña* women as well as migrants from other lowland departments to allow for a deeper understanding of the effect of class among the ‘plural popular’. While acknowledging that the experiences and ethnic identities of women in these groups are not homogenous and that such categorisations are largely a theoretical abstraction, these comparisons help to understand wider power structures at play in Bolivia which affect women’s work, in particular the entanglement of ethnicity-race (as interlinked with migration history), as well as gender and class.

However, contrasting intersectional approaches may not be philosophically compatible (McDowell 2008: 503–4). For example, intercategorical approaches are most closely aligned with positivism and realism while intracategorical approaches have drawn on interpretive epistemologies (Martinez Dy, Martin & Marlow 2014: 450–55; McDowell 2008: 503–4). However, Haraway’s approach of ‘webbed connections’, which is ‘partial’, ‘situated and embodied’ provides an epistemologically coherent way of working across intercategorical and intracategorical approaches as it retains the foundational status of women’s knowledge, while also recognising its contingent and contextual character (Wolf 1996: 14–5; Haraway 1991: 190–1; Grosfoguel 2007: 213; Yuval-Davis 2015: 94). In addition, abstractions are drawn from women’s socio-spatial and ‘place-specific’ experiences (Falconer Al-Hindi 1997; Gilbert 1997: 168; Hanson & Pratt 1995: 24–5).

Such a methodological and epistemological approach aligns with the theoretical lens of assemblage and the focus on women’s ‘social location’, which also challenges the essentialism of identity categories ‘by tracing the spatiality of the construction of differences’ (Hanson & Pratt 1995: 24; Radcliffe 2015a: 73–4). Thus, through an assemblage analysis, we can understand how categories of race-ethnicity, gender and class come to solidify, entangle and take shape contingently in specific socio-material locations interlinked with wider shifts (such as in policy or legislation).

1.4.2 Household surveys, sampling methods and data analysis

Among peri-urban women I carried out a household survey (henceforth HS) focused on work, to align with the *locational* research focus and to gain a detailed insight into women's working lives, as interrelated with household and community dynamics. Given the experiential dimensions of women's work, structured survey questions were combined with semi-structured and more open-ended questions on experiences and perceptions of work (See Appendix C1).

The surveys took from over an hour to over six hours and often necessitated multiple sessions (Appendix Table B2). Some surveys were not completed because women chose not to continue. In addition to HS, shorter semi-structured interviews were carried out with some women focused on credit/debt (with two women) or loosely based on sections of the household survey but in a less rigid format to reduce the time required, as well as to allow for potentially greater experiential data by loosening the structure. While the initial aim was to carry out a random sample for my HS, this rapidly proved infeasible, with the result that my final sample is a mix of random, snowball and purposive sampling (See Appendix C2 for further discussion of sampling, also Chapter 4.3.1).

Informed consent procedures were undertaken with all household survey and interview (henceforth HS/I) and Focus Group (FG) participants.¹⁵ When women were illiterate, I read the information sheet or explained the research verbally, depending on their preferences (in alignment with ethics approval from the Department of Geography). Separate information sheets were used for grassroots women and professional women (working in organisations and the public sector). During research, as non-Guaraní women were recruited, I changed the information sheet to better reflect the diversity of participants. A condensed information sheet translated into Guaraní was provided to Guaraní participants if they wished. Pseudonyms or interview numbers are used to identify participants (see Appendix B). Public sector interviewees are identified by location within a Ministry at the national level, or municipal government (Alcaldía), or departmental government (Gobernación). The only exception to this is the departmental headquarters of the Ministry of Work in Santa Cruz, where two interviewees are inspectors (Chapter 7).

¹⁵ For short informal conversations and participant observation activities, I explained the research verbally, as appropriate.

Household surveys and interviews provided the richest data about women's working lives and their experiences of work, with the vast majority recorded (some participants chose not to record). Given the large number of HS and interviews, as well as length, it was not possible to transcribe all the material. Detailed notes for HS and interviews were typed up and analysed. I have selectively listened to and transcribed audios when needed for clarification or quotes. Handwritten and typed fieldnotes act as checks and clarification, and provide some examples for the analysis of HS/I.

Data were analysed through excel spreadsheets and NVIVO (a software for qualitative analysis). Firstly, I added HS (and interview data where applicable) into a main excel spreadsheet to allow the analysis of questions together and to easily filter by categorical group or other criteria, such as age or language, to facilitate intersectional analysis. I also added further columns to the spreadsheet as necessary to further code questions according to descriptive criteria. For example, for a question asking women if they perceived differences between men and women's work, I categorised responses as to whether gendered work was equal or different, and whether women or men were higher paid or more easily found work. I then made further columns to categorise any reasons given for differences.

Secondly, given that important themes ran across questions, I used qualitative software for thematic analysis. Having carried out an initial round of coding in RQDA for a subset of HS, which generated over 70 descriptive codes, I then switched to NVIVO software (given better functionality) and coded HS/I according to broader themes (18), drawing on the original descriptive codes. During this process of analysis, I worked back and forth across the main spreadsheet and NVIVO.

In addition to descriptive and thematic coding, I made further excel spreadsheets to categorise women's work and self-employment across time periods (for the 130 peri-urban women participants – see 1.5). Starting with recent work, I made lists of self-employed/paid activities and recorded the women carrying out these activities. The categorisations of activities are developed from the ground up from women's labour histories. In a master spreadsheet I then categorized

women's entire labour histories by assigning activity codes for each time period, adding to the list of activities where necessary. These spreadsheets provide the data for Appendix E.

1.5 Introducing participants

In total 130 grassroots women participated in household surveys (HS) and interviews (I) with a further 30 women participating only in focus groups (FG) (See Appendix B). HS and interviews were carried out in women's homes, most commonly outside in yards. I also interviewed 7 grassroots men as a small comparative sample. In addition, I attended meetings of micro-credit groups and carried out limited participant observation with women beyond the spaces of the home. I also interviewed peri-urban professionals (3), Guaraní and other leaders (8), public officials/civil servants (14), NGO officials (4) and women from other lowland indigenous groups (2). In total, the research included 200 participants, not including the many other informal conversations with Guaraní and other diverse women in the peri-urban area.

1.5.1 Intercategorical groups: self-identification, language and migration history

To help the intersectional comparative analysis, the grassroots peri-urban participants are categorised into three 'intercategorical' groups (Appendix Table B2), namely Guaraní (78 HS/I participants), Highland Migrant – henceforth HM (22 HS/I participants), and Cruzeña/Lowland Migrant – henceforth C/LM (30 HS/I participants). As explained below these groups were categorised according to indigenous identity, language and migration history. When asking women about their indigenous identity, I adapted a question from the 2012 census to ask whether they belonged to an 'indigenous originary or peasant or Afro-Bolivian group or nation'.¹⁶ The complex term 'indigenous originary peasant' is of political importance in the reconstitution of the Bolivian state as plurinational. It was first produced through an alliance of peasant and indigenous groups from the early to mid-2000s in the 'Unity pact' as part of a campaign and proposals for a constituent assembly; it subsequently forms a new 'legal category' in the 2009 Constitution as

¹⁶ The 2012 census asked: 'As a Bolivian man or Bolivian woman, do you belong to any indigenous originary peasant or Afro-Bolivian nation or people?'

‘Indigenous Originary Peasant Nations and Peoples’ (Garcés 2011: 49–51). This term ‘constitutive of a new political subject’ thus brings together a multiplicity of indigenous groups, class identities and rights claims and so highlights some of the ongoing tensions in Bolivia around indigeneity (Garcés 2011: 50; Canessa 2014: 159–60).

Within the Guaraní group, the main ‘intracategorical’ group, women were included primarily according to self-identification but also language.¹⁷ 62 of the 78 women spoke Guaraní in addition to Spanish, with the vast majority speaking Guaraní fluently, commonly as their first language. A further 12, mostly younger women, explained that they could understand Guaraní but could not speak it. Four women neither spoke nor understood Guaraní. While the majority identified as Guaraní in response to the complex indigeneity question as discussed above, a minority of Guaraní-speaking women did not identify as ‘Guaraní’, with a wide variety of answers provided.¹⁸ A handful of women (all Guaraní speakers) answered in the negative, with one woman explaining that she belonged to an indigenous group but did not know the name. A few women seemed confused by the question asking their family members for help,¹⁹ while others gave answers based on Guaraní ‘territory’ specifying that they were, for example, from the Cordillera (province) or from Charagua (now an autonomous Guaraní territory).

Within this group, Guaraní women have diverse migration histories. 33 Guaraní participants were born in one of the peri-urban communities or comparative municipality, while a further few were born in the city of Santa Cruz.²⁰ A further 29 were born in communities within the Cordillera province. Another 7 women were born in other or unspecified provinces within Santa Cruz. A further Guaraní woman was born in the province of the Gran Chaco in Tarija, while two women were born in Argentina. Of the women who migrated to Santa Cruz (the peri-urban area and

¹⁷ However, most women finally included in the Guaraní group were recruited precisely because I already understood that they were Guaraní.

¹⁸ Listening back to the audios, I often asked this question simply as ‘originary indigenous’, missing off the ‘peasant’ as well as ‘Afro-bolivian’ to women I already understood were Guaraní. This seems to be because of my own subconscious bias, alongside wanting to reduce the complexity of the question, which might explain why fewer Guaraní women identified as ‘campesino’.

¹⁹ One woman who understands Guaraní but does not speak it first answered as Campesino but then corrected this to Guaraní after an interjection by her daughter. A few HM women also had help/interjections from family members or partners at this point in the HS.

²⁰ I do not have information on place of birth for 3 Guaraní interviewees.

comparative municipality), around a third arrived as children or babies, a further third as adolescents, and the final third as adults. A handful of women who arrived as adults in the community had first lived in urban neighbourhoods as younger adolescents or children, including two who migrated for work at a young age.

In contrast to the Guaraní group, categorisations of smaller comparative groups (HM and C/LM) are centred on migration history rather than ethnic identification (although these categorisations largely align with language - see below). While women's self-identification in these groups is more fluid than Guaraní women, highlighting the complex understandings of indigeneity post-2006, categorisation in these two groups is key theoretically to understand Guaraní women's situated experiences in relation to power-geometries of 'highland-lowland' indigenous and 'colla-camba' within peri-urban Santa Cruz.

The 22 women in the HM group had migrated from the departments of Cochabamba (7), Potosí (7 women), La Paz (5) and Chuquisaca (3). Apart from two women, all speak an indigenous language (predominantly Quechua). Over half of women identified as peasant or as indigenous peasant/originary. As with Guaraní women, some women qualified an initial answer by referring to their territory or place of origin (including a mining centre). Only 6 specified the name of a majority highland group or language (Quechua or Aymara), while a further woman gave the name of a minority indigenous group in Potosí. One HM Quechua-speaker identified as 'Originary from Santa Cruz', even though she had not grown up in the city. A further woman identified as Afro-Bolivian (GW48). Two Quechua-speaking HM women did not identify as indigenous (or peasant/originary), while a further woman who did not speak an indigenous language identified as 'mixed' (GW57). One Quechua-speaking HM's identification is unknown.²¹ However, despite this variation, given the documented historic racism shown to Andean migrant women in Santa Cruz, it is important to analyse their experiences as a group, particularly as most women's language and migration history (from provincial communities) suggest that there may be (racialised) embodied markers as '*collas*', irrespective of indigenous identification (see chapter 5). The confusion around indigeneity among highland migrants, as well as the importance of *embodied* markers, is indicated

²¹ This was an interview with a market-vendor at her stall. I felt it was too personal a question to ask in the public space of the market.

by the reply of one HM woman. Although she shows awareness of indigeneity's political power by proudly referencing the Incas, she is unsure how to name her own identity:

'We are an indigenous people, but ay! I don't know what this is called, with pollera,²² you see? We are that, the peasants [...] Our ancestors were Incas'

(GW68)

It is important to note here that 4 further women from the highlands were included in the C/LM group rather than HM group as they had been brought to the department of Santa Cruz as a baby or infant child (under the age of 5). In these cases, they have grown up in Santa Cruz and, for example, speak Spanish with a Cruzeño accent and so embody fewer embodied markers of highland identity. However, I indicate in Appendix Table B2 when these C/LM women speak Quechua, a highland indigenous language, learnt from parents or relatives (as I also do for children of HM born in Santa Cruz). The identity of *Cruzeña* children of HM was complex. For example, a Quechua-speaking woman who had been brought to provincial Santa Cruz from Potosí as a baby first answered that she was 'indigenous' inflected as a question, but then changed her mind. Another Quechua-speaking woman born in provincial Santa Cruz with HM parents, answered that she belonged to the '*karai*' using the Guaraní word for those who are not Guaraníes (also for white people), but going on to explain that her parents are '*collas*'.

Among the C/LM group, half of the women had been born in the city of Santa Cruz. Among the remaining half, in addition to early childhood HM, the group includes migrants from provincial Santa Cruz including the Chiquitanía, as well as other lowland departments, including the Beni (3 women) and Tarija (1 woman). Furthermore, one woman (GW61) is from the lowland part of Chuquisaca, rather than the Quechua-speaking valleys. While the majority of women in the C/LM group born in the lowlands said that they did not belong to an indigenous group (with one woman further specifying that she was '*mestiza*'), a few women did identify as IOC/A-B. One woman identified as Afro-Bolivian (GW50) while one said that she was '*originaria*' from Tarija (GW94), again referencing a territorial origin. A further woman identified as Guarayo as she had been born

²² The *pollera* is the pleated skirt worn by highland indigenous and *chola* women (see Appendix A Glossary).

in the province of Guarayos where her mother had lands (Department of Santa Cruz) (GW49), although in the 2012 census she had put down '*mestizo*'. She explained because 'one starts finding out about their roots', suggesting that *Cruzeña* women may change identification given the political revalorisation of indigeneity. Other women in the C/LM group explained they did not know whether they belonged to an IOC group, including one woman from the *Chiquitanía* (GW109), who said she did not know if she was *indígena* but that she was *Chiquitana* (which could refer to someone who is from the lowland area of the Chiquitanía as well as the indigenous group from this region).

The array of interpretations, as well as some confusion over ethnic identity displayed by diverse women – including, but less so by Guaraní women – highlights the fuzzy as well as political construction of indigeneity within Bolivia (See also Weber 2013). Given the diversity of identities, while the analysis is mainly *intercategorical*, the thesis also aims to challenge the essentialism in this categorisation, not only by interrogating the processes constituting intercategorical difference (through assemblage), but also by drawing attention to instances where there are differences within as well as commonalities across groups.

1.5.2 Basic socio-demographics

As shown by Appendix Table D1, participants were in age groups between 18 and 79 years, although most women were between 20 and 64, with the highest proportion of participants in the 25-39 age categories. A representative sample of ages proved difficult as older women were often more reluctant to participate. As shown by Table D2, the majority of women were married or cohabiting. Women commonly had between 2 and 4 children (Table D3) although some had larger families – particularly older women. At the other end of the spectrum, some (mostly) younger women did not have any children, although four young Guaraní women were pregnant with their first child at the time of interview. While no large differences exist between groups, Guaraní women have a slightly higher fertility rate, with an average 3.7 children in comparison with 3.5 children among HM women and 3.0 children among C/LM women. However, as discussed, this is not a random sample and these figures do not reflect the age disparities between intercategorical groups, with a smaller proportion of Guaraní women in the 45+ age groups.

As shown in Table D4, despite adult literacy programmes, a fairly large proportion of the sample was illiterate or with low literacy skills, with a higher proportion of Guaraní and notably HM women (functionally) illiterate. Some women were able to sign their names, while others could read and write a little. A higher proportion of younger women were literate (97% in the 18-29 group) in comparison to older women (44% of women over 60). Whereas 56% of women over 60 were functionally illiterate, I interviewed no women aged 30 and under who fell into this category. However, there were a handful of women in their 30s who were functionally illiterate (4 Guaraní and 1 HM woman), as well as one woman under 30 with poor reading/writing skills (a Guaraní woman).

1.6 Reflections on (de)colonial and (non-)participatory research

Tuhiwai Smith argues that the practice of research in ‘defining legitimate knowledge’ is integrally bound up with the history of (epistemic) colonialism (2012: 175). In order to guard against ‘epistemic violence’ using Spivak’s term, reflexivity is vital in terms of acknowledging (privileged) positionality (as a British, white, middle-class feminist), as well as the unequal relations of power within the research process (Tuhiwai Smith 2012: 178; Undurraga 2012). This process also involves taking on board Spivak’s point of ‘unlearning one’s privilege as one’s loss’ (McEwan 2009: 68), including challenging epistemically privileged position, such as through ‘dialogues and communication with Third World Women’ with the aim of speaking ‘with’ rather than ‘for’ (Lugones 2010: 755; McEwan 2009: 67–1; Radcliffe 1994: 29). I have considered indigenous women as participants and collaborators in this project rather than as ‘subjects’ or ‘informants’ in the aim of developing a participatory, dialogic research process (Radcliffe 2015a: 28–9; Undurraga 2012: 420; Lugones 2010). Inspired by Radcliffe’s collaborative research with Ecuadorian indigenous women and Riaño’s participatory methodology, the aim has been ‘to include women’s analytical voice in the research process’ (Radcliffe 2015a: 28–9; Undurraga 2012: 420; Riaño 2011: 1534).

However, despite these aims, I have mostly been unsuccessful in developing decolonial research in collaboration with indigenous women as active participants. As emphasized in the literature,

participatory and decolonial research requires a long engagement with a community and process of developing priorities for research in a dialogic process (Datta 2018; Hacker 2013). Yet, this is not how I formulated my PhD proposal, research design or questions, and this has had lasting implications throughout the research. It is important that I openly discuss this in ‘an on-going process of becoming, unlearning, and relearning’ (Datta 2018: 2). Otherwise, aspirations to decolonise research may conceal colonial practice, while at the same time masking guilt in ‘moves to innocence’ (Noxolo 2017; citation from Tuck & Yang 2012: 1; Cahill 2007: 269).

Firstly, the initial proposal was formulated within the UK because of a research gap I identified in scholarly literature and because of personal academic interests. Before starting the PhD, I had carried out an internship with a women’s rights NGO in La Paz, and, although I started to contact potential research sites, including Santa Cruz, initial conversations were predominantly with *mestiza* middle-class feminists. Before starting the PhD, I had only spent a few days in Santa Cruz and had not discussed research with Guaraní women. In the first year of the PhD, I carried out a small pilot/scoping study, where I was able to have initial conversations with two Guaraní women leaders (as well as women from other lowland indigenous groups). This did help me gain a better understanding of issues in Santa Cruz for indigenous women, but it would be disingenuous to say that it was a dialogic process as I had already framed the research focus around work and employment.

When I left for Santa Cruz in September 2016, I spent the first three months carrying out language training, with the aim that having some facility in the Guaraní language would help me to build up trust as well as better understand Guaraní women’s social world. However, intensive language courses did not exist and so I had to make do with three concurrent courses - two at universities and one with a government Guaraní language institute (I also had some classes with two private teachers). These university and institute classes are aimed at public officials and teachers, who are now required to learn an indigenous language (see Chapter 6). The level of the courses was basic, focusing on greetings, presenting oneself, numbers, telling the time etc., and I ended up with little conversational ability. Furthermore, although I tried to find accommodation with a Guaraní

speaking family, this proved difficult. Thus, during language training, I stayed in the centre of Santa Cruz (with a friend of a friend from La Paz).²³

However, at the end of language training in December 2016 I was able to move in with a Guaraní host family in the fieldwork site, in one of the peri-urban communities, where I lived for a year until the end of fieldwork in December 2017. This wonderful family of three generations shared their home, meals and lives with me, despite limited space and complex lives. I am particularly grateful for the incredible generosity of one adult daughter in the family who shared her (and her children's) bedroom with me for a year. Living with the family and in this community was invaluable in providing a grounded perspective on the gendered life-rhythms, difficulties and socio-material dynamics within the peri-urban area.

However, despite this, the research process continued otherwise in fairly non-participatory ways. In initial conversations with peri-urban women, I did not step back from the focus on work/employment to ask the women the issues that they would like a research project to address – their priorities might have been on other issues, such as justice or land. Thus, although in January 2017 I tried to develop my household survey with women leaders and then reformulate the questions accordingly, this was tokenism as I had already extensively developed the questions.

I also organised focus groups with women in the aim of developing a dialogic process. First of all, I discussed with the women's president the possibility of setting up a community advisory board for the research (Hacker 2013: 72). However, she was not keen, possibly given the divisions in the community. Following this, I hoped that by holding open focus groups and inviting all Guaraní women to attend we could start a research process together and include women's analytic voice. However, it was difficult to get women along to focus groups, and to actively participate once they were there. Not only was this due to their busy lives and caring responsibilities, but also lack of trust and that the research was not meaningful for many as an external imposition imbricated in unequal hierarchies of power. Furthermore, in deciding not to participate, some women were clearly aware of these imbalances of power. I heard that some women did not want to participate

²³ This was in a gated high-rise block of flats, with security guards – a condominium, the kind of building in which Guaraní and other low-income women work as domestics and cleaners.

as they thought I would waste their time; another woman thought I would make money with their data.

Attention to the constraints on women's time in actively participating and the lack of meaning the research may have held for them also highlights the limitations of the research's feminist (intersectional) approach. As with decolonial research, feminist research presumes a collaborative methodology to challenge power hierarchies between women and 'democratise' the research process (Gunaratnam & Hamilton 2017: 6), yet the very focus on *women's* work was not developed in collaboration with Guaraní women as discussed above, but rather by my own feminist interests. Thus, my own feminism seems to have blinded me into presuming a shared solidarity and thereby mutual understanding (however tenuous) with Guaraní women *as women* and 'as an already constituted, coherent group' (Mohanty 1984: 336–7), as well as a research problematic defined by women's work. Yet, as Hippert notes, with relation to rural indigenous women's challenge to gender mainstreaming assumptions in participatory development in the Bolivian central valleys, issues of class ('poverty and overwork') or ethnicity may be more pertinent for women than gender ('men and patriarchy'), even while the experiences of class/ethnicity are entangled in specific relations of gender (2011: 505). This point was reflected in a discussion with a Guaraní participant, Doña Isidora, as to why some young Guaraní girls leave school and form partnerships at a young age, not straightforwardly due to patriarchy but given exhaustion from poverty and as a route to have 'their own resources'. Doña Isidora tries to encourage them to study, but the young women reply: 'No, I'm already tired' (GW78).

Thus, my failure to carry out non-participatory research can be seen as part and parcel of an insufficiently reflexive feminism, given that the research proposal and questions were not framed through a relational understanding of gender as developed collaboratively and contextually with women. The very framing of the research problematic thus *implicitly* draws on what Mohanty has called 'Third World Difference' which rests on 'ahistorical' and 'monolithic' understandings of patriarchy and the oppression of third world women (Mohanty 1984: 335), even as the thesis *explicitly* explores and analyses gender relations as intersectional and contextually located.

These uneven dynamics and the tension between implicit frame (third world difference) and explicit analysis (contextualised intersectionality) have implications for the research in many ways, but particularly in terms of findings and ethics. In terms of findings, the ‘refusals’ of women to participate highlight just how incomplete and partial this thesis is (Tuck & Yang 2014). Thus, the analysis in this thesis is not meant to be a definitive or authoritative account of Guaraní and other diverse women’s experiences of work, but rather a partial account, in which my own positionality and framing of the research, as well as unequal power relations must be taken into account. However, mindful of these inequalities, throughout the thesis I attempt to centre the voices of women through citations. In addition, by analysing women’s experiences through an assemblage lens, in which diverse elements are brought together, I hope also to foreground the fragmentation and limits of my own understanding, as I try to make sense of my incomplete and partial glimpses of a complex, multifaceted and connected whole. This also has resonance with Page’s feminist method of ‘vulnerable writing’ whereby the writer recognises ‘forms of not-knowing’, thereby ‘exposing the fragility of the knowledge assembly’ (2017: 14).

In terms of ethics, considerations also need to go beyond issues of consent procedures to social justice aims (Lincoln & Cannella 2009). While such ethical considerations will be harder to fulfil, given that this research was not developed in a participatory process, I will disseminate and discuss research findings with the communities of the research and stakeholders such as Bolivian NGOs and academics.²⁴ While I hoped to make a trip to Bolivia before thesis submission to incorporate critical feedback into the final analysis, unfortunately this has not been possible given time and financial constraints.

As part of this dissemination, I plan to write a short, policy focused report in Spanish, as well as an even shorter summary of research findings to provide to participants. I also hope to present my results in an oral presentation and informal conversations for those who are interested but are not literate. I will also need to be careful how to present some of the potentially more contentious parts of my research in these outputs for Bolivian collaborators and participants potentially omitting some aspects, particularly the ongoing circulation of stigmatising discourse within the peri-urban

²⁴ One NGO who helped me with initial contacts was also quite explicit that they expected me to share research findings.

area, so as not to inflame underlying tensions (particularly given social unrest following the disputed elections in October 2019). Through these other outputs, I hope to engage with the community and stakeholders as to how the findings might be used in the best way for social justice purposes, such as policy activism with relevant local and national government departments.²⁵

1.7 Looking ahead

This chapter has situated the research questions in relation to the literature and outlined the theoretical framework and lens, methodology and case-study sites. Building on the initial discussion of inequalities in indigenous women's work in this chapter, Chapter 2 contains a brief overview of statistical patterns of inequality as well as analysis of policy development post-MAS to understand the overall configuration of economic inequality, thereby addressing research questions 1 and 3 at the national level. Chapters 3-7 are the empirical core of the thesis. Chapters 3 and 4 develop the concept of the gender-ethnic assemblage of labour as integral to an intersectional understanding of economic citizenship. Chapter 3 begins with a focus on informal commercial work and women's financial work of social reproduction within the peri-urban area, with Chapter 4 shifting the focus to the operation of patriarchal gender norms and socio-spatial constraints, particularly across paid work and unpaid reproductive work. Chapters 5 and 6 develop the intersectional analysis of the thesis. Chapter 5 examines the operation of (embodied) discrimination at work as power-geometries of race and ethnicity are reconfigured, while Chapter 6 discusses uneven urban encounters, focusing on diverse women's socio-spatial life worlds and networks, extending discussion of the materiality within the assemblage of labour into the city. Chapter 7 focuses more explicitly on questions of citizen agency asking whether Guaraní and other diverse low-income women have been able to claim their economic rights, following new policy and legislation, both collectively as well as individually in 'acts' of citizenship. Chapter 8 summarises the findings in relation to the research questions, as well as highlighting implications for the wider literature as well as policy. While chapters 2-7 predominantly engage with research questions 1-3, the concluding chapter addresses the wider question 4.

²⁵ In his collaborative research in Cochabamba with market associations, Goldstein shows how the usefulness of research outputs may differ between academia and research participants (2016).

Chapter 2: Configuring economic inequality and citizenship in Bolivia

2.1 Introduction

To understand the configuration of unequal economic citizenship post-2006, this short chapter draws on literature on the exclusionary temporalities of (neoliberal) citizenship (Povinelli 2011; Brandzel 2016). Povinelli has pointed to the ‘paradox’ of statistics that while they make chronic violence visible, they also hide the seeping of this violence into everyday life (2011: 153). The following section (2.2) aims to make visible structural economic inequalities through a brief statistical panorama. Through an analysis of policy in the second section of the chapter (2.3) through a ‘temporal’ lens, the chapter explores the reconfiguration of gendered economic citizenship in the post-neoliberal citizenship regime. This chapter aims to provide the national context within which to situate women’s grounded experiences of labour and economic citizenship within peri-urban Santa Cruz in chapters 3-7.

2.2 Statistical patterns of economic inequality

Latin America has been labelled the ‘lopsided continent’ given extreme inequality (Hoffman & Centeno 2003). However, along with most other countries in the Latin American and Caribbean region, there has been a recent reduction in income inequality in Bolivia as measured by the Gini coefficient, which fell from 58.5 in 2005 to 44 in 2017 (World Bank).²⁶ There has been a corresponding reduction in income poverty, although poverty levels are still fairly high using the national measure (36.4% in 2017) (World Bank).²⁷ Notably urban poverty levels are lower overall and, in the department of Santa Cruz, 32% of the urban population fell under poverty lives in 2012 (Hernández, Olivarez & Bernal 2016: 179). The trends on declining poverty raise questions as to the effects on urban indigenous women, given that the labour market has historically been a

²⁶ <https://data.worldbank.org/indicator/SI.POV.GINI?end=2017&locations=BO&start=2001&view=chart>

²⁷ <https://data.worldbank.org/indicator/SI.POV.NAHC?end=2017&locations=BO&start=2001&view=chart>

principal site of inequality, with indigenous women considered one of the most disadvantaged groups (Esquivel 2012: 31; Ñopo 2012: 247; Quiroga Diaz 2011: 103).

In the Andean region and Bolivia, household survey data show income differentials by gender and ethnicity (Jiménez Pozo, Landa Casazola & Yañez Aguilar 2006; Larrea & Montenegro Torres 2006; Trivelli 2006). In 2002, indigenous women earned on average 25% of the earnings of non-indigenous men (calculated from data in Jiménez Pozo, Landa Casazola & Yañez Aguilar 2006: 49). Using data from 2005, Wanderley has shown that the urban gender-ethnic income gap even increases with educational level; furthermore indigenous women in all occupational categories have the lowest average income in comparison with indigenous men, non-indigenous men and women working in the same category, apart from domestic workers (2009: 116–8).

Labour markets are also highly stratified, segmented by gender and ethnicity (CEPAL 2013: 98–103; Jiménez Zamora 2010: 4). In Bolivia, indigenous women's work has been characterised by informality, particularly under neoliberal structural adjustment policies (Agadjanian 2002: 259–60). A high proportion of urban indigenous women in Bolivia are found in the (informal) tertiary sector, particularly in services and commerce, and often work as self-employed as in other Latin American countries (CEPAL 2013: 98, 100; Wanderley 2009: 144–7; Jiménez Pozo, Landa Casazola & Yañez Aguilar 2006: 49). In Bolivia, as elsewhere in the Andean region, indigenous women have also historically constituted a large proportion of domestic workers, indicating how caring work is racialized, as well as classed and gendered (Wanderley 2008: 158–60; Wanderley 2014a: 21; CEPAL 2013: 102; Blofield 2012: 84; Gill 1994; Radcliffe 1990).

In addition to horizontal segmentation, labour markets are also segmented vertically, with indigenous groups, and particularly women, often found at the lower end of the occupational ladder (Jiménez Zamora 2010; Wanderley 2009: 119; Rangel 2004: 67). Using 2005 Bolivian household survey data, Jiménez Zamora found that being indigenous increased the likelihood of being in poor quality self-employment, while being male increased the likelihood of being in good quality self-employment (2010: 26). Furthermore, a high proportion of Andean indigenous women work in non-remunerated forms of labour, such as in family businesses (Radcliffe 2015a: 89; Jiménez Pozo, Landa Casazola & Yañez Aguilar 2006: 48). Indigenous women's access to productive

resources in the Andean region is also highly variegated, and women often lack access to credit and technology (Radcliffe 2015a: 111; Farah & Salazar 2009: 113).

There is little quantitative research post-2006 which disaggregates to examine the intersections between gender and ethnic labour market inequality. One exception is Hernani-Limarino and Mena's study of women's employment (2014). However, their treatment of indigenous women is brief, and they do not address questions of change. Other studies that do disaggregate were published in the early years of the MAS government, and therefore tend to analyse statistics prior to 2006 (e.g. Wanderley 2009). However, quantitative studies on gender inequalities in the labour market post-2006 highlight that women's disadvantaged position in the labour market has largely continued. For example, in 2008, a higher proportion of women were found in extremely precarious work in comparison to men in the principal cities (Escobar de Pabón 2009: 76). The proportion of women in self-employment (which is likely to be informal) also increased to 67.5% in 2011 (Wanderley 2013: 74–5). It has been argued, therefore, that in the early years of the MAS government there had not been an advance of 'one single step' in gender equality in employment in the principal cities (Escobar de Pabón 2009: 83). Another report also found that from 2001-2012 there had been little change in the general pattern of gendered occupational segregation (Jiménez Zamora 2015: 43).

However, there are also signs of some positive changes. For example, there are more women entering into traditionally male dominated sectors, such as education, health, construction and manufacturing, although vertical segregation remains (Jiménez Zamora 2015: 45). Hernani-Limarino and Mena also find that the numbers of women working in remunerated employment increased by 15.94% 2005-2012 (2014: 25). They also find that the gender pay gap decreased slightly between 1999 and 2012 from 0.59 to 0.65 (2014: 22).

2.3 The exclusionary temporalities of post-neoliberal citizenship

The second section of this chapter discusses the gendered legislative and policy context in Bolivia post-2006 (in relation to women's work) to examine how the MAS government has tried to address

some of the inequalities of citizenship as outlined above in the statistical panorama, largely via changes to the *formal* status of gendered economic citizenship.

2.3.1 Legislation and institutional downgrading of gender

As outlined in Appendix Table II, there has been a plethora of legislation and policy affecting women's economic and labour rights post-2006 and modifying the still-standing General Law of Work 1942. While many of women's new constitutional (labour) rights have not been translated into law, labour legislation protecting the rights of pregnant women and new mothers at work has been passed. This legislation may therefore limit discrimination against women of reproductive age, as well as ensure labour stability for fathers (Jiménez Zamora 2011: 642). In addition, wide-ranging new laws against gender-based violence, and racism and discrimination have also been promulgated post-2006.

However, as this sub-section will show, the limited power of women's institutions post-2006, as shown by Appendix Figure II (Organigram) has meant that much progressive policy around gender has not been implemented substantively. Furthermore, the emphasis on tackling gender-based violence as arguably the key focus of gender policy post-2013, alongside the promotion of patchy rights (for 'vulnerable groups') has meant that the policy agenda for women's labour rights has largely focused on protection from individual moments of harm, rather than tackling wider structural inequalities.

In 2008, The National Plan for the Equality of Opportunities 'Women Constructing the New Bolivia to Live Well' was elaborated by the then Viceministry of Gender and Generational Affairs (in the Ministry of Justice), along with the Unit of Gender (under the Viceministry). The plan was elaborated in coordination with women's organisations and has an innovative conceptual section on gender (Vega Ugalde 2014: 77–8). The plan argues that it is necessary to 'decolonise the concept of gender' not only by struggling against 'unjust relations between men and women' as a 'colonial heritage' but also against 'indigenous and popular' forms of patriarchy (2008: 11–12). However, the conceptual vision is 'abandoned' in the policy development section of the plan which

reverts back to a formulaic conceptualisation of women's rights based on a (liberal) equality of opportunities (Vega Ugalde 2014: 78–9)

However, for the most part, the plan's policy recommendations have not been implemented, with seemingly little institutional evaluation. In 2017, the plan had been reformulated as the 'Multisectorial Plan for the Advance in Depatriarchalisation and the right of Women to Live Well'. As part of this, policy recommendations on the redistribution of care from the 2008 plan had simply been copied into the new 2017 plan, without substantive advances since 2008 (PN6). The lack of progress nationally on the care economy has also been underscored by Bolivia's low rating on childcare services in the 'Women's Economic Opportunity Index' developed by the Economist Intelligence Unit in 2012, in which Bolivia was given a score of 0 (Branisa et al. 2016: 85).

In addition, following the publication of the 2008 plan, women's institutions were reorganised within the Ministry of Justice. Yet, rather than being strengthened, they were downgraded highlighting the limited institutionality of gender within the post-neoliberal citizenship regime. The Viceministry of Gender and Generational Affairs was scaled down to the 'General Directorate of Prevention and Elimination of All forms of Gender and Generational Based Violence' (henceforth General Directorate) under the new Viceministry of Equality of Opportunities. As an NGO worker explained, (undeniably important) advances against gender-based violence have unfortunately resulted in the side-lining of gender overall:

We women have lost institutionality [...] At first we asked for a ministry of women. The government said 'no...men are going to ask for a ministry of men', absurdly [...] then a viceministry and finally today it is a headquarters of struggle (lucha) against violence. So [...] the space that it is dedicated to women has been downgraded and now it is restricted to the issue of violence when we women are economic actors, when we women are in many spaces of life and we contribute to the economy of this country [yet] there is no institutionality that is made responsible for this.

NN3

Furthermore, at the time of fieldwork in 2017 the General Directorate had limited staff and budget and relied on external (i.e. non-governmental) financial support (PN6), highlighting that questions of gender equality have not in fact been a policy priority for the post-neoliberal state (Elson & Cagatay 2000: 1359), despite new legislation and discursive commitments.²⁸ Similarly, as highlighted in Appendix Figure I1, gender has also been given little priority within other relevant ministries. The Unit of Depatriarchalisation, created in 2010 under the Viceministry of Decolonisation (under the Ministry of Cultures and Tourism), is also limited in terms of staff and budget, as well as programmatic reach. In 2017 there had also been little (recent) coordination between the Unit of Depatriarchalisation and the General Directorate, with the Unit focusing on the ‘cultural’ decolonisation of gender (Postero 2017; Diaz Carrasco 2014: 149; Ybarnegaray Ortiz 2011: 169). Furthermore, while part of a national ministry, the Unit of Depatriarchalisation works predominantly with women in the highlands (Postero 2017: 78). While this seems largely to be as a result of practical reasons given the extremely limited budget of the Unit located in highland La Paz,²⁹ making travel and coordination with women in the lowlands difficult (PN5), the unit’s conceptual focus on highland ideals of gender complementarity complicates work with lowland women. For example, the president of CNAMIB, the lowland indigenous women’s confederation, has criticised the government’s decolonisation programme for representing a form of Andean colonisation (Vega Ugalde 2014: 83 fn14). As a public official explained:

‘She [The head of the Unit of Depatriarchalisation] is an Aymara woman and as we are in La Paz, we just work more with women from La Paz than with Guaraní women [...] but the issue of resources limits us considerably.’

PN5

In the Ministry of Work, policy on gender equality is further marginalised in that it is devolved to one official with the Unit of Fundamental Rights, created ‘to protect the...rights of the most vulnerable groups’ (Farah, Wanderley & Sánchez 2009: 113). It is important here to examine its

²⁸ However, in 2019, a National Women’s and Depatriarchalisation Service was created (see Appendix Figure I1, fn25).

²⁹ 35,000Bs in 2017 (PN5), just over US \$5,000.

work in relation to the legislative context. Under the 2013 law (Article 7), economic and labour violence is defined as follows:

10. Patrimonial and Economic Violence. Is every action or omission that at affecting the own goods and/or property (gananciales) of women, causes harm or detriment to her assets, securities (valores) or resources; controls or limits her economic revenue (ingresos) and the disposal of the same, or deprives her of the essential means to live.

11. Labour Violence. Is every action that occurs in any area of work on the part of any person of superior, equal or inferior rank that discriminates, humiliates, threatens or intimidates women; that impedes or subordinates her access to employment, permanence or promotion and that infringes the exercise of her rights.

The law thus has the potential to address violence that limits women's access to work and other economic opportunities. In Article 21, the Ministry of Work is specifically tasked with adopting various mechanisms and actions 'to guarantee respect for women', including those which guarantee women's labour rights and prevent discriminatory requirements to access jobs, unjustified dismissal and sexual harassment at work, as well as to reconcile work life with family life. However, in 2017, this had not substantially advanced in terms of concrete policy at the Unit, with limited reach nationally, and a focus mostly on raising awareness of women's labour rights through what one interviewee disparagingly referred to as a 'a little bit [just] repeating the law' (NN3).³⁰ When I spoke to a public official regarding gender at the Unit of Fundamental Rights, I was told that:

'Within the area of gender, what is done is to identify vulnerable groups of women, where their labour rights are not being respected, where they are suffering violence, so what we do is to carry out training and at the same time inform these women about their rights'

PN3

³⁰ Statistics from the Ministry of Work highlights the small capacity of the unit's training programme on gender, which in 2017 only reached 4 out of the 9 departments and went beyond triple figures only in two departments (Personal communication, February 2018).

As part of this, the Unit prepared informational materials, including a leaflet on ‘labour or institutional violence’, which illustrates the government’s wider approach to gender inequality in the workplace through the lens of gender-based violence. This leaflet outlines actions, which are to be considered instances of ‘labour violence’, when ‘because you are women’ (*por ser mujer*), women face direct discrimination at work through acts such as not recognising labour rights, being paid less, being asked to carry out menial female-typed tasks such as preparing the coffee, not being promoted, and not being invited to decision-making meetings. By drawing awareness to discrimination against women ‘*por ser mujer*’, this leaflet hints at the existence of gender norms which may perpetuate gendered inequality at work. However, the list also reveals the potential limitations of the unit’s approach, in that it addresses inequality primarily through protection from individual acts of harm. Brown has pointed to the paradox of liberal rights claims for women (and other subordinated groups): while such claims are vital in expressing ‘a need, a condition of lack or injury’, at the same time such rights claims treat inequalities ‘as matters of individual violations and rarely articulate or address the conditions producing or fomenting that violation’ (2000: 239). As Brown argues, rights ‘fracture’ intersectional structural inequality into ‘discrete components’ (See also Radcliffe 2015a; Brown 2000: 238). Furthermore, the list also illustrates the paradoxical temporality of (negative) liberal rights, in that gender discrimination is ‘fractured’ also into *temporally* ‘discrete’ moments of harm. Whilst on the one hand this temporality may provide women with the conceptual resources to resist instances of discrimination in a particular moment (see Chapters 4 & 7), it may efface other unequal gendered temporalities of the ‘durative present,’ which may also contribute towards a particular instance of harm (Povinelli 2011: 13).

Furthermore, given limited budgets, the unit’s work in addressing wider gender norms was limited, and at the end of 2017 was focused on a pilot project in the lowland department of the Beni to encourage women to enter areas that are not traditionally typed as female, such as construction (PN3). While this programme is certainly interesting in its aim to challenge ‘stereotypes’ (PN3), not only is it a geographically limited approach, but along with other employment programmes already implemented nationally which do not have a specific gender focus such as PAE (Programa de Apoyo al Empleo) and Mi Primer Empleo Digno (for young people), they are not aimed at employment *creation* given that economic planning has not prioritised policies to generate

employment, particularly of women (NN3, see section 2.3.2), with employment and macroeconomic policy separated institutionally (Farah, Wanderley & Sánchez 2009: 113; Wanderley 2009: 22–3).

Furthermore, while the 2016-20 plan on racism and discrimination (see Appendix Table I1) is forward thinking in connecting discrimination (misrecognition) with material poverty (maldistribution), in practice (as with gender) small institutional budgets appear to be limiting scope for tackling structural inequalities. For example, the plan tasks the Ministry of Work with actions such as ‘to create and develop socio-productive projects that generate employment for harmed populations’ and ‘to guarantee the access of dignified work for people belonging to populations harmed by racism and discrimination’ (n.d: n.d: 72 & 83). However, as with gender, in 2017, policy on racism within the ministry was designated to one official within the Unit. As of December 2017, they were just starting to develop their work with a focus on inspections and tackling complaints against racism, of which only two had so far been received (both in La Paz/El Alto) (PN4).

Furthermore, the Unit’s conceptual focus did not seem to extend beyond tackling racism against people from the highlands. The official I spoke with explained that discrimination was based in stereotypes of the *occidente* as *indios* (Indians) and *campesinos* (peasants). However, when I asked about discrimination against the lowland indigenous, the official said that he could not say, that he did not know much about that (PN4). Thus, despite the wider vision of the plan, in practice, the focus is on some limited action to tackle direct discrimination (discrete harms), particularly against indigenous people from the highlands.

It has been argued in this sub-section that while there have been significant advances in legislation and policy around gender equality and (racial) discrimination post-2006, which have strengthened indigenous women’s economic citizenship in terms of formal status, given limited budgets and a conceptual focus on gender-based violence, policy implementation has focused on protecting vulnerable ‘harmed’ populations from discrimination. As highlighted by the Unit’s leaflet, discrimination is mostly conceptualised as individualised, temporally discrete actions, rather than as rooted in structural inequalities, such as women’s burden of care or unequal gender norms,

which are ongoing and ‘chronic’ within the ‘durative’ present (Povinelli 2011: 11–14; Brown 2000). Thus, this section shows that the post-neoliberal citizenship regime has not substantively challenged the unequal ‘gender contract’. While there has been formal recognition of the women’s caring roles, there has been thus little practical action by the state to encourage redistribution. Similarly, despite recognition of gendered inequalities in paid work, limited budgets have constrained state action to substantively tackle these issues. Similarly, the link between structural material inequality and racism/discrimination has been minimised in concrete policy terms.

2.3.2 Developmentalism and Andean capitalism

The new constitution and National Development Plan (PND) 2006-11 proposed a new economic model and reframed the state-market relation (NCPE 2009, Article 306.I. PND, 2007). Discursively, this model is centred on the indigenous world view of *vivir bien* (living well) and the recognition of indigenous forms of economic ‘plurality’ including communitarian and co-operative economies, based around solidarity and reciprocity (Wanderley 2013: 91–92). Through an increased role for the state, the PND aimed to move Bolivia’s economy away from a reliance on primary exports, as well as to redistribute surplus and ‘diversify’ the economy (Cunha Filho & Santaella Gonçalves 2010: 180; PND 2007: pp. 4 & 100).

These aims have continued with the Agenda 2025, a ‘modernist capitalist development project’ (Postero 2017: 142). The Agenda has been implemented through the Economic and Social Development Plan 2016-20 (PDES), with Pillar 6 (Productive sovereignty with diversification) outlining the important role that the extractive sector will continue to play in plans to diversify Bolivia’s ‘economic structure’, centred in ‘the production and transformation of hydrocarbons, energy, agriculture, mining and the development of tourism, with strong emphasis in the development of small producers, the communitarian and social cooperative sector’ (Estado Plurinacional de Bolivia 2015: 103). However, there is a widespread consensus in the scholarly literature that the MAS has been largely unsuccessful in achieving these structural economic changes (Wanderley 2013; Molero Simarro & José Paz Antolín 2012; Cunha Filho & Santaella Gonçalves 2010). While the government has been successful in gaining a greater surplus from the extractive industries through partial nationalisations (Artaraz 2012: 128–31), despite some

redistribution through cash transfers, this surplus has not been redirected effectively towards industrialisation and the productive sectors which could generate new employment opportunities (Escobar de Pabón, Rojas Callejas & Arze Vargas 2014: 10, 15–6; Molero Simarro & José Paz Antolín 2012: 547–8; Webber 2016). Thus economic data highlights both an increase in precarious and informal work post-2006 in Bolivia’s principal cities (La Paz, El Alto, Cochabamba and Santa Cruz), with around 70% of women (as compared to 60% of men) in informal work in 2011 (Webber 2016: 1870). Thus, it has been argued that ‘over the past 20 years the underlying structure of the Bolivian economy has not changed dramatically’, with the extractive sector actually having ‘increased in relative importance’ (Webber 2016: 1863–4; See also Radhuber 2015).

Webber argues that women’s greater representation in precarious work is ‘as a result of their relative segregation in less qualified, precarious jobs’, which he argues indicates ‘neoliberal restoration’ (2016: 1870). This point is important in drawing attention to the potential implications of Bolivia’s continued reliance on extractive capitalism for gender inequality in the labour market. An NGO worker in Santa Cruz similarly noted:

‘In work there isn’t any transformation because [...] we carry on being as capitalist as ten years ago [...] And in the case of women, no capitalist system is going to look after the needs or demands of women [...] So the labour conditions of women in Bolivia didn’t change at all [...] we carry on being subjects of exploitation, subjects of injustice’

NSC2

However, explaining post-neoliberal gender inequality only through a class lens seems insufficient, and raises more questions than it answers as to the specific *gendered* effects of economic policy. It is important to highlight, therefore, that the post-neoliberal economic model is gender-blind and thereby unequally gendered in its effects. For example, in the PDES there is no mention of gender/women in Pillar 6 on productive sovereignty and many of the prioritised (extractive) sectors are generative of male labour. As one interviewee explained:

‘On the topic of hydrocarbons, they are inverting considerably. But they are sectors that don’t absorb labour power. The hydrocarbon sector needs a qualified workforce and it is always masculine or almost always. If we women are there, we are in the area of services’
NN3

Furthermore, development planning post-2006 has had wider effects on the Bolivian economy, which are also gendered. For example, a construction boom has been partly fuelled by increased liquidity as a result of high commodity prices, as well as increased public investment in infrastructure (Escobar de Pabón, Rojas Callejas & Arze Vargas 2014: 91). Yet, this process also fuels demand for male labour (Wanderley 2013: 201). In Santa Cruz, data from the 2012 census show that 16.7% of economically active men work in construction in contrast with 0.8% of women (see Appendix Chart H2).

The justification for continuing extractive capitalism is based upon an aspiration of productive investment. There is thus an unequal ‘futurity’ to Bolivian post-neoliberalism, a temporal ‘bracketing’ of present harms justified through ‘the promise of the future’ (Povinelli 2011: 78–79; Brandzel 2016: 137). As García Linera, the then Bolivian vice-president explained, his concept of ‘Andean-amazonian capitalism’ refers:

‘To the re-equilibrizing non-capitalist economic forms with capitalist forms, for the strengthening of these non-capitalist forms so that, with time, they carry on generating processes of greater communitisation (comunitarización) that enable thinking of a post-capitalism. Postneoliberalism is a form of capitalism, but we believe that it contains a union of forces and social structures that, with time, could become post-capitalist’
(Garcia Linera, interview with Svampa & Stefanoni 2007: 154)

A future temporality is used to justify continuity with a capitalist (neoliberal) past, as well as the potential of present harms for the minority justified by a utilitarian calculus.³¹ As Povinelli argues with regards to the marginalisation of indigenous Australians, ‘this future perfect swallows up the

³¹ In the same interview, with regards to the environmental contradictions of the MAS’s economic model, Garcia Linera explicitly refers to a utilitarian calculus.

possibility of a more complex mode of dwelling in the fractured present' (2011: 168). However, while the uneven racial/ethnic exclusions of Bolivia's 'fractured present' have been widely debated in the literature, particularly in terms of state extractivism in indigenous lowland territories (e.g. Fabricant & Postero 2019; Postero 2015), there has been limited attention to gender within this complexity and its connection to the temporalities of post-neoliberalism.

Yet, low-income and indigenous women's work (often in commerce and services) is largely considered an irrelevance to post-neoliberal planning, continuing the entrenched devaluation of indigenous women's work in the Andean region, despite its 'productive' elements, as well as importance for sustaining life (Radcliffe 2015a: 90; Maclean 2014; Babb 1998; McKee 1997: 25). Thus, despite the everyday importance of commercial and service sector work for low-skilled and indigenous women (Maclean 2014), the state neither supports this work nor provides alternative options for women's work. The gap in public policy on commerce was explicitly justified in an interview with the public official regarding the work of the vice-ministry of micro and small business who explained:

'Everything to do with the issue of commerce isn't dealt with because it is not prioritised. What's more, the guidelines that we have in the National Development Plan is to industrialize our country rather than live from commerce and services. [...] So, how should we support women who are traders? Should we give them more money, money so that they can bring in contraband?'

PN2

The utilitarian calculus carried out by the MAS government is thus an unacknowledged masculine calculus (i.e. privileging the 'model' post-neoliberal economic citizen as male), not unlike the calculus made under previous neoliberal reforms, which implicitly rested on the every-day labour of women (Lind 2002). The economic model of the post-neoliberal citizenship regime is thus exclusionary for the realisation of equal gendered economic citizenship. Yet as I will discuss in relation to peri-urban women's work in Santa Cruz, this utilitarian calculus also has unequal intersectional effects among women (Elson 1994: 38).

2.3.3 The gendered ideal of rural indigeneity

While national economic planning looks forward through a ‘modern’ developmentalist lens, gendered planning looks backwards, linking depatriarchalisation to an idealized concept of rural indigeneity (see also Horn 2018). Thus, as Brandzel has argued ‘the idyllic past’ is required for ‘normatively privileged citizen-subjects...to forge their cultural defences of normative citizenship’ (2016: 137–8). The alignment of the 2017 Plan for Depatriarchalisation with pillar 6 is focused largely on the rural agricultural sector. Thus, urban women’s work is not currently a priority in gender policy as the ideal of alternative economies (in contributing towards *vivir bien*) is not seen as compatible with city life (PN6). When I asked a public official how an alternative economic space could be articulated with depatriarchalisation, I was told that this would be through a ‘communitarian socialism’ based on collectives and the common good, yet:

‘This is applied much more easily in rural communities, indigenous communities because it’s their way of thinking. The indigenous cosmovisión is based in the communitarian (comunitario). In contrast, our urban society, that we have lived all our life generation after generation in a liberal capitalist system, it is much more difficult.’

PN6

When I went on to ask how the state was planning to work with *urban* indigenous women the public official answered:

‘I don’t know yet, because the idea is to strengthen the rural zones [...] this strengthening is going to prompt many urban women to return to their rural zones. Because they are going to find work there, because they’re going to have better living conditions.’

PN6

Thus, unlike the futurity of development planning, this paternalistic gendered temporality, with an unrealistic ideal of indigenous women’s rural return, looks to the past. This disjuncture of temporalities between post-neoliberal development policy and gender planning overlooks the

complexity, fluidity and yet also ‘pervasive’ presence of (female) indigeneity as part of Bolivia’s urban ‘plural popular’ (Albro 2010: 80). In doing so it essentialises and normativises indigenous women as rural. Thus, while on the one hand this vision attempts to challenge long-established ‘chains of power’ in the Andean region which ascribe value to white-mestizo urbanity over rural indigeneity, on the other hand, women are still considered the ‘most “Indian”’ thereby also perpetuating such hierarchical value-drenched entanglements of gender, ethnicity and place (De la Cadena 1995: 338).

Howard-Wagner et al. have argued that the power of the state ‘is manifested...in deciding who qualifies for rights and who meets the standards to be recognised as indigenous’ (2018: 12). Within recent gendered planning, urban indigenous women are not recognised normatively as indigenous economic citizens but ‘bracketed’ as those who will return to their rural past. The post-neoliberal citizenship regime thus has continuities with the multicultural reforms, which, premised on essentialised ideas of the rural indigenous, also denied ethnic recognition to diverse indigenous peoples in urban areas (Rivera Cusicanqui, 2012: 99-100). The limited state support for urban indigenous women’s work will be discussed further in Chapter 7.

2.4 Conclusion

This chapter has outlined ongoing patterns of gender-ethnic income inequality and work. It has argued that despite some tangible advances in national legislation and policy for women’s formal economic citizenship, the temporalities of the post-neoliberal citizenship regime have functioned to invisibilise (misrecognise) low-income (urban indigenous) women’s work. As will be discussed in chapters 3-7, this has negative implications for their substantive inclusion as economic citizens.

Chapter 3: Intersectional entrepreneurialism, post-neoliberalism and assemblage

3.1 Introduction

An important strand in the literature on indigenous women's work in the Andes has been on highland women's work as self-employed (informal) traders (*comerciantes*). Thus, 'highland indigenous women of Quechua and Aymara descent epitomize marketplace trade and commercial mobility across the Altiplano plateau' (Müller & Dürr 2019: ELD para 17). Yet, within Bolivian scholarship, there has been limited attention to women's entrepreneurial activities beyond the Andean region or when the lowlands are considered, beyond highland migrant women's work (e.g. Kirshner 2011). This has resulted in the invisibilisation of lowland indigenous women's insertion in informal commerce.

Through examining Guaraní and other diverse low-income women's income generating strategies in Santa Cruz, this chapter will apply an assemblage lens to understand situated gender-ethnic divisions of labour within post-neoliberal citizenship regime. This approach builds on feminist economic geographers' longstanding emphasis on the importance of place and space for women's differential access to work (e.g. Hanson & Pratt 1995), but goes beyond this in pointing to the intertwining of material fabric and infrastructure with diverse life-worlds and social practices. In particular, the chapter will examine the uneven opportunities for diverse women to develop micro-enterprise in the context of indebtedness and the ongoing financial burden of social reproduction, thereby linking the gendered in/exclusions of economic citizenship across the public/private divide. Furthermore, the chapter will show how the post-neoliberal economic model (combined with local policy) perpetuates the ideal of the entrepreneur as the model female (indigenous) economic citizen. Drawing on Brandzel (2016), the chapter will argue that this citizenship ideal, which exhibits continuities with the previous neoliberal citizenship regime, is normatively exclusionary for Guaraní women's economic citizenship across intersectional socio-material constraints.

Through the analysis of informal commerce, this chapter addresses three research questions to understand how women experience economic citizenship through income-generating activities, how such entrepreneurial activities are unequally stratified by ethnicity and how they are valued in the post-neoliberal state. This chapter will also show how such an entangled socio-spatial assemblage continues to perpetuate, yet also rework, derogatory ethno-racialised representations of Guaraní women within Santa Cruz. The substantive realisation of economic citizenship via access to decent self-employment is thereby limited for Guaraní women across gendered hierarchies of ethnicity, class and place.

3.2 Entrepreneurialism in the Andes: the invisibilisation of lowland indigenous women

As noted above the scholarly image of indigenous women's work in the Andean region is centred on the *chola* market-woman. The *chola* represents an ambiguous, contested and sometimes derogatory social category between (rural) indigenous and (urban) mestizo (Weismantel 2001: 93; Seligmann 1989; Maclean 2018: 712–3). Chola market women operate in a complex 'in-between' space in urban contexts (Sikkink 2001; Seligmann 1989: 698), and construct and perform their identity as a response to different contexts, histories of discrimination and commercial opportunities (Lazar 2007a; Scarborough 2010; Ødegaard 2008).

Furthermore, indigenous and chola women are not a homogeneous category, with some women having greater access to economic resources and power (Wanderley 2008: 154). Although many itinerant street traders are 'desperately poor', access to a fixed stall grants better economic opportunities (Agadjanian 2002: 275–6; Weismantel 2001: 85). Some market women also operate across the fuzzy boundary between the formal and informal sectors, particularly women who own a fixed stall and belong to market associations (Scarborough 2010: 90; Seligmann 1989: 710), as well as between legality and illegality (Ødegaard 2008).

The literature also draws attention to (informal) trade as a key aspect of increasing class differentiation in post-neoliberal Bolivia, particularly among some highland indigenous

comerciantes in La Paz, El Alto, Cochabamba and Oruro, who are forming part of a new bourgeoisie with international trading links (Webber 2016: 1867; Scarborough 2010; Wanderley 2008: 160–1; Tassi, Hinojosa & Canaviri 2015; Campos & Rosa 2016). For example, in La Paz, Aymara women who have made fortunes in informal commerce are investing in property in historically ‘white’ areas of the city and challenging longstanding colonial-modern urban subjectivities (Maclean 2018: 712).

However, within this rich literature, the lowland indigenous woman as an economic and entrepreneurial subject is largely invisible, even within literature on the lowlands. For example, Kirshner’s research highlighting the racial stigmatisation faced by indigenous market-vendors from municipal authorities in Santa Cruz focuses on highland migrants (2011: 115). Furthermore, although the literature on highland cities has drawn attention to the increasing class differentiation between highland indigenous women as discussed, wider issues of ‘economic inequality within the popular economy’ has been given little attention (Ravindran 2019a: 964), while questions of class differentiation between highland and lowland indigenous women have not been considered.

3.3 Entrepreneurialism in peri-urban Santa Cruz

3.3.1. Intersectional differences in women’s entrepreneurialism

The paradigmatic image of the chola *comerciante* (trader) also appears in political and everyday representations of Andean indigenous or chola women within Bolivia (Maclean 2010: 507). This image of urban Andean women as traders was clearly expressed in an interview with a public official in La Paz:

‘As they were [internal rural] migrants [...] they had fewer possibilities for work as well. So, what they do to survive is to dedicate themselves to the informal economy. To start to sell in the streets [...] if you speak with them, they have suffered a terrible discrimination [...Yet] neither were they used to that role of women that ‘I’m going to live in the house

and I'm going to cook, I'm going to look after the children'. No. They were always comerciantes.'

PN5

This powerful representation of indigenous or *chola* Andean women as *comerciantes* has also translated to Santa Cruz with the migration of Andean women from the highlands and valleys. As the public official in La Paz went on to explain, the current head of the Unit of Depatriarchalisation in La Paz was herself a highland migrant trader in Santa Cruz, after migrating to escape an abusive partner:

'[She...] is an example for society and for these [migrant] women [...] She was even an assemblywoman in Santa Cruz, where most were racist at that time. I'm talking to you about 2006 [...] she wears the pollera, she is of Aymara origin [...] And she started as a migrant woman like that, starting to work in informal commerce, but she has grown as a comerciante, she has grown substantially, she has known how to carry forward her children as a woman.'

PN5

Aligning with the public official's comments, diverse peri-urban women in Santa Cruz commonly perceived commerce, particularly market work, to be carried out by highland migrant women, and to a lesser extent by non-indigenous *Cruzeña* women. Doña Clementina, a C/LM woman, discussing the large market in Plan 3000, the low-income urban neighbourhood around a 40-minute bus ride, noted that all the women selling there are 'from the interior' (i.e. from Andean highlands and valleys) and that, in contrast, I would not see a Guaraní woman (GW44). Similarly, a peri-urban market vendor explained that fellow vendors had migrated from the (Andean) departments of Oruro, La Paz, Potosí and Cochabamba, however, few vendors in the market were from Santa Cruz (GW118).

Guaraní participants similarly thought it was less common for Guaraní women to develop commercial activities in markets. As Doña Elisa explained:

'Until now I don't know a Guaraní woman who has her business. It could be, let's say, that [a Guaraní woman] has her own business and operates in the market or has a stall where to sell [but] I don't know [any]. Why would I say this? A lie! It would be lying to tell you that yes there are. There aren't Guaraní women like that.'

GW71

Women's perceptions of differences in commercial work also aligned with the intercategorical variation recorded in household surveys (HS) and interviews (I). Firstly, as shown by Appendix Table E2, only around a third of economically active Guaraní women were only self-employed at the time of HS/I in 2017, in contrast to around two thirds of other diverse women. Thus, indigenous Guaraní women pursue some form of paid employment (see indicative Guaraní labour history in Appendix F), even if this may less frequently be combined with other income generating activities. As shown by Appendix Chart E2, while self-employment has increased over the years for all groups, this increase has been far less pronounced for Guaraní than other diverse women, in particular HMs. In fact, a high proportion of HM women used to undertake paid employment (over 80% in addition to self-employment prior to 2001), reflecting common rural-urban migration pathways involving initial employment in domestic work which may be *cama adentro* (live-in), often from a very young age.

In addition, my data show that when Guaraní women pursue self-employed activities, these tend to involve the small-scale production and commercialisation of everyday foodstuffs, accounting for over 70% of Guaraní women's self-employed activities 2016-17 (Appendix Chart E4). In 2017, out of the 23 Guaraní women who were actively pursuing opportunities for self-employment, 17 women were either selling cooked foodstuffs/snacks (11) or bread (5),³² with a further woman undertaking both of these activities (74% of self-employed Guaraní women). However, out of the 36 self-employed HM and C/LM women (excluding GW29 an incomplete interview), only 14 were selling foodstuffs/snacks (39% of self-employed women). In addition, only 6 Guaraní

³² For 3 women in conjunction with other self-employed activities

women's activities were larger scale (26% of Guaraní self-employed women), in comparison with 20 HM and C/LM women (60% of HM and C/LM self-employed women where scale known)³³

Additionally, Guaraní women's commercial activities are often intermittent rather than continuous. Thus, Doña Elisa went on to explain that some women did sell homemade bread, but this was sporadic, such as for one or two months and then stopping. This aligns with the intersectional difference found in my data. Appendix Table E3.1 shows a much higher proportion of Guaraní women participants had dropped an income generating activity since 2016 (mostly the sale of foodstuffs and bread), in comparison with C/LM and HM women. Furthermore, of the 23 Guaraní women who were self-employed at the time of interview in 2017, 6 women had started new activities since 2016 (26% of Guaraní women who were self-employed in 2017). This compares with 0 HM women and 3 C/LM women. Furthermore, the majority of Guaraní women also carried out activities on a part-time basis (fewer than 4 days a week). It was common, for example, for Guaraní women in one community to (intermittently) sell foodstuffs only on a Sunday, such as at the popular football games which took place every week.

³³ This is fairly approximate. Businesses were 'larger' when they generated over 2,000Bs a month (or have the capacity to do so), when they have substantial capital investment requiring loans in dollars or material infrastructure (e.g. multiple sewing machines or a food cart or) or take large-scale orders.

Photo of woman redacted for online publication permissions reasons.

Guaraní intermittent vendor at a school event, 2017

In addition to being smaller-scale and more intermittent, Guaraní women's income generation activities are in general of smaller spatial reach. In 2017, over half of self-employed Guaraní women carried out their business from their home (including selling food outside their home). This compares with around a third of other women. Furthermore, C/LM and HM women's home-based businesses are generally larger scale, such as neighbourhood stores or kiosks. While a small proportion of diverse women's businesses extended into the city, only one Guaraní women had a business in the city, a gym where she taught aerobics classes, which she ran in the urban neighbourhood where she lived for most of the week (GW75). In addition, one Guaraní participant sold clothes in a nearby rural community (GW26). This contrasts with 6 C/LM women and 4 HM

women whose income generation activities extended into the city, mostly the sale of foodstuffs but also other goods as ambulatory market or street vendors (or using social networks for a greater spatial reach – see Chapter 6). I also knew of other HM women who sold in urban markets but could not interview them as they were so little at home. However, I only heard of one Guaraní woman who was a vendor in the city.

However, these findings, indicative of intersectional difference among diverse women, are complicated by my sampling methods which are not random (See Appendix C2). While the sample of Guaraní women is likely to be fairly representative, the sample of other diverse women, particularly HM women, may be less so as some were recruited through purposeful sampling precisely because they were local *comerciantes*, with two further HM and 3 C/LM women recruited through the same micro-credit group.³⁴ Yet, despite this bias, the sample is sufficiently representative to be indicative of the kind of activities that diverse women carry out once they are sufficiently established in the city to move to the peri-urban area and, for the purposes of this study, as a comparison with Guaraní women (particularly given commonalities in work/employment activity history pre-2001 and increasing divergence up to 2017 – see Appendix Charts E). Firstly, the differences between groups accords with participants’ perception of differences, thereby triangulating data. Secondly, while the purposive sampling of women with businesses biases the sample towards self-employed women, it also provides support for the other triangulating evidence that most women with regular commercial activities in this peri-urban area are not Guaraní, otherwise I would have encountered them. However, I only encountered one Guaraní woman who was a regular peri-urban street vendor (selling empanadas).

However, given the issues in sampling, the focus will be on understanding the qualitative processes behind these indicative differences to draw wider inferences and conclusions, rather than further quantitative analysis (e.g. using statistical significance tests). The remainder of the chapter interrogates processes constitutive of intersectional difference and uneven economic citizenship, involving the socio-material factors embedded within the peri-urban area, thereby expanding Kessler-Harris’ attention to the ‘social environment’ (2003).

³⁴ And because I was trying to increase my sample of highland migrants.

3.3.2 Guaraní women's *ñande reko* and the ethno-racialisation of informal commerce

This sub-section aims to understand differences in commercial norms and social practices within Guaraní and other women's life-worlds or 'way of being' (in Guaraní *ñande reko*). Furthermore, this sub-section will show how social practices and normative evaluations around women's work also intertwine with the circulation of ethno-racialised and derogatory discourses as integral to processes of citizen misrecognition.

In discussions around intersectional differences in commercial work, a handful of Guaraní women noted that commercial activities were not the 'custom' or culture of Guaraní people in contrast to women from the highlands. For example, Doña Koemi, a Guaraní public official at the departmental *gobernación*, explained that, culturally, Guaraní people are not like the '*collas*'. Traditions of reciprocity in Guaraní communities and customs of '*invitar*' (which could be translated as 'offering') are in the 'blood' and 'bones' of Guaraní women, whereas she perceived commercial activity as something alien to Guaraní life-worlds (PSC1). As Doña Alejandra put it:

'The Aymaras, the Quechuas [...] it seems that from a young age [...] they teach you that you have to make money, you have to generate economic resources so as not to be less than others [...] In the Guaraní world, our ñande reko isn't to make something to sell [...] Commercializing, let's say, no? We're like that, let's say, homely (de la casa) [...] in family, sharing, that is to say that is our culture, our way of being [...] not to be there in the market generating economic resources.'

GW97

Doña Rosario, the only Guaraní woman I met or knew about who had a market stall (selling CDs), told me that she herself was exceptional. She had originally started her business with a HM partner and explained that she was different to other Guaraní woman as she did not have a husband to support her, which she said was the 'custom of a Guaraní woman' and so her business 'saved' her economically. This contrasts with PN5's comment above that highland indigenous women have never been at home (gender norms to be discussed further in chapter 4). She told me that:

'Commerce isn't a custom of the Guaraní people. It's more foreign (ajena) it is. The Guaraní nation is more organic and the women are dedicated to the home [...] I think this hasn't changed much because commerce is definitely (sí o sí) the culture of the occidente, it's not ours.'

GW101

Another small proportion of Guaraní women explained the social difficulties which Guaraní women sometimes faced in commercial activity, particularly outside the home, which often appeared to take the form of '*vergüenza*' (shame/embarrassment), '*timidez*' (timidity) and even fear of external criticism. This *vergüenza* links too with the perception that Guaraní women are 'quieter' and more 'reserved' than other women, as well as Guaraní women's wider fear of speaking in public settings as *indigenous* women and making mistakes in Spanish. A few Guaraní interviewees, including a male capitán, portrayed this as a psychological problem or that Guaraní women have 'low self-esteem'. Yet, it is important to understand the intertwined socio-material conditions within which this fear has been generated,³⁵ as well as how 'the trope of low-self-esteem' and women's perceived 'lack of proactive embodied agency' is closely intertwined with normative valuations of 'neoliberal entrepreneurialism' (Radcliffe 2015a: 174).

A couple of other non-Guaraní women in contrast emphasized that they did not have '*vergüenza*' or were not afraid. Doña Inesa, a HM woman, contrasted women from the interior with Guaraní women, suggesting that while Guaraní women are afraid because they cannot speak Spanish, women from the interior who arrive in Santa Cruz to work are not afraid and are '*entradoras*', literally 'the ones who enter' (GW76). Doña Elisa also perceived these differences:

'From the interior [...] they go out to sell whatever [...] but in contrast the Guaraní woman doesn't dare, let's say, to go out there, to take a refresco to sell, she would never dare. But in contrast from the exterior, if they go out to sell a refresco or whatever [...] just like that they start from little, then they end up making their great big business [...] It's timidity

³⁵ Although the capitán also highlighted unequal gender relations in the home.

*more than anything because they [Guaraní women] are not able to shake off that fear, let's say that one could have, but in contrast those from the exterior, no.*³⁶

GW71

Doña Daniela, one of the few Guaraní women who regularly sold foodstuffs on the street away from the home, explained that she had problems with other Guaraní women because of her business, who would get angry with her and stop speaking to her 'because I go out to sell', because of 'envy' (GW121). Thus her commercial practices may be considered transgressive according to the Guaraní moral economy (Maclean 2012). Similarly, Doña Eva alluded to the complex intertwinement of embarrassment (*vergüenza*) and envy felt by Guaraní women with regards to commercial activities:

'Sometimes we have that embarrassment [...] 'Ah it's her, she's selling' and already they start, let's say, to whisper among themselves (mumurarse) or something, you see? [...] Like an envy, let's say [they are] envious or something, you see?'

GW116

However, in contrast, various non-Guaraní women explained intersectional differences in work in terms of the work ethic of highland women as hard-workers, entrepreneurial and even courageous. In Doña Betina's words:

'Well, the women from the interior are more hardworking. But they are nobody, of course. That they are more enterprising in work [...] they aren't like the ones from here [...] Colla people are really 'busca vida',³⁷ the colla people come to work, then, no? Those people come to look for a business [...] They employ themselves for a few days [...] and then the next moment they're already selling their tripe or their chips, whatever it might be [...] they're already with their own business [...] whereas [...] you won't see a Guaraní with those things or Camba people.' GW25

³⁶ A *refresco* is a homemade soft drink. Both 'interior' and 'exterior' are used here to refer to HM women (see Appendix A).

³⁷ 'Busca vida' means someone who 'looks for life' but has no simple translation.

As this quote shows, perceptions of differences in ethno-cultural commercial practices intertwine with commonly expressed stereotypes which represent women from the interior as hardworking and Guaraní and sometimes also *cruzeña* women as lazy (*flojas*). As a Guaraní woman explained, ‘they say the *cambas* are lazy, they don’t know how to work, they say. Us *paisanos*, we know how to work, they say’ (GW20). Such judgements echo developmentalist understandings of ‘progress’, in which Guaraní women, by not engaging in commercial activities are considered normatively and temporally backward in not aspiring to be part of the inexorable march of Bolivia’s ‘Andean’ capitalist development. As two highland migrant women expressed it:³⁸

‘Guaraní women are lazy, they don’t do anything, they don’t think about progressing, for them it’s eating, clothing themselves [...] they’re there in their house and, if they don’t have (money), [they are] sitting under the tree drinking mate (porreando),³⁹ they are sitting down instead of doing something, selling [...] Their culture is like that’

HM woman

‘We paisanas are more hardworking [...] those Guaraníes [...] mostly they don’t work much [...] We’re different, tougher [...] We always do whatever in order to have a little money [...] They [Guaraní women] all but just stay at home [...] because they’re a little relaxed to work [...] a little feeble (débil) to work’

HM woman

Interestingly, such representations of Guaraní women as lazy are similar to fixed stall (*fijo*) mestizo vendors’ racialized representations of rural migrant ambulatory market-vendors in Cochabamba (Goldstein 2016). Yet, the language used today by the *fijos* in Cochabamba has traditionally been used towards all market-vendors. However, given the ‘whitening’ effect of the *fijos*’ wealth, the same racialised discourse is now turned towards the ambulatory vendors (Goldstein 2016: 168). Similarly in provincial Cochabamba (pre- and post-2006) Shakow has found that the new ‘middle-class’ deploy a moral discourse to distinguish their superior position as a result of work-ethic,

³⁸ I have not provided participant identifiers here given the controversial opinions expressed.

³⁹ Mate is a tea consumed across South America.

however such discourse is deeply ambivalent and racialised (2014: 25–7, 34–72). Such parallels highlight that racialised discourse, intimately tied to neoliberal norms of self-improvement via commerce, continues to circulate throughout post-neoliberal Bolivia, yet translates to the local assemblage of labour according to its specific socio-material configuration, in which the poorest, most disadvantaged women continue to be misrecognised as normatively inferior economic citizens through cultural tropes around laziness and lack of aspiration.

Surprisingly, a small proportion of Guaraní women also referred to the stereotype of (other) Guaraní women as lazy, thoughtless or backward, showing the pervasiveness of ethno-racialized discourse around work and commerce. For example, Doña Amelina told me that women from the interior think in a more advanced way to better themselves and have something of their own (GW35). Doña Koemi, while reclaiming the value of reciprocity within Guaraní communities, at the same time refers to this as a difficulty for Guaraní women in ‘advancing’ their businesses, going on to state that ‘we are still not in that *stage* of selling everything [...] we’re not the same as the *collas*’ (PSC1). Her complex statement thus both rejects commerce normatively yet implicitly situates it within a narrative of progress.

Drawing on and critiquing Bourdieu’s instrumentalist concept of symbolic power, Pellandini-Simányi has argued that ‘normative evaluations are double-faceted in that they *simultaneously* involve ethics and allow for the legitimization of power’ (2014: 661 original emphasis). Skeggs & Loveday have noted that those who are ‘positioned as already marginal to the dominant symbolic...generate alternative ways for making value’, yet this a ‘constant struggle’ (2012: 472, 487). As shown by Doña Koemi’s statement, the small group of Guaraní women who are both normatively critical of, yet also aspirational to entrepreneurialism, attests to this struggle as well as the double-edged nature of such grounded evaluations, as involving both struggles over life-worlds, yet also material resources and symbolic power. Such struggles are also deeply embedded within the circulation of ethno-racialised discourse, attesting to the particular configuration of coloniality within the peri-urban area (see Chapter 5 for further discussion and conceptual clarification of racism).

By presenting women's perceptions of differences around work and commercial customs, there is the danger of essentialising culture as well as reinforcing divisive and racialised discourse circulating in Santa Cruz: of highland culture as mercantilist and even selfish, and Guaraní culture as reciprocal, as well as the alternative side of such representations, of *collas* as hardworking and forward-thinking and *cambas* and Guaraní women as lazy, without aspirations.⁴⁰ However, such representations can certainly not be taken at face value, and indeed sometimes Guaraní (and other diverse) women actively contested these stereotypes:

'There are some people that treat [us] as lazy, no? 'You're lazy!' [...] 'Ah those Guaraníes, they don't know how to work', they say, you see? But they don't know, let's say, how one works'

GW70

However, it is important to understand perceptions and norms around commercial work, not only because the widespread circulation of ethno-cultural stereotypes (and derogatory racialised representations as the other side of the coin) have real effects in terms of the work considered acceptable or comfortable by diverse women (see section 3.3.4). Also, knowledges and social practices of certain forms of commercial work appeared less familiar within the life-worlds of many Guaraní women than other diverse women given life histories and socio-spatial networks (Chapter 6). As a highland migrant (who used to work as an inter-city flower trader) explained,

'They [HM women] sell everything in the streets, then in the markets. They are almost all involved everywhere you see because since [we were] little it seems that our parents have taught us, and my parents also were the same'

GW68

Interestingly her words almost exactly echo Doña Alejandra above, but with a different (positive) normative evaluation as to the hardworking qualities of *collas*. The importance of learnt practical knowledge aligns with other work on informal market commerce in the Andes (see Chapter 6) as

⁴⁰ Within Guaraní communities in Isoso, Lowrey noted the 'virulence' of negative 'attitudes towards Andean traders'. They are considered 'hard-working' but also 'sharp dealers...and not to be trusted' (2006: 81).

well as in Santa Cruz, which has highlighted highland migrants' role in the expansion of informal commerce given that 'lowland Bolivia lacks the tradition of market exchange that is highly developed in Andean parts of the country' (Kirshner 2011: 99).

Doña Marisol, a HM peri-urban market-vendor explained that her experience of commercial work as a child had helped her in her work (GW119). As a vendor of vegetables, she felt that she was associated with this produce as a result of her mother's work vending her own produce – potatoes, onions, peas, broad beans – and so she already knew about weights, as well as how to work the scales. Her familiarity with vegetable trading aligns with findings in Peru, in which market vending functions as an extension of the rural gendered division of labour (Seligmann 1989: 704). However, while some peri-urban Guaraní women were also involved with the sale of agricultural produce, this does not seem to have translated into the kind of knowledge required for market-vending.⁴¹

In addition, while a small number of Guaraní women HS/Is explained that they did previously have stores, aligning with Postero's pre-2000 observation of the 'small *ventas* (stores) from which women sell cold drinks and frozen treats' within peri-urban Guaraní communities (Postero 2007: 63), they were not able to maintain them. And as is shown by chart E3 in the appendix, although 2-3 Guaraní women had stores up to 2010, this fell to one by 2016-17. By the time of interview in 2017 this store had also closed (Table E4.1). Furthermore, while the sale of small-scale foodstuffs accounted for under half of Guaraní women's self-employed activities up to 2010, this increased to over 60% post-2011 (reaching over 70% 2016-17). In contrast, for HM and C/LM women, the number of neighbourhood stores increases post-2011, while the sale of homemade bread almost disappears. As one Guaraní woman explained:

'Here the people that aren't Guaranies [...] are those who are in charge of their own business, for example the stores, pensión, internet, pharmacy [...] they are people who have come from the interior and have come to live here [...] they work for themselves. Here

⁴¹ According to one woman, Guaraní women's lowland produce, such as cassava (*yuca*), sweet potato and maize, was sold by the bag to market traders (GW26).

*in all the stores that there are here, they are people that aren't Guaraní, all the pensiones that there are here in this area (zona) are people who aren't Guaraní.*⁴²

GW87

As to be discussed in section 3.3.4 Guaraní women's discussions of the breakdown of previous businesses highlights increasing competition within the peri-urban area, as well as certain unfamiliarity and social unease with commercial practices. The next section turns to subtle forms of class differentiation between women pursuing informal commerce, as illuminated through a discussion of access to credit, women's financial work of social reproduction and the concept of debt-work.

3.3.3 Ethnic class differentiation, social reproduction and debt-work

Despite intersectional differences, Guaraní women did often aspire to open their own business, while many thought that, hypothetically, self-employment was better than paid work, even if in practice paid work was more often pursued. Thus, when asked what a good job (*trabajo*) would look like, over two-thirds of Guaraní women expressed preferences for commercial work (a similar proportion to other diverse women).⁴³ In addition to being a pragmatic solution for reconciling income generation with childcare (see chapter 4; see also Marco Navarro 2015), diverse women perceived self-employment and commercial opportunities as a way for low-skilled workers to be independent and free from the often abusive demands of bosses. Thus, while aspirations to own one's own business conform to neoliberal imaginaries of the 'progressive' entrepreneur, they are also a precarious alternative to exploitation in paid work (see chapter 7). As one Guaraní woman put it, if she goes out to work to sell food for another person her effort is being 'stolen' (GW116). Another woman explained:

⁴² Despite this strong statement, Doña Bernarda's mother was one of the two Guaraní women I knew about who had a small store, showing the contradictory circulation of intersectional stereotypes.

⁴³ Drawing on Marco Navarro (2015), these questions were added in over the course of the household survey (firstly what would be a good job (work), then secondly explicitly probing preferences between paid work or self-employment).

'It's better just to work for me [...working] for another person they cheat you a lot [...] they make you work for free, they make you work more than 8 hours and they don't pay you correctly [...] they exploit you a lot, the people who have money'

GW96

Informal commercial activities were seen by some HM women with larger businesses as the only way to substantially improve one's situation, highlighting the economic significance of informal trade for low-skilled women in the Andean region (Ødegaard 2018: 189–90). For example, Doña Marisela, a HM, who had recently expanded her peri-urban business selling street-food to a small *pensión* (informal restaurant), explained that on good days, she could make 300Bs in profit, significantly above the 2017-18 monthly minimum wage of 2000Bs (around 80Bs a day), whereas working as an *empleada* 'it was just to eat' (GW113).⁴⁴ Medium-sized neighbourhood stores could also make 150-200Bs as a daily profit, reaching up to 250-300Bs at weekends (GW80). In the context of Cochabamba, Goldstein has argued that while commercial activities 'once offered a clear ladder of advancement for women' this is no longer the case given the increase in informal trade (2016: 140–1). However, within peri-urban Santa Cruz, commercial activities still provide a route to a certain measure of economic stability largely for some HM and C/LM women in contrast with Guaraní women.

One of the main reasons given for the small scale and intermittency of Guaraní women's commercial activities was economic and material, thereby challenging racialized representations of Guaraní women as lazy. Yet, although non-Guaraní women discussed the need for capital, this was often to enhance or expand an already existing business or for a larger capital investment (such as a market stall). Furthermore, when non-Guaraní women explained differences in possibilities for work/income generation among diverse women, economic/material causes were not mentioned as an explanation (in contrast to being mentioned by almost a quarter of Guaraní women). One Guaraní woman even recounted that her neighbours ask her why she does not sell something from her home which is in a central peri-urban location, implying a normative judgement that she *should* be selling (GW115). However, she says that sometimes there just is not the money, and that she

⁴⁴ 2000Bs works out as a slightly under 300 USD.

would need around 1000Bs to start. Notably, when I went on to ask Doña Elisa why Guaraní women sell bread on a sporadic basis, her first thought was laziness '*flojera*', but she then suggested economic factors, in particular, the difficulties of maintaining capital (GW71). Similarly, Doña Sara initially explained commercial differences between women as a result of Guaraní woman being quieter (*mas calladitas*) and 'conformist', whereas HM women are more hardworking. However, she then clarified:

'More than anything because of the economy. They [Guaraní women] can't access, for example, a loan, as sometimes some don't even have a birth certificate or an ID card, all that [...] Because of that [...] they just work then for another person. In contrast, the Quechuistas, the Aymaras also, they are, as I tell you, entradoras, they take out loans and they do whatever, but for her own business'

GW75

While the majority of women who participated in the household survey did have an identity card,⁴⁵ 6 Guaraní women and 2 C/LM women did not have identity cards, with the bureaucracy surrounding cards still expensive and difficult to navigate, thereby highlighting 'postcolonial landscapes of exclusion' (Radcliffe 2015a: 227). For example, one Guaraní woman explained she could not get her card as her name was incorrect in the system and it would cost 200Bs to get it fixed (GW32). In 2017, a local teacher had tried to bring a commission to the peri-urban area to resolve the widespread issues around identity documents (including certificates of live birth, birth certificates, identity cards). There was an initial meeting in a local school organized by the Capitán alongside the teacher, which was well attended by Guaraní residents and a large queue formed for those without up-to-date documentation to leave their details (Fieldnotes 2017). However, when I last enquired about this in March 2018, the bureaucracy around this had not moved forward as it had become tied up in politics (the request had been made through the MAS).

However, while identity cards are needed to access formal credit, in contrast to Doña Sara's comment, the majority of Guaraní women I interviewed *did* seem to be able to access micro-credit

⁴⁵ Possibly because women without a card would have been the hardest to recruit as participants, given that they are likely to be older and speak less Spanish.

(as well as informal loans from moneylenders) even if individual bank loans were much less common. However, this may be as a result of the practice for those without identity-cards to sign-up for micro-credit via family members who *did* have a card (as explained by GW55, GW87, GW89).⁴⁶ However, to take out a larger individual loan from the bank, requirements are much more stringent. Firstly, legal documents showing ownership of the house/land are needed. While some Guaraní women did seem to have access to this paperwork, this is not the case for all women, and indeed one participant, who had been part of her community leadership thought that no-one had this paperwork among Guaraní families (GW2, personal communication December 2019). Doña Rosario, the Guaraní market-vendor also explained that it was difficult for other Guaraní women to get credit for a business, which she linked with Guaraní women's less fluent pronunciation of castellano and being 'embarrassed' to speak, given that they would need to fully explain the purpose of the credit (GW101). She also thought that other Guaraní women took out credit for consumption and paid with their husband's salary.

However, two Guaraní women explained how they had managed to access bank loans by providing this formal paperwork, although not for business purposes but for personal construction (GW27, GW67), although one woman explained the process of getting the necessary paperwork had been difficult. A third Guaraní woman had also accessed an individual loan at the bank to build rooms for rent as she had a good monthly wage being paid into the bank (GW87), which meant that the same bank offered her credit. However, she is one of a small number of Guaraní women who have been able to access higher education and decent paid work, yet as discussed in chapters 5 and 7 she also faced discrimination in this role. Doña Rosario had also managed to access a loan for her market stall (GW101).

However, to access loans for business purposes at the bank, it is necessary to show evidence of an existing business and/or provide a guarantor for the loan. These dollar loans provide access to significantly larger amounts of credit than micro-credit groups which are in Bs and usually total

⁴⁶Individual money lenders in the peri-urban area tended to offer short-term loans with 20% interest. Microfinance banks in Bolivia commonly charge an (annual) interest rate of 36% (although Bee 2011: 25 suggests this is over 6 months) which works out at just under 3% every 4 weeks. The repayments would also commonly include a saving amount. For example, one Guaraní participant borrowed 3,000Bs over 32 weeks. She repaid 4,304.10Bs and received 912Bs as a 'saving' at the end of the loan period (with an overall interest rate of around 13%).

around 1,500-3,000 Bs. For example, one HM woman took out a loan of 15,000 dollars to expand her store, with repayment of 2,500-3,000Bs a month for 7 years (GW80), while a C/LM woman took out a loan of 10,000 dollars to start a butcher's stall in a peri-urban market, with repayment of 2,200Bs a month for 5 years (GW118). However, apart from GW87 and GW101, the only other women I interviewed who had accessed an individual bank loan for business purposes, were *not* Guaraní but various HM and C/LM women who had set up businesses such as neighbourhood stores, a *pensión* and market stalls.⁴⁷ While I do not have information on the size of GW101's loan, GW87's loan to build her rooms was significantly less (at 20-25,000Bs, around USD 3,000) than some of the business loans taken out by HM and C/LM women.

Furthermore, when a guarantor was required, HM & C/LM *comerciantes* explained that they found this through family connections and social networks. Furthermore, some women had already started their business before applying for a loan to expand, which would satisfy bank requirements of an already-existing business. For example, Doña Gemma explained she had started her neighbourhood store with help from her brother-in-law, who gave her a small loan and then acted as a guarantor for a larger loan:

Well, when I opened my store, my brother-in-law helped me [...] he lent me 1,500Bs. With this minimal capital I started [...] it wasn't difficult to repay because they didn't give me a specified time, I could pay when I had the amount [...] for that reason they helped me considerably [...] Then [when moving to a larger store] I felt encouraged to take out a loan from the bank [...] of] 5,000 dollars [...] with] guarantors [...] my in-laws.

(GW57)

While less common, one C/LM woman had financial help from her father (who was a *comerciante*) in setting up previous businesses: a market food stall (for which he bought the stall) and a market hairdresser's salon for which he bought the materials and paid the first three months' rent (although

⁴⁷ Although a further Guaraní woman's husband (who is not Guaraní), who has a monthly salaried job, had accessed a bank loan for personal construction (as the guarantor for her husband's loan), with the aim also of setting up a store further down the line (GW104). Notably, she had moved to the peri-urban area 5 years previously to buy a plot of land, and so has a different migration history to other peri-urban Guaraní women.

neither business was ultimately successful for various reasons including competition and pregnancy). She was finally able to set up her own business renting large plastic tables and chairs for parties after receiving an inheritance and buying her house in the peri-urban area (GW58). Thus, although for much of her working life she had carried out the kind of casual domestic work, which other low-income and Guaraní women also carry out (although most recently paid at a much higher daily wage as a cook, see chapter 4), she has also had access to capital through family networks and support (see Appendix F – C/LM labour history). A second C/LM woman was also waiting for her inheritance from the sale of her father's house to start a business from her home (GW85). Thus, in contrast to Guaraní women, some HM and CL/M women seem to benefit from support from social networks, with the circulation of sufficient capital and legal paperwork for a guarantor, even if finding a guarantor may sometimes be difficult (GW119).

Furthermore, Guaraní women primarily use loans (predominantly from micro-credit institutions, but also moneylenders) for household consumption, as well as construction for personal use, rather than entrepreneurial activities. Thus, in addition to the barrier of ID cards and legal paperwork, and seemingly little access to social networks with legal-financial standing, because of economic necessity, many Guaraní women are not able to get *small* businesses off the ground, which might then facilitate larger individual bank loans. This is evidenced by comparing use of credit among intercategorical groups. Of all possible sources of credit, 52 out of 68 Guaraní women (where credit was discussed in the HS/I) had taken out some form of loan or micro-credit, with a further 5 women taking out credit only on behalf of family members or acquaintances. While one Guaraní woman did not wish to specify the purpose of the credit, of the other 51 Guaraní women, 29 did not take out or use their loans for any 'productive' purposes (57%); of these women 10 used their loans for construction (to build rooms and bathrooms), 17 for household consumption (food, household goods and furniture, school supplies, including uniforms and graduation suits), as well as to repay other bills and debts including in the event of family illness, 1 for consumption and construction, while another used her loan to help her husband with some unspecified problems. In contrast, out of 36 of the 48 other diverse women (HM and C/LM) who had taken out credit for themselves, 4 women used the credit solely for a non-productive purpose (11%).

When Guaraní women do start income generation activities, these are generally at a smaller scale (as discussed in 3.3.1) given that less capital is required, such as making bread (as explained by GW41). However, such businesses are more precarious, particularly when there is a crisis of social reproduction, given their ‘small rates of return’ (Keating, Rasmussen & Rishi 2010: 162). For example, Doña Abegail (GW129) was selling grilled meats but had to stop selling when her child became ill with a fever and she spent her capital. She was waiting for her husband’s *aguinaldo*⁴⁸ from his work in a sewing workshop to start selling again. Even when not in a crisis state, women’s burden of social reproduction in paying for extra-ordinary expenses, such as school uniforms and materials, can result in the depletion of capital. Doña Angela explained:

‘I would like to have a pensión [...but] I don’t have enough money also, I can’t save [...] I have to go there to the school, they ask for yet another thing: the equipment, the uniform and in all that it goes [...] I was making little empanadas, refrescos to sell or that is to say something for which I could get enough capital [...] Two weeks ago I stopped [...] Because I didn’t have [money] then, I spent everything that I had.’

GW27

On the other hand, women with larger businesses, particularly neighbourhood stores, explained how these helped defray the everyday costs of social reproduction, in particular bread, food and school materials. Furthermore, HM women with small businesses may also have other options not open to Guaraní women when they have a crisis of social reproduction given social networks of HM traders. For example, Doña Ariana, who also sells grilled meats, explained that if she has such a crisis she is able to borrow money from another *comerciante* because of their common identity as vendors and as highland migrants: ‘As she also speaks Quechua [...] sometimes we lend to each other’ (GW92).

This differential circulation of credit and capital in the peri-urban assemblage of labour thus suggests that the flourishing informal economy is continuing to reproduce, and in some cases intensify, economic stratification between groups of women. While the internal diversity and

⁴⁸ The 13th monthly payment, which is paid as a bonus at the end of the year.

inequalities of the informal economy pre and post-MAS have been highlighted in the literature, what has been overlooked is that within Santa Cruz's current conjuncture, there seems to be increasing differentiation between HM and lowland Guaraní women. This is not to say that there is not differentiation also among HM women.⁴⁹ For example, as highlighted above, while successful (albeit small) *pensiones* could make around 300Bs a day, other highland women earn considerably less.⁵⁰ For example, Doña Paula made only 30-40Bs a day selling snacks in the morning outside a local school (a privilege she pays for by sweeping a classroom) (GW37 – see HM labour history in Appendix F). However, unlike many Guaraní women with intermittent businesses, Doña Paula had managed to sustain her business (alongside taking in some washing work) for 8 years.⁵¹ Furthermore, some highland migrant women are now employing Guaraní women as casual labourers in their businesses, as well as washing clothes.⁵² In Doña Belen's words:

'The paisanos have their store, everything, they have everything, you see, and they are the ones who look for people to help them and we go there and we help them [...] those of us that are Guaraní are poorer than those who have their stores'

GW60

Thus, my findings highlight that certain groups of highland women are able to maintain informal commercial activities and provide credit and economic support to their immediate family and social circle. On the other hand, apart from intermittent small businesses, Guaraní women mostly continue in their work as casual paid labourers, however this now also includes working for some HM traders in addition to wealthy *Cruzeño* families (see chapter 5). However, the differentiation

⁴⁹ There is also some differentiation among Guaraní women, yet this has not been as a result of informal trade, but rather as a small number of Guaraní women have been able to access higher education and find better paid work (see Chapters 4 & 5).

⁵⁰ Furthermore, one HM street-vendor explained that she felt humiliated in her work as a popcorn and ice-cream vendor as a 'poor ice cream seller' by others who have more money or capital, seemingly including C/LM neighbours GW81).

⁵¹ This is not to say that Guaraní women never have access to larger loans for commercial purposes, however this is less common. For example, Doña Sara accessed the loan for her gym through her husband's HM family. Furthermore, the gym was relatively new and she was losing money.

⁵² HM women also wash clothes, including for other *comerciantes*. However, both GW37 and GW69, the only two non-Guaraní women who wash clothes do so alongside longstanding commercial activities.

between highland and lowland women in the peri-urban area does not seem to be of the spectacular kind found in the highlands (and perhaps in other parts of Santa Cruz). Rather this subtle differentiation can be helpfully understood through the concept of ‘precarity’ as linked with social reproduction.

Waite has argued (in relation to migrants) that precarity can be understood in relation to those ‘who experience precarious lives as a consequence of their labour market positions’ (2009: 413–4). Yet the concept of social reproduction ‘facilitates the exploration of both precarious work and precarious life as mutually constitutive’ (Strauss & Meehan 2015: 1). The unequal financial burden of social reproduction thereby illuminates the differentiation between diverse peri-urban women, as some women are able to provide a small measure of security for their families through informal commerce, whereas others, notably Guaraní women, struggle to set up small businesses and face greater precarity in their ongoing work of ‘maintenance’ (Baraitser 2017). Thus, Guaraní women often resort to the stressful gendered work of debt, the responsibility for taking out and managing (sometimes multiple) credit and loans to meet their family’s needs. A brief exploration of this work, which I call ‘debt-work’,⁵³ further illuminates this subtle differentiation between women in the peri-urban area.

It is first important to note that micro-credit is ostensibly granted for developing entrepreneurial activities. Thus, in order to obtain the credit for social reproduction, women often need to pretend to the micro-credit institution that the credit is for a productive activity. For example, one Guaraní woman explained that a relative had taken photos of store-bought bread next to her oven as evidence of a bread-making business. Although the credit officials know that women do not really have businesses, they turn a blind eye as long as women repay their quotas on time (GW55, GW108), thereby aligning with wider findings that micro-credit transfers resources from the poor to ‘institutional investors’ as well as the employees of credit institutions (Bateman 2010: 206–7). Doña Guillermina, a Guaraní woman, explained that women need ‘to lie’ as part of this precarious gendered work of social reproduction:

⁵³ See also Kar, who has developed the related concept of ‘credit-work’ in the context of Indian microfinance, which refers to ‘the everyday set of practices that women engage in to access, maintain, and repay loans’ (2018: 123).

‘Yes, I’ve taken out monthly [credit...] For the [household] expenses, for the school, to pay bills [...] [The other women in the group] according to them they took out credit to sell [...]but] it seems that it was just for their expenses. For that reason, women disappeared when it came for payment. [...]To take out credit] they ask: What is it for, to set up a business? [...]And] one has to lie! [...] There are some [...] where there are large families, I think it’s just to eat and it’s not possible to set up a business’

GW66

The international development agenda has now reduced its claims as to the effects of micro-credit, in recognition of the important role that credit can play in ‘consumption smoothing’ particularly in rural contexts given agricultural temporalities (Taylor 2012: 603–7). Furthermore, given the high rate of interest, rather than being seen as ‘palliative’, micro-credit should be viewed as part of ‘survival strategies’ (Taylor 2012: 607). Thus, the critical literature on microfinance increasingly finds that microfinance, particularly in its increasing ‘commercialization’, actually functions to increase precarity and poverty (Bateman 2010: 2). Thus, Keating et al. draw on Hartsock to argue that micro-credit represents a gendered form of ‘accumulation by dispossession’ (2010: 161). As Doña Guillermina noted, this credit just left her even poorer, while also providing a crucial stopgap at that moment.

Federici has drawn attention to the increasing reach of the ‘debt economy’ which involves the ‘financialization of reproduction’, in which services necessary for social reproduction – such as health – are increasingly paid for through money that has been borrowed (2014: 232–3). She draws on Bolivian feminist Maria Galindo’s argument that micro-credit institutions are ‘stealing women’s work, women’s time’ (2014: 241). Yet, the gendered implications of urban women’s indebtedness, with women taking out micro-credit *only* or primarily for social reproduction requires further exploration. As with Taylor’s analysis, much of the micro-credit literature has focused on rural areas (e.g. Lingam 2008). For example, in rural highland Bolivia, some women take out credit for consumption during the winter months (Maclean 2007: 268). The uneven temporalities of urban consumption smoothing have been given less attention,⁵⁴ such as in Santa

⁵⁴ In urban Cochabamba, Bee has noted that women prefer a longer repayment schedule given issues of daily necessities (2011: 34–35).

Cruz where casual labouring work for (particularly Guaraní) men in construction and pavement may also be precarious and depend on dry weather. Benería and Floro have briefly shown from a 2002 survey in Ecuador that women have a higher rate of indebtedness than men and note the link between informal work and credit for consumption smoothing (2006: 208–9). Yet difference between low-income women is not explored. However, within peri-urban Santa Cruz, Guaraní women seem more likely to take on debt-work for social reproduction, rather than as a part of an entrepreneurial activity, given greater material poverty and necessity, as well as unfamiliarity with commercial practices.

Furthermore, Guaraní women's debt-work goes beyond micro-credit and may sometimes involve multiple forms of indebtedness to money lenders, micro-credit banks as well as the pawning of goods. As one Guaraní woman explained about her recent debt-work, her family had to borrow 2,000Bs recently when her whole family became ill. While she explained that *they* borrowed the money (she says 'we' rather than 'I'), she herself was doing the gendered work of negotiating the loan with the lender, another peri-urban woman:

'One time we didn't have enough to pay for water and electricity. He [her husband] wasn't working. He was sick, then I got like that also and I didn't know what to do. We have borrowed the money [...] And that money we have to pay back with 20% [...] For that reason we are looking for money right now [...] I explained to the Señora and she said even without interest you are going to give me, she said, 50 a week. Okay then, I said [...] Everyone, even the kids, got really ill [...] I don't know what illness it might be then: fever, headache.'

GW32

Thus, while the literature has emphasized how the micro-credit agenda has been 'driven by gendered conceptions of women as virtuous mothers and entrepreneurs', in Rankin's terms as 'rational economic woman', less attention has been given to women's gendered debt-work in ensuring both immediate (e.g. health) and longer-term (e.g. housing) household needs are met (Keating, Rasmussen & Rishi 2010: 166; Rankin 2001: 20). Furthermore, while the literature has drawn attention to gendered inequalities in male control over credit, there seems to have been less

attention to women's work of micro-credit in cooperation with partners, when women taken on the often stressful work of taking out and managing the debt, but where the debt is paid back from the partner's income. Women explained that it is common in Guaraní families for micro-credit to be paid back through their husband's wages, yet women are mostly responsible for the work of obtaining and managing the loan as part of their work of managing household finances (Focus Group 6). Thus discussions of whether or not micro-credit 'empowers' women seems to overlook not only cooperation between partners, even when this continues to perpetuate a male breadwinner model (Maclean 2007: 268), but also the wider intersectional inequalities in social reproduction which perpetuates this precarious gendered work.

Guaraní women's work of managing debt, including compulsory attendance at credit meetings, as well as other debt-work such as pawning goods, is thus part of their ongoing work of 'maintaining time' in ensuring the daily needs of their family are met (Baraitser 2017). As Doña Guillermina explains below, it is also part of the arduous work in *knowing* how to care in the unequal gendered assemblage of labour. Yet this precarious knowledge of debt-work is very different to the knowledge of the successful indigenous *comerciante* held up as the exemplary mother by the public official (section 3.3.1), and therefore contributes to ongoing representations of Guaraní women as lazy.

'One has to know how to care. There my little granddaughter almost died on me that day. I had to find the way to get medicines for her [...] I've pawned my gas bottle, I've pawned my speakers because the injection costs [...] 55, each injection that they're going to give the baby [...] and the syrups 80, 70.'

GW66

Women's debt-work highlights the continuing insufficiency of health and social policies under the MAS as the reproductive side of economic citizenship, despite the *bonos* (cash transfers). The *bonos* are extremely small in monetary value, and therefore insufficient to challenge 'the structure of poverty' (Postero 2015: 241), as well as explain the narrowing of income differentials between indigenous and non-indigenous households post-2006 (Hicks et al. 2018: 39). In 2017, *bono Juancito Pinto* for school children was 200Bs a year (one tenth of the monthly minimum wage),

Juana Azurduy for pregnant woman and new mothers reached a total of only 1,820Bs over 33 months, while *Renta Dignidad*, the social pension, increased to 300Bs a month. Furthermore, as they are universal, they have not been targeted towards households most in need (Andersen, Molina Tejerina & Doyle 2016: 57; Lustig 2015: 8–9; Arauco et al. 2013: 335).

Writing in 2010, Bateman pointed to the ‘hope’ that conditional cash transfers (CCTs) in Bolivia ‘can replace the poor’s debilitating dependence on ultra-expensive consumption loans’ through micro-credit (2010: 121–2). However, my findings suggest that the *bonos* may not challenge structural *gendered* inequalities, as they are still insufficient to provide women with relief from their financial burden of social reproduction and ongoing debt-work. *Juancito Pinto* might enable the purchase, for example, of a few items of clothing and a pair of shoes for a child but is insufficient to cover the heavy costs of school materials throughout the year; in any case the *bono* is generally considered a gift for the child. In addition, *Juana Azurduy*, as with other gendered CCTs in the Andean region, is bureaucratically onerous on women, requiring identity documents, as well as compulsory medical check-ups (Cookson 2015). In addition, despite recently instituted municipal medical care for all residents of Santa Cruz, in 2017 medicines were not free.⁵⁵ Furthermore, as explained by a local doctor, respiratory infections are unusually high in the peri-urban area, the result of the municipal rubbish dump (see also Postero 2017: 155–7), thereby highlighting the environmental racism which intertwines with the unequal burden of social reproduction within the peri-urban assemblage of labour (Katz 2001: 714–5).

Thus, despite the (discursive) orientation of the Bolivian state toward the ideals of *vivir bien* (Ranta 2018a), and the potential synergies with alternative decolonial feminist visions of an economy grounded in the ‘sustainability of life’ (Lind 2018: 203; Vega Ugalde 2017; León 2012), in practice, this had not advanced sufficiently to ease the financial and administrative burden of women’s work in social reproduction, which has intensified subtle differentiation between women as some HM and C/LM women are able to maintain small businesses (despite precarity), while

⁵⁵ Although in 2019, in an important development, the national government passed legislation for a ‘Unique Health System’, to provide universal and free health coverage for those not otherwise covered, including provision of essential medicines. In Santa Cruz, the municipal health law has been modified to align with the national law: See: <http://concejomunicipalscz.gob.bo/biblioteca-legislativa/descargar-la-ley-autonomica-municipal.php?codigo=LY-001094> (accessed 17.12.19)

Guaraní women largely carry out reproductive debt-work, in addition to casual paid labour (Chapter 4), thereby furthering intersectional inequalities in substantive economic citizenship. The experiences of peri-urban women thus show some continuities with the neoliberal period of the early 2000s in the ‘high degree’ as well as *gendered* nature of ‘economic insecurity and vulnerability’ for some women, where social protection, while certainly improved, is still insufficient (Benería & Floro 2006: 205).

3.3.4 The peri-urban economy: poor infrastructure and increasing competition

In addition to the burden of social reproduction, a handful of Guaraní women explained that the poor infrastructure of the peri-urban area, of the streets as well as their homes, made it difficult to carry out income generation activities when there was poor weather, such as when it rained or if strong winds whipped up the sandy earth on dry, windy days. As McFarlane notes ‘a focus on the everyday materialities of urban sites can provide insight into the nature of poverty, inequality and urban political economies’ (2011b: 382). Doña Eva used to sell grilled chicken in the evenings at her house but stopped around 7 months previously. Notably, she initially explained this with the common trope of ‘laziness’, but then went on to discuss how the material conditions of her house and yard made it difficult for her to continue selling food, which in any case was fairly precarious given variable sales from one day to the next:⁵⁶

‘There are days that one doesn’t sell [...] and that was my fear [...] for that reason, let’s say, I’ve stopped selling. [...] And as I also didn’t have a little roof there, you see, and in the rainy season that [...] discouraged me [...] and I also didn’t have any little tables at that time, I just had one little table [...] That is what [...] made me lazy, let’s say, for the things that I was missing.’

GW116

This does not mean that other non-Guaraní women did not also have similar issues with household or peri-urban infrastructure, including difficulties in street vending when it rained. For example,

⁵⁶ Doña Eva, as with other Guaraní women, shares one room with her family (her husband and three children).

Doña Noelia, who had migrated from a *campesina* (peasant) community in the lowland department of the Beni when they needed emergency medical treatment for her husband, recounted her problems in developing food sales as they only had one poorly constructed room made of wood (GW53). Furthermore, she thought it was difficult to get a loan given her age (in her late 50s). However, despite the undeniably difficult circumstances of many non-Guaraní families in the peri-urban area, in which, as shown by Doña Noelia's situation, intersectional inequalities of health and generation compound each other, there were also various other non-Guaraní women in the peri-urban area who had been able to set up a *pensión* or snack stall inside or with a roof or covering as protection from the elements. On the other hand, I did not know any Guaraní woman who had been able to set up a business selling food with adequate protection from adverse weather. Indeed, many Guaraní families were still struggling to complete the building of their own houses and bathrooms, with some of the poorer families continuing to use corrugated iron or sheeting to make up part of their housing, including showers and toilets (see chapter 6). In general, non-Guaraní women seemed to have better household infrastructure, with some non-Guaraní families having or being in the process of building two story houses.

Thus, the infrastructural projects of the municipal government in Santa Cruz such as urban parks and new municipal markets highlight how local political decisions around the *ordering* of the city marginalize certain groups, and not only HM market-vendors (Kirshner 2011). While the building of public parks may provide some employment for a few women as gardeners (see Chapter 4), the impact for most peri-urban women is limited. Furthermore, such local projects, alongside the national government's large infrastructure projects, draw attention away from the every-day chronic burden of poor infrastructure in marginal locations. However, this burden is not equally distributed even among low income women.

Alongside infrastructure, the dynamics of the peri-urban economy provide challenges for women across intersectional diversity in setting up income generation activities. As most women aspired to sell similar goods, either cooked food stuffs or to open a neighbourhood store selling household provisions and stationery, there were issues of competition. Even street vendors of more specialised foodstuffs, such as popcorn or *mote* (cooked corn and broad beans) noted increased competition (GW81, PW3). A HM woman with a longstanding small store explained:

'Before, sales were good, then. Not now. [There are] stores everywhere [...] This store here is just to eat, to live. There's no profit, nothing [...] Many stores, there are a lot: over there two stores, further along two stores [...] at the back two stores.'

GW39

Furthermore, increasing competition may also give rise to conflicts among vendors. Such conflicts have long been a recognised element of informal commerce within the Andes (Goldstein 2016: 139–40; Seligmann 2004). However, while this increasing competition affects all women across intersectional diversity, Guaraní women's unfamiliarity with commercial practices may mean intensified difficulties in dealing with competition, particularly when their activities are intermittent. An instance of competitive behaviour among street sellers was recounted to me informally by one Guaraní woman, who had decided to start selling street snacks next to a second more established HM vendor (selling the same snacks) in a prime location in the peri-urban area. The other street seller had told her something along the lines of 'get out of my space (*lugar*)' and so she stopped selling there (Fieldnotes, 2017).

In one focus group, Guaraní women explained that as they were not used to selling on the streets, they preferred to sell from home, rather than getting into arguments with other street vendors. Notably women from this group explained that sometimes they have no sales at all, such as from homemade bread, because their neighbours in their sector (who are also Guaraní) have no money to buy. As Doña Alejandra succinctly put it '*mbaeti korepoti*' (there's no money) (GW97, Focus Group 7). It is interesting that, once more, one of the women questioned whether she was being 'lazy', before expanding on the social difficulties that these commercial practices presented for her and the real fear that is generated:⁵⁷

⁵⁷ HM and Guaraní women pursuing small businesses may also differently navigate the constraints of low numeracy given different socio-spatial relationships with the street and home (see also Chapter 6). Doña Ursula, a HM, sells popcorn as a *street-vendor* as this is sold in small monetary quantities (selling for 1-2 Bs a bag), so it is easier for her given poor numeracy (GW81). On the other hand, a Guaraní woman Doña Isidora (GW78) thought that one of the reasons Guaraní women tend to sell bread *from the home* was also because of innumeracy. She said that being at home means they can ask their children, studying in secondary school, for help with giving change.

'FW27: Sometimes to sell over there, but we don't want to go [...] is it because of being lazy? I don't know.

FW26: We aren't accustomed to going out with something to sell [...] I'm embarrassed to go out with my basket [...]

FW27: Sometimes we do well [...] then the other people say [...] 'don't come again' they say [...] they get annoyed. 'Now you're taking away our clients from us' they say, you see? Now we are embarrassed to go there again the next day. So as not to be fighting, arguing, I prefer just to be here [i.e. at home...]. And some people will put a curse on you [...] you have to look after yourself as well.'

FG7

In addition to competition, some women told me about another complicating dynamic of the peri-urban economy, that of *fiar* – selling on trust (on credit). This dynamic had negatively affected some women's businesses across intersectional diversity when clients did not pay. However, the businesses of Guaraní women appeared to be particularly vulnerable to non-payment for goods on credit. Doña Benicia explained how she used to sell bread but gave this up because of problems with *'el fio'*:

'When I had money, I also used to get out bread to sell. I have my oven there too [...] but sometimes people here just take everything on credit and then some weren't paying and then I didn't want to make [bread] anymore.'

GW64

A small number of Guaraní women also commented they were 'embarrassed' to say no to selling goods or bread on credit or even collecting the money that was owed to them, including from extended family members, echoing Guaraní women's discussion of embarrassment to sell on the street in Focus Group 7:

'The ones I know pay but there are other people that come and [...say] 'trust me'⁵⁸ I'll pay you' and that person sometimes doesn't pay. [...] I don't collect [the money...] because I get embarrassed to collect, I feel pity.'

GW122

On the other hand, non-Guaraní women seemed to be better able to stop giving goods on credit (GW80), replenish their capital and continue with their business or sell goods such as alcohol not commonly given on credit (GW45). Doña Gemma explained that she has mostly stopped giving goods on credit after her store nearly went bankrupt. However, in order to get back on her feet, she herself had been able to take goods on credit with her supplier, an option which would not be available for women with smaller and more intermittent businesses. She explained:

'Before, I used to sell more on credit [...] it almost bankrupted me [...] because they owed me, they didn't pay and there was no money then [...] And just as well, where I go to buy, they just sold to me on credit, and I was like that for a while, taking on credit [...] selling everything in cash and like that I finished paying my debts.'

GW57

This section has shown how the materiality of the peri-urban area and dynamics of the peri-urban economy produce further intersectional disadvantage in setting up small businesses. While diverse women experience similar dynamics as well as infrastructural poverty, on the whole Guaraní women as an intercategory group seem to experience greater material poverty, which intertwined with their *ñande reko* may produce intensified disadvantage in dealing with competitive commercial practices. This section has thereby shown how the assemblage of socio-spatial and material inequalities in the peri-urban area is exclusionary for Guaraní women's substantive economic citizenship via informal self-employment.

⁵⁸ *Fiame* i.e. 'give it to me on credit'.

3.3.5 Women's entrepreneurialism as local public policy

While Chapter 3 provided an overview of *national* policy, this section aims to understand how *local* public policy around women's work enters the socio-material peri-urban assemblage of labour, the connections with national policy and the intersectional implications for women's work and economic citizenship at the local level.

Rankin has argued that micro-credit tends to perpetuate the unequal gender division of labour through the promotion of 'home-based enterprises' (2001: 32). Yet, within Santa Cruz, such enterprises are also promoted by local government. Public officials from the municipal and departmental governments interviewed about the work of gender directorates (PSC3, PSC7) explained they carry out training sessions to develop women's capacities as entrepreneurs. One explained that their 'vision' was to 'empower women' and support them so that 'they can get ahead' given that they are 'the mainstay of the house'. She went on to explain that the programme's objective is to:

'Improve the economic conditions of women [...] strengthening their productive, organizational capacities [...] in order to improve their financial opportunities [...] technical trainings in the area of integral beauty, in the area of 'goma eva',⁵⁹ cake-making, baking, costume-jewelry and others'

PSC3

Ong argues that neoliberal governmentality includes 'technologies of subjectivity' which 'rely on an array of knowledge and expert systems to induce self-animation and self-government' to produce an entrepreneurial citizen-subject (2006: 6). Through the production of women as entrepreneurial citizens by local government departments, neoliberal subjectivities fuse with international women's rights discourses in the emphasis on 'empowerment', as well as conservative gender norms which continue to place women's work in the home, yet also highlight the particular gendered assemblage of labour within Santa Cruz, where there are few opportunities

⁵⁹ Goma Eva is a type of foam paper used for making celebratory decorations (*cotillón*).

for low-skilled women to find decent paid jobs, as well as reconcile care and income generation (see chapter 4). The official explained that women ask for this training, even if, as she admits, its impact may be limited:

‘When we formulated that first programme, we had a consultation and there we saw the most common necessities or the most common requests that the women have [...] we could see that type of trainings: bakeries, jewelry-making, that are practical things [...] Even if they aren’t going to help them get out of a problem, but yes they are going to strengthen them so that they can help themselves, no?’

PSC3

Indeed, *cotillón* (making decorations out of foam paper) training was requested by women in one of the peri-urban communities, where the women had newly formed a ‘mothers’ club’. However, precisely because of the gender-ethnic assemblage of labour within which low-income Guaraní women are situated, these training sessions are limited in effectiveness. While the official estimated that 40-50% of women would go on to use training for income generation, this seemed an overestimation for peri-urban Guaraní women given the difficulties outlined above. Doña Angela who had financial difficulties in setting up her own micro-business selling empanadas (GW27), explained that she had previously attended similar training sessions, however they had not helped her economically. Women in the 2017 training indicated they would use the skills in the home, such as for parties of their own children (Fieldnotes, 2017).

Furthermore, the official also emphasised that they offered training sessions designed to address women’s personal characteristics:

‘Trainings in the area [of] motivation, self-esteem [...] to teach these women that they are capable and they have to have this spirit of personal improvement’

PSC3



The mothers' club *cotillón* training in the *casa comunal* (communal house), 2017

However, as discussed above, representations of low-income women as lacking the right attitudes to be successful entrepreneurs elides the specific intersectional socio-material and locational conditions which disadvantage low-income women. Furthermore, it gives normative weight to a market-based citizenship (Fudge 2005: 644–6), in which the exemplary female citizen – and indeed indigenous woman – is the entrepreneurial woman. As an illustration of this point, one HM woman explained that Guaraní women in her community had attended various training courses alongside her, however none of the women use the skills for income generation. Apart from wondering whether women might be ‘afraid’, she makes the judgement that they are not ‘bettering themselves’:

‘I don’t see that anyone puts [the training] to use, not even in their houses’. It’s the kind of work that one can do at home. One can paint tablecloths, covers and go to sell, but no one uses it, no one. [...] One has to try to excel [...] I don’t know if they’re afraid, I don’t

know why [...] The only thing that they [do] is to work as a domestic, just domestics, when they can better themselves.'

HM woman⁶⁰

Povinelli has argued that 'neoliberalism works by colonizing the field of value – reducing all social values to one market value' (2011: 134). However, while Bolivia's post-neoliberal citizenship regime discursively presents alternative conceptions of social value such as *vivir bien* and alternative economies (Ranta 2018a), in practice at the local level gendered economic ideals are based around market value, individual entrepreneurship and personal effort. Thus, in the imprint left by women's invisibilisation (misrecognition) in post-neoliberal planning nationally (Chapter 2), neoliberal visions of the self-improving entrepreneurial woman continue into the post-neoliberal present. This point was highlighted in the interview with one local public official, who explained that such entrepreneurial programmes for women had existed for more than 11 years. Yet following the publication of the law against gender-based violence, they have expanded these programmes to align with the perceived requirements of the law:⁶¹

'In the law 348 [...] there it establishes that municipal governments should have in place programmes where women can learn a trade (oficio) to have an economic independence. It is accordingly that this programme that already existed [...] is developed.'

PSC7

In a gender analysis of municipal budgeting, CPMGA, a critical Bolivian women's organisation, have noted that 'activities contained within public budgets are oriented to consider...only one form of production...the production of goods and services, to be exchanged in the market' (2016: 64). Thus, municipal obligations for supporting women's productive opportunities and, in particular Law 348, are interpreted as requiring the promotion of entrepreneurial women. Brabazon has argued that law not only reflects prevailing neoliberal subjectivities but is itself '*constitutive of neoliberalism*' (2016: ELD para 18). However, the official's words highlight an even more

⁶⁰ Given the judgement expressed, I have not given the identifier (which is the same as one anonymised HM woman in section 3.3.2).

⁶¹ In reviewing the law, I cannot see that this is explicitly stated, although municipal governments are tasked with developing integral legal services for victims of violence.

complicated relation between neoliberalism and legality, in which new laws on gender-based violence are interpreted and implemented by government officials according to pre-existing neoliberal ideologies.

The continuity with the neoliberal period is also highlighted by women's aspirations to have their own business, given that post-MAS there are still few other options for low-skilled women's work representing maldistribution through gendered invisibilisation (misrecognition). This point was emphasized by a national leader of women working in small scale commerce when we met at her hot drink stall in El Alto who felt that her sector was not given *recognition* by government (LSC4) (see also Maclean 2014). Furthermore, the continuing normative valence given to the market at the local level (both *de jure* by local government policy and *de facto* in the informal economy) also rebounds upwards in the wider popular national imaginary of the 'good' entrepreneurial indigenous woman supporting her family as a market citizen (PN5), *despite* the national promotion of a 'plural economy' and the marginalisation of informal traders in public policy.

Within the peri-urban assemblage of labour in Santa Cruz, such imaginaries of the ideal entrepreneurial woman as the 'model' economic female citizen can be conceptualised as residues from the neoliberal citizenship regime which also carry traces of conservative gender norms, even as they attempt to 'empower' women. However, as normative subjectivities of entrepreneurial women abound, they also allow for the circulation and normalisation of derogatory and racialised representations (citizen-citizen misrecognition) of Guaraní women who are further disadvantaged in meeting this ideal given the specific socio-material assemblage of labour within which they are situated in peri-urban Santa Cruz. This chapter thus highlights how post-neoliberalism is also 'fundamentally raced' in that way it reinforces *gendered* ethno-racial inequalities whilst at the same time hiding the structuring role of race-ethnicity through continuing entrepreneurial imaginaries (Roberts & Mahtani 2010: 248).

3.4 Conclusion: entrepreneurialism and economic citizenship

Through an assemblage lens, this chapter has shown the uneven opportunities for women to generate an income through informal trade and self-employment, given the complex entanglement of social and material factors in the peri-urban area.

While Webber has argued that post-neoliberalism has functioned as a ‘reconstituted neoliberalism’ (Webber 2011: 176; Webber 2016), drawing on Elson (1994: 38), I would suggest that this differentiation between peri-urban women also highlights a reconstituted ‘male bias’ in the Bolivian post-neoliberal citizenship regime, effacing women’s ongoing work in sustaining life in Bolivia. This bias also incorporates some ‘male breadwinner bias’, as well as ‘commodification bias’ (the commodification of social provision) despite the *bonos* and some increase in access to health care (Elson & Cagatay 2000: 1355–6). Furthermore, this male bias encourages the continued circulation of gendered *neoliberal* imaginaries in Bolivia, given that there are few other options available for low-skilled women to provide security for their families.

This male bias, however, has intersectional effects, as some groups of women are better placed than others within the socio-spatial and material configuration of labour to conform to the ongoing neoliberal ideal of entrepreneurial woman. This chapter has argued that Guaraní women’s complex (and contradictory) *ñande reko* intertwines with gendered responsibility for financial social reproduction, unequal access to credit, uneven material infrastructure and the particular dynamics of the local peri-urban economy to produce particular intersectional disadvantage in setting up and maintaining informal micro-enterprise. Attention to the uneven opportunities for income generation and informal trade among intersectional configurations thus enables us to address research question 3 in pointing to increased stratification and class differentiation among indigenous and racialised women in peri-urban Santa Cruz post-2006. It also addresses research questions 1 and 2 in the devaluation (misrecognition) of Guaraní women’s work, as well as the uneven experience of economic citizenship via unequal access to decent self-employment.

However, HM women who have been able to develop informal businesses are not the wealthy bourgeoisie who have built fortunes through lucrative wholesale international trade networks, but

rather low-income women, often trading household provisions or other homemade foodstuffs, who have struggled to build some kind of stability among otherwise precarious conditions (and increasing local competition). Furthermore, despite some increased social capital through migrant networks (see chapter 6 for further discussion), these women largely operate individually, outside the reciprocal networks of the Aymara bourgeoisie as documented in the highland cities (Tassi 2012; Campos & Rosa 2016). Thus, differentiation found among women in peri-urban Santa Cruz, helpfully understood through gendered precarity of social reproduction, is thus less striking than referred to in the literature elsewhere, yet is important for understanding new power geometries of post-neoliberal citizenship, as well as the continuing circulation of derogatory, ethno-racialised representations of Guaraní indigenous women who continue to *misrecognised* as inferior economic citizens in Bolivia (racism to be discussed further in Chapter 5).

Chapter 4: The Gender-Ethnic Assemblage of Labour

4.1 Introduction

In contrast to neo-classical economics, labour market segmentation theories highlight that workers do not compete equally for jobs in a (nearly perfect) competitive market according to productivity characteristics, such as human capital, but are instead sorted into differently operating ‘segments’ (Beerepoot 2016: 200; Grimshaw et al. 2017: 2–4; Peck 1989b: 119–20). Early segmentation theories proposed the existence of a ‘dual’ labour market, with the primary segment comprised of decently remunerated work with job security and progression, with the secondary segment made up of poor-quality, precarious work (Peck 1989b: 120–1).⁶² However, early ‘dualist’ theories have been criticised for overly focusing on the demand side (technological/production factors and strategies for labour control) rather than the interacting and complex factors which may (multiply) segment labour markets, including ‘the role of the state’ and other institutions, as well as supply side aspects such as social norms (Grimshaw et al. 2017; Peck 1989b: 125–6). Related theories of occupational segregation are also key to understanding gendered inequalities in employment, in terms of the channelling of men and women into different occupations (horizontal segregation) or job hierarchies (vertical segregation), with men generally over-represented in higher ‘valued’ roles (Stockdale & Nadler 2013: 210–1; Anker 1997: 335).⁶³ Scholars have also pointed to the gender division of labour/social reproduction, as well as gender stereotypes and norms, as key to understanding segmentation and segregation, as well as an intersectional approach (Grimshaw et al. 2017: 22–3; Peck 1989b: 130; Anker 1997). Such stereotypes may result in segregation from the supply-side when job-seekers look for roles in conformity with socialised gender attributes and roles, as well as from employers as a result of ‘statistical discrimination’ (Stockdale & Nadler 2013: 210–1).

⁶² With reference to developing economies, segmentation has often been discussed in relation to the divide between the formal and informal economies (Heintz & Posel 2008: 28).

⁶³ However, these processes are linked as vertical segregation may correspond to primary and secondary segments (Anker 1997: 322–3).

In addition to insights from feminist scholars, geographers have highlighted labour market stratification (both segmentation and occupational segregation) as an inherently spatial and contextual process, which may operate at various scales (Beerepoot 2016; Peck 1989a; Hanson & Pratt 1995; England & Lawson 2005). Within this literature, feminist geographers have shown how gendered constraints on travel to work may result in spatial patterns of occupational segregation, as well as racial differences in gendered commutes in residentially segregated US cities (Hanson & Pratt 1995; England & Lawson 2005: 84; Johnston-Anumonwo 1997). Relatedly, McCall's quantitative analysis of 'configurations of inequality' across US regional labour markets highlights the importance of local 'economic conditions' and structures in the construction of specific forms of labour market inequality by gender, race and class (McCall 2001: 6).

Drawing on the insights from these theories, this chapter will build on the previous chapter to interrogate from a feminist political economy perspective how gender (contingently) functions to stratify diverse women's labour and experiences of economic citizenship within socio-material assemblages of labour post-2006 across the productive-reproductive economies. Feminist economists have drawn attention to 'male bias' in 'economic policy reform' (Elson 1994: 38), and in particular how neoliberal reforms have relied on the 'infinite flexibility of women's labour' in responding to state cuts and reduced public services (Bakker 2007: 546–7), as well as how such reforms differentially affect women across gender, race and class and situated location (e.g. Bezanson 2006; Lind 2002: 230). However, as discussed in Chapter 1, there has been limited attention to issues of gender in Bolivia's post-neoliberal shift. Yet it is important to interrogate how far post-neoliberal citizenship regimes have been able to challenge gender inequality (Lind 2018).

Feminist economists have used the concept of norms to analyse the gendered operation of economic institutions, defined 'as collective definitions of socially approved conduct, stating rules, or ideals', with 'gender norms' defining 'distinctions between women and men' (Pearse & Connell 2016: 2). While norms are thus related to the 'stereotypes' discussed by Anker, they provide a richer and less static concept to explore how gender is lived and (re)assembled. Furthermore, while norms have often been conceptualised as a 'constraint' on choice, this does not mean that agency disappears, as women are able to make decisions within wider constraints, as well as

challenge norms in everyday practices (Pearse & Connell 2016). Folbre's concept of the 'structures of constraint...as sets of asset distributions, rules, norms, and preferences' which 'locate certain boundaries of choice' is particularly helpful in recognising 'intersecting group identities', as well as the operation of norms as part of socio-material configurations of labour (Gammage, Kabeer & van der Meulen Rodgers 2016: 1; Folbre 1994: 51).

In the existing literature on Bolivia, gendered occupational segregation and discrimination has been linked with women's burden of care and domestic work (e.g. Farah et al. 2012: 33; Jiménez Zamora 2009). Yet, while important, as Spedding notes, this is not a 'complete explanation' (2014: 144), and as Anker has argued 'flexibility and low pay associated with many typical "female" occupations are due, to a large extent, to the fact these are "female" occupations' rather than the unequal distribution of care per se (1997: 329). Notably, in her recent research on women's work in Santa Cruz, El Alto and La Paz, Marco Navarro highlights a few instances of gendered labour market discrimination as an 'imposed' constraint (drawing on Kabeer 2012: 14–15), yet this is not discussed in detail, raising questions as to the wider operation of gender norms in the Bolivian labour market and within paid work (2015: 42–4).

Thus, the chapter will examine how gender norms continue to limit diverse low-income women's opportunities for paid work, although questions of change post-2006 will also be considered in section 4.3, particularly with regards to changes in equalities and labour legislation, as well as wider 'economic conditions' for peri-urban women. An intersectional approach will be used to examine some of the strategies which women use to negotiate gendered constraints. While the Bolivian literature highlights the difference between high and low-income women in terms of commodifying care/domestic work (Farah et al. 2012: 33–5; Salazar et al. 2012: 27–9; Wanderley 2009: 113–5), less attention has been paid to intersectional diversity *between* low-income women, perhaps given that 'material scarcity may become more visible than other types of oppressions' (Bernstein, Benjamin & Motzafi-Haller 2011: 221). On the other hand, the geographical literature on gendered-ethnic/racial labour market stratification has focused on the impact of residential segregation from a northern and particularly US context. Yet, differences among low-income women can be made visible through an assemblage lens.

This chapter mainly addresses research questions 1 and 3 to understand how intersectional labour market stratification in terms of both job quality (segmentation) as well as job role/sector (segregation) as a result of gender norms is reproduced/changing within Santa Cruz, and how women's labour is (de)valued (misrecognised) as part of these processes. The final section 4.3.2 will also touch on women's experiences of negotiating their own value as gendered economic citizens addressing question 2. Complementing the focus in the previous chapter on self-employment, this chapter aims to understand how far the post-neoliberal citizenship regime has been able to promote decent paid work for Guaraní and other diverse peri-urban women, as well as reduce inequalities in unpaid reproductive work.

4.2 The intersectional assemblage across productive and reproductive labour

4.2.1 The gender-ethnic division of paid labour

As shown by the tables and charts in appendices E and G showing female and male self-employment and paid work, the division of labour among (largely) low-skilled workers within Santa Cruz is segregated horizontally by gender (see also Appendix H2). The majority of women are employed in the services sector in some form of domestic work, in laundry work, as cleaners for private companies, and as kitchen assistants. In contrast, the majority of low-skilled men were employed in construction, in transport, and as security guards.

One Guaraní woman recounted:

*'I don't know about men, I don't know, I can only explain about [the work] of women [...]
Because men's [work] is very separate, men [have] nothing to do with it'*

GW60

However, there are also (more subtle) intersectional differences among women.⁶⁴ Firstly, Guaraní women are employed in a smaller range of paid employment than HM and C/LM women. When I calculated an employment diversity index, despite fluctuation over time, Guaraní women had the lowest diversity overall (see Appendix Table E5). Furthermore, while the majority of women in all three groups continue to work in services, notably in domestic work, cleaning, washing clothes, kitchen assistants and in child/elder care (sometimes combined with other activities), these activities only made up 54% of C/LM women's paid activities 2016-17, in comparison with 64% of Guaraní women's and 71% of HM women's paid activities.

Yet, these activities made up a much greater proportion of C/LM women's paid work up until around 2005, when this began to fall (See Chart E4). What is also notable is that in 2016-17 C/LM women no longer work as washerwomen, yet this remains an important source of employment for both Guaraní and HM women, although the numbers of HM women currently in paid work are small. Furthermore, among all groups, a greater proportion of employed Guaraní women in 2016-17 (around 40%) were not earning *at least* the minimum monthly wage calculated at the 2016-17 rate of 1,805Bs (including proportionally if part-time or paid daily or bi-weekly).⁶⁵ It is also important to note some (sub-contracted) municipal and other public sector work among diverse women as compliant with the minimum wage and challenging some occupational segregation, particularly for Guaraní women in street/green areas cleaning and gardening, as well as some professional/white-collar work. However, there are also continued issues with sub-contracting and public sector precarity, as will be discussed in section 4.3.1.

Before returning to intersectional differences, the next section looks at more detail at the gender norms which circulate and contribute to occupational segregation.

⁶⁴ Notably, a higher proportion of both Guaraní and HM women, as well as C/LM speakers of Quechua, thought there were differences between women's work or in possibilities for work, than non-Quechua speaking C/LM women.

⁶⁵ Excluding women where salary is unknown, who are paid by commission/tips, by the sale of recycled material or washerwomen who are paid by the dozen.

4.2.2 The continuing role of gender norms in low-skilled work

As highlighted above, most participants are employed in low-skilled work. This affects occupational segregation in specific ways, given that gender norms generally draw on perceived physiological differences. As Doña Belinda explained:

'If one isn't professional it isn't the same [the work of men and women...] Because we are Guaraníes, we are poor and we haven't studied. In contrast men go and do, let's say, heavy work and there men do earn also. In contrast, women don't also do those heavy things the same as men. That's why men earn a bit more.'

GW103

Furthermore, a few women pointed out that in male-dominated sectors such as oil exploration camps, sugar factories and poultry farming, the only women *not* employed in female-typed work (as cleaners, cooks etc.) were professionals. This is not to say that high-skilled women do not experience forms gender discrimination (McDowell 1997), which may also be intertwined with ethnicity. For example, Doña Koemi explained that in her work in local government, she initially faced discrimination as both Guaraní *and* a woman until she complained to her boss, as she was 'considered as a person that doesn't know anything', and was sent to do menial tasks by her male *karai* supervisor (PSC1). However, participants perceived that they confront particular *gendered* disadvantage in relation to high-skilled women, as a result of fewer educational 'assets' (to use Folbre's terminology) or 'capitals' to draw on Bourdieu (Postone, LiPuma & Calhoun 1993) in a gender-segregated labour market.

However, while peri-urban women face a lack of educational opportunities across intercategorical groups, Guaraní women perceived educational disadvantage to particularly affect them given limited resources, aligning with 'a well-documented correspondence between illiteracy, indigeneity, and poverty' and also gender in Latin America (Reimão & Taş 2017: 231, 235; Gustafson 2009: 15). Thus, as shown by Appendix Table D5, even though some Guaraní women are now entering higher education (highlighting new forms of differentiation among Guaraní women), many younger Guaraní women explained ongoing financial constraints which had

prevented them from studying. For example, one Guaraní woman explained the differences between diverse women's work:

'The difference is that the Guaraníes don't get to be professionals, they don't finish school [...] In contrast non Guaraní women at least they study and gain a technical career or they become professionals and they work better, they earn better; that is to say the labour space for non-Guaraní women, I think that it is much better'

GW1

Furthermore, gender norms around physical characteristics were to a large extent naturalised and accepted. When discussing gendered differences in work, the most common explanation provided was that men's work is 'heavy' or dangerous (such as in construction or laying pavements) or that men were more hardworking. Female employment on the other hand was perceived as lighter and requiring female-typed skills, such as patience and care, with lower pay than men's roles, valued as more demanding (Elson & Pearson 1981). In addition, gender norms around the division of male/female labour into heavy/light work were consistent intercategory, highlighting their pervasiveness. As a Guaraní woman explained:

'The Guaraní man more than anything works in what is heavy work [...] construction work [...] and working in the sun all day. No, a woman isn't going to withstand [it].'

GW55

In addition, although a small number of women (had) worked in manufacturing, women described how this work was often segregated according to similar gender norms across the manufacture of different products, notably textiles and wine. A C/LM woman explained how in the jute bag factory where she used to work, only men were employed to make the thread. She explained that this was because it was a 'heavier' job, with machines that are 'faster' (GW44). In a garment (jeans) workshop, Doña Rebecca, a Guaraní woman explained that whereas both men and women work in sewing, 'they choose only women to work in packing' because of their capacity for careful, attentive work in checking that the garment has no defect (GW122).

Elson and Pearson have argued that women's devalued skills are not a result of natural attributes, but rather gendered 'training' in the home (1981: 93). While I do not have data on the wages earned by the male sewers, it is highly unlikely that men would work for 1,300 Bs a month, as Doña Rebecca does (well below the monthly minimum wage). A further Guaraní woman explained that when she worked in garment finishing she was paid less than her male cousin:

'He was a laundry assistant, he dyed the trousers, you see? Laundry, he washed the jeans [...] it was dangerous [...] like an oven [...] it was only men [in the laundry] because it's something heavy, more dangerous, let's say'

GW82

The devaluation of female-typed roles was also highlighted by interviews with three diverse women (C/LM, HM and Guaraní) who work in a peri-urban municipal recycling plant as associated recyclers. Although their boss is a male professional, the recyclers are mostly 'mujeres de edad' (mature women). It was perceived as shameful for young people to work there, and the handful of male recyclers were unable to find work elsewhere, given the low income in comparison with male-typed roles. In addition, one HM woman's husband disparagingly spoke about the lighter demands of his wife's work in comparison with his own work in construction. His words resonate with men's devaluation of women's street vending in highland Potosí, seen as requiring less 'physical effort' than men's work in mining or construction (Absi 2009: 3–4; also in highland Peru, see De la Cadena 1995), suggesting the circulation of similar gender norms beyond Santa Cruz. In the words of the recycler's husband:

'It's simpler like that, picking out the things [i.e. the waste materials...] Because they just work on the ground [...] However, for men mostly it's construction, all that, it's all climbing up high, it's more difficult, no? It's more exertion'

Husband of GW93

These pervasive norms also have effects for unequal pay and progression. Low-skilled male-typed roles often provide more opportunities for labour stability, promotion and higher salaries than female-typed roles. Most women thought that male partners earned more than they did, although

notably a slightly higher proportion of Guaraní women. For example, despite the precarity of much construction work, it was common for men to work their way up from being a builder's assistant to a master. However, progression for women was unusual, also because many women tended to move in and out of temporary or casual roles, often as a result of caring responsibilities (see section 5.2.3). As a Guaraní woman explained, women domestic workers do not have the same 'right' (*derecho*) to promotion:

[Men] earn a little more than women [...] because they can rise up the grades, all those things. The ones that work for companies, no? But the domestic employee does not have that same right'

GW124

Yet, a small number of diverse women (including Guaraní women) had progressed at work including as cashiers, as cooks, in garment workshops, and as supervisors in cleaning and (sub-contracted) municipal gardening. However, progression in male-typed roles seemed to come with the potential of higher salaries. For example, Doña Liliela's husband had earned 6,000Bs recently as a warehouse manager (GW109). However, when Doña Rubi, a C/LM woman, received promotions at a construction company to a cleaning manager, her income in 2016 only rose to 100Bs a day (approximately 2,600Bs a month) (GW50). Furthermore, women's increasing responsibilities at work are not always accompanied by an increased monetary reward given the devaluation of women's skills learnt in the home (Elson & Pearson 1981). For example, Doña Kiara was not paid any more as a kitchen assistant when she made the bread and empanadas, despite this work being tiring, involving kneading dough which hurt her back (GW19).

This section has discussed the continuing segregation of the low-skilled labour market within Santa Cruz, as a result of pervasive gender norms which devalue women's work. This highlights the insufficiency of the (limited) programmes and advocacy by the Ministry of Work (Chapter 2) in challenging occupational segregation, addressed primarily at high-skilled women. Their example that an instance of labour violence comprises women 'being asked to make the coffee' does not reflect the experiences of low-skilled women, as illustrated by one Guaraní woman's work in a cooperative bank, where she was employed *precisely* to make drinks for the functionaries, along

with other domestic duties (GW16). What is more, she took pride in her good nature in responding to these requests and in caring for the female office administrator, highlighting that fulfilment of female-typed tasks can provide women with a sense of self-worth given the ‘incompletely commodified’ nature of caring roles (Himmelweit 1999: 37): Furthermore, having left this role as a result of ill-health (see Chapter 8), she wished to return, given that it was a ‘lighter’ role than taking in laundry. Thus, rather than an instance of labour violence, her story highlights the ongoing lack of decent work for low-skilled women.

This section shows how advances in the legal status of women’s economic citizenship, in particular the illegality of labour market discrimination,⁶⁶ has not been sufficient to challenge deeply entrenched gendered segmentation and segregation. Furthermore, concrete policy by the Ministry of Work is limited in tackling gender norms in the low-skilled labour market which devalue women’s work resulting in misrecognition as unequal economic citizens. Building on this section, the next section examines the gender norms which constrain women to the household.

4.2.3 Socio-spatial gendered constraints

When I asked women about the division of labour in their home, the vast majority of women across intersectional diversity told me that they or other women in their household were responsible for both caring and domestic work (childcare, cleaning, washing clothes and cooking). While around half of participants clarified in further questions that they had help from their partners or male sons, this was often limited, with seemingly little redistribution of domestic or caring labour from women’s increasing insertion into the labour market. These findings align with other research in Bolivia (e.g. Farah et al. 2012: 25–9; Salazar et al. 2012: 16–7).

⁶⁶ *Labour* violence, including discrimination, is considered an administrative offence sanctioned by the Ministry of Work rather than a criminal offence as with *economic* violence. See Article 3 of DS 2145 (2014) regulating Law 348 https://www.lexivox.org/norms/BO-DS-N2145.xhtml?dcmi_identifier=BO-DS-N2145&format=xhtml

Photo of woman redacted for online publication permissions reasons.

Photo of woman redacted for online publication permissions reasons.

Guaraní women carrying out care and domestic work, 2017

Furthermore, across intersectional diversity, women continued to shoulder an overwhelming *normative* obligation to be stay-at-home mothers. When I asked women whether it was good for women to work outside the home around a quarter of diverse women answered in the negative because of their domestic and childcare responsibilities, which resulted in guilt in going out to work. For example, one Guaraní mother explained that she felt ‘irresponsible’ for working as a supermarket kitchen assistant, despite economic necessity at home (GW99) (see also Farah et al. 2012: 116–8). Furthermore, within Santa Cruz, these norms are even compounded by pressure from local primary schools for mothers to be available during the day. Schools relied on mothers’ labour in helping with projects/homework, thereby acting as informal educators given the short school day (with either a morning or afternoon shift). One woman (the only HM housewife at time of interview) even explained that pressure from a teacher had meant that some mothers had stopped working altogether, highlighting that women’s normative burden also extends to areas of social care formally provided by the post-neoliberal state.

‘The teacher also complains to us in the school [...]: ‘why don’t you teach them, isn’t that why you’re their mothers’? Just don’t work, don’t get hold of the money [...] You know what teacher’, they [the mums] say, ‘we need the money’ and the teacher said [...] ‘you can’t go to work every day because your child isn’t able to learn [...] You have to teach your children, you have to correct what they’re not able to do’ [...] For that reason, we don’t go out to sell, nor to work.’

GW34

Photo of woman redacted for online publication permissions reasons.

Guaraní woman working on her children's school projects, 2017

Furthermore, while some women were unhappy with the division of labour and complained about it to their partners (see section 5.3.), over half of HS respondents said that were satisfied. A small number of (mostly) C/LM and Guaraní women drew on conservative gender norms to justify gender disparities. However, other women across intersectional diversity explained or justified the unequal gender division of labour by the practical consideration of men's working patterns, which meant they were simply absent for most of the day. Many Guaraní men in the community also worked paving roads, which could involve unsociable hours at night. Thus, despite emphasis in the 2009 constitution on partners' equal responsibility for domestic work, in practice this is difficult given that household working patterns, which continue to conform to the norm of the male breadwinner (given men's often greater earning capacity), do not encourage men to take responsibility for domestic work. Thus, 'post-neoliberal' economic planning has also perpetuated on a practical level the unequal gender division of labour, thereby providing continuity with the neoliberal period which 'reinforced' women's domestic roles (Rangel 2004: 71). In this way, the post-neoliberal citizenship regime's 'gender contract' continues to constrain the full realisation of

women's economic citizenship given that little progress has been made on the substantive redistribution of care work.

However, while my findings of women's continued domestic burden align with other Bolivian literature, they also highlight some differences among low-income women. Firstly, peri-urban women's domestic work is complicated by the poor infrastructure of the neighbourhoods, as well as their own households (see also Radcliffe 2015a: 91), particularly for Guaraní women as a result of the intersectional infrastructural inequalities highlighted in Chapter 3. For example, one Guaraní woman explained that laundry work was particularly difficult in the rainy season given lack of space in her one-bedroom home (GW27). She contrasted her own difficulties with those who have larger homes with space to hang clothes. And indeed, on one occasion a Guaraní woman explained that she had to take down the washing from the line three times that day because of rain (GW13). Laundry work was also time consuming given that the majority of women washed clothes by hand in their yards,⁶⁷ and that clothes and shoes could get very dirty on particularly wet or dry days when the sandy earth would get blown around.

⁶⁷ Out of 104 household surveys, 16 women said that they had a washing machine in their household. Out of these women, 7 are Guaraní (with two Guaraní women from the same extended household).

Photo of woman redacted for online publication permissions reasons.

Guaraní woman washing clothes in her yard, 2017

In addition, some women across intersectional diversity (around a third) also explained how their or other women's spatial mobility to work outside the home was or had been controlled by partners who thought that women would either look for another partner or neglect their domestic obligations. In addition, male control may prevent women from developing new career possibilities. One HM woman, who was unusual in working in a male-typed role as a *trufi* driver while separated, had to leave this role on getting back together with her husband on account of his jealousy (GW90). While there were issues of male control across intersectional diversity, a small number of Guaraní women told me that Guaraní men were particularly controlling:

'The majority of Guaranies, well mostly they stay at home [...] The older generation we are just like that, for that reason sometimes they criticise us, then, those that speak castellano: Ay! The Guaranies are lazy, they don't do anything [...] but it's the man that doesn't let us work also because the [Guaraní] men aren't the same as the others, you see? [...] The man thinks badly then, you see, when one goes to work, they think that you are going to get involved with the other.'

GW103

It is also the case that a greater proportion of respondents (per categorical group) who were housewives without any income generation activities at the time of interview were Guaraní (18% of participants, in contrast with 10% C/LM women and 5% HM women – see Appendix Table E1), aligning with the findings elsewhere of Andean women’s economic independence (Hamilton 1998).

Furthermore, while diverse women faced similar gendered constraints, a few women suggested that there was a difference between Guaraní and HM women in terms of how they met their normative burden as mothers. While the numbers are small, their words are important given their relevance for the continued circulation of stigmatizing representations of diverse women. On the one hand, a few Guaraní women highlighted their role as stay at home mothers (e.g. in Focus Group 7 - see also Appendix F labour history of GW35). For example, while working herself, Doña Florinda explained that Guaraní women tended to meet the normative burden of care as housewives and looking after the education of their children (GW111). Guaraní women’s role as stay at home educators has been highlighted by the Guaraní scholar, Elias Caurey, yet with stronger patriarchal undertones, in his concern for young women’s ‘overvaluation of liberty’ in pursuing non-traditional roles, given that ‘while the woman is the one who manages the threads of her children’s education, the Guaraní way of being is guaranteed’ (2012: 76).

Yet, a few other HM women framed their normative burden of social reproduction quite differently in that they should meet this through work to provide better material conditions for their children. One woman, for example, contrasted the hard work of HM mothers, with Guaraní mothers whom she perceived as ‘lazy’:⁶⁸

‘The women who live in this community [...] don’t think about their child being a professional [...] They don’t know how to think and as well they are lazy [... Women from the interior] know how to work [...] The first thing that we wish for, a women here [...] is that you have a nice room, you have your bathroom okay, that. That where your children

⁶⁸ As in Chapter 3, I have not provided participant numbers for the two quotes from HM woman here given the opinions expressed. The HM women quoted here are not the same women quoted in Chapter 3.

[are] that they don't suffer, that they have their bedrooms and that they study, that they don't suffer now like us'

HM woman

Thus, the differing normative judgement around women's obligations of social reproduction, also feed into the circulation of derogatory racialised representations of Guaraní women as 'lazy', but also of HM women as hard-working but also as motivated by profit. When I asked a further woman if in her community it was well regarded for women to work, she replied:

'I don't know, because I see that the majority don't work [...] It doesn't hurt them that their children sleep in one room [...] No, they don't want progress [...] for that reason they criticize us, the collas [...] 'you progressives' they say to us, no? [...But] we do that for our children.'

HM woman

These quotes suggest that while patriarchal constraints are found across groups, gendered constraints combine with other socio-material factors to differentially affect decisions around work/income generation across inter-categorical groups, which may also feed into ongoing stigmatising representations of Guaraní and HM women. The next section proceeds to further examine these differences through attention to women's agency in negotiating constraints.

4.2.4 Reconciliation of productive and reproductive work: intersectional strategies

A common way in which women negotiate time constraints is through looking for work with hours compatible with their responsibilities in the home (see also Wanderley 2009: 113–4). However, low-income women in peripheral neighbourhoods face intensified difficulties. Even though women explained that transport had improved with regular buses now entering the peri-urban area, women still faced long tiring journeys which become particularly difficult in the rainy season when there is less transport, and where there is also an increased risk of getting sick as one Guaraní woman did after getting soaked on her way home from her cleaning job (GW117). For example,

Doña Eva, a Guaraní woman who had found work for a cleaning company at local government offices, explained that:

'It didn't suit me because I have to get up, get up at dawn here earlier, and as I have children, the little one, you see? I can't leave him also. As my eldest daughter is the one who is in charge of the lunch for them, I have to tell her what she's going to cook [...] As it was in the centre it was difficult for me then to go at that hour [...The other women] live behind the Abasto, the Ramada, but just various sectors, let's say, in the centre'.

GW116



Peri-urban roads in rainy season, 2017

This aligns to a certain extent with Hanson and Pratt's findings in the different context of a US labour market of the smaller 'spatial extent' of women's labour markets (1995: 103). As Doña Rubi, a C/LM woman explained, it is difficult for women in peripheral neighbourhoods and 'worse when there is [bad] weather'. She thought that because of the added complications for peri-urban

women, they should get extra help from the state, particularly with childcare, yet in Santa Cruz at the time of interview there were no state nurseries in this peri-urban area (GW49).

While these spatial constraints affect peri-urban women across intersectional diversity, there were also differences in strategies. Guaraní women commonly work in roles that paid daily (such as kitchen assistants or washing clothes). While Vega and Marega have highlighted the financial importance of Andean women's informal trading in providing 'money every day' (2019: ELD para 35), Guaraní women pointed to the importance of casual paid work in paying for their family's every-day necessities as 'the month is long [...] and one has to be buying daily to cook' (GW86),⁶⁹ particularly given that men's salary may also be insecure (GW127).

Furthermore, Guaraní women may choose work at a closer spatial reach to navigate constraints. And a higher proportion of employed C/LM women in comparison with Guaraní women worked outside the peri-urban area in 2017 (90% and 53% respectively). This also aligns with the words of a Guaraní leader in 2013 that peri-urban Guaraní women who go out to work 'don't go far', whereas men 'go where there is work to whichever zone' (2014: 122). This work, particularly washing clothes near the home, can also be a strategy for navigating male jealousy (Focus Group 7). In addition, the flexible hours of washing clothes are also compatible with childcare:

'Men [...] mostly work in building, and they only work Monday to Saturday midday. In contrast women [work] every day, that is to say 24 hours [...] Mostly Guaraní women are just in their home, looking after the kids, the children. They go out to work when it's the holidays. Or washing clothes and they go out to do that [but] for a short while'

GW47

As has been noted elsewhere (e.g. Marco Navarro 2015: 22–3), women also develop small businesses in order to navigate the responsibilities of care. However, while Guaraní women

⁶⁹ Buying small quantities daily from neighbourhood stores is more expensive than buying in bulk in the market. Guaraní women were also less likely to have access to a working fridge/freezer, making the storage of food in the heat difficult.

generally developed businesses from the home (see chapter 3),⁷⁰ a small number of other women street vendors, organised their commercial activities away from the home, yet often in such a way as they could spend as much time as possible in or near to the home. For example, one HM decided to sell *empanadas* in the peri-urban area as she wanted to be near her children (GW36). In addition, a small group of non-Guaraní women also brought caring and even domestic work into their businesses in markets or streets. These women were all HM women or children of HM. This aligns with longstanding findings that Andean women work as market-vendors because of the greater flexibility with childcare (Seligmann 1989: 704). For example, Doña Marisol looked after her infant son while at her market stall (GW119). Furthermore, as she lived nearby, the separation between the productive and reproductive spaces of market and home was less clearly defined and, while we were talking, she gave her son instructions to boil potatoes and also started to prepare vegetables (cutting them up in a bag), which she would take home to cook. Yet, the opportunities to bring childcare into informal commercial spaces seem limited. For example, Doña Soledad explained that she had to stop her work as a market street-vendor when the American clothes she sold became too heavy for her to carry along with her baby son (GW34). Thus, my findings highlight just how difficult the combination of care and commercial activities may be. The focus in the Andean literature on fairly established vendors thus runs the risk of over-emphasising women's resilience (e.g. Vega & Marega 2019: ELD para 35-41).

4.3 A shifting assemblage of gendered labour post-2006?

The discussion so far has highlighted the stability of gender norms within assemblages of low-skilled labour post-2006, which constrain the realisation of women's economic citizenship. However, gender norms embedded within institutions may be 'decomposed' as well as 'intensified' as practices shift (Elson & Pearson 1981: 99). Goodale has argued that, in Bolivia, law functions as a 'social practice' alongside the state's formal legal institutions. Citing Sarat et al., he argues that 'law shapes choices, imposes constraints, provides opportunities, and serves

⁷⁰ Schroder has argued that in a highland migrant neighborhood in peri-urban Tarija in the early 1990s, women's caring labour is a 'spatial constraint' (2000)

both as an overt reference point and as an imaginary/symbolic presence' (Sarat et al., 2002 in Goodale 2008: 24–5). This raises the question as to what extent post-neoliberal legislation has been able to 'decompose' gender norms.

4.3.1 Paid work and change

Many women across intersectional diversity were aware (however vaguely) of legislative support for women's rights. A smaller proportion also perceived some positive effects for reduced gender discrimination and greater opportunities for women's paid work, particularly in the formal sector. For example, Doña Renata, a Guaraní woman explained 'now there is that law that defends women so that they can work'; furthermore 'the government now gives that law to the business people, not to discriminate against women' (GW11). As two other women, the first Guaraní and the second C/LM expressed it:

'There are companies that didn't accept women before, now there are companies that accept women and they earn the same salary as men [...] before in the Alcaldía [municipal government] there were only men, now there are also women. The private and the public the same [...] From 2006, around about there [...] Because before the ones who used to work were men and women used to stay at home, no?'

GW74

'Before [...] women were for the home. Now there are more women than men working [...] because of the decree, then, the law that women also have the right to work [...] President Evo entered 2007 I think, then he decreed there in 2012 [...] There didn't use to be that law for women's right to go with their children to work, the benefits that there are now. Before you got pregnant and, no matter what, you left work [...] or if you went back to the same job, you returned as new.'

GW40

A small number of women, mostly Guaraní and C/LM also thought that women were starting to move into sectors traditionally typed as male, particularly construction and transport. In addition

to wider perceptions, one Guaraní man, who used to work as a painting contractor, had hired two women (GM3), and two young Guaraní women had previously worked as painters for short jobs (GW43, GW82). Two further women, one Guaraní (GW1) and the other C/LM (GW98) had worked in a carpenter's workshop/lumber company, although for the C/LM woman, this was pre-2000. A further Guaraní woman had worked as a temporary security guard at a trade fair (GW41). As a Guaraní woman perceived these changes:

'Now there are even women drivers [...] I've even seen women as builders now. It's not like it was before [...] There is a government that has given more rights to women. Because before all the heavy work was for men. They used to say that only women were for the kitchen. But now this government that entered ten years ago changed everything. Now there's no discrimination [at] work. There's work for everyone alike now.'

GW104

A small proportion of (mostly younger) women also discursively challenged gender-norms which devalued women's work. One Guaraní woman, reflecting on her work in a wine factory challenged the segregation of men and women's work (GW31). Whereas women earn 90Bs a day bottling, labelling and packing the wine, men are paid 150Bs a day for 'heavier' work, such as unloading. When I asked her why this was, she replied: 'is it not because one is a woman?', thereby echoing the words of the Ministry of Work's leaflet, but also pointing to the differential valuation of male and female typed roles. As another Guaraní woman put it:

'There are some companies that don't want women [...] they say that [...] they don't have the same strength as men, that women are useless [...] But I think we all have rights to work, that they don't discriminate against us, no?'

GW7

However, as shown by her words, much occupational segregation continues in practice, particularly within the private sector, along with continued discrimination against women,

including illegal pregnancy and other medical tests in the hiring process.⁷¹ For example, one C/LM participant explained that her sister-in-law was denied work as a private security guard, despite submitting all the requirements ‘because she was a woman’ (GW56). Furthermore, the vast majority of women had never worked in male-typed roles and did not personally know any women who had (beyond seeing women builders on TV, for example), while many women moving into formal sector work, including for construction companies, did so through female-typed cleaning roles. Only two non-Guaraní women had recently worked with their husbands as builders (GW119 and GW110).

In addition, even when women have recently been able to overcome discrimination to work in male-typed roles, this may also be perceived as exceptional by the women themselves. For example, Doña Rosario had to prove herself as the first woman at a chicken egg incubation company, yet she also considered herself unlike a ‘normal’ woman:

‘Where I worked in the company, also in what is the incubator, it was only for men, but I went and I broke that routine [...] for example, let’s say the egg tray, 166 eggs fit in a tray, so a normal woman isn’t able to carry it, let’s say, because it’s heavy. In contrast men carry [it] as they have a bit more strength. And it’s because of that sometimes they don’t require female personnel, but rather masculine’

GW101

However, municipal public sector and private sub-contracted employment for street/green areas cleaning and gardening work seemed to provide an important opportunity, particularly for Guaraní women to enter formal employment alongside men. Furthermore, a handful of Guaraní women gave this as an example of work men and women carried out together or where they earned the same. Doña Elocadia, who worked cleaning the green areas and plazas of the city explained this change:

72

⁷¹ PSC6 confirmed these tests were illegal. Law 348 tasks the Ministry of Work with adopting mechanisms to tackle gender discrimination in the hiring process, with pregnancy tests being prohibited.

⁷² Both Doña Elocadia (GW82) and Doña Nelía (GW7) who worked in green areas and street cleaning/waste picking respectively 2016-17, recounted that they worked for a public company/a company of the *Alcaldía* (municipal government). For example, when I asked Doña Nelía whether the company she worked for was private, she said that

'There are more jobs [...] For example in the work that we are in, in some jobs of waste pickers, like that, of plastic [...] The very government gives [these jobs...] Before there was only more work for men [...] I see that there is more work for women the same now'
GW82

Similarly Doña Belen recounted the increase in municipal jobs for women with secure monthly pay and benefits, mentioning security guards, as well as female-typed roles in cooking and cleaning, explaining that since Evo there have been these jobs as 'the government gives money to the Alcaldes' (GW60).⁷³ Her observation aligns with data showing small increases in public-sector employment post-MAS (rising from 7.3% in 2005 to 9.6% of the total occupied population in 2011), which has 'benefited' both women and men (Wanderley 2013: 200–1), while Postero also notes 'growing indigenous employment in the municipal and departmental governments' given decentralised state redistribution of hydrocarbon revenue and local 'public works' (2017: 143). And, in 2017, two Guaraní women also worked in municipal administrative roles. While street/green areas cleaning (subcontracted) municipal work is still a fairly small proportion of Guaraní participants undertaking paid work (3 Guaraní women 2016-17), five Guaraní participants had worked as street/green areas cleaners in previous years⁷⁴ (in comparison with 0 HM & C/LM participants 2016-17 and 2 in previous years, although one may have been as part of an urban employment programme). I was also aware that other Guaraní women in the peri-urban area worked in these roles, as well as Guaraní men. A couple of Guaraní women linked this municipal work with the legacy of public employment programmes in the communities, involving similar work (see Chapter 7). It is thus possible that this history has made such work acceptable as a female-typed activity among Guaraní women.

no it was for the *Alcaldía* – that it was public. However, confusingly they gave different names for these companies, neither of which correspond to either the municipality's public company or the sub-contracted private operator and neither of which I could find via the internet. It is possible that this represents further sub-contracting, however the women's perceptions that this work is for the municipality are important. Furthermore, unlike another participant working in 2017 for the private operator, their work was compliant with health insurance/pensions/maternity benefits etc. (see discussion below).

⁷³ Although some of this municipal work, such as cleaning, is also likely to be sub-contracted. For example, one Guaraní woman worked for a couple of months as a cleaner for a private company in municipal buildings (GW116).

⁷⁴ Including one woman who also worked in as a sub-contracted municipal gardener in 2016-17.

Photo of woman redacted for online publication permissions reasons.

Guaraní gardener outside a municipal park, 2017

Furthermore, Doña Nelía explained about her recent positive experience as a street cleaner (waste picker) when she became pregnant:

'Now there is, let's say, they support women, coming from the government itself. Because [...] I worked in the company when I was pregnant [...We have] all the right, let's say [...] I thought that my supervisor or some company were going to say to me 'you have to leave because you're pregnant', no, never. Even better they gave me holidays [maternity leave].'

GW7

This is a clear example of compliance with labour immobility for pregnant women and new mothers, which had been guaranteed in legislation since 1988 but further enforced in 2009 (see Appendix Table I1). In contrast, a C/LM woman who used to work in street cleaning for the private operator ten years previously thought at that time pregnant woman were simply fired (GW118).

I also became aware of a few diverse peri-urban women who were entering the municipal force of *gendarmes* (guards) and interviewed two women working in this role. Doña Dulcina, a C/LM woman explained:

‘Before the top-ranking bosses used to demand more that there were men. There was a lot of discrimination against women [...] But as the years went by, they realised that we women do the job much better than men. We are tougher, more determined. We face off with less fear than men, no? And we are more responsible [...] because men start drinking, women don’t.’

GW50

With regards to changes in the gender division of labour in Zambia, Evans has argued that ‘a critical mass of women’ has ‘demonstrat[ed] their ability to perform work...previously presumed to be beyond their capabilities’ (2014: 998). Doña Dulcina’s words above show how this critical mass of women within the *gendarmes* has been an element in challenging patriarchal beliefs. Yet, it is likely that this critical mass has also combined with awareness of gender equalities legislation within the public sector, given the ongoing gender discrimination in the private sector as discussed above. Doña Dulcina explained that now there were more women than men in the 2,000 strong force of guards whereas 9 years ago, she was one of only 87 women. Doña Telma, also a municipal guard, thought that the Alcalde (mayor) specifically supported women with the opportunity to work, recounting that the Alcaldia’s human resources say that (women) ‘we have the same rights as any other citizen’ (GW68).

It is important here to situate this municipal (public *and* sub-contracted) work in the wider literature on public sector employment. The public sector has often been considered a ‘model employer’, particularly in ‘advanced welfare’ capitalist states such as (post-war) Europe, characterised by trade unionism and job security, with mostly higher wages on average than the private sector (Gottschall et al. 2015: xi; Morgan & Allington 2002: 35; Coffey & Thornley 2009: 86; Vaughan-Whitehead 2013: 18). The literature also finds that within Latin America (particularly low-skilled) public sector workers tend to be paid more than private sector workers, including in

Bolivia which, in comparison with 11 other countries, had one of the highest public-private wage differentials in 2007, with a smaller Gini coefficient in the public sector as compared with the private sector in 2012 (Mizala, Romaguera & Gallegos 2011: S119-20; Gasparini et al. 2015: 776). Given that Latin American labour markets are generally typified by a ‘highly unequal wage distribution’, even limited action by the state to be a ‘fair employer’ will result in a more equal wage structure (Mizala, Romaguera & Gallegos 2011: S129). Furthermore, ‘a large public sector has been associated with better employment opportunities and conditions for lower-skilled women’, such as pay, maternity benefits and in some cases also pensions (Rubery 2013: 43).⁷⁵

In Latin America, the gender balance of public sector employment has largely equalised since the early 1990s, in contrast to the private sector which remains unequal, particularly in formal employment (Gasparini et al. 2015: 757). In Bolivia, women’s work in the public sector has also slightly increased (Jiménez Zamora 2015: 42; Wanderley & Vera Cossio 2017: 8). However, while some literature has been concerned with public sector pay as an ‘overpayment’ from an efficiency or perspective, Rubery argues on the other hand that women’s higher pay should be understood as ‘the effect of not applying a discrimination discount’ in the public sector (2013: 53), which may also be the case for Bolivia given the often incompliance with minimum wage and labour rights in the private (informal) sector (see chapter 7). And all four women employed directly by either municipality in 2017 earned at least the minimum wage (as did the municipal company green areas cleaner Doña Elocadia), with the municipal guards earning significantly above the minimum wage as well as receiving a monthly cash food subsidy of 340Bs.

However, the regulation of the Bolivian public sector is also different to European contexts. While the Bolivian legislation is complex, some public sector work is not regulated by the General Law of Work, but by the Statute of the Public Functionary passed in 1999. Bolivian labour specialists and lawyers have been highly critical of this legal situation given that workers regulated under the Statute (as ‘public servants’) do not have the same rights as private sector workers regulated by the General Law, in particular the same right to salary increases, as well as to unionise (Escobar

⁷⁵ The literature has also found a public sector wage premium for women in other regional contexts. For example, evidence from China suggests that ‘gender gaps are the smallest in government/public institutions’ (He & Wu 2017: 107).

de Pabón, Rojas Callejas & Arze Vargas 2014: 40; Melgarito 2018: 133; Ledesma 2011: 84–5). However, in 2012, Law No.321 reincorporated manual and ‘technical operative administrative’ permanent salaried municipal workers from major cities under the General Law of Work (Escobar de Pabón, Rojas Callejas & Arze Vargas 2014).⁷⁶ This law also specifies that workers of municipal (public and mixed) companies continue to be regulated under the 1999 Law of Municipalities, which also regulates these workers under the General Law of Work.⁷⁷ While the legal status of the municipal guards in Santa Cruz is unclear (given temporary contracts, see below), they enjoyed health insurance, pensions contributions and pregnancy/maternity benefits (as did Doña Elocadia and Doña Nelía as green areas/street cleaners).⁷⁸ For example, Doña Telma explained that she was able to bring her 8-month old baby to work in a health centre.⁷⁹ However, two Guaraní women working for the small comparative municipality in administrative roles did not receive complete benefits, even though they did receive the minimum wage. Furthermore, none of the 4 women working directly for either municipality in 2017 had a permanent contract thereby aligning with findings of an *increase* precarity in public sector employment in Bolivia between 2001-11 (Escobar de Pabón, Rojas Callejas & Arze Vargas 2014: 36).

Furthermore, the Bolivian public sector is characterised by clientelism, with two Guaraní women (historically) and one Guaraní man (in 2017) explaining that they had found municipal work through political support/campaigning. Doña Telma also explained that the renovation of her yearly contract as a security guard was more precarious as she did *not* have the endorsement of a local politician (*‘aval político’*). While this clientelism may represent, as Lazar argues in relation to El Alto, a marginal ‘citizenship practice’, particularly for women unable to otherwise access decent work, it is also precarious and both Guaraní women lost their jobs after political change (2004: 228, 232). Furthermore, one of the Guaraní women, who had worked as a municipal cook until 2015, found out after being fired that she had been significantly underpaid (GW95).

⁷⁶ However, this law did not reincorporate workers from smaller municipalities, which would include the comparative municipality of my research. See: <https://www.lexivox.org/norms/BO-L-N321.html>

⁷⁷ Article 59.3 See: https://www.lexivox.org/norms/BO-L-2028.html?dcmi_identifier=BO-L-2028&format=html

⁷⁸ However, the guards did not have the right to holidays (although one guard said they had the right to 5 days, taken separately).

⁷⁹ There is a nursery for the guards (at 80Bs a month, cheaper than private nurseries). However, it is in the city-centre.

In addition, despite the largely positive role accorded to the public sector in the scholarly literature, the concept of the ‘model employer’ has been challenged, particularly in context of public sector restructuring in Europe from the 1980s with the introduction of ‘market mechanisms’, including increased outsourcing (Coffey & Thornley 2009; Bach et al. 1999: 8; Gottschall et al. 2015: 3–4). However, this is also relevant to the Bolivian post-neoliberal citizenship regime despite new labour legislation increasing protections for workers. For example, D.S.107 (2009), which regulates sub-contracted work, specifies that the primary company must include a clause establishing that the sub-contracted company ‘will comply with socio-labour obligations, with respect to their workers’ (Article 4). However, while new legislation ostensibly aims to ensure compliance with labour rights, it is also regressive in recognising the practice of sub-contracting and removing responsibility for guaranteeing labour rights from the principal company or the state (Escobar de Pabón & Rojas 2010: 18).⁸⁰ And the experience of women who (had) worked in sub-contracted municipal work highlights variable compliance with rights.⁸¹ For example, while Doña Jorgina working as a sub-contracted municipal gardener in 2017 earned the minimum wage of 2,000Bs under a 1-year contract, she had no health insurance or pensions contributions (GW86).

Furthermore, despite overall higher pay for women and improved compliance with gendered labour rights, the public sector has often been characterised by occupational segregation (Rubery 2013: 43; Mandel 2009: 708–9), with the literature highlighting ‘gender regimes’ and unequal gender relations within public sector organisations, including in Latin America (Connell 2006; Rodriguez 2010). For example, despite the general ‘principle’ of ‘gender equity’ in the Australian public sector, Connell found divisions of labour maintained by gendered ideologies, such as masculinity being ‘associated with jobs that are defined as dirty, physically laborious, or involving heavy machinery’ (2006: 840–1), which has parallels with gender norms in Santa Cruz, and some women highlighted differences in gardening/green areas cleaning roles with men using machinery to cut the grass and women collecting the grass. However, despite women’s overall perception of

⁸⁰ <https://www.lexivox.org/norms/BO-DS-N107.html> Escobar de Pabón et al. have also highlighted the particular exploitation of sub-contracted female street cleaners in La Paz (2014)

⁸¹ In addition, predominantly female recyclers at the municipal plant are given accreditation to work in associations (and paid by the sale of recycled material), with 3 women participants (one HM, one Guaraní and one C/LM) working as associated recyclers. In addition to insecure pay, the women work without contracts, full health insurance or pensions contributions.

gender pay equality in this work, the operation of micro-tractors may command a higher salary (GW82). Furthermore, while Doña Dulcina challenged gender norms around municipal security work (above), existing norms such as female responsibility are reterritorialised in new ways. Doña Telma also highlighted the meaning she gave to her work through gendered norms of caring. In particular, she recounted how she looks after the municipal buildings and ensures that patients also ‘care’ for their health centre. She also brought knowledge she had acquired as a mother into work, including going into the delivery room to informally assist women giving birth. She also thought that most female *gendarmes* are, like her, ‘separated mothers’, highlighting that women may only be able to enter non-traditional work in the public sector when patriarchal constraints in the home are removed. Furthermore, while two Guaraní women worked as public sector teachers (GW78, GW126) one primarily as a kindergarten teacher, the other in public universities as a Guaraní teacher (representing new opportunities for Guaraní women as relating to their lowland indigenous identity – see Chapter 5), the Bolivian education sector is feminising, with women making up 58% of employees in 2009, in comparison with 49% in 1999; yet, it has been argued that this shift has ‘been accompanied implicitly with a ‘social devaluation’’ as well as vertical segregation (Jiménez Zamora 2015: 45–6).

However, continuing patterns of occupational gender segregation does not mean that low-skilled, women are necessarily unable to find work, including in the (informal) private sector; indeed, some Guaraní HS participants (around a quarter) thought that it was easier for women to find work than men, highlighting, as noted in Chapter 3, the precarity of some casual male-typed work. Thus, some women explained that there was more casual, female-typed work available than in previous years, such as cleaning or kitchen assistants given the growth of the city. A couple of older Guaraní women contrasted the growth of this new work in services with the laundry work that predominantly used to be available.

Furthermore, various diverse women drew attention to the importance of increases or compliance with the national minimum wage. When I asked HS participants whether they had seen any changes in their income within the last 10 years, of those who could answer, over half of women had seen a change. Of these women, the majority perceived an increase in their incomes, even if some women also mentioned an increase in cost of living. Notably, Guaraní women were slightly

more likely to have perceived an increase than C/LM women, with HM women between the two, suggesting that recent rises in the minimum wage may have benefited Guaraní women to a greater extent as among the most poorly remunerated historically, as well as with the highest reliance on paid work. As Wanderley has noted, salaries have risen faster for those with lower educational levels (2013: 75). Thus, some women's incomes seem to have risen because of wider legislation benefiting the popular classes, providing support for the feminist institutionalist argument that higher minimum wages may function to reduce gender pay gaps as well 'counter the undervaluation of women's work' (Rubery 2011: 1119–21). As Doña Belinda explained:

'Since Evo is in government, then everything started to change for the poorest Guaraníes [...] Since the government has changed the [domestic] employees earn more now [...] And the Guaraní women can now have many things, what they have never had in their home, because she earns a little more now then, because before domestic workers (las empleadas) earn very little, only to eat.'

GW103

Thus, the increase in women's wages seem to have gone beyond formal sector work, suggesting that rises in the national minimum wage may also have an impact on informal female-typed work as wages are pulled upwards. For example, Doña Kiara explained that when she worked as a kitchen assistant in 2012, the going rate was only 15-20 pesos, whereas now she thought it was 60-100 pesos (GW19). In answer to my question as to whether men or women have greater possibilities for earning, Doña Bianca explained:

'When the man works well, the man. Of course, always the man, no? But women, they can also contribute the same, half and half [...] Because a woman now cleaning, earns like that 100 Bs and the man working earns 100, 110 Bs [...] Working before, more or less 10 years ago, it was at least 60 pesos that men earnt a day and the woman around 20 pesos. Yes, because that was men's salary, 60 pesos in pavement [...] and the women who used to wash clothes before it was 8[Bs] the dozen.'

GW74

This section has highlighted the importance of legislative change in furthering some (limited) substantive changes for women's access to decent paid work, particularly in municipal work, even if there are also issues with ongoing sub-contracting. Furthermore wider legislative changes, such as to the minimum wage have benefited low-skilled women's work as amongst the most poorly remunerated workers, highlighting that redistributive policies may also have wider effects in countering misrecognition, particularly gendered status hierarchies that devalue women's work and limit their substantive economic citizenship.

4.3.2 Patriarchal gendered constraints, reproductive work and change:

A small proportion of Guaraní and C/LM women (under 20%) discussed that constraints to work outside the home from patriarchal gender norms were decreasing following the new legislation and support for women's rights. And indeed, the percentage of economically 'inactive' Guaraní women has decreased from around 21% before 2005 to 10% in the shorter time period of 2016-17, and while the trend is less clear for C/LM women, the percentage of economically inactive women reduced from around 9% 2001-5 to 3% 2016-17 (see Appendix chart E1). As a Guaraní woman explained:

'The majority are machista here, but it's also changed now. Now you see women working more than men [...] Society itself, let's say, has changed [...] because now the government gives more support to women, let's say, so that they can go out and there are more laws that protect them [...] against violence against women, against abuse, all that, no?

GW10

However, despite the importance of this new legislation, it seems that economic necessity has affected women's spatial constraints to a greater extent, in enabling (or indeed forcing) women to work outside the home. When I asked women why they went out to work, the majority across intersectional diversity told me that it was for economic reasons (necessity). Few women highlighted the importance of an independent income (even though a higher proportion noted financial independence as to why it was good for women to work in general). For example, when I asked Doña Katia what had motivated her to go out to work, she explained:

'Because of necessity [...] Because sometimes, at least in my house [...] we lack something to eat, sometimes the little ones cry because they don't have anything to eat [...] sometimes I give to my mother so that she can buy [goods]'

GW14

Thus, challenges to women's spatial constraints are also predicated on financial hardship. As one participant explained, if it was not for this economic hardship, Guaraní women would not go out to work at all (GW86) and a second women explained that it was much more comfortable for her at home. She explained that when she went out to work as a street cleaner some years ago, she was outside all day in the hot sun, whereas at home she cooks inside and washes in the shade (GW23). Thus, as Silvey notes, 'households are not only sites of gender subordination, but can be spaces within which women of color in particular may find some refuge from the exploitation, harassment, or indignity they face on the job' (2006: 68–9).

However, despite the perception of economic necessity across intersectional diversity, a substantial proportion of Guaraní women (around a quarter) noted a change. They explained that there was greater necessity for women to go out to work than in previous years, not only because men's salaries are no longer sufficient given widely perceived increases in cost of living,⁸² but also some recounted because of the loss of agricultural land within the peri-urban area, which had increased the need for cash (see also chapter 6):⁸³

"Before the women, or that is to say in the community practically no-one went out to work, but mostly because of economic necessity [...] they are going out more often to work outside [...] now Guaraní women one way or another have to go out to look for work, not in their totality, but yes most of them have found the way to organise themselves to leave the kids, sometimes [in] the care of the oldest [children] like that or leave them with the grandmother"

GW28

⁸² Escobar de Pabón et al. point out that by 2011, the minimum wage only covered 45.5% of the basic food basket (2014: 40)

⁸³ Rising aspirations, in particular for children's schooling, may also be part of this (GW107).

For a small number of Guaraní women, their work outside the home had also resulted in (some) reorganisation of responsibilities within the home. For example, Doña Sonia (GW28) explained that when her husband was out of work as a builder for three months, she went to work and her husband stayed at home with the children. From this experience, he came to appreciate her domestic work and childcare, ‘recognising’ that it was also work, and now he pulls his weight a bit more in the home.

For two other Guaraní women, both knowledge of new legislation combined with work outside the home interlocked to help challenge gendered inequalities in the home. Doña Selena explained that two years ago she went to a talk in the local school, where a *señora* came to explain that women can no longer be abused. She said that before, her husband used to mistreat her, but afterwards she told her husband that she could now report him, and the abuse stopped (GW9). Although the division of labour is still unequal, when she is working her husband now cooks. Similarly, Doña Ivanna explained about her husband:

‘Now he helps me more or less because before no, as he says, the man is for work and the woman is for home. He didn’t want to help me at all [...] but [because] I told him so much about the law [...] now he just helps me. If I go to wash [clothes] somewhere else, now he stays to cook [...] ‘do you know how the law is?’, I told him, ‘it’s not just women that have to be cooking or washing, you have to help me’

GW127

Doña Renata, on the other hand, explained that that while complaints to the men in her household has not resulted in a re-allocation of the gendered division of labour, men are more appreciative of women’s domestic work. She thought that this was because women are now less afraid:

‘They didn’t value the woman that there used to be before [...] Now it’s not like that [...] The women that were before kept quiet, the ones now, not. They were afraid of their husbands [...] But the ones now confront them [...] Because now [there is] someone who

defends them, you see? [...] From the government.’⁸⁴

GW11

However, while Doña Renata’s words show the power of state support in reducing women’s fear of men (with an indirect effect for inequalities of domestic work), Doña Ivanna’s words show how Law 348 may circulate beyond the letter of the law itself. Although preventing women from going out to work or carrying out an economic activity is included under the category of ‘economic violence’, there is nothing in the law criminalizing partners for *not* carrying out an equal share of the household labour, despite the 2009 constitutional recognition of partners’ joint responsibility for their household and children.⁸⁵ Thus, what Doña Ivanna’s words show is the potential of the legislation to provide a symbolic resource for gender equality, beyond the literal text of the law, which may then be used by women to challenge inequalities of domestic work and substantively claim their equality as economic citizens in the home.

In addition, there have also been some generational changes. As Doña Nelia explained, her husband helps out a bit, in contrast to her father’s resistance to carrying out any housework, which she characterizes as ‘wrong’ highlighting also a change in normative ideas:

‘Sometimes my husband cooks for the kids [...] Because there are some [men] that don’t take any notice of them [women...] I’ve seen this from my friends [...] My dad was like that before [...] he’s still like that now [...] he doesn’t like washing, he doesn’t like cooking. My mum has to do everything for him, even find him his clothes so that he can bathe, that’s wrong, no? But my husband isn’t like that.’

GW7

However, for most women, it seems that little has changed in practice. Although around a third of HS participants across intersectional diversity said that they were unhappy with the gender division

⁸⁴ Notably, she thought this defense from the government pre-dated the MAS. Furthermore, some months after our initial HS, her sister was having problems with her husband after going out to work as a kitchen assistant.

⁸⁵ Although law 348 does have the vague wording that the Ministry of Work should ‘adopt standards (*normas*) that allow for the compatibility of work and family life...with the aim of permitting a better equilibrium between women and men in both spheres’ (Article 21.9).

of labour in the home, and many had complained about it to their partners, this did not seem to have much effect. As Doña Elisa explained, while her ongoing work of ‘maintaining’ time never stops, her husband just ignores household responsibilities or leaves the house when he gets ‘tired’ of the noise from the children or goes drinking with his friends. However, despite her repeated complaints, nothing has changed. She said: ‘it is useless to speak’ (GW71). Doña Ivanna went on to explain that in her community, *machismo* persists. However, she thought that this was because of men’s lack of knowledge around ‘the law:

‘There are many men that are machista still. They don’t believe in the law. Because sometimes seeing my husband helping me like that, they [other men] say to him that he is [...] ‘mandarina’⁸⁶ [...] one who is ordered about by his wife, you see? [...] There are laws, but they haven’t been fulfilled I say, no? And it’s for that reason that there are machistas still [...] They don’t know the law, for that reason they don’t believe.’

GW127

As part of the Guaraní leadership in her community, Doña Ivanna has attended training sessions at an NGO and has greater knowledge of women’s rights than most other women. Furthermore, she also has the support of a woman leader in her community, who has supported her in talking with her husband. On the other hand, as noted by Doña Nelía, many women do not use the law and do not report, for example, gender-based violence (GW7). Thus, vague knowledge of the legislation or women’s rights alone, will not necessarily provide women with sufficient practical resources to challenge unequal gendered structures of power, particularly if gender equality is not being socialized among men, making women primarily responsible for changing *machista* behaviour.⁸⁷ As a women’s rights NGO interlocuter put it:

‘There are amazing, extraordinary laws. The law against violence is almost a complete law [...] But what use to us are they if those are there on the shelf? [...] Because in reality, nothing happens.’ NSC2

⁸⁶ ‘Mandar’ means ‘to order’.

⁸⁷ Notably, at the end of 2017, the Gender directorate was rolling out a programme of *promotoras*, survivors of gender-based violence who would act as community advocates (PN6).

Thus, while new legislation around women's rights has had some important effects in changing gendered subjectivities, particularly among young women and indeed Guaraní women, some of whom may have had greater access to training on rights through indigenous organisations. However, at a practical level, it seems that economic changes both within the peri-urban area, as well as the rise in living costs more broadly, even if sometimes in combination with the refraction of this new legislation, have had a greater affect within the peri-urban assemblage of labour in reducing women's gendered constraints. Furthermore, despite some change in men 'helping' a bit more in the home, particularly younger men, women's responsibilities for care and domestic work continue and are intensified by their double burden and continued lack of state childcare facilities.

4.4. Conclusion

This chapter has discussed the role that gendered norms play within the peri-urban gender-ethnic assemblage of labour addressing research questions 1-3. The first half of the chapter outlined the relative stability of patriarchal gender norms as they constrain low-skilled women's opportunities for paid work on an equal footing with men, while also continuing to burden women with the overwhelming responsibility for care and domestic work, highlighting ongoing inequalities in the post-neoliberal citizenship regime's gender contract. However, diverse low-income women deploy different strategies in the context of these gendered constraints, showing how ethnic norms, diverse socio-spatial life-worlds and the materiality of the peri-urban area differentially affect women's constrained decisions around work and differential realisation of their substantive economic citizenship.

However, the second half of the chapter outlined some limited 'lines of flight' addressing the second half of research question 3 in showing how gender constraints are also shifting within the assemblage of labour. In particular, there are some improved possibilities for low-skilled women to find decent formal sector work, particularly in public sector and (sub-contracted) municipal work, highlighting some revaluation (and recognition) of women's labour as economic citizens, thereby addressing question 1, as well as some limited gendered effects from wider socio-economic redistribution. This final section has also shown how the assemblage of labour has

shifted as a result of economic necessity, as well as the growth of the city, resulting in an increase in insecure and badly paid work, which has acted as a double sword for gender equality, loosening gendered socio-spatial constraints while intensifying women's domestic burden and their ongoing work of maintaining time.

Chapter 5: Racism, discrimination and status distinctions

5.1 Introduction

‘For Guaraní women the labour situation in the city is very difficult [...] there is a lot of discrimination against the Guaraní people and the salary is very small’

LSC2

‘We Guaraní women have always been discriminated [...however] when Evo entered, there wasn’t discrimination anymore, we are all the same, equal he says, the president [...however] even though the president says [this...] it’s the same. Here in Santa Cruz at least they are really racist’

GW96

As shown by the above quotes, some lowland Guaraní women have experienced discrimination in Santa Cruz and link this with labour market disadvantage. The connection between racist discrimination and labour market disadvantage has also been assumed in recent Bolivian political discourse and academic literature (as noted by Spedding P. 2013; see also Loayza Bueno 2014). Spedding argues, however, that the fluidity/changeability of racial categories as well as their entanglement with other social categories in Bolivia means that ‘speaking of racism, by itself, doesn’t work to explain anything’. Furthermore, she highlights the subjectivity of individual accounts of racism (2013: 146). However, women’s lived and embodied experiences of racism and ethnic discrimination may also provide a window into wider interlocking structures of unequal power (Intemann 2010; McNay 2008: 287–8; de la Torre 1999: 95–6).

Categories of ethnicity and ‘race’ must be distinguished to understand the specific histories of discrimination in Latin America (Wade 2017). Wade argues that while ethnicity refers to a ‘cultural differentiation’ which ‘tends to use a language of *place*’, the social construction of race is embedded in the history of ‘European colonial encounters with others’ in which ‘particular aspects of phenotypical variation...were worked into vital signifiers of difference’ (2017: 14–16;

original emphasis). A similar distinction between ethnicity and race has also been made in the Bolivian context by the Bolivian academic Loayza Bueno, who has suggested that racism has been formed through the hierarchical triad of white – mestizo – indigenous, with racial rather than ethnic relations ‘establishing social hierarchies’ (2014: 82, 108). However, these distinctions are complicated by the fact that ethnic relations may also be racialised through the stigmatisation of ethnic markers of difference, as well as the spatial distribution of ‘phenotypical traits’ (Wade 2017: 20; Loayza Bueno 2014: 261). And, indeed it was more common for Guaraní women to discuss *discrimination* rather than racism.

In addition, scholars have also shown the fluidity (and performativity) of race in the Andes, which is not simply based on phenotypical markers or skin colour, but ‘accumulates within the body’ via socio-cultural and material embodied markers such as language or dress, as well as being ‘inscribed’ on bodies through the racialised division of labour (Weismantel 2001; Canessa 2005; Weismantel & Eisenman 1998: 134; Canessa 2012b: 24). However, while embodiment is also important in understanding Guaraní women’s experiences of ethno-racial discrimination, as will be discussed in more detail in section 5.5, racism may also operate slightly differently for the minority indigenous in the lowlands in comparison with the majority indigenous in the Andean highlands. In particular, it will be suggested that conceptions of race in the urban lowlands (as relating to the lowland indigenous) may be less fluid than in the highlands, as the ‘sticky’ underside of the *indio permitido* (Bobo, 2014), even as (paradoxically) race may sometimes be less visibly *marked* or embodied than in the highlands. Thus, racism may be experienced by Guaraní women when known to be Guaraní or indigenous, even if this knowing is not necessarily or simply as a result of embodied or phenotypical markers. Thus, ‘racism’ is considered within this chapter as forms of ethnic discrimination and subordination produced through the colonality of power (although not always straightforwardly through embodied markers), in which indigenous groups are misrecognised and treated as inferior (Grosfoguel 2007: 217).

Through an analysis of Guaraní and HM women’s experiences of discrimination, this chapter aims to shed some light on the complex and potentially shifting link between racial-ethnic discrimination and labour market disadvantage, and thereby understand how ongoing forms of colonality affect indigenous women’s economic citizenship, both in access to decent work as well

as treatment within work. This chapter is therefore particularly concerned with citizen-citizen recognition and questions of belonging as this plays out through the labour relation, and as related to new power-geometries of state-citizen recognition as highlighted by the new anti-discrimination law.

An assemblage approach is particularly useful in understanding the stickiness of race in socio-material encounters (Saldanha 2006; Ahmed 2000). Drawing on Ahmed's work on embodied encounters, this chapter discusses how shifting markers of race and ethnicity stick to women's bodies within the assemblage of labour, and how this may function in producing different forms of labour market-disadvantage (2000). In addition, this chapter also draws on (Bourdieu influenced) sociological literature on discrimination, particularly around status distinctions and symbolic power (Ridgeway 2013; Skeggs & Loveday 2012; Bourdieu 1989; Gutiérrez-Rodríguez 2010), which will be linked with questions of citizen recognition.

Firstly, in section 5.2, the chapter shows how power-geometries of racism pre- and post-2006 have produced different experiences of discrimination for highland and lowland women at work in Santa Cruz, as race and ethnicity stick within the assemblage of labour across different vectors of highland-lowland indigeneity and migration history. Understanding these different experiences of discrimination builds on the initial discussion of racialised stereotypes discussed in Chapter 3 and enables an understanding of some the new and reconstituted power geometries within post-neoliberal Bolivia.

Secondly, across sections 5.3 and 5.4, the chapter argues that although anti-racism and discrimination legislation in Bolivia has been able to challenge the worst excess of racist abuse, distinctions of embodied social status continue to flourish, in which racialised women continue to be 'recognised' as the 'Other' or 'out of place', particularly in paid work (Ridgeway 2013; Ahmed 2000: 8). Such forms of racism particularly affect Guaraní women given their greater prevalence in paid work, rather than in informal popular commerce. Furthermore, the chapter suggests that the new power-geometries in the post-neoliberal state, as well as the sheer numbers of highland migrants to Santa Cruz may have reduced some discrimination against highland indigenous women in popular space.

5.2 Power geometries of racism and ethnic discrimination

While both HM and Guaraní participants recounted experiences of discrimination, the differences in these experiences reflect complex power geometries of ethnicity-race. Discrimination against HM women in Santa Cruz has historically drawn on embodied markers of highland indigeneity, particularly the use of the *pollera*, the pleated skirt. For example, Doña Ursula, a migrant Quechua speaking woman in her 50s, poignantly explained how as a young woman in Santa Cruz, when she was a '*cholita*', her employer had made her take off her *pollera* telling her that 'the collas that have pollera are stinky' and abused her as ignorant. She explained how she suffered in this work, crying for three months (GW81). This experience aligns with other work on racism across the Andes which highlights the 'association' of indigeneity with 'dirt' or unhygienic practices to ensure indigenous peoples continued in 'their subordinate role in society' (de la Torre 1999: 100; Stephenson 1999).

Her story also has striking similarities with the treatment of domestic workers in highland cities, where wearing the *pollera* has long been a stigmatised marker of indigeneity, yet unlike Santa Cruz also of class difference, where highland employers may insist on their domestic worker wearing the *pollera* (Stephenson 1999: 155–6; Gill 1994: 117). Furthermore, rather than being denigrated as *indigenous*, Doña Ursula was called a 'shitty *colla*'. Thus, despite the similarities with discrimination in the highlands, the extreme racial abuse against highland women in Santa Cruz relates specifically to their ethnic identity as *collas*, even as this identity is placed within colonial hierarchies of race. Thus, an Aymara woman from El Alto who arrived with her family in Santa Cruz some 15 years ago experienced discrimination as 'colla': 'these *collas* they used to say' (GW52). Similarly, when Doña Marisela migrated to Santa Cruz around 15 years ago, she explained that 'one felt bad because the people here treated badly one who arrived from the interior. They used to look at them in an ugly way' (GW113).

In her work on post-colonial encounters, Ahmed argues that the figure of the stranger corresponds to 'those who are, in their very proximity, *already recognised as not belonging*, as being out of

place' (2000: 21; original emphasis). What is more, this differentiation occurs through a process of relational embodiment (2000: 44). HM women are recognised as out of place as the '*colla*', through the embodied appearance of the Other, through highland markers of dress and speech. This particularly affects women, given that they 'are the bearers of cultural symbols' (Ruwanpura 2008: 94). Highland migrant men in general do not have a similar distinctive form of dress which marks them so visibly as the Other (Stephenson 1999: 151).

Furthermore, even highland women who less visibly embody highland markers may still be recognised as the 'Other' within Santa Cruz, as circulating ethnic stereotypes stick to racialised bodies perceived as out of place. For example, one HM participant Doña Mariana, who had migrated to Santa Cruz in the early 1990s explained that even though she had come from a provincial city with a good education, spoke fluent Spanish and has never worn the *pollera*, she still experienced discrimination as '*colla*' in her first job in Santa Cruz as a domestic worker. She told me that people in Santa Cruz:

'Think that you're coming out of the jungle, that you've never put one foot on civilisation [...] they humiliate you because you're from the interior, it's always: 'Ah, this colla' [...] and this even though I hadn't come from the countryside. And what would it be like when they do come from the countryside I wonder? That they don't even know how to speak well, because they speak funny, you see [...] how they really humiliate the poor woman, I was a bachiller⁸⁸ [...] and even then they used to humiliate me'

GW77

The extreme racism faced by highland (indigenous) women was also alluded to in an interview at the Ministry of Work in Santa Cruz where the public official contrasted this treatment with the lowland indigenous. Her reflections align with findings of the existing literature (Chapter 1) on the lowland 'indio permitido':

⁸⁸ '*Bachiller*' is the academic qualification (title) received on graduating from secondary school.

'Before an indigenous [person] from the interior couldn't go through the plaza [...] they couldn't start to speak in their own lexicon on the bus, on public transport, because then it was to be beaten up [...] With the indigenous, with the Cruzeño originary in Santa Cruz, no. Rather, they have been [...] protected, they have been looked after [...] But they have only seized them as a flag, because [...] these indigenous people are still without education [...] they are still discriminated, you see? So, the political situation of the moment which has embraced them [...] from the right-wing (la derecha) hasn't given them ways to grow. They haven't discriminated against them, they haven't thrown them out, they haven't chucked them out, no. But neither have they allowed them the opportunities that they deserve'

PSC6

However, what is particularly striking about the public official's words is the contradiction where she states that lowland indigenous people continue to be discriminated against, yet also have not faced discrimination by Cruzeño political elites. I read this discursive confusion as indicating that while lowland indigenous groups may not have faced the same direct racial abuse from the elites as groups from the interior, 'in which indigeneity is marked as a racialized, dirty, migrant subject...out of place' (Kirshner 2011: 115), they have still faced structural forms of discrimination affecting their possibilities for decent work and employment.

Yet, a small number of Guaraní participants also recounted stories of direct discrimination, which suggests that the narrative of the lowland 'indio permitido', while important in illuminating the particular configuration of power and indigeneity in Santa Cruz in the years immediately following the election of the MAS, may also hide some of the complexities of lowland indigeneity, particularly with regards to opportunities for labour and work. Thus, attention to experiences of discrimination by Guaraní women can help to illuminate some of the more subtle configurations of race, indigeneity and power within Santa Cruz, as well as how these configurations may be changing in recent years.

Guaraní women who had experienced discriminatory treatment including at work, as well as at school, explained that this abuse has focused specifically on their identity as *lowland* indigenous.

For example, women recounted that they had been insulted using the name of another lowland indigenous group, mostly Guarayo, but also Ayoreo and Chiquitano. Such experiences were both recent and historic, prior to 2006. In one particularly shocking story, Doña Rosmery, was quite literally ‘thrown out’ when looking for work many years ago:

‘They used to ask [if we are Guaraní] but it was to humiliate us. This happened to me several times where I used to work [...] The Guaraníes, according to them [...] we are lazy, we are ‘picaras’ (rogues) [...] one time I came across a señora that is like that [...] I asked her if she needed [anyone] to wash their clothes or to cook for them or to sweep something, like that and the first thing she asked me was where I was from. And I told her, I am from such a place, I am Guaraní: ‘ah no, no no, no. Not one Guaraní will set foot here’ the señora said to me, I’m not receiving a person like that, like you, she told me, you could be a rogue (picara) or a husband stealer [...] no, get out of here!’ She chased me out with her broom (me sacó con su escoba).’

GW124

In comparison, even though Doña Ursula was abused as ignorant and unhygienic, she was also hired (and recognised) as an exploitable worker. In Doña Rosemery’s experience on the other hand, she was humiliated as the deviant and dangerous lowland Other, with the trope of the ‘lazy’ Guaraní being drawn on. This stereotype circulating within the peri-urban area (Chapter 3), thus appears to have a much longer history. As will be discussed, the continuing representation of lowland indigenous women as the deviant Other has important implications for the current configuration of discrimination against Guaraní women at work within Santa Cruz.

Furthermore, even though Guaraní women do not visibly embody markers of indigeneity in terms of ethnic dress – there is no lowland equivalent of the *pollera* – other forms of embodied markers of indigeneity have historically stuck to Guaraní women’s bodies, particularly language and education, and are drawn upon in racist and abusive encounters in the city, aligning with the experiences of (older) rural highland migrant women such as Doña Ursula, who spoke little Spanish and were illiterate on arriving in Santa Cruz. As one Guaraní woman explained:

'Before well, one didn't go to the city, one didn't go out into the city. And if you went out, the very Karai looked at you from head to toe, just with their eyes they told you everything. They didn't treat you well, because of your language, no? They said to your face that we were all slaves [...] We're not like them, educated, we don't have the same resources. At work they paid you (only) if they wanted to, they gave you work or not as well'

GW78

However, one Guaraní woman with more education also experienced historic discrimination as a result of embodied markers of indigeneity. As de la Torre has observed, with regards to the Ecuadorian context, discrimination against middle-class indigenous may 'intensify' as white-mestizos draw on the 'symbolic power' of ethnicity to maintain their place in the class hierarchy (1999: 106). For example, Doña Alejandra explained that when she used to work in a local government office as a secretary prior to 2005 they used to laugh at her for carrying a traditional Guaraní woven bag as well as involvement with Guaraní cultural activities (GW97). However, she explained that this ridicule rested on the fact that her colleagues felt she had stepped out of her proper place as an *indigenous* woman:

'In the Alcaldia well, the people are from all cultures of all sorts, let's say, no? Karai, well the majority are karai, then, no? And when one is from an indigenous people that is rising up and has a good level of study, they kind of want to discriminate against you, they want to humiliate [you] because they think that only they can get ahead [...] for example, when I used my bag, this, let's say, the mbokó, you see? They laughed at me: 'what are you doing with that'?''

GW97

However, despite these stories of discrimination, lowland indigenous women – particularly young women who have grown up in the city – may not be so visibly 'Other' in Santa Cruz as women from the interior, or indeed older Guaraní women with less fluent Spanish, which may also affect experiences of belonging within the workplace. As Doña Bernarda, a young Guaraní woman, explained:

“You can be speaking with a person that has come from let’s say, that is Guaraní but from somewhere else, and you haven’t realised [...But] you realise about people who come from the occident because of the issue of the type of face that they have, you see? In contrast, here you can be among Guaraní, Chiquitana or whatever it might be and they have the same face as you. You think that they are just from here [...] Because where I have worked, they have never asked me ‘and you, which people are you from?’, let’s say, but yes we have asked people who come from the occident because they have a way of speaking that is different and their face so that straight away you realise that they are from the occident. So, I’d say ‘did you come from La Paz or Cochabamba?’, and they say ‘Ah, I came from such a place’, let’s say. In contrast [people from] here, no.”

GW87

In the quote above, Doña Bernarda explains how, in her work history, she has never been asked which people she is from; given her phenotypical features and accent, it is assumed she is from Santa Cruz, whereas she and her other co-workers could easily identify who came from the highlands. As an illustration of her point, one day I accompanied Doña Aluisa to her cleaning job in a billiards bar in the city-centre. On stopping to collect her bus fare from her *patrón*, he asked who I was.⁸⁹ My friend replied that I was a student who wanted to learn how Guaraní people work. On hearing this, the *patrón* seemed surprised and asked my friend if she was Guaraní (Field notes, 2017). As highlighted by this short conversation, her boss did not appear to realise that she was Guaraní. It is also notable that Doña Rosmery’s experience of direct discrimination took place within Camiri, a municipality with a higher proportion of Guaraní inhabitants, and where Guaraní women may be more easily ‘recognised’ within the town.

Furthermore, some interviewees also indicated that the exploitation of Guaraní women has been based around markers of social status and class, rather than ethnic discrimination, noting that all workers are treated equally badly. As one participant explained, her previous employers had no idea she was Guaraní because they did not care about her as person, but rather just exploited her as a worker. She explained that they just wait for her to arrive so that they can give her orders

⁸⁹ My friend had permission from the female *patrona* for me to accompany her.

about the cleaning. As she explained they are not there ‘chatting’ or asking where she comes from (GW27). Thus, in contrast to Doña Bernarda who carried out higher-status office work, it may well be that even if Doña Aluisa’s boss did not recognise her as *Guaraní*, he may well have recognised her as an exploitable, low-class (and potentially racialised) worker to whom he could pay 1,300Bs well below the minimum wage of 2,000Bs 2017-18.

In contrast, other *Guaraní* women had been asked where they were from at work or if they spoke another language, even relatively recently, while some *Guaraní* women were recognised as *Guaraní* when overheard speaking *Guaraní* at work.⁹⁰ It may therefore be that even if the whitening effect of high-status office work protects some educated *Guaraní* women from these questions, this is not necessarily the case for all *Guaraní* women in low-skilled roles, where they may be placed as ‘other’ even among other lower-class *cruzeña* women, even if they are not necessarily recognisable as *Guaraní*. While most of these experiences seem benign, and even positive in terms of the sharing of identities and languages among diverse *compañeras*, this is not always so:

‘They thought that I was from the Beni [another lowland department...] because my face looked mean and phoney they said [...] but ‘I’m not Beniana’, I told them [...] ‘I’m Camba’ [...] But I never told them that I’m Guaraní [...] well the compañeras they play with you, you see [...] [It’s] better there just to be reserved, very quiet’

SW: And why do they play with you?

Doña Sofia: It’s a joke, let’s say, a way of saying. It’s to joke around [...] but I’m not really for playing’

GW20

While Doña Sofia’s *compañeras* do not place her as ‘*Guaraní*’, they do recognise her as out of place, and think that she is from another lowland department, even though she has grown up in Santa Cruz and speaks fluent Spanish. Notably, Doña Sofia took pains not to identify as *Guaraní* for fear that her *compañeras* would laugh at her or play cruel ‘games’. A further participant also

⁹⁰ Either on the phone or with *Guaraní* *compañeras*. For example, *Guaraní* women often work together as kitchen assistants (see Chapter 6). Other women explained that they were already *known* to be *Guaraní* as a result of recruitment through social networks.

noted that the discriminatory treatment experienced by Guaraní women as kitchen assistants took the form of ridicule (GW64).

In addition, experiences of discrimination may also be affected by differing networks for finding work. As peri-urban Guaraní women often look for work through social networks (see chapter 6), these women may not experience the kind of direct discrimination faced by other women actively seeking work street by street or through employment agencies, such as rural migrant women (whether from the interior or Guaraní), who may not have the same networks available in the city. As Doña Camila explained:

'I've never had this problem [of discrimination], no? Because I've always said to them [her employers] that I speak Guaraní and like that. But as I don't go out myself to look for work, street by street. Actually, I've been lucky that [someone] comes and [says to me] 'there's work there, don't you want to work?' And they take me. And like that. Actually it's just gone well with the people I'm working for; they're also good people'

GW46

5.3 Legal subjectivities and changing experiences of discrimination

This sub-section aims to understand the effect of new legislation on discrimination. Many participants, particularly HM but also Guaraní woman, displayed awareness of the anti-racism and discrimination law. Since its promulgation in 2010, this law has been widely publicised in communication channels. Public offices and private businesses are also required to display signs stating that 'we are all equal before the law'. As one Guaraní woman put it, 'Racism is a crime, no?' Thus 'even though they don't like it, they have no other option than to treat us more or less well'. Otherwise 'the law comes down upon them' (GW2). As a highland migrant woman also explained 'there is no longer racism' (GW52). This aligns with Ravindran's findings in El Alto that the new law is perceived as having 'significantly reduced discrimination' (2019b: 10). A small number of Guaraní women felt that the law had changed recruitment practices. For example, they

were no longer asked where they were from or noted that recruitment must now be based on competencies at work rather than racialised physical markers, such as skin colour. As one woman explained:

'Before, when we went out to look for work, they used to ask us, let's say, where we came from [...] Today, no, they just receive you like any other person.'

GW107

Despite some recent accounts of discrimination, as discussed in the previous section, a small number of Guaraní participants felt that this new law had reduced the worst excesses of direct discrimination, including at work, where there was now more 'respect' and less 'mistreatment'. As one Guaraní woman noted:

'There is this [law] for discrimination, not to discriminate your empleada (domestic worker) or treat her like this 'shitty Guaraya' or 'shitty Camba' [...] Now they will [still] call us [this] then between themselves, but they don't shout at us, well, as a Camba, an India, or a Guaraya [...] Since there was the president, this Evo [...] because he has implemented the law'

GW127

However, I heard contrasting opinions from two Guaraní women as to whether highland or Guaraní women were better protected by this law. These differing perceptions pick up on different elements of (changing) racial discrimination and so are important in understanding the complexity of power-geometries of race post-2006, and their implications for women's labour market opportunities within Santa Cruz:

Now because of the law that Evo gave, I think that [Guarani women] are just viewed okay because now you can't discriminate because otherwise there's a penalty [...] At school when I was little, I still remember [...] they say 'India' or if not they say 'Guaraya' [...but] more than anything it's against the Colla, the occidental because they call them Colla, they call them Cholo [...] It's more with them the discrimination [...] I think that yes

[discrimination continues] [...] not so much [against us Guaraní women] as against the occidental'

GW55

'Look, the government hasn't even approved our rights, but the right of the Paisanos they have approved now, but ours, nothing [...] Now no one can call them Colla or anything to them now, and us? It just carries on, they treat us like they used to treat us before [...] Well, they call us all sorts of names, as Guaraya [...] in contrast you can't even call them Colla [...] because then you will be arrested immediately.'

GW121

The first quote highlights that in Santa Cruz direct discrimination has taken more virulent forms against highland women, which may have persisted, including in certain employment situations. For example, another Guaraní woman recounted a recent instance of discrimination at work against a woman *de pollera*, which shows that even where direct racism is not experienced, low-skilled highland women may continue to face indirect forms of 'othering', notably in *paid* work:

'There are some companies that don't hire because of appearance. Let's say when I worked in cleaning, there were some señoras who went 'de pollera'. They didn't say anything to them, they hired them, but because of the fact of how the work was, they themselves had to, one left and the other had to change her pollera to shorts or to trousers. Because [due to] the work, she had to, it was necessary to go up the ladders to clean the windows; she couldn't go up in her pollera'

GW41

Furthermore, when I asked Dona Karina (GW41) if the anti-discrimination law had had any effect on her own circumstances, she said that she was more aware of discrimination against people from the interior and was teaching her daughters not to call people from the interior '*collas*'. Interestingly, her words also pick up on the second quote above, in that despite the continued

(albeit more subtle) discrimination against HM women, it is also the paradigmatic example of (racist) discrimination in Santa Cruz as well as in the national imaginary.⁹¹

However, precisely because subjectivities around anti-discrimination are directed towards women from the highlands, direct racism may have decreased more quickly for indigenous women from the highlands than lowland Guaraní women in Santa Cruz, as indicated by Doña Daniela's (GW121) perception above that Guaraní women continue to be called 'Guaraya', where it is no longer acceptable to insult a migrant woman from the highlands as '*colla*'. And indeed, the HM women who discussed the abuse towards women from the highlands as '*colla*' explained that this abuse had reduced or discussed this abuse in relation to their own historic experiences. As Doña Mariana explained, 'with Evo everything has changed': whereas before 'it was a sin to be from the interior', women wearing the *pollera* are now 'valued' (GW77). An Aymara-speaking HM woman also explained the change:

'Before it was 'colla' they used to say', 'shitty colla' [...] discrimination, this, 'colla' they used to say, 'chola', they insult you with everything [...] 'shitty colla I'm not going to pay you' [...] Before. Now it's not like that, now there is the law [...] The law has changed really a lot (hartísimo) now, it's not like before.'

GW93

As further evidence of changing attitudes in Santa Cruz, in March 2018, a racist incident occurred against a HM woman on a bus when an older *Cruzeña* woman refused to let her sit down next to her and insulted her as a *colla* and for wearing the *pollera*. While, on the one hand, this incident suggests that some *Cruzeños* still harbour virulently racist attitudes towards highland migrants,⁹² the response to the incident suggests that there has been significant change. Not only was the incident filmed, with the video going viral, the woman *de pollera* defended herself and also had the support of others on the bus. The outcry and shock provoked seems to be evidence that such

⁹¹ As highlighted by the Unit of Fundamental Rights' focus on racism as experienced by *highland* women (Chapter 3)

⁹² For example, Doña Loyiza, a HM woman from El Alto thought that despite the new law and reduction in discrimination, direct abuse towards women from the interior as 'shitty collas' had not completely disappeared (GW52).

overt racism is no longer widely acceptable and is not an everyday occurrence. This incident even resulted in a dedicated press conference by the vice-president, García Linera.⁹³

This may be in part due to the new status of women *de pollera* in the national imaginary. For example, various women in high political office now wear the *pollera* (Diaz Carrasco 2014; Diaz Carrasco 2013). Furthermore, Ranta's research with public officials in La Paz (even prior to the 2010 law) suggests that highland women wearing embodied markers of indigeneity now have greater access to work in the public sector, as in one Ministry they had dropped the requirement of 'buena presencia' (smart appearance) from job adverts as this had excluded women *de pollera*, being 'a well-known code for not looking like an indian' (Ranta 2018b: 17; Canessa 2008: 48). Ranta's findings also align with comments made by one of my interlocutors at a women's rights NGO in La Paz:

'Each time it's more visible [...] women with their traditional dress in some offices of the public sector: ministries, secretariats etc. [...] There are indigenous women that are lawyers, indigenous women that are professionals.'

NNI

This is not to say that women wearing the *pollera* no longer face racism or (gender) discrimination within political office (Diaz Carrasco 2014; Diaz Carrasco 2013). Yet, the paradigmatic case of an indigenous woman overcoming discrimination in plurinational Bolivia seems to be that of a highland woman *de pollera*. It is notable, for example, that a commercial spot by the National Committee against Racism and all Forms of Discrimination in 2017 includes only highland women *de pollera* as examples of the 'harmed' group of racialized or indigenous women.⁹⁴ This bias arguably also stems from the history of anti-discrimination legislation arising from the extreme racist abuse of highland indigenous groups at the Constituent Assembly in Sucre in 2008 (Postero 2017: 120–1; Calla & Muruchi 2011).

⁹³ <https://www.lostiempos.com/actualidad/pais/20180315/mujer-que-sufrio-discriminacion-relata-momento-que-fue-agredida> (accessed 22.12.19)

⁹⁴ See the spot here: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=09III03YAiY> (accessed 11.05.18):

While it may be a common sight to see public officials or professionals wearing the pollera in La Paz, it is not clear that this is the case in Santa Cruz, even if women wearing the *pollera* are becoming politicians (as noted by PN5 in Chapter 3). For example, the elected congresswoman (*diputada*) for the peri-urban district of my research was a HM woman *de pollera*. Yet, it seems that within Santa Cruz, extreme forms of racism have decreased rapidly against highland migrants particularly in *popular* public spaces, which seems to be not only because of their new place in the national decolonial imaginary, but also given the sheer numbers of highland migrants to Santa Cruz, where it is extremely common to see highland migrant women in popular markets and informal street commerce, as well as public transport, wearing visible markers of ethnic dress.

Yet, as highlighted above, Guaraní women continue to face mistreatment as ‘Guaraya’ and may also continue to experience negative attitudes within public space if they do speak Guaraní (even if they may not otherwise be recognised as Guaraní from their embodied appearance alone), as shown by the discrimination which some Guaraní women continue to experience as kitchen assistants in markets. For example, when I asked Doña Katia about public attitudes towards Guaraní women she explained:

Doña Katia: Some are discriminatory [...] they discriminate due to your way of speaking, due to your way of being

SW: And have you experienced this in your life, have you ever felt this?

Doña Katia: Mmm because let's say when I went into the centre, at least I feel proud of being able to speak this, and so I go out and I speak Guaraní and some people look at you or they look at you in an ugly way, like that.

SW: And at work, that...?

Doña Katia: No, that hasn't been a difficulty for me.

GW14

Interestingly, she says that when she speaks Guaraní in public places, people look at her in an ‘ugly way’. This is the same phrase used by Doña Marisela to explain her historic experiences of discrimination in Santa Cruz (see above). However, while Doña Katia’s experience is recent, Doña Marisela told me that she no longer experiences these discriminatory attitudes (GW113). Yet, as shown by the exchange below between Doña Jacinta and a younger family member, given the protections of the new law, this public discrimination towards women speaking in Guaraní now may be confined to ugly looks and stares rather than direct abuse:

Younger family member: [People in Santa Cruz] They don’t know that we are Guaraní.

Doña Jacinta: But when we speak in Guaraní there in the centre, they do look at us then.

Younger family member: They look at us but now they can’t say anything, because now there is a law for that.

(GW65)

Furthermore, Guaraní women may now experience discrimination and mistreatment from highland migrants themselves, as well as the *karai*, reflecting new power geometries of race-ethnicity and class (see section 5.5 for further discussion):

‘They are racist [...] the Cochabambinos [people from Cochabamba] or the Karai, as we Guaraní call them, you see, they mistreat us Guaraní sometimes [...] they confuse us with the Guarayos and it’s not the same [...] There was a [Guaraní] woman who worked with us and she didn’t understand much castellano and they mistreated her you see.’

GW19

However, this mistreatment seems to more commonly reflect class-based forms of subordination rather than racism, occurring with the employment of Guaraní women by highland migrants, (although not necessarily living in the peri-urban area). Yet, this provides the context for which inter-ethnic/indigenous exploitation or mistreatment may start to occur more frequently.⁹⁵ For

⁹⁵ Other Guaraní women were treated well by highland migrant bosses. For example, when Doña Elisa worked in a market clothes stall, she said that her boss from Cochabamba was kind and patient with her when she had trouble adding up the sales (GW71).

example, one Guaraní woman explained that a previous employer (a Quechua-speaking migrant from Cochabamba) had only recently started to mistreat her as a domestic worker, getting angry with her. She explained that this was since she moved from the peri-urban area to the centre. She explained that ‘she didn’t used to be like that...now she has got above herself (*se ha alzado*)’ (GW107). Doña Jacinta also explained the mistreatment by her own highland migrant boss when working as a kitchen assistant (‘she shouted at everyone’), yet she her boss also used to be an *empleada* herself (GW65). However, it is in the context of this changing class-differentiation, in which seemingly longer standing racialised representations of Guaraní women (as the lowland indigenous Other) circulate in the peri-urban area and are drawn on by some highland migrant women.

Furthermore, although Doña Katia experienced discriminatory attitudes in the city when speaking Guaraní, these negative public attitudes have not flowed into her work. She has worked in domestic work but also in informal markets as a kitchen assistant, and in selling clothes and shoes as a paid assistant. However, she is a young woman who has grown up in the peri-urban area and speaks fluent Spanish. Thus, ongoing discriminatory attitudes towards Guaraní women may not necessarily affect their work, particularly if carried out in private domestic space, but also in informal public space, if they less visibly embody markers of the lowland Other, such as broken or Guaraní inflected Spanish.

In addition, it may also be that new laws valuing indigenous languages have positively affected Guaraní women’s treatment in some ‘private spaces’ of work within Santa Cruz as the ‘india permitida’. For example, the 2012 General Law 269 of Linguistic Rights and Policies stipulates the public officials must speak the local indigenous language, while the 2010 Education Law 070 stipulates that an indigenous language must be taught at school.⁹⁶ In Santa Cruz, Guaraní has been taken up as *the* ‘authorised’ local indigenous language, with courses in Guaraní widely available. As Doña Camila explained of her employers:

⁹⁶ See: <https://www.paginasiete.bo/nacional/2015/7/29/funcionarios-deben-hablar-lengua-originaria-desde-agosto-64741.html#> and <https://www.lexivox.org/norms/BO-L-N70.html> (Last accessed 28.11.19).

'They like it that we speak Guaraní [...] because then her daughter-in-law and son worked there in the Alcaldía and there the government now makes them [...] learn Guaraní, and they used to ask me: 'What does this mean? I'm going to take an exam Doña Camila [...] How can I answer?'

GW46

And, indeed, various Guaraní women had been asked to teach or help their employers or their employers' children learn the Guaraní language. These experiences suggest that the identity of the 'india permitida' in Santa Cruz may provide Guaraní women with some new cultural capital and thereby symbolic power in paid work, which has now become valued within the new plurinational state (Bourdieu 1989). It is notable that my friend told her *patrón* at the billiards bar confidently and proudly that she was Guaraní.⁹⁷ The proliferation of Guaraní courses in universities and institutes within Santa Cruz also provides new opportunities for professional Guaraní women to become teachers, and two university-educated participants either teach or have taught Guaraní language classes (GW78, GW126). One woman, who seemed particularly proud of being able to share her language and culture, also explained that speaking Guaraní was an advantage in her recruitment as an election official (a notary) as she could resolve issues in Guaraní (GW78).

Interestingly, one woman, Doña Jorgina, who was part of her community leadership said that in her work in sub-contracted municipal gardening she had not told anyone that she is Guaraní or even that she is a *dirigenta* (a leader), as she thought it might unfairly influence her job in a positive way. She explained that she wanted 'to earn her job honestly' just like her non-Guaraní *compañeras* (GW83). Doña Alejandra also explained that previous colleagues (from a different municipal job) now treat her with more respect as a Guaraní leader, which she herself claims from them with confidence:

⁹⁷ It is also noticeable that my friend's family has been involved in different ways with the APG, the Guaraní organisation, whereas Doña Sofia's family, as far as I am aware, had not. Another participant, part of the provincial *capitania* (Guaraní leadership) also explained that she always identified herself as Guaraní at work and was treated the same as the others: 'I am always saying that I am Guaraní, proud of my race' (GW3).

'Before they used to look at me like someone inferior, you see. In contrast now I have come across them again and I say to them, 'You have to send us an invitation as the authority that we are' [and they reply] 'Okay Señora Alejandra, don't worry' [...] Now as [I am] a mburuvicha, well, they have a little more care [...] let's say in saying something'

GW97

However, at the end of the interview Doña Jorgina went on to qualify that even though Guaraní authorities are now treated well, this is not the case for grassroots women. As Díaz Carrasco has argued, even though 'some indigenous women have a gradual access to political state power does not imply that all the existing colonialities and violence in Bolivian society disappear' (2014: 142). As Doña Jorgina put it:

'Let's say if one is Guaraní 'no, why are we going to pay attention to this Guaraní?', they say [...] But before the authorities, whether the authority is a Guaraní man or woman, that instance they attend to you because of being indigenous.'

GW86

This section has shown how new legal frameworks and the criminalisation of racism post-2006 are shifting citizen-subjectivities around race and discrimination. The experiences of Guaraní and HM women in Santa Cruz suggest that direct racist abuse or discrimination against women is no longer as acceptable, thereby highlighting the 'immense power' of the state 'in shaping and legitimizing systems of categorisation' as well as 'recognition of diverse social groups' (Lamont, Beljean & Clair 2014: 585). However, such categorisations or 'cultural processes' have particular *local* effects as they intertwine with specific configurations of material and symbolic power within the assemblage of labour in Santa Cruz (Lamont, Beljean & Clair 2014: 581). The section has argued that, while the historic racial discrimination against highland migrant women (as ethnically 'colla') has been particularly virulent, it may have reduced faster than for lowland indigenous women, particularly in *popular* urban space. However, lowland Guaraní women have experienced some greater cultural capital and (limited) recognition in the private spaces of paid work as a result of being the '*india permitida*'. In addition, class-based forms of exploitation and mistreatment

between indigenous/racialised women are further reconfiguring ethnic power geometries in Santa Cruz, as well as the experience and realisation of women's right to decent work.

5.4 (Embodied) status distinctions and ongoing racist representations post-2006

The previous section outlined changes in direct racial discrimination as a result of the new law. However, although overt racism and discrimination based on phenotypical and embodied markers of ethnicity may have decreased, the experiences of Guaraní participants in paid work suggest that subtle forms of (embodied) class-based discrimination, may take root in new ways, yet also rest on longstanding racialised representations of lowland indigenous women. Furthermore, aligning with the commodification of Guaraní women's language skills discussed above, high-skilled Guaraní women may also face subtle status distinctions when they are perceived to step out of their proper place as the *india permitida*. This section therefore shows how the colonality of power continues to limit lowland indigenous women's full economic citizenship via processes of misrecognition, even if in more subtle ways post-2006.

Spedding has argued that job adverts for 'buena presencia' may have nothing to do with racial discrimination, but rather a neat style of personal presentation appropriate for customer service jobs (Spedding P. 2013: 124). Yet, experiences of participants suggests that discrimination according to 'buena presencia' may not exclusively involve discrimination according to skin colour, other phenotypical markers or even the embodied markers of ethnicity such as the *pollera*, but rather the (gendered) embodied markers of a stigmatized, lower class social status, which given the closely intertwined history of class and ethnicity-race in Bolivia (as well as more widely in Latin America) is also experienced as *racialised* (Wade 2017; Shakow 2014). As Doña Paulina explained:

'Before they discriminated against us, because one is Guaraní or because one is indigenous [...] Let's say even now, I go and look for work, you see? I go to find a señora, let's say, who is really rich [...] And if I go and ask while I'm dressed like this, she's not going to give me work [...] 'Ay why does that woman come? She comes to beg'. Sometimes

*they mistreat you for that [...] even if your clothes are clean and you go like that you see?
But them, they look at you from head to toe or how are you are dressed.'*

GW70

For example, when I carried out the interview with Doña Paulina, she was wearing the kind of simple clothes that are not out of the ordinary in the peri-urban area, such as a t-shirt with leggings or shorts and flip-flops. However, because these are the kind of clothes that are worn by low-income women, bought fairly cheaply in markets (or second hand), and are often well worn, they also mark out her status as a low-income woman.⁹⁸ Thus, although some Guaraní women's personal appearance, their way of dressing and speaking may not necessarily have identified them as Guaraní – or even *indigenous* – to potential employers, the fact of speaking a less 'refined' Spanish, or dressing in poorer quality clothing, may result in discrimination experienced, embodied and lived by Guaraní women as a result of *being* Guaraní, given historical structures of economic inequality for indigenous groups. Furthermore, as highlighted by Wade, given the fluidity of racial identifications in Latin America, 'the same individual dressed shabbily and smartly will be identified with different colour terms that locate the person on a scale between black and white' (2017: 39), and Doña Paulina's experience suggests that the same may be true for the scale of white-mestizo-indigenous in the Bolivian lowlands.

Speech forms may also mark Guaraní women as from an inferior social status, even if they speak fluent Spanish. Although this discrimination may have reduced following the election of Morales, it still persists:

SW: And do you think that Guaraní women have the same opportunities of work or income generation than other women in the community or in Santa Cruz, non-Guaraní women?

Doña Katia: Yes, I think we have the same right, let's say.

SW: And when you go and look for work is it equally easy for Guaraní women than...?

⁹⁸ I also observed Guaraní women wearing clothes at home with small holes (possibly caused by hanging up washing on lines of barbed wire, presumably easier to get hold of). When I accompanied Doña Sofia to look for work – see chapter 6 – she had clearly thought carefully about her appearance, wearing a smart looking top and applying lipstick.

Doña Katia: *It's not so easy, they ask you for everything. On the other hand, the others that don't speak Guaraní [...] now they get [jobs] quickly [...] let's say because they are refined or something, they speak well, I think because of that.*

GW14

In her earlier fieldwork, Postero noted the 'fear' of Guaraníes that they would suffer 'humiliation' through their interaction with the *karai*. She quotes one Guaraní woman who explained that 'our biggest fear...is being laughed at'. She suggests that Guaraní people's 'typical response was to fade away, to retire and not try again out of shame' (2007: 185). Such feelings of shame and also 'timidity/shyness' (*timidez*) were also expressed to me by Guaraní women some 20 years after Postero's fieldwork, showing striking continuities in ongoing forms of coloniality post-2006. Yet, some Guaraní women also went on to explain how such emotions affected their opportunities for work. For example, sometimes women are embarrassed to make mistakes in *castellano* when looking for work, and so if they are not able to find the right words, they stay quiet (GW78). As Doña Karina explained 'Guaraní women are mostly timid (*tímidas*). They speak very little with people'. She thought that women who manage 'to work or to get a good job' are those who have been able to 'lose this shyness. Or who have a little more education' (GW41). As Doña Bernada put it, to find work:

'You have to speak well and also know how to express yourself, because at the hour of looking for work, no matter what, you have to do an interview, no?'

GW87

Focusing on this lived experience helps to explain what at first appeared to me as a contradiction in some of my interviews. Sometimes, Guaraní women told me about discrimination, but then explained this via class and social status. For example, in the first quote with which I started this chapter, the *mburuvicha* identified discrimination against Guaraní women as a principal factor affecting their labour opportunities. However, as we discussed this further, she told me that Guaraní women's badly paid work in domestic service and their mistreatment resulted from structural social disadvantage such as lack of educational opportunities. She went on to tell me that if Guaraní women were professionals 'we would earn the same as the white people'.

However, such embodied low-status markers as dress and speech, not only reflects the long history of structural racial discrimination (Mills 2017), as well as the entangled history of race and class and their embodied markers in Bolivia (Shakow 2014), but also specifically in Santa Cruz the seemingly widespread racist representations of lowland indigenous women as the deviant or dangerous Other (as discussed in 5.2). For example, during my meeting with a local public official about the work of the municipal gender directorate, when I asked her about the labour situation for indigenous women in Santa Cruz, she answered:

'It's difficult to reinsert them in a job post. But yes one can teach her a trade, they make a type of handicraft [...] Also often the indigenous people makes out that because of not knowing everything, they don't want to carry out any type of work and they use their children to carry out types of forced begging as is the issue, for example, you can see the children asking for change and the mums lying down, underneath the shade'

PSC7

The public official represents lowland women's work capabilities in a derogatory way as being incapable of holding a formal job, as well as normatively judging women as lazy beggars and mothers who exploit their children.⁹⁹ Furthermore, these stereotypes can be seen to intertwine with the kind of class-based discrimination explained by Doña Paulina, in that she is not only (mis)recognised as of lower-class status but as the deviant lower-class Other who may be a beggar. And indeed, various lowland women both Guaraní and non-Guaraní explained that they had been treated as a thief or with mistrust by their employers post-2006. Even Doña Camila, who said that she worked with good people, explained that they were so mistrusting that they locked her up in the house from the outside everyday while they went out to work (GW46).

⁹⁹ Not only does she not attempt to understand why indigenous women might be begging, she seems unaware of the difference in women's work among lowland urban indigenous groups. Although small numbers of Guaraní peri-urban women do still weave handicrafts (see chapter 7), it is not common to sell their handicrafts in the public spaces of the city or work in begging on the streets, as Ayoreo women do (see section 5.5; also see Swanson 2010 on Ecuador). Thus, the official's words are all the more striking as I had explained that my research was with Guaraní women. In her earlier research, Postero interviewed a public official (an engineer) who confused the Guaraníes with Ayoreos in a similar way (2007: 149).

Doña Rosmery's recent experience of looking for work in the city (around 2014), in comparison with her historic experience provides a useful illustration here of these changing dynamics of discrimination. She explained:

'Sometimes they put notices on the fence, 'an empleada is needed', it says. There was a notice there and I went and rang the bell and [...] I said to her 'Señora I've come about the notice' and she says to me 'Yes', she said, 'but I don't know you. It has to be through someone that I know', she says. 'Because in these times there is no confidence now', she says. 'Because there are many empleadas that pass themselves off as an empleada and it's to rob us', she says [...] 'So, why is the notice there, Señora? Because [...if] I come, there is going to be another person behind me', I said to her.'

GW124

Unlike her experience many years ago in Camiri, this *Señora* in Santa Cruz was polite to Doña Rosmery, explaining that she could not hire her as she had not been introduced through a common acquaintance. However, what does not make sense, which Doña Rosmery perceptively pointed out, is the fact that the *Señora* had put up the advertisement, given that women unknown to her were likely to ring the bell. It may simply be that she had not properly thought through her recruitment strategy or it could also be that Doña Rosmery was 'recognised' as the kind of low-income, *lowland* racialised woman represented in the popular imaginary as an untrustworthy thief, which also draws on tropes of the lazy, dangerous, deviant Other.

However, while higher-skilled Guaraní women who find white-collar jobs do not appear to be misrecognised as deviant in the same way as low-skilled women looking for casual domestic labour, i.e. as lazy beggars or thieves, the experiences of two women suggest that they may also tread a fine line of acceptance. To understand how this discrimination against high-skilled women may function it is first important to highlight, as explained by the official at the Ministry of Work, that the Santa Cruz elite still consider indigenous people for 'operational positions', yet as Ridgeway notes 'when individuals from low-status groups engage in behavior perceived to challenge the status hierarchy, they frequently encounter a hostile backlash reaction from others' (2013: 7). In the official's words:

'On the topic of employability [...] a person of a white physical appearance [...] you can still see that they envisage the indigenous as always for operational positions, always heavy jobs. So let's say that they are starting to include them but always with that differentiation.'

PSC6

This backlash may also draw on tropes of deviance, even if in a different way to low-skilled women, as highlighted by the story of Doña Bernarda. She told me how she had a problem with her boss in an office filing job after asking for time off to go to La Paz in relation to an environmental project she had been involved with as a Guaraní youth leader. After her boss denied her the time off and she went to her boss's superior, her boss then denigrated her abilities to co-workers, said that the only way she would achieve something would be via politics, and called her a 'Chiquitana', a racialised slur, again using the name of another lowland indigenous group:

'I left also because the Señora treated me really badly [...] And they told me to report her for discrimination [...] From what he [a colleague] told me is that she said that I wasn't going to finish university, that I was never going to find a job, that I didn't have character and she said that I was a, a Chiquitana, that everything that I was going to achieve was going to be only because of politics and things like that [...] However, I was the one who had the highest productivity.'

GW87

What is notable also is that prior to stepping out of place as a racialized 'Other', along with her office co-workers she was treated relatively well. On the other hand, her boss treated female cleaners and male store-room workers extremely badly, in what Doña Bernarda termed a 'discriminatory' way, highlighting how the status-distinctions of office work may have a 'whitening' effect.

'She was really bad with the men [...] that worked in the warehouse, the people that brought boxes, that did heavy things, let's say, and she treated them in an ugly way [...]

in contrast she treated us something differently, because we were all at university [...] In contrast the people who worked in the warehouse were people like that who hadn't entered university, or who hadn't finished school.'

GW87

Yet, while the educational level of Doña Bernarda placed her in a higher status than the manual workers, once she stepped out of place in the office hierarchy, it was her ethnicity as lowland indigenous that was drawn on as a form of symbolic power. In implying that she would only achieve success through politics, the Señora also draws on the tropes of laziness and deviance, which Doña Bernarda contests through highlighting her high productivity. In discussing 'everyday' racism in the Ecuadorian context some 20 years ago, de la Torre notes that 'Whites and *mestizos*...can rely on their ethnic privilege to mark their superiority against all Indians' (1999: 109; original emphasis). Yet, in the context of post-neoliberal Bolivia, this no longer seems to be straightforwardly the case. Doña Bernarda's boss could no longer rely on this privilege, but instead resorted to spreading racialised abuse behind her back. While this abuse succeeded in driving her out of her job, it is not altogether clear that this resulted in the boss's restored position in the status hierarchy. Doña Bernarda's *compañeros* seemed supportive of her rather than their boss, encouraging her to report the boss for discrimination (see Chapter 7 for further discussion).

The story of Doña Senobia also highlights issues around stepping out of place. She works for an NGO but recently had several issues with her boss after attending a funeral of a Guaraní *compañero* (although not a colleague employed by the organisation) after a confusion over gaining permission to attend. Notably when she first started working at the NGO (for a different, more supportive boss), some 9 years ago (as the first indigenous person in the institution), she felt that *compañeros* did not much like the idea of her working there as she 'was indigenous', but they had to go along with it. She explained about her new boss:

'She told me that [...] I had passed above her authority and therefore I had two warnings (memorandum) [...] But I've complied with all my obligations, I only went to a place to a funeral and my compañera said to me but 'you shouldn't go, he's already dead and [if] he's dead what does it matter to us?' But I say: 'no!' In other words, 'I'm not the same as

you, I'm Guaraní and he is a brother who has supported us' [...] But well 'you people are like that', I said to her, 'and I'm not the same as you people and if that's going to cost me my dismissal, that's not going to weigh me down' [...] And I think that this happens with a lot of people who don't know our reality, no?'

GW2

What this story indicates is that not only did she step out of place, but that she stepped out of place as a *Guaraní* women into a social world that her non-indigenous boss does not understand – and what is more, does not attempt to understand: as Doña Senobia said, 'she doesn't know anything'. Thus, while her boss did not treat her with the kind of direct racism or discrimination which *Guaraní* women seemed to experience more frequently, particularly low-skilled women, she did treat her with symbolic violence (misrecognition) in the contempt shown for her *Guaraní* lifeworld, and as a backlash to Doña Senobia's perceived challenge to her authority.

In addition, despite working for an NGO which supports indigenous peoples (and despite her *Guaraní* language skills being essential for her job), Doña Senobia is paid less than her colleagues as she does not have the valid 'lettered' knowledge of the colonial-modern city (Aparicio & Blaser 2008: 87; Mignolo 2006). Her story thus further highlights how colonial-modern forms of racism continue to be institutionalised in formal urban work through the devaluation of forms of *Guaraní* women's cultural capital which cannot be so easily appropriated or commodified by the white-mestizo elite. Thus, even though in comparison to other low-skilled *Guaraní* women, her income is higher and significantly above the minimum wage (2,700Bs), she explained that within her workplace:

'We see that I'm nobody because I don't even have a paper that certifies me that I really have studied, even though I know, no? And that carries weight. In our world, the one who knows, knows, but it's not necessary to show a paper to say that I know [...] But in the world now, in this society, they oblige us and no matter what, you have to comply [...] There is a salary scale, you see? So, I'm at the bottom [...] And the rest are all university educated.'

GW2

It is also important to note that these ongoing experiences of (embodied) status discrimination were recounted by Guaraní rather than HM participants. This is not to say that highland women do not also experience status distinctions, but given the greater preponderance of HM interviewees in informal commerce, in the ‘popular’ public places of the street, it may be that they less frequently experience being out of place at work or discrimination as a result of being perceived as stepping out of place. In addition, given inequalities of education and language, it is unlikely that HM women who visibly embody racialised ethnic markers would apply to higher skilled or higher status roles (apart from political office). Furthermore, as shown by the public official’s words below, highland women who embody the racialised markers of indigeneity may also be considered the ideal exploitable worker, in contrast to lowland indigenous women. This highlights once more that discrimination post-2006 does not necessarily produce overt or explicit racist abuse (as it has done in the past), but rather implicitly rests on longstanding *ethnic* representations of indigenous women, embedded in coloniality, but which may not be recognised as racist or discriminatory by those who profess them, as highlighted by the Ministry of Work official:

‘I think that more than discrimination, there is selection according to the level of production or productivity or proactivity that the applicant can demonstrate, competitiveness [...] For example, they say to me directly, ‘I want a household worker that comes from Sucre’, like that. ‘But I have a Cruzeña’ [...] ‘No, better that they are from the interior’. There is a greater preference. Why? Precisely because of this, no? Because the culture of the Cruzeño is peaceful, it’s calm. And what is it that the company wants? Someone that produces like a machine and the indigenous of the interior is like that: production without rest.’

PSC6

With regard to the Peruvian context, Babb has recently argued that ‘being female and Andean may have some new purchase, yet women of rural and indigenous origins remain subject to precarity and to durable exclusionary practices’ (2019 ELD, para 46). This section has shown that despite Guaraní women’s new cultural capital, low-skilled women also face ongoing embodied class-based exclusions resting on structural racial discrimination and the continued circulation of

racialised stereotypes of low-income lowland indigenous women. On the other hand, high-skilled Guaraní women may face a backlash from the *karai* when they step out of the status hierarchy.

5.5 Racism, ethnicity and coloniality– conceptual reflections

Before concluding this chapter, it is important to clarify why some of the mistreatment faced by Guaraní women can helpfully be understood conceptually as racism (even as other forms of mistreatment are more clearly related to class). To do so, I will offer a brief comparison with another lowland indigenous group in the city: the Ayoreo.¹⁰⁰

As discussed above, Guaraní women may not always be ‘placed’ as indigenous from their embodied appearance, particularly younger Guaraní women with fluent Spanish. However, as shown by the comment from the public official (section 5.4), indigenous Ayoreo women in the city are highly visible as indigenous, yet not as the *indio permitido* but rather as the archetypal lowland Other in their extreme ‘stigmatisation as a “social problem”’ (Roca Ortiz 2008: 73). For example, during some of my early conversations with lowland groups in the city, a young Mojeño woman explained that Ayoreo women face particular discrimination (along with the Guarayos). She thought that the Ayoreos are the indigenous group that most stands out in the city with recognisable physical traits and appearance, whereas she thought with Guaraní women it was less noticeable (LW2). In addition, she explained, Ayoreo women are also recognisable by accent. This is given the almost total predominance of the Zamuco language in Ayoreo urban communities (LW1) (see also APCOB 2014: 131). Yet, noticing ‘less’ does not mean always unnoticeable, as highlighted by Doña Sofia’s experience of being misplaced as from the Beni, even if her *compañeras* could not identify her as Guaraní. For example, the public official at the Ministry of Work explained that she had known one job-seeker was Guaraní – the only one, she said – through information the Ministry routinely records on languages, but then went on to say and ‘additionally (*además*)’ because of her ‘physical features (*facciones físicas*)’, yet it is unclear whether she would have ‘recognised’ her as Guaraní *without* knowing she spoke Guaraní (PSC6, see also section

¹⁰⁰ As the basis of this discussion, I draw on two interviews with Ayoreo and Mojeño women from a short visit to Santa Cruz in April 2016 (LW1 and LW2), as well as my own experiences of ‘recognising’ Ayoreo women in the city. I also draw on a small body of literature on the Ayoreo in Santa Cruz.

6.5).¹⁰¹ Relatedly, Doña Koemi thought that young urban Guaraní women ‘have integrated into *karai* society’. However, she then went on to question whether ‘perhaps her face (*rostro*) says that she is Guaraní’ (PSC1), her uncertainty highlighting the liminal position of some Guaraní women, who while ‘integrating’ as *karai* (in seeming distinction to Ayoreo women) or indeed claiming *camba* identity like Doña Sofia, may also be (mis-)recognised as the not-quite *camba*.

However, unlike Guaraní women (see discussion between Doña Jacinta and her relative in 5.3), Ayoreo women are also particularly visible in the city through their collective work of selling handicrafts and begging in urban space, which is also stigmatised by the *Cojñone* (non-Ayoreo, see Glossary) (LW1).¹⁰² For example, APCOB interviewed a public official who stated that Ayoreos ‘are some abusive ones, if one of them does something wrong (*hace una fechoría*) they all go out to defend them’ concluding that ‘they act as if they were still in the bush (*en el monte*)’ (2016: 107). Yet, in contrast, an Ayoreo participant explained that women defend one another from discrimination (LW1).¹⁰³ Thus Ayoreo women are not only racialised through embodied markers, but crucially as a result of their way of being in the city, connected to their work of collectively selling handicrafts and begging in urban space, which is undervalued and stigmatised. As argued by Saldanha, bodies are ‘racialised’ and race becomes ‘viscous’ through particular spatial assemblages of ‘human bodies, things, and their changing environment’ (2006: 18–19).

However, while the racialisation and discrimination against the Ayoreo seems to be more extreme than Guaraní women, I suggest that discrimination of both groups is based in the othering of the lowland indigenous as the underside of the *indio permitido*.¹⁰⁴ This othering is not based simply on phenotypical or embodied markers, but rather on representations of the inferiority of the lowland indigenous, in particular as lazy, as deviant, even as dangerous. As Postero argued in her earlier research with the Guaraní in Santa Cruz ‘many middle-class cambas consider all Indians [i.e. all lowland indigenous groups] the same: lazy and dirty’ (2007: 149). Thus, women who are

¹⁰¹ Interestingly, the official also commented (with some surprise) on how articulate she was.

¹⁰² Some Ayoreo women also work as sex workers, which is also stigmatised (APCOB 2016: 69; Bessire 2014).

¹⁰³ Also indicating that Ayoreo women know about the anti-discrimination law (LW1)

¹⁰⁴ It is notable that the ethnic slurs received by Guaraní women (as *guaraya*, *chiquitana* or *ayorea*) insult them via the name of other lowland groups, not as Guaraní. This may be as a result of ignorance of the different lowland groups or alternatively given the particular status of the Guaraní as the lowland *indio permitido*.

already *known* to be indigenous may experience this othering, even if this knowing is not always through embodied markers alone. With regards to highland El Alto, Ravindran has argued that race is double-edged in its ‘undecidability’: while cultural-embodied understandings of (fluid) race produce aspirations of racial (social) mobility among the majority Aymara indigenous, ongoing racism based on ‘biological’ markers such as skin colour or phenotype may close down possibilities for mobility (2019b: 8, 12). However, given that such ‘biological’ markers seem to be less of a defining aspect of racial distinctions between lowland indigenous and (working class) non-indigenous *Cruzeños* than in majority indigenous highland cities, the minority status of the lowland indigenous may result in race being less ‘recognisable’ for groups such as the Guaraní with less visible embodied-spatialised markers (in comparison with the Ayoreo), particularly among younger or higher status women.¹⁰⁵ Yet, at the same time, racism paradoxically may become more ‘sticky’ in Santa Cruz in comparison with the socially mobile in El Alto through stigmatising representations of the *minority* lowland ‘Other’ (Bobo 2014).¹⁰⁶

Bessire has argued that the inclusion of some indigenous under neoliberal multiculturalism is a form of cultural control or essentialism and ‘predicated’ on the ‘hypermarginality’ of other indigenous (Bessire 2014: 276).¹⁰⁷ While most Guaraní and Ayoreo women are not ‘hypermarginal’ in Bessire’s use of the term, there does seem to be an underside to the ‘indio permitido’ in the racial stigmatisation of the lowland ‘Other’. Unlike Bessire’s sharp demarcation between the ‘hypermarginalised’ and the culturally ‘authorised’ indigenous, Guaraní women may be placed (and valued) as the *indio permitido* as well as discriminated against as the lowland Other, such as Doña Renata who despite being discriminated against as Guaraní (as a potential thief), had also been asked to teacher her employers’ children Guaraní (GW11, see also Chapter 7). In the case of high-skilled Guaraní women, this discrimination may occur when they challenge their work-place status hierarchy. These instances of ethnic discrimination as the lowland indigenous Other should also be understood as racism, even if not based (simply) on embodied markers, given that they are produced through hierarchies of colonial-modern power, with indigenous groups

¹⁰⁵ Doña Bernarda also contrasted the urban visibility of the Ayoreo with the Guaraní (see Chapter 7)

¹⁰⁶ However, this requires further research particularly with lowland indigenous women working in professional roles.

¹⁰⁷ Bessire draws on the example of a group of Ayoreo women in Santa Cruz excluded from the wider Ayoreo community and working as sex workers to fund drug addictions (2014).

placed as ontologically inferior in the ‘Coloniality of Being’ (Maldonado-Torres 2007: 259). For example, Doña Bernarda *became* the indigenous lowland Other when she challenged the authority of her boss and was denigrated as a ‘*Chiquitana*’.

This is also an opportune moment to clarify the question of racism between highland-lowland women. In doing so, it is helpful to consider other work on racism in the context of extractivism in lowland territories.¹⁰⁸ In particular, scholars have argued that the dispute over the building of a road through the TIPNIS represents a form of (majority) highland indigenous state coloniality, in which (minority) lowland indigenous groups contesting the road have been represented by the state via ‘racist tropes’ of backwardness (Postero 2015: 246; Fabricant & Postero 2019: 259). Furthermore, the literature has highlighted the gendered overtones of this ‘reconfigured’ racism with the lowland indigenous represented by colonial tropes of ‘passive’ femininity (Fabricant & Postero 2019: 259; Postero 2015: 251).

However, it seems less helpful to understand the citizen-citizen relationship between lowland and highland (indigenous) women in Santa Cruz in terms of being in a colonial relationship with each other, even with the circulation of racialised discourse in the peri-urban area, as this belies the coloniality of power with which (both highland and lowland) indigenous have been and ‘continue to be subjected’ despite (Postero 2017: 7).¹⁰⁹ Grosfoguel has pointed out that ‘the success of the modern/colonial world-system consist in making subjects that are socially located in the oppressed side of the colonial difference, to think epistemically like the ones on the dominant positions’ (2007: 213). Thus, when some HM women draw on derogatory racialised tropes of the lowland indigenous Other to characterize Guaraní women’s work, they do as situated within the power structures of the ‘coloniality of Being’ (i.e. Guaran women are lazy and backward) and via the ‘coloniality of knowledge’ (i.e. Guaraní women are thoughtless, they do not think about how to

¹⁰⁸ As the other side of the coin to the (territorial) cultural essentialisation as discussed by Rivera Cusicanqui. Yet, as discussed in the introduction to the thesis, the minority (peri-)urban lowland indigenous are caught and invisibilised between both sides of the fractured decolonial coin: as neither part of the minority territorialised indigenous, nor as part of the deterritorialised highland majority.

¹⁰⁹ Furthermore questions of gender and (highland) state extractivism (see chapters 2-4) in the lowland urban areas (i.e. beyond lowland territories) has received less attention (see for example Mullenax 2018: 193–4 who discusses the gender bias of extractivism almost exclusively with regards to the TIPNIS).

progress)¹¹⁰ (Maldonado-Torres 2007: 252).¹¹¹ As HM women are situated on the ‘oppressed’ side of colonality (despite the value accorded to highland indigeneity in the citizenship regime post-MAS), I have referred to such derogatory representations as *racialised* rather than racist, as an analytical rather than everyday distinction.¹¹² This derogatory discourse is embedded (and internalised) in ongoing relations of colonial difference (De la Cadena 1995: 343), yet it seems helpful to distinguish this conceptually from the longstanding *racist* ‘practices of domination’ by ‘white-mestizo elites’ (Postero 2017: 7) which can be understood as situated on the dominant side of unequal (albeit now shifting and moderating) hierarchies of colonial-modern power, and as experienced in everyday citizen-citizen relations of labour and work.

Furthermore, such representations must be seen also in the context of Bolivia’s gendered post-neoliberal citizenship regime based on extractivism. This is not only as a result of reconfigured power relations between the post-neoliberal state ‘recognising’ the majority highland indigenous and ‘misrecognising’ the lowland minority indigenous, but also given that the gender-blind extractivist economic model perpetuates the unequal conditions for increasing gendered-ethnic class differentiation (maldistribution) across the highland-lowland distinction at the local level in Santa Cruz (see chapter 3). This uneven class differentiation thus provides the conditions for mistreatment *and* racialised misrecognition between (indigenous) highland and lowland women.

5.6 Conclusion:

Addressing research question 2, this chapter has argued that the experiences of indigenous and racialised peri-urban women suggest that the worst excess of overt or extreme racist discrimination against highland and lowland women at work has decreased in Santa Cruz post-2006, largely as a

¹¹⁰ *And* as tied up with longstanding derogatory highland-lowland distinctions of collas as (*‘opas’*, as stupid or ignorant) vs. cambas as (*‘flojas’*, as lazy) (Loayza Bueno 2014: 139).

¹¹¹ Maldonado-Torres has shown the ‘coloniality of Being (others are not)’ is fundamentally linked to the ‘coloniality of knowledge (others do not think)’ (2007: 252) .

¹¹² Note that I am not arguing that here racially oppressed groups can never themselves be racist. Rather, that in the context of peri-urban Santa Cruz, it seems helpful to make a distinction between racial discrimination by white-mestizo middle-upper classes and by (often still fairly marginalised) highland migrant peri-urban women, despite some class differentiation.

result of widely disseminated legislation against racism. Goldberg argues that law ‘calls subjectivities into being...in shaping identities, meanings and so the social world’ (2002: 146), and, in this sense, the formal rights guaranteed by the constitution and legislation have been able to create new forms of meaning around racial and ethnic equality in the ‘negotiation’ of everyday experiences and practices within the assemblage of labour (Tomaskovic-Devey 2014: 67).

However, the resulting policy stemming from the legislation focuses on tightly bounded ‘harmed’ groups, with indigenous peoples ‘harmed’ by racism, while other groups such as domestic workers are considered ‘harmed’ by discrimination, while women are ‘harmed’ by reason of ‘gender’ (Comité Nacional Contra el Racismo y Toda Forma de Discriminación n.d: 48). Not only do these plans represent what Radcliffe has termed ‘single issue development’ (2015a: 53), but because the link between cultural and material inequality (misrecognition and maldistribution) is not sufficiently developed across groups as part of the post-neoliberal differentiated citizenship regime, subtle status distinctions continue, particularly in paid work, as embodied markers of class continue to stick to the bodies of low-income Guaraní women, while high-skilled Guaraní women may face a backlash if they step out of place.

In addition, this chapter has also shown that forms of racism and discrimination have historically affected highland and lowland women differently. Building on this, the chapter has argued that while overt racism in public places may have decreased to a greater extent for highland than lowland women given their status as the paradigmatic ‘model’ (national) indigenous citizen within the post-neoliberal decolonial imaginary, stigmatising stereotypes at work based around ethnic characteristics of racialised workers continue in the post-neoliberal citizenship regime. However, these attitudes may not be recognised as ‘discriminatory’ by those who profess them.

In addition, as it is more common for Guaraní women to pursue paid work in comparison with some HM women (particularly those established in the city), such status distinctions may have a greater effect on their work via processes of citizen-citizen misrecognition. This chapter thus contributes to answering research question 3 in explaining how intersectional labour market stratification, while shifting, continues to be reproduced in particular ways, as well as research question 1 in highlighting the devaluation of Guaraní women’s work within Santa Cruz once they

step out of place as the *india permitida* and their indigeneity is no longer *commodifiable* within colonial-modern status hierarchies.

Chapter 6: Unequal urban encounters: materiality and socio-spatial networks

6.1 Introduction:

The importance of place and embedded social networks for diverse women's labour market opportunities has long been recognized by feminist geographers (e.g. Gilbert 1998; Hanson & Pratt 1995). Research has found that women's 'spatial entrapment' in terms of limited work-based mobility, is intertwined with racial dynamics and inequalities, and varies depending on the local context of residential segregation, socio-spatial networks, and public transport, furthermore that 'spatial boundedness' may also provide an economic resource (Gilbert 1997: 171–2; Gilbert 1998: 595). This literature has provided vital insights into the 'links between space and power' in terms of women's possibilities for work and employment (Gilbert 1998: 596).

Building on Chapter 5, this chapter draws on and aims to contribute to this predominantly western-focused literature by examining the interlocking of gender and ethnicity in the spatial production of economic inequality within the very different context of a South American city, where residential segregation among diverse low-income women is less of a defining feature for differing socio-spatial networks and labour market segmentation/segregation than in contexts such as the US. In particular, the chapter will explore how Guaraní and other diverse low-income women's opportunities for work and income generation, living within the same peri-urban area, are affected by their socio-spatial life worlds and practices, networks and the materiality of the city through unequal urban encounters. While Chapter 5 discussed diverse women's strategies to reconcile productive work with the gendered spatial constraints of peri-urban living and reproductive work, this chapter extends the discussion of space into the city by examining women's opportunities for work through their experiences of, access to and mobility in urban space.

Coward has argued that the plurality of urban citizenship should be re-conceptualised as assemblages of 'infrastructure and the material fabric' that are 'between us in the city' (2012: 468–9). The theoretical framing of this chapter will draw on Coward, as well as Puar's intersectional-

assemblage approach (2012) to interrogate how intersectional labour market disadvantage is produced through uneven histories of material encounters in urban places and through urban spaces, rather than ‘some essential qualities of being an indigenous woman’ (Radcliffe 2015a: 73–4). This approach also resonates with feminist geographers’ work on migration, who have ‘increasingly emphasized the co-constructed nature of identities and places’ (Silvey 2006: 69). This chapter thus builds on the concept of the gender-ethnic assemblage of labour developed thus far to understand how the socio-materiality of urban space affects women’s belonging and inclusion/exclusion as economic citizens within the city. This focus thereby develops Kessler-Harris’ abstract ‘social environment’ required for gendered economic citizenship through rooting this within women’s grounded and context-specific experiences of being and navigating the city. Drawing on Fenster’s use of Yuval-Davis’ concept of ‘multi-layered’ citizenship to explore women’s gendered ‘right to the city’ (Fenster 2005; Yuval-Davis 1999), this chapter shows how increasing necessity to pursue economic opportunities at the urban scale may be experienced as exclusionary for some Guaraní women whose economic lifeworlds and forms of belonging have been embedded in the community and household .

Specifically, this chapter explores how, for a smaller group of Guaraní women (mostly, although not exclusively, women of an older generation), socio-spatial life-worlds affect economic opportunities through the uneven experiences, practical knowledge of and access to the ‘urban fabric’ (Coward 2012: 469). This fabric in ‘between’ women (and employers) as urban citizens provides an intersectional barrier for some Guaraní women in finding work and generating income given their spatial relationship to the city, yet also contains the traces of previous racialised encounters in the city, showing not only how racism can stick to certain bodies in their encounters with others via material objects, but also in collective memories (Leitner 2012; McFarlane 2011b; Swanton 2010; Saldanha 2006).

Building on Chapter 5, such an approach continues to draw on Ahmed’s concept of the ‘strange encounter’ to understand how such relational, embodied encounters are also racialized and classed, as well as Leitner’s Ahmed-influenced concept of ‘spaces of encounter’, in which she highlights how encounters ‘are also bound up with distinct spatialities’ (Leitner 2012: 829–32; Ahmed 2000). However, while Leitner discusses the ‘racial encoding’ of spaces and the ‘othering’ of immigrants

by white residents of small-town America, including emotions of fear as part of white prejudice (2012: 831), I focus on the experience of Guaraní women as the racialised and lower-class ‘other’, within and out of place in different spaces and the material fabric of the city. Fear was also an emotion stressed by Guaraní women, yet produced through the memory of the unequal encounter.

In addition, the chapter will draw on critical Bourdieuan geographical and feminist/intersectional social capital theories to understand how diverse women’s opportunities for employment and informal commerce are differently affected by unequal socio-spatial networks. While some theorists of social consider social capital as a ‘public good’ (e.g. Coleman 1988: S119) in terms of the ‘norms of reciprocity, trust and co-operation’ produced through social networks, such ‘integrationist’ accounts can overlook questions of unequal power and thereby depoliticize the concept (Holt 2008: 240; citation from Adkins 2005: 196–7; Radcliffe 2004: 524). On the other hand, rather than a collective good, Bourdieu defined social capital as ‘resources which are linked to possession of a durable network of...relationships of mutual acquaintance and recognition’ (1986: 248). A Bourdieuan conceptualisation is thus useful for exploring the exclusionary aspect of social capital and the inequalities between groups with access to different resources (Adkins 2005: 197; Hughes & Blaxter 2007: 108; Daly & Silver 2008: 541), thereby highlighting the intersectional power relations or ‘social location’ within which networks are embedded and resources are ‘mobilised’ (Anthias 2007: 793–4; Naughton 2013: 13; Holt 2008: 230; Bruegel 2005).

Furthermore, the geographical literature has pointed to the *spatial* context of social networks (Naughton 2013; Holt 2008). Drawing on Bourdieu, Holt’s theorisation of ‘embodied social capital’ enables understanding of the lived and phenomenological aspect of spatialised networks (2008: 238). Thus, while other literature on social capital in Latin America has pointed to the importance of stratified (gendered) information exchange for economic opportunities (Lomnitz 1994), drawing on Holt, along with the wider geographical literature on (gendered/work-)mobility, I consider uneven access to socio-spatial (and material) urban knowledge as *phenomenological*

knowledge, and as produced through practices of mobility in the city (Law 1999; Dorow, Roseman & Cresswell 2017).¹¹³

In addition, social networks have been used to analyse unequal intersectional economic opportunities via attention to the different kinds of networked relations, in particular whether ‘ties’ are strong/bonding (involving ‘dense’ relations, such as friends and family) or weak/bridging (involving ‘distant’ ties, such as acquaintances) (Portes 1998: 12–15; Smith 2000; Maher & Cawley 2015: 2339; Granovetter 1973; Granovetter 1983: 201–3). Notably, Granovetter argued that ‘weak ties’ are more likely to provide useful job information, particularly for high-skilled workers (1973). On the other hand, strong ties may provide important opportunities for marginal groups, particularly entrepreneurial activities among minorities, leading to patterns of ethnic niching (Portes 1998: 13–4). However, other literature cautions against a crude division of strong vs. weak ties (or bonding vs bridging social capital) highlighting again the importance of situated analysis, taking into account intersecting power relations and social hierarchies (Maher & Cawley 2015: 2339; Anthias 2007; Bruegel 2005: 11–13; Smith 2000). Drawing on these critiques, I explore how social ties within networks (of differing strength, yet also spatial reach) provide uneven opportunities for substantive economic citizenship across inter-categorical groups.

Drawing on the theoretical literature outlined above, this chapter will discuss how the uneven urban encounter and unequal social capital negatively affect possibilities for Guaraní women’s employment and commercial opportunities in three main ways: through household infrastructures (section 6.3); through knowledge of city places and mobility in city spaces (section 6.4); and through socio-spatial networks (via unequally resourced social ties), which affect a larger number of Guaraní women (section 6.5). However, section 6.5 will also draw attention to the important role of (mostly) strong/bonding ties for Guaraní women in finding work, while also perpetuating patterns of gender-ethnic niching (Schrover, Van der Leun & Quispel 2007). The chapter aligns with recent work on the importance of family migration histories for Andean market women’s mobility in Ecuador (sections 6.4 and 6.5) (Vega & Marega 2019), as well as wider work on the importance of market women’s social and family networks in Peru and Bolivia (Seligmann 2004;

¹¹³ Holt also draws on Butler’s concept of performativity (in a synthesis with Bourdieu) to understand the construction of marginal identities through ‘social encounters’ (2008: 238).

Scarborough 2010; Goldstein 2016), yet broadens this focus to look at relationships with urban space and place beyond the paradigmatic site of the Andean market. This chapter predominantly addresses research questions 2 and 3, in contributing to understanding the constitution of intersectional economic stratification, as well as women's experiences of economic citizenship through urban belonging.

6.2 Economic necessity and urbanization

As discussed in Chapter 1, the now diverse peri-urban area used to be comprised of agricultural Guaraní communities. A survey carried out in 2000 with 346 interviewees in 6 Guaraní communities in *Zona Cruz* found that men mostly worked in agriculture, either self-employed or labourers, while women were mostly recorded as 'housewives (*amas de casa*)' (89.4%), with only 3.2% of women declaring salaried work (Ros Izquierdo & Combes 2003: 47–8, 55–6). As discussed in Chapter 4, for Guaraní women, the rapid urbanisation of their communities (in the south-eastern peri-urban area) and the loss of agricultural land, has resulted in increasing necessity for women to seek work, as they can no longer rely on their own crops for basic subsistence and the social reproduction of their families.¹¹⁴ In a focus group, women discussed and noted these changes, not only in terms of women going out to work, but also the decline of male agricultural work in the *chaco* from around the year 2000. In one group on a large sheet of paper, they wrote down under the heading 'Before' (*Antes*):

'They [Guaraní women] were housewives.¹¹⁵ They helped in agriculture. They were in charge of rearing animals. They devoted themselves to the education of their children. They devoted themselves to handicrafts for their own use.' (Guaraní women, FG4)

¹¹⁴ The issue of land is still contentious in the peri-urban area and I do not engage with this in my thesis. For the history of land conflicts among the peri-urban Guaraní see Postero (2007).

¹¹⁵ As explained by one Guaraní participant (GW2) Doña Senobia, there is no word for 'ama de casa' in the Guaraní language, which she thought was not part of Guaraní culture but had been 'imposed' during colonialism, yet now, she said, when a woman does not have a profession she is converted into an 'ama de casa' (thereby providing a recognised status for marginal women). However, she explained that Guaraní does have the different concept '*O iya*' meaning 'la dueña de la casa' (the female owner of the house), which refers to women's role in watching over (*pendiente de*) the house, including food, health, the children, and ensuring the reproduction of Guaraní culture and identity (Informal conversation, July 2020).

A handful of Guaraní women of an older generation explained that they joined their husbands in sowing crops, whereas others went to harvest them.¹¹⁶ Some were also involved in the commercialization of agriculture. For example, Doña Alvira explained how her husband used to plant *yuca* (cassava) and produce such as beans, and she used to sell it by the bag to market traders in a market in the north of the city (GW26). She explained how the bus would arrive at 2am and they would load the produce.¹¹⁷ Other women sold the produce at a large roundabout, San Aurelio, on the 4th ring on the south side of the city beyond Plan 3000. Doña Yoli in her late 60s, informally explained how they would walk to San Aurelio after loading the produce on to a lorry (Fieldnotes 2017). However, not all women were involved in the commercialization of agriculture, seemingly with differences between women even in extended families (GW89). Indeed, Doña Senobia thought that the commercialisation of agriculture in her community was usually carried out by men, who were responsible for going into the city-centre to sell the produce (GW2, informal conversation, July 2020).

As discussed in Chapter 4, given these changes women are now going out to work more. As Doña Clarisa recounted, women used to carry out the work of grinding rice and maize from the *chaco* (agricultural plot/land) in the *tacu* (a large wooden mortar and pestle).¹¹⁸ However now:

'They have to find work then, as well. If they don't work, what are they going to live on also? It's only cash now, well there isn't chaco now. When there is chaco, from there you can take then to eat, make masaco,'¹¹⁹ and now there's none. Just bread.'

GW89

Because of this gendered history of production in the communities, it will be argued in sections 6.3 and 6.4 that for some Guaraní women (particularly, although not exclusively, older women

¹¹⁶ Doña Senobia also thought that although women did carry out agricultural work, this was usually at times of greater labour need, such as during the harvest, aligning with the phrasing of FG4 as 'helping' in agriculture.

¹¹⁷ Of all the Guaraní women I interviewed who had participated in informal commerce, Doña Alvira, most strongly identified as a 'vendedora' (saleswoman).

¹¹⁸ This gendered labour still continues in rural communities (Anthias 2017: 271–2).

¹¹⁹ A dish comprised of mashed *yuca* or plantain.

who were *not* involved in the commercialisation of agriculture), socio-spatial life-worlds have had a particular effect on women's economic opportunities through limited experience and practical knowledge of the urban fabric and infrastructure beyond their peri-urban communities. Furthermore, women of an older generation in the peri-urban area who did have a longer history of going outside the community to work as washer-women (such as walking to Plan 3000) had not always known about other work such as kitchen assistants, while lack of transport meant that leaving the community regularly used to be problematic (GW65, GW116). As Doña Clarisa explained, after the loss of their *chaco*, she went through a difficult economic situation as she had simply did not know there was work outside the community:

'It seems that 5 years ago we all went out [of the community], because [before] we all just stayed here, suffering from hunger. It turns out there was work.'

GW89

Thus, the life-worlds of many Guaraní women growing up in the peri-urban area have been particularly embedded in the spaces of the home and peri-urban community and outside of city space. This close-spatial history with the home and community provides some context for the nervousness and embarrassment felt by some Guaraní women, not only to go out to sell (as discussed in Chapter 4), but also to look for work in the city. As Doña Verena, a Guaraní woman explained:

'The difficulty, let's say, for the women from here, I see it like this, no? That, let's say, they are timid. They are sometimes timid to go out like that to sell outside their house, they are embarrassed. To go out to the city, to look for work: the same, let's say. They don't do it but it's because of timidity, it's not because they just don't want to but rather because they don't dare [...] I used to feel like that because I didn't go out of here from the house, let's say. All the time I was here at home, I didn't know (no conocía) [...] I didn't even go out to the street, let's say. I think that my timidity was because of that.'

(GW106)

It also helps to explain why some highland women may feel less fear than Guaraní women or be more ‘*entradoras*’ even when recent migrants to the city, given longer histories of spatial mobility and work outside the home, even if this work may not have been in informal trade or commerce. For example, some HM women explained about their role in looking after livestock, which required a certain amount of spatial mobility for example in shepherding animals, with one HM women continuing to graze her cows across the peri-urban area and a further her horses, despite increasing difficulties with urbanization (GW105, PW3). One HM woman (who is now a *comerciante*, currently selling plastic buckets as an ambulatory market-vendor) even explained that from a young age she worked as a *palliri*¹²⁰ in the mines (GW84).

6.3 Household infrastructures and language

This section shows how the experience of domestic work in the ‘luxury’ houses of the *Cruzeña* middle and upper classes is experienced as exclusionary by low-income, racialized women through the uneven household world ‘in between’.

Over the course of two interview sessions, Doña Camila explained her employment history and the work of women in her community (GW46): because Guaraní housing was, and continues to be, so different to wealthy urban households, when she started as a domestic employee she did not know how to carry out the cleaning required, such as mopping (tile) floors. Her rented house has floors made of cement, but her mother’s house nearby still has earth floors. Doña Belinda similarly explained that it is difficult for some Guaraní women – particularly older women – to learn the tasks required for a domestic worker, given differences in the materiality of living space, furthermore ‘when one doesn’t know how to do anything, you get fired’. She recounted:

‘[Those of] us who live here, let’s say, it’s not like they live over there, you see, in luxury houses. In contrast we sweep here [and] already the yard it’s clean then. In contrast there

¹²⁰ A gendered role, sifting through left-over rocks (Chambilla Mamani 2016: 6 and fn6).

it's another matter, you see? One has to prepare the things, how to clean the house, the furniture, with liquid then and there are some that don't know [...] It's difficult then'

GW103

Guaraní houses in the peri-urban area were historically constructed of mud and thatch, with a roof of *motacú* palm (Postero 2007: 62). Over the last 20 years or so, families have gradually replaced these, usually with one-story brick houses, slowly building room by room, although a few of the poorest houses I visited in 2017 still had rooms with walls of corrugated iron and even tarpaulin. As I got to know the peri-urban area, I learnt that I could sometimes identify which houses were Guaraní according to the quality of the housing. While most houses now have floors of concrete, there are also some households with earth floors. In 2013, a survey carried out in 5 peri-urban Guaraní communities found that the percentage of households among the communities who had earth floors ranged from 17% to 100%, while households with only one bedroom ranged between 34% to 100% (APCOB 2014: 124). Household possessions, white goods and furniture are also sparse for some families. Thus, practical knowledge of household labour in the peri-urban community is quite different from that required in central urban households or offices.

As an illustration of Doña Belinda's point, I spent one morning at Doña Guillermina's house as she tidied up one of the two rooms her family shares around a central yard (GW66). While one of the rooms is constructed of brick, the second room is made of corrugated iron. As this was a colder day, she invited me to sit inside the second room. After making the beds and tidying away, Doña Guillermina then swept the earth floor. After sweeping the floor, she sloshed water from a bucket around the floor at the entrance to the room to prevent the sometimes-heavy winds from entering and whipping up the earth.

Doña Camila went on to explain that in her community, only herself and younger (Guaraní) women go out to look for work in the city as domestic workers because of the differences in material life worlds, which means that older Guaraní women are nervous to work in city households. She tells me the story of her cousin, who she says is 'scared' to look for work in case she breaks a household item, or something happens in the rich houses where 'these *señoras* like to decorate everything nicely'. What is more, older women are 'fearful' of being criticized or receiving bad treatment

from the *señora* if they do something wrong in this unequal material encounter, and for that reason some Guaraní women prefer the laborious laundry work of washing clothes by hand:

‘Well Guaraní women are more fearful because there are señoras who are very strict or very bad or short-tempered, it is for this reason that they [Guaraní women], as they have got used to living like this, to live in their house, to go wash [clothes]. In laundry work no-one complains about this, [that] it is badly washed or this [other thing] here. Nothing, no-one says anything to her. In contrast in the work like that of cleaning or of cooking or any of those other things, there the patronas are the ones who look, then, no? That [their work] is bad or that it’s okay. And that is what, it seems, makes them uncomfortable’

GW46

Photo of woman redacted for online publication permissions reasons.

Guaraní woman in her kitchen, 2017

Doña Camila’s explanation illuminates how intersecting structures of class and race are materialized in everyday encounters between middle-upper class women and low-income Guaraní women through particular household infrastructures, such as the tiled floors or fancy ornaments, which may mark some Guaraní women as strangers who are ‘out of place’ (Ahmed 2000: 21). As Silvey notes ‘the structures of gender, race and class play into determining whose bodies belong where’ and the ‘subjective...experience’ of place (2006: 70). The unequal material encounter and

the assemblage of household infrastructure as experienced ‘in-between’ the *patrona* and domestic worker thus linger as traces in the memory of the unequal encounter, and in the fear that is generated. As another Guaraní woman put it, she is ‘scared’ to look for work in case she finds a person who does not ‘like her work’ (GW107).

Building on the discussion in Chapter 5, in looking for domestic work, language also functions as an exclusionary assemblage ‘in-between’ in the city. Doña Esperanza for example told me how language limited her ability to look for work by herself in the city (GW13). She was born in Charagua in the countryside but came to a peri-urban community when she was 25. Unusually for a younger woman, she is also illiterate and only recently learnt Spanish. At the time of the interview she was not undertaking paid work due to the responsibilities of caring for her young children. However, when she arrived in the community, she went with other Guaraní women to look for work in (private) employment agencies. She said that she could not look by herself because of limited fluency in Spanish. As Doña Eva told me, these language difficulties, combined with the widespread perception of insecurity in the city, results in further fear for some Guaraní women in looking for work:

‘Sometimes women don’t know how to speak much castellano [...] they are afraid as I say to you, no? That sometimes they can’t speak much castellano, they don’t understand much. And they are thinking that, if I’m here speaking about work, no? ‘At that hour you’re going to work until that hour’ and nevertheless it means something else you see? And seeing it like that, in that way let’s say, it could be that sometimes we have this fear because we don’t know knowledge (no sabemos conocimiento), let’s say.’

GW116

While many other Guaraní women did work in roles other than washing clothes, the same nervousness and fear may also constrain possibilities to look for other types of work. As another woman explained:

‘As we don’t go out much to the centre it’s because of that I think we are embarrassed to take on [a job], to learn. I think it’s for that, for the embarrassment that one can’t do [the

work...]. It could be because one can't speak well. Because sometimes we speak Guaraní, we speak more Guaraní and then sometimes the other, in Castellano, we can't speak well.'

GW88

However, experiences of uneven knowledge in material encounters in domestic work were also recounted to me by a small number of Quechua-speaking highland migrant women, which were similarly intertwined with language difficulties and low educational levels. As one woman explained, when she migrated to Sucre from her provincial community at 15 years old, she did not know how to do the domestic work required, yet in addition, she did not speak much Spanish and so had to keep asking what things were called (GW92). Doña Paula also explained that it is different in the countryside and so she had to learn how to cook, clean and iron clothes (GW37). These women are now small-scale street-vendors but started their labour histories outside of their agricultural communities in urban domestic work. Some women explained they were treated well by employers, while more commonly other women such as Doña Ursula, as discussed in Chapter 5 were treated with racism and contempt. However, unlike peri-urban Guaraní women with extended family networks, HM women may sometimes have little option but to look for paid domestic work *cama adentro* (live-in) and then stay in this work until they have increased their urban knowledge and economic position, as well as social networks, despite the suffering experienced. As Doña Marisela explained, when she started working (also at 15 years old), she suffered initially but then went on to find better paid jobs in domestic work:

'I couldn't do it, let's say, I couldn't. Living in provinces is different, living in the city is different [...] there I suffered. But, like that I learnt, little by little to do [the work], I learnt to clean, I learnt to cook, I learnt everything [...] To mop, to clean the windows, to use the machines, the Hoover, even the floor, all that.'

GW113

This section has argued that luxurious city household infrastructures as well as language function as exclusionary assemblages between Guaraní women yet also some HM women in the city, thereby limiting access to work. However, peri-urban Guaraní women, unlike many recently arrived HM migrants can rely on social networks within the peri-urban area to pursue other forms

of paid work such as washing clothes, highlighting agency in the context of intersectional structural constraints.

6.4 Urban neighbourhoods and navigating the city

However, it is not simply household goods and furniture, which mark Guaraní women as out of place, but the difference in larger infrastructures and women's experience of navigating between peri-urban and central areas. Unlike other diverse women, peri-urban Guaraní women have often not acquired the socio-spatial practical knowledge of being and belonging in city space via spatially expansive social networks, given that Guaraní women's strong ties are to a large extent among extended family and neighbours within the peri-urban area. As will be elaborated below, the limited ability of some Guaraní women to get across the city, as well as their unease in urban space, contrasts with other diverse peri-urban women with different migration histories and relationships to city space. This section thus aligns with the findings of Vega and Marega's recent research with street vendors in Quito, where they find that 'intergenerational commercial traditions [are] learned and transmitted through a history of *mobility* to and around the city' (2019: ELD para 2; my italics). However, my findings add to this work and wider literature on the mobility of racialised Andean street vendors by contrasting these experiences with the limited mobility experienced by lowland Guaraní women, which also constrains their ability to look for work and employment. Thus, as argued by Dorow et al. 'a mobility lens offers "a critical phenomenology" of the dynamic relations between the everyday lifeworlds' and wider socio-economic 'contexts' of work (2017: 1).

One day I accompanied Doña Sofia into the city-centre, where she had decided to look for cleaning work in one of the new high-rise condominium construction projects (Fieldnotes 2017). Her two sisters were working for a construction company in different buildings, and she was hoping that she would also be able to get a job through her sisters. She had moved to the peri-urban area 10 years ago, having lived with her family in low-income neighbourhoods in the city for some years after migrating from a provincial community. Yet, despite her familiarity with the city and fluent Spanish, she sometimes has difficulties in navigating the central areas. On a previous day that

week, she had also gone to look for work in the condominiums but was not sure of which bus to take and had ended up a little way from where she had meant to be. Being unsure of how to get to the condominiums, she had gone back home again.¹²¹

As we waited for her sister in a wealthy, exclusive neighbourhood in the north of the city, we watched as various smart looking cars drove by (very different to the old, sometimes battered taxis in the peri-urban area, which some Guaraní men work as drivers). Doña Sofia thought that in these central urban neighbourhoods most people drive rather than walk because of safety issues. The quiet streets are very different to Doña Sofia's community, where it is common to greet others by name and where, during the working week, mostly women and children make their way to and from the stores, the school, the medical centre, and houses of family or friends.

I asked Doña Sofia if she would like to live in a neighbourhood like this or in a high-rise condominium. She remarked that the neighbourhood is for people with money and explained that she would be afraid to live in a condominium, so high up, and that she would feel trapped inside a gated house. While Doña Sofia feels confident enough to navigate the city and look for work in these condominiums (even if finding her way around is not always successful), she is also uneasy within this urban infrastructure that is different to her own life-world, where Guaraní households are not generally more than one story or gated, and where families continue to spend much of their social and domestic lives outside, despite new constructions (see also Postero 2007).¹²² As another Guaraní woman explained, when she went to work as a cleaner, she saw a different way of life. She told me the families there did not have a yard but lived closed in, without animals (GW41).

¹²¹ Despite its layout in rings (*anillos*), Santa Cruz can be confusing to get around for those unfamiliar with the city. I used google maps and a smart-phone app for bus routes. However, for many Guaraní women, because of poor literacy and/or lack of resources to buy a phone or internet credit, this technology is not accessible.

¹²² While many new houses in the peri-urban area were gated, it was unusual to find a Guaraní house which was gated.



Looking for work in an upper-class neighbourhood, 2017

However, Doña Sofia's uneasiness and fear of feeling trapped has a real basis within abusive practices of domestic employers in city households, highlighting how socio-spatial urban lifeworlds, uneven urban infrastructure and unequal relations of power entangle in urban encounters. As shown by Doña Camila's experience in Chapter 6, domestic workers are sometimes quite literally locked up in these gated houses. The practice of locking up workers thus functions as a form of racialized containment within privileged white-mestizo neighbourhoods to contain the perceived threat of the Other. As Dwyer and Jones have argued 'whiteness does not represent its racialized Other as invisible but rather holds it in a state of transparent obviousness', including

through practices of surveillance (2000: 215). In containing Doña Camila as the ‘recognisable’ thief, her employers thus deny her recognition as an economic citizen of equal worth.

While Doña Sofia is mostly able to navigate the city to look for work, this is not always the case for other Guaraní women who have spent their formative years outside the city, particularly women of an older generation for whom familiarity with city spaces may be limited, difficulties which are further compounded by limited fluency in Spanish or literacy. For example, even though Doña Danna, a Guaraní woman in her mid-40s, works in the city as a cleaner, she explains that knowledge of the city is still a problem for her in looking for work. She explained that if she were to look for work in the newspaper and an advert stated a particular avenue, it would be difficult for her to get there (GW47).

Guaraní women’s limited mobility in the city is powerfully illustrated by the story of Doña Guillermina, who is in her early 40s. For around 15 years she has worked once a week for two families in the city-centre, washing clothes and cleaning (GW66). She grew up in various places in the countryside as her father worked as an agricultural labourer. They moved to one of the peri-urban communities, where her mother had family, when she was an adolescent. As with other women of an older generation, particularly Guaraní and HM women, Doña Guillermina never had the opportunity to attend school and is illiterate (although she can sign her name when she is not too nervous to hold the pen). She explained that around 8 years ago she went to an adult literacy class but left after a week as she felt embarrassed, highlighting how ‘dehumanization’ is one of the ‘primary expressions of the coloniality of Being’ (Maldonado-Torres 2007: 257).

She works for relatives of her husband’s employer. As she does not know the city well, to get to work she takes one bus to Plan 3000, where unusually she is picked up and dropped off by her employers. She tells me that she would like to look for full-time salaried domestic work in another house, however this is difficult. Apart from not having the correct documentation (an ID card) which is increasingly required by employers, she finds it hard to navigate the city, as she expressed it, ‘it’s difficult to walk’:

'Not knowing how to read, not knowing where to go (no saber caminar) [...] that is difficult for me [...] If one knows how to read, well you notice where you are or where you got off [the bus], in what place [...] When I had recently [started] going into the city, I almost got lost [...] arriving at the Ramada there everything got thrown out of my mind [...] then it was 11 at night, I was still going round in circles there [...] I approached a policeman and said to him, I'm lost, I don't know where I am [...] Well they put me on a bus and by then I was crying, I didn't know what to do [...] for that reason my daughters are afraid for me to go out by myself'

GW66

There are several dimensions of Doña Guillermina's frightening and bewildering encounter of the unknown streets of *La Ramada* (a large central market) that are worth teasing out in more detail. Firstly, her story which took place a few years back (around 5-6 years as an approximation), is not one of direct discrimination or racism – in fact, she was treated kindly and with consideration by the police, who helped her on to the correct bus and even paid her bus fare. However, what this story does highlight are the traces of structural discrimination, particularly educational, at the intersection of gender-race-class-generation. Educational inequalities affect women's employment opportunities not only through formal *titulos*, but also through their ability to navigate the urban fabric which also presupposes a basic 'lettered' literacy for those who are not familiar with the streets and city spaces and do not have practical, phenomenological knowledge learnt through experience (Maldonado-Torres 2007; Aparicio & Blaser 2008). As Doña Belinda who was attending local adult education classes in 2017 explained:

'When one, let's say, knows how to read, one learns everything [...] what there is in the book, you see, anything. When one goes into the centre, one looks at the letters and one knows then how to read as well. When one doesn't know how to read, well, one doesn't know what it says also. One walks around just like that, then, without knowing.'

GW103

Secondly, Doña Guillermina's story highlights the *gendered* structural racism, in which, historically, women have had less access to educational opportunities than men (given patriarchal norms around women's education prevalent in previous decades, as well as young men's still obligatory military service for which literacy is needed). For example, her husband, who is also Guaraní, was only able to study until the second year of primary school, however, unlike his wife knows how to read and write. However, her story also shows how women's responsibilities for social reproduction affect their encounters in the city. When she was going into the city on this traumatic occasion, she was taking a shirt to her husband who was working overnight:

'My husband said to me, 'let's go to my patrón's house' [...] We went and my husband hadn't brought a shirt and he said to me 'do you know where to go?', he said, 'do you remember from where we came' [...] 'Yes', I said to him [...] I just said that to him for the sake of it. 'Then, go bring me a shirt from home', he said, because he had to work though until dawn 'and you are going to stay here also to keep me company'. 'Okay', I said to him [...] he gave me my bus fare, I came back, I arrived okay here. Then my children were little [...] I gave them dinner [...] I went back.

GW66

Unlike Doña Guillermina, her husband is confident in navigating the city and also controls the financial resources to do so, giving her enough for her return fare. Furthermore, in going back to the community, she was carrying out the gendered work of social reproduction in fetching clothing for her husband and in looking after her children. As in other households, Doña Guillermina, along with her older daughters, carries out the majority of domestic and caring work (Chapter 4). As she drily noted, while she cooks, her husband is resting, lying down. In addition, her husband's work also involves some time away from the home, including staying overnight as a watchman.

However, Doña Guillermina's closer spatial relationship with the home and her responsibility in looking after her family also affects her spatial mobility as – unlike her husband, as well as other diverse women – she has not learnt through every-day experience and through her dense social ties, the practical urban knowledge of navigating the city. I do not know whether in the conversation she had with her husband they spoke in Guaraní or Spanish. However, in the Spanish

words that she chose to convey the conversation, her husband asked her if she ‘knows where to go’ (*sabes caminar?*). This is also the phrase she used to describe her difficulties in looking for work in the city. However, the phrase ‘saber caminar’ could be translated in two ways as ‘to know where to go’ and, more literally, as ‘to know how to walk’.¹²³ I suggest that both translations contribute to understanding her socio-spatial mobility. Not only does she not know *where* to walk, given that she has not spent much time in the spaces of the city and so does not have the experiential knowledge of city spaces, neither does she have the ‘lettered’ knowledge of ‘how to walk’ in unfamiliar urban space. Urban space is thus exclusionary for her given the intersectional structural conditions that have formed her socio-spatial and phenomenological-epistemological lifeworld.

Thus, while some *comerciantes* are able to challenge the public-private distinction through bringing caring and domestic work into their commercial work (chapter 4; see also Vega & Marega 2019), in the experience of some Guaraní women such as Doña Guillermina, this spatial divide is key to understanding limited gendered mobility and indeed their ‘right to the city’, as women’s caring work in the home intertwines with wider intersectional structural inequalities (Fenster 2005: 229). Thus, as discussed in Chapter 1, while this thesis is sympathetic to the aims of social reproduction theory in breaking down artificial divides between public/private and productive/reproductive, Guaraní women’s work of social reproduction, in fact, largely continues in the private spaces of the home (in contrast to other diverse women), even while they also bring some productive activities into the home (washing clothes, baking bread etc.). Thus, the distinction between public-private space continues to be useful to understand the lifeworld and constrained spatial mobility for some women.

The difficulty of not knowing how to navigate the city was also explained by Doña Miranda, a Guaraní woman in her late 40s, who washes clothes from home for her cousin (who works in street cleaning). Doña Miranda was born in Isoso and brought to the community when she was a baby. Like Doña Guillermina she is also illiterate. She also tried going to adult literacy classes the

¹²³ Notably ‘saber’ was also used within the peri-urban area to mean ‘to be accustomed/to be used to’ (doing something), which also draws on the experiential aspect of saber above. For example, one Guaraní participant explained how she started going out to work after her husband died by telling me ‘no sabia trabajar’, i.e. I didn’t know how to work/I didn’t used to work (GW131).

previous year but said that she did not understand and so did not go again. She would like to look for work as a kitchen assistant but there is no one to take her:

'I want to go there to the centre [...] but I don't know how to walk (no sé andar) you see, by myself. Because of that they just bring me washing here [...] I want to work as a kitchen assistant, but no, I don't go. No one is taking me [...] Here in the Villa they say that they are looking, but [...] I don't have anyone to take me. Because I think that there they pay well, you see? Washing clothes doesn't pay well. My cousin is paying 12Bs but I'm going to tell her to pay me more because washing is difficult.'

GW32

She had gone to the Rotonda looking for work on a previous day with her sister-in-law, but they were not able to find work as there were too many people looking. They were told to come back another day and so they had just lost money on the 4Bs for the round-trip bus fare. This story also illuminates that not only is the practical urban knowledge of walking the streets necessary to find work, but also knowledge of the right spaces of work (as well as social ties with urban knowledge, as discussed further in section 6.5). She had heard that there were jobs in the Villa, a low-income urban neighbourhood, but as there was no one to take her there and, in particular, to the food stalls that were hiring, she went instead unsuccessfully to the Rotonda (in Plan 3000) which is socially and spatially closer to her life world.

While the majority of younger Guaraní women had a greater knowledge of the city's spaces and places, some younger women may still experience lack of urban knowledge as a barrier to finding work. For example, one young Guaraní woman, Doña Cloe who is in her early 20s and finished secondary school, told me that a few years previously, before she found her most recent job as a kitchen assistant in a central market, she decided to help her mother at home as she was not used to moving around the city, which is not only far in distance from the peri-urban area, but also her life-world, which is spatially rooted in the community and in particular the evangelical church, as well as her home. She explained why she had not actively looked for work as a market kitchen assistant:

'Because it's far away and in that time maybe I didn't know the market. I only knew Los Pozos [a central market]. Because mostly I didn't go out of my house. From my house I went to the church, from my church to my house like that. And if I went anywhere, I went with my mum. I didn't go out like that.'

GW112

Doña Eva currently works as a domestic worker to the north of the city-centre. Before finding her current role through her sister's employer, she had gone to look for work with a friend in the industrial park where there were various factories making dried goods, such as biscuits (as well as a Coca Cola factory). It was her dream to work in such a factory, she explained, as she thought she would make more money. The factory doorman told them to come back on a certain day with various documents. However, her friend found another job and Doña Eva did not have anyone to go with, so she had not gone by herself. Crucially, she did not have the resources to comply with all the documentation required. However, she contrasted this nervousness of looking for work in unfamiliar urban places, with looking for work washing clothes in Plan 3000:

'[It was] the first time that I had gone and, let's say, without knowing those places, it's scary (da miedo), you see? [...] So, it's better, let's say, to go with someone or it could be one or two people to accompany you, to go to look in those places. In contrast, that I used to go and knock on doors like that to wash clothes, I know Plan 3000, let's say, it's nearer to us, we used to do our shopping around there so all that little sector one knows and goes [with] confidence, let's say, also.'

G116

However, non-Guaraní women who share similar gendered socio-spatial life-worlds also experience a similar nervousness in navigating the city. Doña Violeta was born in the Chiquitanía and has been living in one of the communities since 2002 (she is married to a Guaraní man). She goes along with a friend into the city a couple of times a week on a casual basis to clean and wash clothes in three houses. She told me that without her friend, she will not go into the city to work:

'Let's say, I came here [to Santa Cruz] but I don't know [the city] very well, and then I came to [the community] and here I stayed. And I met her and she is like a godmother to my daughter. And so we got to know each other and I went to work with her. I go to work only with her; I don't go anywhere else [...] I don't go out because I don't know around there by myself [...] The other day I almost got lost! She went and left me, and I almost got lost.'

GW37

These uneasy, fearful encounters in the houses, spaces and streets of the city are, however, different to other women living in the same community with different spatial relationships to the city, particularly concerning commercial work. Examining such relationships also helps to provide the socio-spatial context for the production and circulation of ethnic norms around commerce. This knowledge is often accumulated in family networks. A few non-Guaraní women, largely children of highland migrants, who had moved to the peri-urban area either to buy land (or because their families bought land) explained their long history of street commerce as children, resulting in their easy movement through the city. As Doña Felicia explained:

'When I was a girl, that is to say until I was 16 years old, I went to sell bags at the Feria Barrio Lindo, I went to the Cumavi [...] My mum used to take us when I was 6 years, she started to take us to sell little seeds there in the Ramada, where the terminal was before, there. We used to sell little seeds to the coaches, to the buses [...] Then later at 7, at 8 years old, I went by myself to sell at the Feria Barrio Lindo [...] sometimes I used to go to the Parque Urbano to sell cake.'

GW100

As explained by Doña Felicia, she had started selling with her mother, supporting findings in the wider Andean literature of intergenerational transmission of informal commercial knowledge (Scarborough 2010; Seligmann 2004; Vega & Marega 2019). As highlighted by Vega and Marega with regards to street sellers in Quito, 'many women come from family trajectories linked to the retail trade, with specific know-how: knowing the where, when, how, and what of selling...since they were girls' (2019 ELD para 29). Thus, the ethnic norms around commerce as discussed in

Chapter 3 are also reinforced and intertwine with different histories of navigating, as well as labouring in city spaces.

For example, Doña Elena (GW110) has a long history of work outside the domestic sphere. As well as helping her mother in their *pension*, as a small child she worked as a street vender with her siblings and her mother. Her family moved to Santa Cruz when she was one year old from Cochabamba. She grew up in the city and moved to the peri-urban area when she bought a plot of land. She now carries out various activities, including sometimes working as an ambulatory seller of *retama* when she needs the money.¹²⁴ This work requires confident knowledge of spatial practices of work within the city, including dealing with some aggressive competition with other street vendors:

'I go to the Pozos market, to the Ramada, to the Abasto or, that is to say, I go to all the markets [...] There you can make 100 per day sometimes, no? Depending on your throat, if you shout 'retama', you have to shout loudly [...] the bus drivers more than anyone buy that to put a little leaf on their bus [...] Sometimes [there's a] fight because there's lots of us who sell that [...the other sellers] try to fight with you, but you ignore them, you just laugh and carry on walking'

GW110

However, Guaraní women's spatial relationship with the city also contrasts with other lowland indigenous groups. As discussed in Chapter 1, many peri-urban Guaraní women are not themselves migrants to the city; rather the city enveloped their communities through processes of rapid urbanisation. While the migration histories of other lowland indigenous groups are complex and diverse, the history of the peri-urban Guaraní broadly contrasts with other groups, such as the Guarayo and Chiquitano with recent individual migration to the city, but also with the Ayoreo, who unlike the other lowland groups dispersed in the city predominantly live in two (peripheral) urban communities formed in the 1980s and 2000s (Roca Ortiz 2008; APCOB 2014).¹²⁵ In comparison with the peri-urban Guaraní, other lowland women may have greater familiarity with

¹²⁴ *Retama* is a yellow leafed plant, used for protection and blessing.

¹²⁵ A further peri-urban community founded in the early 2000s was abandoned as a result of internal problems (Roca Ortiz 2008: 85).

and mobility in the city through migrant networks, even if recent migrants. For example, the Chiquitano community meet in an urban space within the 4th ring to socialise, play football and ‘build labour networks,’ while as discussed in Chapter 5, Ayoreo women sell handicrafts together in central city space (APCOB 2014: 67).¹²⁶

However, Guaraní women who have a greater history of mobility in the city may also have the socio-spatial practical knowledge to develop commercial activities as shown by Doña Florencia, who is exceptional among Guaraní participants in having worked previously as an urban ambulatory seller (GW67). Notably, her early life history is similar to Doña Guillermina in some respects. She was born in Charagua, and then as a girl lived elsewhere in the countryside for several years for her father’s work as a *vaquero* (cowherd). They moved to the peri-urban area when she was 12 years old as her father was tired of working for the *patrones*. She is also illiterate as her father would not allow her to attend school. However, despite these similarities, unlike Doña Guillermina, she has had a long history of work in the city. When she was still a very young child, at 8 years old, she worked as a nanny.¹²⁷ When her husband became ill in 2003, she once again started to undertake various paid roles in the city, including cleaning, elderly care, and as a kitchen assistant. However, she also worked for around a year as an ambulatory seller of *tamales*.¹²⁸ She explained:

‘Here I sold little but to finish selling I have to go sell in the city, because sales are better in the city [...] I used to walk until 3 [...] From here to the Trompillo, you see? There I got down [from the bus] and I went by foot [...] sometimes if I hadn’t finished, I used to go until the Ramada by foot, selling my tamales until they are gone’

GW67

¹²⁶ The 4th ring is the outermost unbroken ring. Neighbourhoods outside the fourth ring are generally poorer, while major commercial centres and business headquarters are clustered within and around the 4th ring (Kirshner 2013: 548, 550).

¹²⁷ The minimum working age in Bolivia is 14 years old. The MAS had reduced the age to 10 years, but this was overturned in 2018.

¹²⁸ She told me that she liked selling *tamales* as she could give half of them to her own children, which thereby also helped her in her work of social reproduction (see chapter 4). *Tamales* are a savoury snack of corn and cheese cooked in maize leaves.

She is confident in moving around the city, even though she cannot read because of her long history since she was a child of being in what are now central city spaces:

‘Since [I was] young I have just known around there. It was only a neighbourhood, you see? Later, it was town (pueblo) then, so I just always had an idea [...] The Trompillo we have known when my father was still alive, it’s that he used to work there, he had his patrón [in] the Trompillo [...] when I was 8 years old I knew it.’

GW67

This section has shown how women’s different socio-spatial life-worlds affect their opportunities for work through uneven encounters with material infrastructure and knowledge of city space and place. Given commonalities among life-worlds within groups, differential opportunities for work and employment tend to be intercategorical. For example, young women who have grown up in the city as street traders have a greater knowledge of city, spaces and places than Guaraní women who have spent most of their working lives in the peri-urban communities or in neighbourhoods close by. However, diverse women across categories who share similar spatial life-worlds may experience the city as inclusionary or exclusionary in similar ways.

6.5 Socio-spatial networks

The literature on internal migration within the Andes has long highlighted the importance of social networks for women’s urban market work or street vending. In Bolivia, highland migrant women’s complex socio-spatial networks have long provided an important economic resource (Lazar 2007a; Rivera Cusicanqui 1996a; Goldstein 2016). In line with this literature, my findings highlight the important role of friends and acquaintances for HM women’s ongoing commercial work. Thus, the relative ‘strength’ of these ties seems less important than their situated location within networks of informal commerce and urban knowledge, which may also stretch beyond the peri-urban area. For example, Doña Tavia recounted how friendships helped her to develop her commercial work when her HM friend encouraged her to sell ice-creams and they went to sell together (GW69). She had also managed take a market fruit stall on loan many years ago through social networks and a

friend had recently told her that they were now loaning stalls to sell ‘*caldo*’ (a soup sold early in the morning) in a market on the way to Plan 3000 and she was thinking of taking up this opportunity. Given the expense in buying a stall, the loaning of a stall represents an important opportunity, yet without finding out about these opportunities through social networks, these are difficult to obtain. As Doña Alvira, the Guaraní *comerciante*, explained, she would like to have a market stall, but it is expensive (GW26). Doña Tavia recounted:

‘Among [female] friends we let each other know [...] you might know (conocer), [so] you can tell me ‘let’s go and take on loan, there are stalls’, like that. Then you know and I don’t know so you take me, we go like that. A friend like that, some know, we let each other know amongst us. Now they also told me, if you don’t sell here, there are stalls to loan in the Castillo [...] one looks for where there are more sales.’

GW69

As with Doña Miranda, the Guaraní woman who was wishing for someone to ‘take’ her to the food stalls in the hope of gaining casual employment, Doña Tavia explains that within her friendship group of highland migrants, they also ‘take’ each other to commercial opportunities. These economic practices can thus be conceptualised as a shared phenomenological resource of collective mobility, which accrue unevenly across gendered-ethnic networks.

Furthermore, while Doña Inesa proudly told me that women who came from the interior were not afraid to work when they arrived in Santa Cruz (Chapter 3), a couple of highland migrants did express initial embarrassment to sell on the street (GW81, GW113). Doña Marisela who now has her *pensión* explained that when she started street-vending she ‘was scared of people’ and ‘embarrassed’ and was worried that people ‘were going to laugh at her’, highlighting many similarities to Guaraní women’s fear of selling (GW113). Gradually she lost this fear, but crucially she also had encouragement from (seemingly distant) acquaintances (she says ‘people’ rather than friends) who were also *comerciantes*. She recounted:

‘The people used to say to me, you can’t give up, you have to be strong [...] And I didn’t give up. And sometimes there were no sales and I had to not give up because one day you sell, the other day you don’t sell, that is to say, you have to stay positive.’

GW113

Furthermore, such support even from weak ties, may also provide an explanation for how some HM women are better able to get small businesses off the ground than Guaraní women, even though they also start selling small value goods. For example, Doña Marisela started selling refresco (usually sold for 1Bs a small glass). Yet, while certainly precarious, street selling may provide more opportunities for advancement through the informal commercial ‘ladder’:

‘I started to sell with a bucket of refresco [...] I started to sell like that little by little, then I bought myself a wheelbarrow, from there little by little, I started to sell asadito [a meat patty...] until now I’m here’

GW113

Such work histories further de-essentialise differences in commercial practices among Guaraní and HM women and help to explain why some highland migrants may feel more comfortable selling in public places, in addition to the different histories of changing public racism as discussed in Chapter 5. It is not necessarily the case, therefore, that highland migrant women are less afraid or embarrassed about selling in public space without prior experience. However, encouragement from social networks (across weak as well as strong ties) may enable some highland migrant women to feel more comfortable in their encounters in the public space of streets and markets, shared with other vendors who are fellow-vendors, acquaintances and friends as well as competitors (See also Seligmann 2004 in the Peruvian context). Such histories also challenge the stigmatising representations of stay-at-home Guaraní women as ‘lazy’, yet also of highland women as ‘mercantilist’, given that highland women’s histories of being in public space with friends might provide motivation to continue with commercial activities beyond purely economic motivations. As a HM woman explained, she decided to switch from domestic work to vending some years back as she got tired of the work; in contrast she was ‘relaxed (*tranquila*)’ selling on the street, ‘speaking with [her] friends’ and ‘laughing’ with them (GW93).

Furthermore, my findings add to the literature on the importance of social networks for popular commerce within Latin America, in terms of the uneven stretching of social networks across city places. Thus, while highland migrant women's networks enable public street vending through commercial knowledge, mobility and situated practices of claiming public space (Vega & Marega 2019), some C/LM women's networks, forged through privileged access to other urban places allow, in some cases, for the stretching of peri-urban businesses across the city. For example, while Guaraní women make bread or foodstuffs to sell from the home and community, a small number of C/LM women are able to sell foodstuffs and other products (in particular jewellery and cosmetics from catalogues) because of more extensive socio-spatial networks and access to more lucrative urban space. For example, while various diverse women, including Guaraní women, make *patascas* for sale from home early on a Sunday morning,¹²⁹ I was not aware of any Guaraní woman who sold her *patascas* away from her home. Doña Rubi, on the other hand, a C/LM woman, was also able to sell her *patascas* in a low-income urban neighbourhood outside a family member's rented house (transported by her brother in his car). She explained that they sell more (100 plates) in the urban neighbourhood as there is less competition and more demand. Another C/LM woman also explained how she is also able to sell her home-made foodstuffs to her father's colleagues (in customs at the airport) at a higher price. As she says the price depends on the place:

'My dad takes 12 bottles for me, 15 bottles of somó¹³⁰ and every bottle without sugar is at 10 Bs [...] He says 'my daughter made this, buy it' [...] So it's an extra help, it helps me a lot [...] I also sell the somó here but here I sell it cheaply [...] at 5 Bs [...It's] more expensive [in the airport] because people have more money'

GW51

However, while social networks do not generally seem to provide Guaraní women with better commercial opportunities, they are important for finding paid employment, as well as for providing protection from potentially abusive employers, thereby highlighting the contextual importance of social ties within unequal networks of power. As Doña Adriana explained, she has stayed working

¹²⁹ *Patascas* is a soup made from corn and a pig's head, boiled over fire overnight.

¹³⁰ A drink made from boiled corn.

for *patrones* known to her, as she has ‘always been afraid’ that employers she did not know would be ‘bad’ or ‘abusive’ (GW125). Doña Rebecca also recounted that she had never personally gone to look for work and that she was only working now in the sewing workshop because of her sister’s encouragement. When asked whether she would go out to look for work, she explained:

‘I don’t know. I think if, when I don’t have money [...] if I didn’t have any type of help. Because there are women who live that situation, no? That don’t even have family, nothing. I think not even anything to eat.’

GW122

Thus her words highlight that even though many Guaraní families suffer economic hardship, extended family networks and Guaraní men’s continuing normative responsibility as the breadwinner mean that some Guaraní women are not necessarily forced to actively look for work simply to survive. This contrasts with very recent female migrants to the city (not usually living in the peri-urban area), who often have no other option than to work as (live-in) domestic employees and suffer ongoing abuse. Guaraní women’s perceived ‘traditional’ role in the home and their responsibility for household management may also result in fewer Guaraní women actively looking for work, even if they may take up an opportunity when it arises whether through strong ties (extended family and friends) or recruitment by weak ties (non-Guaraní women in the peri-urban area) for domestic work. Thus, aligning with the critical literature discussed in the section 6.1, the strength of ties seems less important than the socio-spatial and economic context within which such ties operate. However, these practices of seeking or taking up work via social networks may further increase the occupational segregation and ethnic niching of some Guaraní women and limit greater urban knowledge and confidence in moving around the city. As Doña Cloe explained:

‘There are good jobs, but they are hidden, let’s say. If one goes out to look in other parts, one finds [work]. But as I don’t know (no sé), I don’t know (no conozco) much, I’ve never gone out around there, I don’t know.’

GW112

The niching of Guaraní women through extended family networks was illustrated one day when I went to have a coffee in a central urban market late afternoon. When I sat down at the market stall, I was surprised to see a young Guaraní woman from one of the peri-urban communities. I had known she worked in a food stall but did not know it was this market. I was then further surprised to see another member of her extended family (a non-Guaraní in-law) working at the same stall. As we continued to chat, two further members of her extended family – a cousin (Doña Cloe) and an aunt appeared one after another, having finished work for the day at two other food stalls in the same market. Later on, I was able to interview Doña Cloe, who had by then left her job as a result of pregnancy nausea. She explained how her aunt had helped her find the work and had taken her to the market. However, while these networks are clearly important in improving women's possibilities for finding work, as shown by Doña Cloe's words, they also highlight the limited opportunities for many Guaraní women beyond roles, such as kitchen assistants, which they can find through social networks.

However, Guaraní women have also found roles in (subcontracted) municipal gardening and street cleaning through networks of friends and family. Interestingly, this work also involves being in public spaces, yet seems to be a role in which Guaraní women feel comfortable, given that this work is carried out with others who are close to them in their lifeworld. As Doña Elocadia explained, she wanted to work in municipal green areas cleaning as 'the majority' of her family worked for the same company, including her father and husband. It is interesting that Doña Verena explained that she managed to overcome her timidity to go out to work through green areas cleaning, which she entered through family networks, and which was her first job. What is more, she was promoted to the supervisor of her group (GW106). Given Guaraní women's prior history street cleaning through community employment programmes (see chapter 7), women thereby have a collective experience of carrying out this kind of paid work in public spaces, in contrast to commercial activities. Interestingly, in parallel to this kind of public work, Guaraní men often work in groups laying pavement, where it is common to speak Guaraní among themselves (GM1).

Such networks are also important for finding work given the widespread perception of growing insecurity and crime in the city, which diverse women thought made gaining paid work increasingly difficult. Furthermore, for formal sector work, up-to-date documentation is

increasingly required, including police certificates and references from previous employers. As Doña Belen explained, employers ‘are mistrusting because there are many thugs’ and so ‘you can’t get work directly’ (GW60). This is not to say that it is impossible for Guaraní women to obtain documentation for formal sector work. Doña Gina (GW99), for example, was able to get together the paperwork for her job as a kitchen assistant in a supermarket – she needed documents such as a police certificate and photocopies of her identity card, water and electricity bill. However, such requirements are difficult for some women as highlighted by Doña Eva’s difficulties in finding factory work as discussed above, not only because of the costs of obtaining official certificates, but also as references are not commonly provided or requested in informal, casual work including domestic work. The requirements for documentation thus represent a further barrier for women in finding work within the urban assemblage of labour, adding to the difficulties caused by lack of educational qualifications.

It is also possible that Guaraní women’s embodied status as the racialised ‘Other’ (as discussed in Chapter 5), may result in further discrimination in the informal hiring process, given the widespread fear of crime within the city. Thus, the importance of social ties and personal introductions takes on greater significance in contexts of ongoing discrimination. Common practices of ‘taking’ a friend/family member to a known employer not only involves the dissemination of practical urban knowledge in navigating city-space, but also functions as form of protection against discrimination or abuse. For example, Doña Adriana expanded on her fear of going to look for work with unknown abusive employers in case they accuse her of robbing something. She thought that might even go so far as to involve the police, simply to avoid paying her (GW125). In explaining the new insecurity in the city, Doña Belinda’s words below are also revealing, as she specifically took pains to emphasize to me that *Guaraní* women are not thieves, thereby implicitly highlighting ongoing discrimination against Guaraní and other low-income women:

‘Now, well the domestic employees, not the Guaranies [...] enter to work now, sometimes their boss goes out to work, then they rob the house. Many things happen now, for that reason now they’re really mistrusting [...] of course there is a lot of work, but now it’s not easy to go to work straight away.’ GW103

In a quantitative analysis of social capital in the US, Aguilera finds that employment information is unequally distributed among racial/ethnic and gender groups, (2002: 871–2). He points to the role of the state and importance of ‘programs that attempt to bring valuable labour market information’ to marginalised communities (2002: 871–2). However, in Santa Cruz such programmes would also need to provide Guaraní women with localised and practical support to navigate the city and mediate with employers. While in 2017, the Ministry of Work had some limited employment programmes (as well as a labour exchange), these were accessible through offices in the city-centre, and few peri-urban women seemed aware of this institutional support.¹³¹

6.6 Conclusion

This chapter has argued that attention to women’s material encounters in the city illuminates intersectional structures of disadvantage in finding work and pursuing income generation opportunities, thereby addressing research question 3. In particular, it highlights how ongoing processes of intersectional labour stratification and gender-ethnic niching are produced through women’s differing relationships to, knowledge of and access to the spaces and places of the city. Such knowledge has been analysed here as phenomenological knowledge which is accumulated unevenly among diverse women through spatially unequal social networks. The chapter has also pointed to the importance of socio-spatial networks in processes of ethnic niching among highland women in commercial work, and among other forms of paid work among Guaraní women, including work in public spaces such in markets as kitchen assistants and as (sub-contracted) municipal street cleaners and gardeners. Through extending an assemblage lens from the peri-urban area to the city, this chapter adds to the importance of the ‘social environment’ for women’s economic citizenship, highlighting the importance of socio-spatial phenomenological knowledge and women’s multi-layered citizenship for economic inclusion in the city.

¹³¹ Although the public official in Santa Cruz explained that she did know of one Guaraní woman who had applied at the Ministry for street cleaning (see chapter 5). The sister of one Guaraní participant had also found work in sub-contracted street cleaning via the Ministry (GW88).

This chapter has also extended findings from the literature on highland market women to show how lowland Guaraní women are disadvantaged in terms of urban mobility with relation to other diverse low-income women. This chapter thus highlights that the scholarly image of the confident and mobile *chola* market women as the paradigmatic urban Andean indigenous woman requires nuancing with attention to the experiences of other indigenous and particularly lowland indigenous women.

Chapter 7: Assembling acts of economic citizenship

7.1 Introduction: Acts of citizenship

Over the past decade, scholarship on citizenship has moved away from questions of legal status and practices towards ‘acts of citizenship’, which Isin and Nielsen theorise as disruptive acts through which ‘subjects constitute themselves as citizens or...as those to whom the right to have rights is due’ (2008: 2). Such acts are ‘rupture(s) in the given’ (Isin 2008: 25) and thereby represent a total shattering of the habitus ‘even if momentarily’ (White 2008: 46). However, a focus on disruptive acts alone may not be sufficient to understand shifting citizenship regimes. In a brief critique of the ‘acts of citizenship’ literature, Staeheli emphasises the continuing necessity of understanding the actor as well as the act, along with the everyday ‘practices of citizenship’ for ‘the potential of citizens to act’ (2011: 399). Hughes and Forman have also noted that ‘we cannot conceptualise the act without looking at the relations required to actualise it’ (2017: 678). Staeheli et al. have also pointed to the complex ‘assemblage’ of law and everyday practices, which constitute the very ‘ordinariness’ of citizenship as well as the uneven terrain on which the ‘mundane acts or micropolitics’ of citizenship take place (2012: 630, 635).

Building on Staeheli (2011) and Staeheli et al. (2012), this chapter will aim to show how Isin and Nielsen’s concept of ‘acts of citizenship’ can be further nuanced when rethought through an assemblage lens to illuminate the temporality of ‘acts’ as they are caught between shifting and stabilising elements of the assemblage. Rather than counterposing ‘acts’ and rupture in sharp distinction to a unitary or stable habitus, assemblage allows for the habitus to be problematised as a shifting, contested and fractured entanglement of social practices. Thus, the contrast Isin makes between ‘activist citizens’ who break with habitus and ‘“active citizens” who act out already written scripts’ may not always reflect the complexity of political acts, given that citizens may act out elements of already written (yet constantly shifting scripts), while modifying or challenging other elements of the script in the very same act (Isin 2008: 38). Thus rethinking ‘acts’ through assemblage opens up the possibility of illuminating complex questions of continuity and change,

as well as agency and structure within shifting citizenship regimes, particularly around the potential and constraints on citizens to act (Squire 2017).¹³²

Bolivia could be considered a paradigmatic case for the study of acts of citizenship in terms of the claiming of the ‘right to have rights’ by the historically marginalized indigenous population. For example, Rojas argues that ‘acts of indigenship’ in Bolivia from the early 2000s represent indigenous people’s collective action to claim the right to difference, alongside the right to equality; such acts include the dramatic water and gas wars, as well as the election of Morales himself (Rojas 2013: 582). However, rather than a focus on such momentous acts, this chapter will explore how opportunities for associativity and collective action for peri-urban women – both as indigenous and as workers – are limited in the post-neoliberal citizenship regime in Santa Cruz. This chapter therefore engages with the *representational* element of Fraser’s tripartite framework of social justice. In doing so, this chapter situates such acts and the claiming of economic/labour rights in the fuzzy boundary between economic and political citizenship (see also Ryburn 2016: 54). The chapter will show that Guaraní and other diverse low-income women are caught in shifting uneven ‘power geometries’, which constrain the claiming of collective economic rights, while opportunities for associativity at work are limited. This chapter thus provides a counterpart to other scholarship on Bolivia, which has highlighted the strength of indigenous collective action, including of highland women working in informal markets (Lazar 2007a; Lazar 2007b).

The chapter will also explore how citizen-subjectivities and practices are slowly shifting in a fractured legal and socio-material assemblage, which provide indigenous and low-income women with certain potential to act (individually) as economic citizens with the right to have rights. As Coe and Jordhus-Lier have argued, it is ‘important to create analytical space for *individual* as well as collective action’ when examining labour’s ‘constrained agency’ (2010: 217; original emphasis). However, continuing uneven gendered-classed-racialised power with minimal state regulation functions to constrain the potential and realisation of acts for many women. The chapter will examine women’s (individual) constrained agency in the possibility for certain limited acts of

¹³² Hughes and Forman have also demonstrated the usefulness of an assemblage approach for understanding acts of citizenship in immigration removal centres in the UK (2017: 688).

‘exit’, drawing on Hirschman’s typology of exit, voice and loyalty (1970) through which women respond to mistreatment at work by quitting their jobs.

Hirschman explored how customers, members and citizens of firms, organisations and states respond to decline through the opposing strategies of exit (withdrawal) and voice (speaking out). Hirschman also proposed a third mechanism ‘loyalty’, which may work against exit, while encouraging voice in certain contexts (1970: 78). Kalleberg & Vallas have proposed the application of Hirschman’s framework to understand the responses of differentially positioned precarious workers. They suggest that exit may be characterized as the response of ‘marginalized’ workers who ‘have retreated from (or been pushed out of) the labor force’ (2017: 19–20), while voice involves mobilisations from the left and right according to a ‘logic of indignation’ (2017: 20). While Kalleberg & Vallas appear to accord little agency in precarious workers’ retreat from the labour force, exit has also been used to analyse agential withdrawal from the formal economy. With reference to Africa, Lindell notes that for informal, self-employed workers, exit has been conceptualised as ‘avoidance’ of the state and withdrawal from ‘the capitalist production process’ (2010: 5–7).

However, as noted by Perry, ‘scholars of work’ have largely overlooked ‘exit as a response to exploitative employment conditions’ (2020: 428), yet Hirschman’s framework is helpful for exploring the constrained agency of marginal workers. Among the exceptions, exit has been applied to examine the agency of migrants, particularly in farm work and hospitality in northern contexts (Perry 2020: 428; and as noted by Perry, also Sexsmith 2016; and Alberti 2014), as well as the legal constraints on migrant domestic workers’ agency in Saudi Arabia (Scully 2009). For example, Sexsmith expands Hirschman’s typology to consider the ‘entrapment’ and ‘constrained loyalty’ of migrant New York dairy farmworkers (2016: 312), while Perry examines migrant farmworkers strategies of ‘escape’ in Canada, which he argues functions as an ‘act of refusal’ towards racialised regimes of power (and citizenship) which control and exploit migrant labour (2020: 433–4). In a different context, with regard to migrant hospitality workers in London, Alberti argues that precarity in employment provides a ‘double terrain of control *and resistance*’ in which migrants exercise agency through labour mobility between casual jobs (Alberti 2014: 878). Thus,

strategies of exit and voice may work together in a complex ‘continuum’ of agency (Lindell 2010: 7).

Drawing on this literature in dialogue with ‘acts of citizenship’, I show that acts of ‘voice’, in which women are able to (individually) claim rights, either from the state or employer are rare given structural constraints. Acts of loyalty are also less common for women in casual employment, although informal personal, affective relations may inhibit voice, aligning somewhat with Sexsmith’s findings on ‘constrained loyalty’ (2016: 318–9). On the other hand, acts of exit are more common. Building on the conceptualization of exit and voice as a ‘continuum’, I argue that peri-urban women’s material acts of exit may also contain symbolic acts of voice. Thus, as with migrant farm workers acts of ‘escape’ (Perry 2020), low-income and indigenous women’s (albeit usually less dramatic) acts of quitting jobs demonstrate the complexity of ‘mundane’ acts of citizenship (Staeheli et al. 2012: 630), which may often be ‘ambiguous’ or ‘interstitial’ in their challenge to established power structures (Darling 2017: 733; Squire 2017; Lee 2010: 58–9). However, unlike the (often undocumented) migrant farmworkers in Canada with limited legal status or the migrant domestic workers in Saudi Arabia in situations of extreme legal exclusion (Perry 2020; Scully 2009), peri-urban women’s formal citizenship is guaranteed by the constitution and other equalities and labour legislation, yet as will be discussed, the substantive realisation of their economic citizenship is still limited by unequal economic power, the informality of the low-skilled labour market, as well as limited institutional resources to guarantee labour rights.

7.2 Associativity and collective action

This section aims to explore the potential for peri-urban women to constitute themselves as collective economic citizens, either as indigenous through communal productive projects or as workers through unions or associations.

7.2.1 Indigenous collective acts

7.2.1.1 The invisibilisation of peri-urban lowland indigenous women

In the department of Santa Cruz, funding for indigenous collective projects is channelled through the Secretariat of Indigenous Peoples, under which each of the five indigenous groups has its own directorate. The Secretariat is relatively new, with a functioning budget from 2014 (PSC1). The existence of this secretariat raises the question as to whether the availability of such projects, as well as coordination between the APG and the departmental *Gobernación*, has provided peri-urban Guaraní women with the potential to act as collective indigenous citizens within Santa Cruz to claim economic rights to productive projects.

The full name of the Guaraní directorate is the ‘Directorate of Territorial Management (*Gestión*) of the Guaraní People’. In line with the emphasis on territory, the projects administered by the directorate are largely destined towards provincial communities, with an agricultural focus. In 2017, only six communities of the Capitanía of Zona Cruz were benefiting from two gendered projects through the Guaraní directorate out of a total of around 50 beneficiary communities selected from 12 Capitanías in the department of Santa Cruz (PSC1). While these communities are not a great distance from the city, none are in the southern peri-urban area, although one is the comparative municipality. As a *mburuvicha* explained, there are always more projects for the rural areas, whereas in the urban areas ‘we just suffer’. This is because in the city ‘they can’t raise animals’ so it’s ‘just handcrafts, making bread’. She thought ‘it’s very difficult [...] it’s not possible to get much at all’ (LSC2). Various Guaraní women also told me about communal projects for women in rural communities, which were not available in the peri-urban area.

Alongside these developments, changes in gendered work patterns in the peri-urban area, as discussed in Chapters 4 and 6, has meant that women are more likely to be incorporated individually into the urban labour market rather than carry out collective work (such as weaving) through which they could claim resources together. Weaving projects thus go to rural areas, where the prevalence of weaving is higher, with one *mburuvicha* recounting that such projects ‘exclusively’ go to Isoso (LSC1). This decline in weaving work was also supported by my own

findings, with only two participants currently weaving. Doña Isidora explained that now women in her community are:

'New women who have the vision like the Karai [...] some will work, others won't work. I don't know [...] Now each home will know that, no? But the work we used to do before, doesn't exist here now. Now no-one weaves [...] Now we don't have the reciprocity that there was, that we had before. That's being lost [...] They look for economic resources, now they go out into the city, they wash [clothes], in that way they earn a pesito'

GW78

Photo of woman redacted for online publication permissions reasons.

Guaraní weaver, 2017

There are still some women, however, who do continue with the traditional work of weaving. In 2017 a group of women weavers were trying to access funding from the local government (as explained by GW46 and GW38). Interestingly, they were also trying to join with younger women who had other skills, such as in cosmetics and nail painting. However, Doña Camila and the other women lack the most basic materials to progress their work. She explained:

'It's difficult to get money to buy ourselves thread by the dozen or by kilo, I don't know. And the loom, because the majority of women who weave here don't have that loom. Scarcely some little uprights tied together with sticks as my mum has, they just about weave like that. And I don't like weaving like that because [...] it makes me lazier instead of advancing [...] one falls behind more, one has to be tying it up.'

GW46

However, the process to access funding seemed uncertain and bureaucratic. An older male relative, who was previously a Capitán, was helping the women with their request and they were in the process of collecting various signatures of Guaraní leaders, but seemed unclear about the process. Furthermore, Doña Camila spoke about this request as asking for help with the responsibility on the economic citizen-subject to look for this help, rather than claiming a right.

While peri-urban Guaraní women artisans are overlooked at the local level as *urban*, they are also invisibilised at the national level as *lowland* thereby functioning as a form of collective economic citizen *misrecognition* by the state. In the PDES, the emphasis on a 'plural economy' found in the earlier national development plan has largely been reconstructed in terms of supporting small and micro enterprises (p.114). Yet, as highlighted in an interview with a public official in La Paz about the work of the Vice-Ministry of Micro and Small Business, the few prioritised non-agricultural productive compounds, which also incorporate a large proportion of female labour (textiles and handicrafts), are largely based on the work of women in the highlands, rather than the lowlands:

'We have been able to identify that the main part of the female concentration in micro-business or self-employed activity is effectively in what is textiles [...] Where we have most found women seamstresses (confeccionistas) in this occidental part [of the country] is in

what is the manufacture of blankets, shawls [using] looms, no? We assume that in the oriental part, they may also work in making handicrafts, but truthfully I don't know much [...] the material that they use, what it is that they do.'

PN2

7.2.1.2 Claiming collective projects through community economic citizenship

Rather than placing an obligation on the state to provide collective projects, Guaraní women tended to place an obligation on the communal captains to claim productive and employment projects on behalf of women, emphasising their right to economic citizenship at the community level. This highlights clear continuities with neoliberal 'participatory' models of development as exemplified in Bolivia with the 1994 Law of Popular Participation (LPP). However, in her earlier research with the peri-urban Guaraní, Postero found that the implementation of the LPP resulted in a 'sad competition among the poorest communities for the crumbs from the tables of the rich' and did not manage to 'alter the underlying economic or social facts' or 'redistribute resources in any substantial way' (2007: 160).

Up until quite recently, however, some peri-urban women had participated in street/green area cleaning programmes. In one of the communities this had been brought by the Guaraní leadership from local government and seemed to have provided around 60 women (not only Guaraní) with some temporary work in exchange for basic provisions, such as rice and sugar (GW116). While most Guaraní women spoke favourably of these projects, which provided much needed resources however limited, others spoke of the tiring nature of the work. The existence of such programmes also highlights women's unequal responsibilities for social reproduction in that they were willing to carry out such arduous work in exchange for relatively small quantities of food items (GW116). In another community, the woman's president explained they did not request a similar programme for a second time given the small value of provisions (GW107), while another woman explained that she did not like the programme as they took one to two months to send the provisions (GW23).

Yet, some women thought that these programmes were no longer available due to lack of action by the current leadership and framed this as a derogation of duty:

‘That women’s capitán used to look here in the Alcaldía also, she looked for work for women. We used to clean the streets here before [...] Not for cash, they only gave us provisions [...] But not anymore then, it seems that there isn’t a women’s capitán now. [Well], there is but I don’t know, she doesn’t move herself.’

GW67

However, other women from several communities explained that, practically, the claiming of collective projects was difficult given divisions among the Guaraní residents and community breakdown in increasingly diverse neighbourhoods. In one peri-urban community, the Capitán, Don Lucas, also explained how trust had broken down among Guaraní women to such an extent that it had prevented the setting up of collective ‘micro-business’, such as a bakery or launderette, as women were scared take on the risk of collective credit (GM3). He recounted:

‘So we agreed then to make this group, but where it got stuck was where they said ‘but maybe this one doesn’t turn up, perhaps she’s not going to want to come to work’ [...] ‘the other one isn’t going to come early to make the bread’ [...] In other words the fear then, that they didn’t want [to carry on] They don’t trust the partners (las socias). That was the problem, they didn’t trust [each other].’

GM3

However, while Don Lucas himself had the confidence, knowledge and contacts to propose the business venture to the women in his community, two women *capitanas* highlighted some of the difficulties for communal leaders in requesting projects. Doña Benicia, a second women’s president explained to me that, although aware of her obligations, she simply did not know how to bring these projects to her community:

‘Until now, I don’t know what to do [...] because to have a leadership position (cargo) like that one has to look around her neighbourhood [...] to ask for help, a manual job for the

women [...But] I don't know how, who to turn to, to ask for some help. At least something, no? For them to bring us to support ourselves, the women here [...] The capitanes have to be there, to go leave that request [...] I was speaking last time with the other women's president. I told her at least to get some help or to coordinate with the capitán [...] at least a bakery or something that gives a help.'

GW64

Lack of resources also make it difficult for women to fulfil their role as *capitanas*, as well as gendered spatial and temporal constraints (Chapter 4). For example, another women's president told me how difficult it was for Guaraní women to look for work projects given the lack of resources to get out and about (GW107). However, in explaining these difficulties she also called Guaraní women such as herself 'dejadas', which was also used as a pejorative term for Guaraní women, which more literally means a person who leaves things be and could be translated as 'relaxed'. As discussed in Chapter 3, her words also show how the representation of Guaraní women as lazy also intertwines with elements of a reterritorializing neoliberal citizenship, which is to be realized through personal effort and self-help, and by an entrepreneurial interaction with the state. She is thus caught in such discourses whilst at the same time resisting them, in explaining the constraints for Guaraní women in looking for projects from local authorities:

'Mostly we Guaranies are relaxed. We can't let's say go out and look for [help] or help ourselves. It's that, also we are mostly Guaranies, we are low income and to go around in those things as well, you know that to go out in the street it's with money also. And in this way, I don't mobilise [...] to go, let's say, to the Gobernación or in the Prefectura [municipal government] to search around there'

GW107

Doña Jorgina, the second capitana of another community also told me of the time consuming and expensive process of obtaining projects. The previous year she had tried to bring a project from CIDOB (the confederation of lowland indigenous peoples) to start a bakery, however in the end she had simply given up after the promised help never materialized:

'They said that yes, they were going to help us, but that we had to wait. And one has to be going every time to be there asking if now, if now that project has been approved (si ya salió) [...] And you know that the money, well, to go to the centre you have to have your bus fare. And sometimes one takes two buses and sometimes there isn't any money [...But] they lied to us and this help never arrived [...] We used to go again and nothing and nothing until we got tired'

GW86

In addition to financial constraints in going into the city, women are also constrained by their unequal responsibilities for social reproduction, which limits their ability to act as collective economic citizens. Thus, Doña Ivanna, recounted that despite going from house to house and inviting women to collective meetings, often women do not turn up, and this gets tiring (GW127). In the words of Doña Belen:

What happens is that here, let's say, I'm the Women's President, you see? We can have a meeting with all the women [but...] now as I don't have time [...] we don't go to ask for that help [...] I don't have time to bring that help, everything that the government gives. There is a lot of help for women, but what happens is that women [...] don't have time'

GW60

However, it appeared that male leaders seemed to have greater spatial mobility with several owning cars (often as taxi-drivers), as well as fewer responsibilities in the home facilitating greater opportunities to fulfil their responsibilities. This mobility, however, is much more difficult for women given domestic responsibilities as well as the, albeit slowly shifting, patriarchal norms which often continue to constrain women to the home (as discussed in Chapter 4). As Doña Alejandra explained:

'The wife doesn't have that liberty of going out, of going over there, over here. But the man does, because in the Guaraní culture machismo is really dominant [...However] now in some communities, women now have appropriated their rights a little bit now, they don't put up with it now'. GW97, FG7

In addition to gendered difficulties in collectively claiming projects, some women also thought that the communities were now considered by the authorities as too urban, too close to the city, and no longer sufficiently poor to benefit from employment programmes, as well as a nursery/communal kitchen, which also provided some employment for Guaraní women. For example, Doña Renata told me that she used to work in the *guardería* (nursery), which she enjoyed as she felt useful there. However, it had closed around two years previously. When I asked her why, she explained that ‘it’s now becoming central [...] it’s not a poor neighbourhood now like before’ (GW11).

When I discussed the reallocation of resources away from the peri-urban area, Doña Eva’s immediate thought was that she agreed with projects and provisions going to isolated communities as, in her own community, they could go out and look for work, even if it meant living day-to-day (i.e. with casual work) (GW116). Another Guaraní woman made a similar point when she explained that in contrast to rural communities, being near to the city means that each person has the possibility go into the city to look for work (i.e. individually) (GW114). However, Dona Jorgina contrastingly thought that in fact rural communities were better off as at least they had the space to grow crops. She explained that ‘their’ organisations (such as the APG and CIDOB):

‘think that because we’re now here in the centre, you see, here in the city, they think that we’re okay, but nevertheless it’s not like that [...] We are not okay then, as here we can’t sow anything, there isn’t anywhere to sow, there’s no space. In contrast over there, far away, yes, they can sow, they have their chaco, they sow to be able to feed themselves just from there [...] Here, we don’t have [that]. Here, if you work you have [something] to eat. If you don’t work, you don’t have [anything] to eat’

GW86

Furthermore, as Doña Eva continued her reflection, she then went on to change her mind, arguing that this distribution of resources represented an inequality, in that the needs of urban Guaraní were not recognized. In using the normative language of ought (*debería*), Doña Eva discursively

constituted peri-urban Guaraní women as urban indigenous economic citizens with equal right to resources:

'In my own thinking, they ought not to make it unequal, let's say, no? Because here also we have necessity like them, but they think that as we are near the city, that we don't have necessity anymore, but it's not like that, because as we are Guaraníes [...] we don't have a profession [...] We also have necessity, then.

GW116

As (previous) *capitanas*, Doña Eva and Doña Benicia also highlighted the invisibilisation of the peri-urban Guaraní communities within the city and by other government representatives who 'forget' about them (GW64, GW116). Dona Bernarda also thought that Guaraní women (in comparison with Ayoreo women) were particularly invisible, given that Guaraní women's roles had traditionally been in the home, and that only recently were they becoming a visible presence in the city. On the other hand, Ayoreas 'have always been there' (GW87) (see Chapters 5 & 6). However, when I asked Doña Eva why she thought the government did not come to her community, she thought that this was because the (current) *capitanes* were not fulfilling their duty in getting the peri-urban indigenous community 'recognised'. Thus, as with other women, Doña Eva placed a duty on the current leadership to claim recognition from the state for their community. She told me 'We're lacking (*falta de*) the leaders to get us recognised, let's say, as the indigenous that we are, originary Guaraníes, you see?' (GW116).

It is notable, however, that at the end of 2017, a new indigenous unit was being created at the municipal government, as a result of a long campaign among lowland indigenous groups, who had joined together under a city-wide organisation, APISACS, for recognition within the city (PSC2). At the end of 2017, I was able to attend their opening event where they displayed handicrafts for sale from lowland indigenous and Afro-Bolivian groups. However, their offices were in a peripheral part of the city, suggesting continued marginalization. While this unit is certainly an exciting development, it remains to be seen to what extent this unit will have the resources and visibility to provide improved productive opportunities for urban indigenous women that also go beyond the promotion and sale of handicrafts.

7.2.2 Work-based associativity

As discussed in Chapter 3, the literature on indigenous women's work in Bolivia has largely focused on the highlands. This literature emphasizes high levels of associativity among traders, market women and small producers, particularly in El Alto, representing a form of collective, associational citizenship, (Rivera Cusicanqui 1996b; Lazar 2007a; Lazar 2007b; Hillenkamp 2015). Furthermore, indigenous women's agency at work has also been highlighted by case studies of domestic workers' collective action, and within Bolivia that of FENATRAHOB, the federation of salaried household workers (Wanderley 2014b; Wanderley 2014a; Blofield 2012). In 2017, FENATRAHOB were actively campaigning nationally for health provision for domestic workers, as guaranteed in the 2003 Law (see Appendix Table I1), yet still not implemented the government (Fieldnotes, 2017).

However, very few women (around 10 percent of my household survey) indicated that they had ever been or were currently members of self-employed associations, and none were members of a union or syndicate.¹³³ This finding of low associativity aligns with findings of a recent report from CEDLA (2018: 13) showing that the rate of union affiliation in 2016 had fallen from 22.2% in 2011 to only 11.7% in 2016 (13.1% for employees and 4.8% for workers).¹³⁴ This low rate of affiliation compares with around 25% affiliation in the departmental capital cities and El Alto in the 1990s according to an earlier study on syndicalism.

Within this small proportion of women who were or had been members of work-based associations, two Guaraní women were associates of a route (*linea*) of *moto* (small motorbike) taxis, yet neither currently drove a *moto* (GW101, GW111). Doña Rosario who has a market stall (see chapter 3) is also a member of her market association (GW101). A third Guaraní woman explained in an interview that she is a member of the association of recyclers (GW130). Of three

¹³³ Although the HM participant who worked as a *palliri*, was still a member of her mining cooperative (GW84).

¹³⁴ The General Law of Work Article 2. defines employees as those 'working in an office with fixed hours...carrying out predominantly intellectual effort' and workers as 'providing services of a material or manual kind'.

C/LM women, one is also an associate of the recycling association (GW85), one is a member of a market association, although not yet selling from her stall (GW62) while the second used to be a member of a market association around 20 years ago (GW58). Of five HM women, two were either previously members of market associations or attended meetings of an association with a borrowed stall (GW33, GW39), while one is currently linked to a traders' association, but not fully associated (GW76). A fourth is also a member of the recyclers' association (GW94), while a fifth woman (GW90) who worked as a *trufi* driver was a *socia* of the route.¹³⁵

The first point to note is that women members of work-based associations have been self-employed in spaces where they are working in proximity or in a direct relation with others. This highlights the difficulties of organising in the informal economy when workers are isolated or 'dispersed' (such as domestic workers) or when their businesses are in direct competition, without any reason to cooperate to claim rights (Kabeer, Sudarshan & Milward 2013: 4). However, one HM participant recounted an instance of informal collective action among street sellers outside a local school to ensure that they could continue to sell in this space, yet this was predicated on excluding others who were not already part of the established sellers (GW81). Indeed, as discussed in Chapter 3 the issue of competition may be a particular issue in the peri-urban area. For example, an instance of competitive behaviour, saturated with racism, was displayed by a C/LM street seller, who told me that a rival HM Quechua-speaking seller, whom she referred to disparagingly as a *chola*, was a *cochina* (a dirty woman) lacking in food hygiene (notably the HM's business appeared more successful).

In terms of employed women, I did not interview any women who belonged to a union. One interviewee who worked as a municipal security guard thought that there was a syndicate, but that she herself did not participate. Another participant even told me that unionisation was forbidden by the owner of the factory where she had worked:

That is what the owner of the company didn't like, he didn't like unions (sindicato) and all those things [...] It was forbidden, let's say, to unionise. GW44

¹³⁵ While I did not discuss associations with the peri-urban market vendors (GW118 and GW119), it is likely that they were both members.

In addition, none of the peri-urban domestic workers said that they were members of the local branch of FENATRAHOB, reflecting the low-levels of associativity for women in this sector, with fewer than 1% of all domestic workers in Santa Cruz affiliated (LSC5). Indeed, unionisation may be even more difficult for peri-urban women given the greater distance and expense to reach the federation's headquarters, around an hour's journey on two buses.

7.3 Claiming individual rights

Section 7.2 discussed the constraints on women to claim their rights as *collective* economic citizens. This section aims to understand the potential for women to claim rights as *individual* citizen-workers. The first section examines women's changing subjectivities as economic citizens, and the potential that this changing subjectivity has for their potential to claim rights. The second section looks at the very few examples in which women have been able to claim labour rights.

7.3.1 Citizen-worker subjectivities

When I asked diverse women about their rights at work, the majority of participants were able to discuss and articulate rights, although to varying degrees, while a small number of women of varying ages were not able to respond or seemed confused. The most common rights discussed by women included the (gendered) right to work, to decent treatment and respect at work, to non-discrimination, and to benefits/decent working conditions. When we discussed questions of change, many diverse respondents thought that in recent years there had been a change following the MAS government. Doña Rosario explained:

'Women have more rights than men [...] when they get pregnant, they have their subsidy [...] it's 90 days [maternity leave...] Laboral, that it's [only] 40 hours of work a week [...] And to contribute to what is the AFP [pension] and health insurance'

GW101

Around a third of diverse women who were able to articulate their rights highlighted that women's working conditions and labour rights had also been improved by legislation or government support for the working classes or the wider population (linking with the importance of the minimum wage, see Chapter 4). For example, one C/LM participant linked women's new labour rights ('the same rights as men') to the MAS government's support for the low-income population, explaining that post-MAS there has been 'much help from the government to Bolivia for low income people' (GW61), while a HM explained that there are now laws to ensure payment for work and that people are no longer humiliated (GW113). Some Guaraní women likewise emphasized support from the MAS government for the working classes. Doña Florencia, in answer to a question as to whether the government had passed any laws affecting her work, said that the government favoured the '*campesino*' (peasant) and that now everyone is equal (GW67). As Doña Rosmery explained:

'It has changed, sometimes people mistreat you, but now there isn't that. They used to order around a person who worked in their home like a slave [...] Before there was no law and we used to work like animals, no? [...] It wasn't long ago that there were these changes [...] three, four years just now, no? Those changes in favour of women, everything, that law [...] The government decreed, you see, that women, all the women, for that because of the mistreatment of her husband or her boss, of her patrona, all that. Now that discrimination as we call it doesn't exist much now.'

GW124

Some Guaraní women, however, also drew on aspects of the anti-discrimination law and indigenous rights (rather than class) to articulate their rights as workers. When I went on to ask Doña Rosemery what this previous discrimination against women was based on, rather than articulate a gendered or class identity, she told me it was discrimination against Guaraní people, thereby highlighting the complex entanglements of intersectional identity, which are difficult to separate out by women who are experiencing multiple oppressions: 'Sometimes they discriminate against us for speaking Guaraní [...] look at that Guaraní, how she walks, how she speaks, people say to us, no? (GW124). For example, Doña Danna, who was part of the leadership in her community and had attended workshops on indigenous rights, referred to the signing of a

convention in 2010 to explain Guaraní women's newly recognised rights to work, to a decent salary and to good treatment at work, as well as other socio-economic rights. Interestingly, while this was the year that the anti-discrimination law was passed, when I asked more about this convention, she told me that it was (ILO) 169, which Bolivia had in fact ratified in 1991. She explained:

'Well, from 2010 [...] the convenio has been signed, let's say, for the right for all the Indigenous Guaraní people [...before] they didn't have rights because no one wanted to listen, let's say, when one claimed the right [...] Convenio 169 [...] there are all the rights let's say of health, education, person of the third age, that there are now, that now they have their bono dignidad, that they pay their fair wage, also health, that they have health [care], well what a person deserves, no? That the government sends.'

GW47

Similarly, Doña Adriana also thought that following the anti-discrimination law, Guaraní women now have rights not to be treated badly at work by their employers:

'Now we don't have that fear like before, they used to discriminate against us for being Guaraní or Colla race [...] Now one [is] without fear [...] Before we couldn't argue with the patrones because they had a bit more money and we didn't, they could get us locked up [...] No, it was a crime. In contrast now we have rights. There is that law not to discriminate, let's say, no? And that protects us now.'

GW125

While the majority of participants linked change in labour and intersectional rights with the MAS government, a small number both Guaraní and non-indigenous) thought they had held certain labour rights (the right to work as well as good treatment and salary) prior to the MAS government. Others noted there had been a change in awareness of (existing) rights or legislation enforcing rights:

'As women we have the right that if there is a [salary] increase, that they also grant this to us at work [...] even if we are in cleaning or if we are domestic employees, we have the rights [...] Currently, [these rights] aren't being recognised 100%, not everywhere, but yes there is a change in the aspect that if, now the women have, now knowing their rights, they respect them. And yes, there is a law that says that women we have rights [...] It has been applied with greater strength since the previous year [...] It was there [before] but it wasn't complied with, but now one hears about it more often.'

GW28

Women also explained that legislative changes and rights were now disseminated through media channels such as TV and radio. Some Guaraní women had also recently learnt about their rights through NGO training sessions, although this seemed less common. Women occasionally also found out about labour rights from colleagues at work, although to a lesser extent given that many women worked in relative isolation. For example, Doña Gina, a Guaraní woman who is unusual in working as a salaried kitchen assistant for a large supermarket chain, explained how she had recently learnt about the Inspectorate of Work (*Inspectoría del Trabajo*) who are 'the ones who defend human rights', from a colleague who went to claim final payments after being fired (GW99). The majority of women also displayed some knowledge of institutional support for claiming rights. Many women were able to name the Ministry of Work (although HM women to a lesser extent), while other women knew that institutional support for claiming rights at work existed, even if they did not know the name of the institution. As one Guaraní woman put it 'there is an organisation for the workers, to go and complain [...] I don't remember what it's called' (GW10). When I asked women what they would do if their rights at work were violated, around half of women said that they would complain with an official body.

This awareness suggests a changing subjectivity of the gendered, raced and classed citizen-subject, and that the new constellation of laws/decrees may function as a collective resource, which marginalised women can draw upon as a symbolic collective, even if they are not always aware of the exact content of the new laws or when they were passed. The perceived interconnectedness of Guaraní women's labour rights, both as women, as (low-income) workers and as indigenous seems to suggest that post-neoliberal (and *plurinational*) citizenship rights post-2006 function as a

progressive and intersectional ‘chain of equivalence’, strengthening each other across citizen subjectivities as a form of citizen-citizen recognition (Mouffe 1991: 79–80).¹³⁶ For example, Doña Camila told me that now if someone is mistreated at work, they can go and complain as all groups are protected:

‘Now we have the right in the Defender of Work [...] Now this government put everything in order, and I think that if one is treated badly in her work, in her chores, now she has the right to go and complain because you can’t mistreat a person on account of being poor, then, no? For being a domestic worker [...] the government implemented this through articles [...] more or less I have heard about the Ministry of Work, where you can go and complain if they don’t pay the salary or they treat you badly, all that then, no? And also the mistreatment of women and also of children, so every [group] has [...] where to go to complain. Only recently with this government [...] I found out, they implemented that law, that order then, no? So that no person abuses another person’

GW46

However, women’s opinions were divided as to whether these rights were being fulfilled in practice. Some women thought that these rights were now being realized substantively or with improvement in compliance, and that this was a recent change following new legislation or other action by the government. However, other women emphasised that mistreatment at work continued as the law is not ‘respected’, with some women pointing out that there was better compliance in formal sector work in ‘empresas’ (companies). Women’s perceptions on incompliance align with data from the Women’s Economic Opportunity Index, in which Bolivia is scored 65(/100) for labour policy but only 22.3 for labour practices (Economist Intelligence Unit (2012) cited in Branisa et al. 2016: 85).

When I asked Doña Isabel, a Guaraní woman, why it was the case that rights were not being

¹³⁶ See also Ravindran who argues that in Andean urban Bolivia (El Alto) indigenous aspirations to form part of the white-mestizo ‘hegemonic’ racial ‘chain of equivalence’ as a form of social mobility have been challenged through indigenous mobilisation from the early 2000s, with the urban indigenous now forming ‘chains of equivalence’ with the rural indigenous (2019b: 7–9).

realized, she told me that some employers, because they are owners (*dueños*), i.e. those with economic power, think they have the right to treat people as they wish. However, she said this was not true, but the *dueños* do not understand (GW43). In telling me how the *dueños* lack understanding of the new rights such as to good treatment at work (which the president had instituted), Doña Isabel constitutes the *dueños* as behind the times and out of touch with the new citizenship regime post-MAS. Similarly, Doña Danna powerfully stated that the *jefes* do not want to ‘obey’ the new constitution, thereby discursively constituting indigenous peoples as economic citizens, worthy of the rights as guaranteed by the post-neoliberal citizenship regime:

‘They [the bosses] know (conocen), they know (saben) that we have rights now, that we deserve, let’s say, the fair wage, but they don’t want to obey the Political Constitution of the State’

GW47

7.3.2 Claiming rights

Given that some low-income and racialised women continue to experience exploitation and mistreatment at work, despite legislative changes, this raises the question as to what extent marginalised women have, in practice, been able to claim labour rights, and whether their new discursive constitution as citizens post-2006 has enabled them to materially constitute themselves as economic citizens with the right to have rights. Despite women’s stated intentions in the hypothetical scenarios as discussed in the previous sub-section, when women experienced infractions of their labour rights such as underpayment, overwork, mistreatment or discrimination their most common strategy was to leave their jobs, with around forty-five HS/I participants recounting they had left work as a result such issues (27 Guaraní, 11 C/LM and 7 HM women) which was also the second most common hypothetical response. Twenty-five women recounted strategies of exit post-2006 and eleven pre-2006 (with two around 2006), with five other women explaining that they had employed this strategy pre- and post-2006 (with a further two dates not clear), showing some continuity in strategies before and after the *proceso de cambio*. Interestingly, women’s second most common strategy, which was to directly address issues with employers (voice), also showed an increase post-2006, with around 18 women (13 Guaraní and 5 C/LM)

explaining that they had directly complained about mistreatment with employers or requested higher wages or better working conditions,¹³⁷ in contrast to only three women prior to 2006 (with a further woman pre/around 2006) – all Guaraní.

Strategies of exit and voice also highlight a ‘continuum’ of constrained agency, as well as mistreatment or exploitation (Ryburn 2016: 50; Lindell 2010: 7–8), as well as differing temporalities, with some notable differences pre and post-2006. The most constrained forms of agency and voice involved live-in domestic workers prior to 2006. For example, two HM women were not able to exit extremely exploitative conditions (one at a very young age) without the help of family/acquaintances, with one of the women having to wait 3 months before exiting as a contract had been signed by her relatives. On the other hand, two young Guaraní women discussed exiting casual (live-out) jobs on their first day post-2006 highlighting fewer constraints on agency. Two women – one Guaraní one C/LM – also deployed strategies of modified exit post-2006 either stopping work on a temporal basis or exiting work full-time but continuing some work on a part-time/casual basis for the same employer (however such strategies did not seem common). It is also notable that a small number of women requested a pay rise *above* the minimum wage post-2006. However, only seven complaints or negotiations with employers post-2006 have been (even partially) successful in comparison with two complaints prior to 2006.

Only five women HS/Is (3 Guaraní, 1 C/LM and 1 HM) explained that they had gone to the Ministry of Work to make a claim against their employers, with only three of these claims being successful (one of the successful complaints being prior to 2006). A small number of other women, however, did tell me stories of friends, family members or acquaintances who had made a complaint at the Ministry of Work. There is thus the paradox that while many women were clear about claiming their rights as workers, very few claimed their rights through official channels, with the state as guarantor of their rights. Furthermore, when women did take the courageous step of claiming their rights with employers, very few of these claims were successful.

The following section aims to interrogate the potential as well as constraints for women in claiming

¹³⁷ Including the complaint by PSC1, the Guaraní public official, as discussed in Chapter 5.

their labour rights across the formal-informal economies, and to understand why few women who are aware of institutional support for claiming rights actually do so in practice (as opposed to hypothetically), and why so few claims are successful.

7.3.3 Successful claims

The only two successful examples of HS/I participants' claiming rights through the Ministry of Work post-2006 were women working in the formal sector. Both stories are of claiming final payments after leaving their jobs (because of childcare and illness), and so involve fairly straightforward claims. Doña Clementina, a C/LM woman (GW44) worked in a factory sewing jute bags, while Doña Verena, a Guaraní woman, worked in (sub-contracted) municipal green areas cleaning for a 'micro-company' (GW106). Doña Verena worked from 2008-2013 and was employed under annual temporary contracts, while Doña Clementina worked from 2009-2012, without a contract. Doña Clementina went to the Ministry of Work to get her resignation letter stamped after being advised by her colleagues, who disseminated information between them about the Ministry, thereby displaying some limited collective action, despite unionisation being forbidden (see section 7.2.2). As a result of going to the Ministry, she received all final payments. Doña Verena also had a good experience. After waiting a month for her final salary and making a claim at the Ministry, she was given a letter which she took to the company; she was then paid that same day.

Notably, Doña Verena also showed awareness of the changing gendered citizen-subject, when she explained that if a woman is treated badly at work, she can report this:

'Mostly the supervisors are always men, always women sometimes for being women, sometimes they didn't used to pay them, let's say, what was owed to them [...] Now I think that everyone equally, and if it is that one time they treat you badly, one goes and reports it then, no?'

GW106

In terms of dealing directly with employers, one particularly successful example of claiming rights

as a newly constituted citizen-subject was recounted by Doña Selena, a Guaraní woman (GW9). Chapter 4 has already discussed how she was able to challenge patriarchal relations in the home. However, awareness of legislative changes also enabled her to claim rights with her employer, where she works as a household domestic worker in the city-centre. A few years ago, the grandmother used to shout at her and treat her as if she were stupid. Doña Selena complained to the father who told the grandmother that Doña Selena was a person just like her, and that she should be treated as such. Her heavy workload also improved when she complained to the *señora* and told her that she also needed to rest a bit during the day. She recounted that since Evo's government there are now laws for poor people, whereas before the laws were just for the rich. Similarly to Dona Camila, she said that now employees no longer have to put up with mistreatment, now they can complain. She even thought that women no longer need to make an official complaint in *castellano* but they can now do this in Guaraní.

Three partially successful negotiations of rights post-2006 were recounted by Guaraní women, one involving the contestation of discriminatory treatment (Doña Renata, GW11), another a salary increase (Doña Petrona, GW17) and the third better working conditions in a sewing workshop, particularly the provision of lunch on Saturday if they are made to work extra hours beyond their midday finish time (Doña Rebecca, GW122). While Doña Rebecca was still waiting to see if her negotiation had been successful (the supervisor was looking into it), Doña Petrona had received a small salary increase in her part-time work in a pizza factory (a family run micro-company) from 250 to 270Bs a week. However, when she worked extra hours (sometimes stretching to 7 hours a day), this did not reach the monthly minimum wage (proportionally) in 2017. As referred to in Chapter 5, Doña Renata had been accused of being a thief. Although she still left, she had felt able to speak up to her employer. In fact, this contestation had been partially successful as her employer did not want her to leave, even if she had not been able to change the racist attitudes of her employer's sister:

'The sister of the señora, she used to treat me badly, because apparently the Guaraníes sometimes rob things, but it's not true [...] I told her that we people were not all like that [...] The señora didn't want me to leave but, well, I couldn't stand her sister's mistreatment' GW11

7.3.4 Constraints on claim-making

Doña Petrona's story highlights the complexities of claiming rights across the fuzzy boundary between the formal-informal economies in Bolivia. While the pizza factory was registered for tax purposes, she worked without a contract, health insurance or pension contributions. Personal relationships also made it difficult to claim rights; for example, she did not complain further about the salary as she thought the *señor* was a good person, displaying 'constrained loyalty' (Sexsmith 2016). It is therefore important to consider further how informal work in Bolivia may affect possibilities for women to claim rights.

In referencing the new constitution which guarantees rights at work, Doña Danna did not distinguish between different kinds of work, such as formal or informal. Interestingly, inspectors at the departmental headquarters of the Ministry of Work explained that compliance with labour law is obligatory for all, whether a large business or a small *pensión*. When I asked which companies they inspected, they explained:

'Every type, a company that has one worker to [those] that have 2,000, industrial companies [...] The law is of obligatory compliance and is general. So, if there is a company, a micro-company, let's say, that isn't registered in the Ministry or anywhere, an example, a pensión [serving] meals, let's say [...] and it has waitresses, those waitresses have the same rights as every other worker, so equally the same is required, that they are given health insurance, that they are paid the minimum wage, that they work the hours that the law states.'

PSC4

However, as noted above, not all small businesses will be registered with an official body or even required to do until they reach a certain value.¹³⁸ Thus, despite formal applicability of labour law,

¹³⁸ A capital value of over 12,000Bs in 2018, see: <https://boliviainpuestos.com/en-que-regimen-simplificado-inscribirse-simplificado-general-o-ninguno/> (Last accessed 08.12.19)

many small businesses are unregistered and therefore even more difficult to regulate, particularly given limited resources at the Ministry of Work. As the inspectors explained, within the city of Santa Cruz, there are only 5 labour inspectors (with another 5 or 6 who receive complaints) so the ‘city is big’ yet they are ‘few’ (PSC4). Thus, despite their efforts to make it to businesses ‘that are hidden away’, in 2017, only 310 labour inspections and 231 technical inspections were carried out in the Department of Santa Cruz (Personal communication, Ministry of Work, Employment and Social Security, February 2018). Given that the number of registered businesses alone in the department was 81,002 as of January 2017 (Fundempresa 2017: 6), the inspections only covered a tiny proportion. This limited reach was noted in an interview with a Guaraní woman:

‘They say, no, that the law protects, but they don’t check that, let’s say. The government ought to have as I would say, something specific that they go, they find out which [are the] private companies and how they treat the workers. There isn’t that, let’s say.’

GW31

Furthermore, despite these inspections or, indeed, because the risk of inspection is so small, the inspector thought most businesses are not compliant, explaining that they sanction almost 100% of the companies who are inspected. She also explained that micro-businesses, such as *pensiones* (i.e. those most likely to be operating informally) are the least compliant with salaries well under the minimum wage.

The importance of labour inspections, as well as their limited reach was also highlighted by Doña Nora, who explained that it is difficult to know the reality of labour conditions for Guaraní and indigenous women because some women will not complain in order to keep their jobs:

‘We don’t know in some places what the companies are like [...] We don’t know if there is discrimination against Guaraní women or whichever indigenous woman, because there are some that stay silent and they don’t say anything, let’s say, to keep their work or there is minimal payment and excess of work, you see?’

GW10

Her words also highlight some of the structural difficulties for low-income women in claiming labour rights given the continuing lack of decent work, which may result in some women staying silent. Indeed, the precarity of work was also emphasized by a small number of participants to explain the difficulties of claiming basic rights such as to (sick) leave (or to care for a sick child), particularly domestic workers, despite increased provisions for labour stability under the 2003 law, under which domestic workers cannot be fired for ‘unjustified absence’ under 6 days or for a period of illness (Article 4). Furthermore, despite increased provisions for formal sector workers post-2006 to ensure labour stability (see Appendix Table II), work in the informal sector continues to be precarious despite the law being ‘general’. For example, when Doña Susana, a young Guaraní woman working as a sales assistant at a market stall selling computer equipment, missed one day as a result of problems at home, she was fired as well as unfairly discounted for an under-sold piece of equipment from her final payment (for more than it had been undersold). Thus the continuing precarity of work in Bolivian urban labour markets functions ‘as an invisible mechanism of control and discipline’ (Webber 2016: 1869).

However, as highlighted, some formal sector roles also have an informal labour relation (Benería & Floro 2006: 202). Thus while the MAS government celebrated IMF statistics suggesting a decrease in Bolivia’s informal economy from 66.74% in 2004 to 45.98% in 2015 as a vindication of Bolivia’s post-neoliberal social communitarian economy, the experience of some peri-urban women in Santa Cruz suggests that uncritically celebrating an increase in the formal sector may mask continuing precarity and exploitation.¹³⁹ For example, Doña Lucy works as a shopping packer for a large supermarket chain. She works for tips given to her by shoppers without a contract or salary. Sometimes she earns well (around 70/80 Bs a day) but this depends on the shoppers. There are days when the packers earn nothing. Furthermore, the shoppers belittle the packers and treat them without respect. She explained that even though the bosses and the cashiers were okay, the security guards made the packers do other work, such as cleaning, despite not being paid for this work. However, if she did not comply, she thought she could get fired (GW107).

¹³⁹https://www.economiayfinanzas.gob.bo/index.php?opcion=com_prensa&ver=prensa&id_item=124&id=4150&seccion=306&categoria=5 (accessed 08.12.19).

In addition, despite some increase in formal sector work, as well as the importance of (sub-contracted) municipal work, as discussed in Chapter 4, contracts are often temporary. As Doña Elocadia explained, they are made to sign yearly contracts to ensure that they are not able to accrue benefits associated with labour seniority (GW82). Doña Nora similarly thought that those in her community working in street-cleaning (men and women) lost their jobs at the end of the year as the company was trying to avoid paying the double *aguinaldo*.¹⁴⁰ When I asked whether anyone complained about this, she told me no, furthermore they entered the company again as new workers out of necessity, thereby losing accumulated rights.

Doña Fabiana, who has diabetes, also explained her problems with contracts and ill health. In a previous job as a domestic worker for a cooperative office (see Chapter 4), she resigned after 3 years due to ill health, while working under annual contracts. Having said she wished to resign, she was then made to sign another contract to work for a further three months, after which she felt much better. But as she had signed the new contract, she was made to leave anyway despite wishing to continue. I do not know why her boss made her sign a new contract, and Doña Fabiana herself seemed bewildered by the contracts. However, it is possible that the company was trying to avoid the severance payment. Following D.S No.110 (2009) such severance payments are obligatory after more than 90 days service (and are cumulative) including in cases of voluntary resignation, not only unjustified dismissal (for which there would be a further payment).¹⁴¹

There is thus the paradox that while some of the MAS's labour reforms are designed to benefit workers, some businesses may employ strategies to reduce labour stability to avoid paying benefits. Thus, aligning with wider experience in Latin America, when registration of businesses is not compulsory or easy to evade 'labor legislation can even have perverse effects' (Carnes 2014: 6–7). Indeed, data highlights that the total percentage of urban workers with labour stability in Bolivia had actually decreased between 2007 and 2012 (from 16% to 11%), despite an initial increase (from 11%) in 2005 (2014: 17). Thus, in contrast to Webber, who argues that demands on the Bolivian state by 'emergent' petty bourgeoisie has 'led the state toward policies of improving

¹⁴⁰ From 2013 a double *aguinaldo* is paid to workers when the yearly GDP is over 4.5%. See: https://eldeber.com.bo/98339_evo-oficializa-el-pago-del-segundo-aguinaldo-este-ano

¹⁴¹ <https://www.lexivox.org/norms/BO-DS-N110.html> (accessed 08.12.19).

the profit margins of these petty sectors at the expense of waged labour' (2016: 1865–6), Muriel and Ferrufino argue that the increased labour regulations, combined with relative ease of employing informal labour (in the context of widespread microenterprise), paradoxically, have resulted in a smaller proportion of workers protected by legislation (2014: 26–8). While Webber, as a Marxist scholar, and Muriel and Ferrufino from the Bolivian National Chamber of Commerce, have different ideological positions, both arguments are important in understanding the complex situation of informality and precarious work in the Bolivian urban economy and as to why, despite important legislative changes, substantive compliance is extremely low.

However, Doña Fabiana's story not only highlights the unequal power relations around claiming rights, but also the continuing circulation of uneven knowledge, which intertwines with unequal economic power, particularly given that Bolivian labour legislation is a confusing myriad of supreme decrees, which have modified the 1942 General Law.¹⁴² As Doña Danna put it:

'They (the bosses) are the ones that are more informed than us [...] that watch televisions, they read newspapers [...] There is a just salary now [...but] as I say to you, the bosses don't want to recognise it, they think that the indigenous don't know anything and they pay them the same or they still pay them more or less'

GW47

Doña Danna's words highlight how employers continue to exploit indigenous workers via misrecognition. Her words also have striking resonance with another women's story many years ago, highlighting ongoing forms of coloniality within the assemblage of labour post-2006. Doña Ivanna explained that her employer thought she could get away with exploiting her because, as a poor, 'ignorant' Guaraní woman, she would not be able to do anything about it.

'In one job, I was unlucky because they made me work in vain [...] I worked for three months and they didn't pay me [...] I was a domestic worker [...] and then a woman told me to go and report them at the Ministry of Work [...] I ask why did she try and take

¹⁴² One NGO interviewee referred to Bolivian labour law as a '*maraña*' (a tangle/thicket) (NN3).

advantage of me (abusar de mi), likely because of my ignorance [...] 'I won't pay her, I'll make her work for free and she won't do anything to me', no?'

GW127

This unequal knowledge which persists post-2006 is particularly problematic for women working in the informal economy, given that there is little protection for labour rights from the state and as the status of labour rights may themselves be ambiguous, particularly when payment is piece-rate. For example, in 2017 in Santa Cruz, the (informal) going rates for washing a dozen items of clothing seemed to be 12/15Bs (see chapter 4), yet not all women who washed clothes were aware of this. As Dona Isidora explained regarding her young niece's work washing clothes the previous year, she was only paid 20Bs for washing a 'mountain of clothes' until late, without food. As she noted, the amount they paid her was not 'fair', yet her niece had not known how to charge according to the informal rate (GW78).

For some Guaraní women, unequal structures of knowledge also play out through language as Doña Claudia explained, giving the example of when she was manipulated into resigning from her (formal-sector) job as a cleaner in an institute the previous year,:

'The very bosses abuse women, for example, that don't understand much Castellano like Guaraníes [...] They did this to me once. Because, let's say, I was pregnant [and] they weren't capable of telling me let's say that I had my right to work still and I had my [...]right to] maternity leave (descanso), that I had to get my subsidy and all that, they took advantage of me (se aprovecharon) there'

GW114

Unequal structures of language and knowledge may also affect some rural migrant women to a greater extent – both Guaraní and from the interior – rather than peri-urban women. Doña Rebecca explained that in the sewing workshop Guaraní women migrants from Isoso did not 'dare' to complain about working conditions or salary because of limited fluency in Spanish (GW122). As Doña Nely (GW104) who had grown up in a rural community explained, employers look for domestic workers in the countryside as 'they don't know, you see? And so they bring them then

so that they can pay a lower salary’. In fact, this had been her own experience despite fluency in Spanish (she herself does not speak Guaraní): in 2005, when she was 15 years old, a family came to her community and they took her to work for them. They did not give her a single day off in three years and paid her well below the minimum wage. In the end, she was only able to end this mistreatment by escaping.

Doña Elena, who also works part-time as an employment agency promotor, explained that employers look for young women from the interior, *cholitas*, who wear the embodied racialised marker of the *pollera* (see chapter 5), so that they can get away with paying them well under the minimum wage. She recounted that in 2017 some employers were even paying 1,000 Bs ‘to those dumb *cholitas*’ (GW110), highlighting how exploitation continues to entangle with racialised ethnic representation of highland women as the ideal exploitable worker. Thus, as Doña Sonia explained:

‘[The female employers] have the nerve to say ah! I prefer a woman who comes from the interior [...] Now mostly the employers look for people from outside, more humble people, that don’t know their rights to exploit them. Now that those of us who live here in Santa Cruz and know our rights, they practically don’t want to employ us now, why? [...] because [...] if they pay us a salary that isn’t [i.e. that doesn’t correspond to their rights], we complain and now they say [...] I don’t want [her], I prefer one from the countryside, they say. Why do they say this? On account of exploitation, because they don’t know their rights.’

GW28

However, even if racialised women who have recently migrated from the interior are particularly exploited, a few interviewees explained that Guaraní women faced particular difficulties in claiming rights at work, even when mistreated or underpaid, as a result of fear. Doña Gina thought that in contrast to *collas* who are ‘decisive’ and don’t let things go, Guaraní people ‘prefer to stay quiet so as not to have problems’ (GW105). While her words highlight the continued circulation of ethnic stereotypes (it is highly likely that highland migrant women are also scared to contest their rights, particularly as live in domestic workers), they are also important in highlighting

uneven power relations as experienced by Guaraní women, which may prevent them from claiming rights. In Doña Sofia's words:

'Guaraní [women] are all quiet [...] they don't defend themselves, they are more quiet [...] the [women] from the centre are annoying (fregadas) then [...] because sometimes you don't do the thing that they are asking you and they tell you off [...] It's ugly to suffer the words (la boca) of other people'

GW20

However, the pragmatic side of being silent (*calladita*) was also highlighted by Doña Adriana, who despite being clear on her new rights as an indigenous, low-income worker, surprisingly emphasised the practical importance of her own 'humility' with employers. She said that by staying silent and not-complaining (by deploying the strategy of 'loyalty') she continued to receive work:

'If you are, let's say, humble, quiet, they [the patrones] value that or let's say, and to be honest, not to take things from the houses [...] that you don't argue with them our patrones, you see? If they say to us 'I'm going to pay this, I don't have enough', 'fine', we say 'okay, okay'. We wait, sometimes pay day arrives [and] 'look [...] I don't have the money' and we wait, then. In contrast others get annoyed, they want to be paid that day [...] and like that: Ay no! 'She's very bad', they say, 'it's better that we talk to her because she waits for us, she has patience', they say [...] If they don't have money, they pay me in provisions (víveres)'

GW125

This fear of confrontation is further compounded by economic power differentials between employee and employer, which exacerbate difficulties for women in exercising voice to claim rights from the state. Thus, as a *mburuvicha* explained, even though they are learning about their rights, if they were to go and make a complaint there is 'no law for us because we do not have money'; 'there is no justice for us' (LSC2). In addition to potential police corruption as alluded to

by LSC2¹⁴³ and a second *mburuvicha* who was also present, economic power also plays out indirectly, when women do not have the resources to pursue complaints, including for the bus-fare into the centre (GW78). For example, Doña Rosario had been unjustly accused of robbing a phone in the chicken egg incubator by a boss. She wanted to sue him for defamation, however did not have the resources. Indirect economic power also manifested through the company's ability to manipulate the legal system:

'In the end, I left, I resigned from there because they owed me three [month's] salary from my work [...] Apparently they were going bankrupt [...] Up until now I haven't been able to get them to pay me [...] I've exhausted the official institutions [...] What happens is that here we know the company with one name [but], in reality, it's not their name, it's their fictitious name, so that when you file a claim (demanda) [...] it's to a company that doesn't exist. And there this [claim...] is getting stuck.'

GW101

In addition, some women also thought that making a formal complaint or persisting with a claim was just not worth the effort in the context of unequal power relations. For example, as discussed in Chapter 5, Doña Bernarda left her office job because of discrimination from her boss. However, she decided not to complain at the Ministry of Work as she thought it would just cause her more problems:

'I didn't do that, I left and just resigned [...] because it [would have meant] more problems [...] Obviously the señora would have defended herself [so it would have meant] problems over here, problems over there, more problems still, so to avoid all of that [it was] best to leave it'

GW87

¹⁴³ Her mention of police corruption is interesting given that complaints for violations of labour rights are made at the Ministry of Work, not through the police. Her words highlight the ongoing lack of confidence that Guaraní women have in the justice-system (despite one woman recently being appointed as a community indigenous judge). In one community, a Guaraní youth had been shockingly murdered a couple of years previously, yet in 2017 the perpetrators had still not been brought to justice.

Other women, however, did try to claim their rights directly with their employers (as discussed above), particularly around issues of underpayment or non-payment. However, mostly women were not successful given the material power imbalances involved. One (older) Guaraní woman explained how she had not been paid for laundry work months later. However, she was too embarrassed to go and ask yet again for the money. Her words eloquently point to the continuation of unequal colonial-modern subjectivities and relations of power around informal labour when she questions what her (younger) employer could be thinking in refusing to pay her as a Guaraní woman, thereby misrecognising (denying) her equal value as an economic citizen.

'[She owes me] three payments [...] she's only young, she's only just had two little daughters: 'come [and] wash clothes for me' [...] and I go [...] up until now she hasn't paid me still [...] now various months have passed, now I'm embarrassed to go and ask for payment [...] Because one needs [money], well, one goes and washes other people's clothes [...] one has to be standing up half the day, ringing out those clothes [...] What can she be thinking? So that is my life [...] the life of the Guaranies.'

FW30, FG7

7.4 Exit: an ambiguous act of citizenship?

However, despite the structural constraints on claiming rights, this does not mean that women did not display agency in their negotiations with their employers. When women had problems at work, as discussed above, often their preferred strategy was exit – they simply left their jobs. On the one hand, as shown by Doña Bernada's story, this strategy highlights the limited options available given the unequal power relations which result in women being afraid to claim their rights. As Doña Fabiana explained:

'Well, if someone treated me badly, well I would leave it then, I'm not going to be answering back [...] because it would embarrass me to be answering back to the person

*[...] I couldn't do anything, because some are daring (atrevidos) and if you answer back, it gets worse, the problem gets larger then*¹⁴⁴

GW16

In addition, when asking for a change in working conditions, there also seems to be little that women can do, apart from leaving their jobs, if their request is not granted. For example, one Guaraní woman had recently left her job working in an internet café in her community (GW108). She decided to take the job as she could bring her infant son to work and she needed the money. However, she left after one month given the very low wages (1,300Bs) and extremely long hours, more than double the legal maximum (8am-10pm, 7 days a week without any days off). She asked the owners for a pay rise, but they refused, justifying the low salary as they are a small (family) business.

Furthermore, as highlighted above, strategies of exit are not new. For example, a Guaraní woman explained how she used to wash clothes some 20 years previously, yet left after the *señora* not only tried to underpay her by counting a dozen with pairs (i.e. 24 items of clothing instead of 12), but also avoided paying her at all:

'Sometimes when I finish washing [...] the señora goes out and left me alone there, then she didn't pay me [...] for that reason no, I left [...] It made me angry and I didn't go then. She has seen me twice on the bus, 'why do you not go to my house now', she said to me [...] I didn't say anything to her.'

GW8

However, exit may also be an ambiguous form of citizen-subject constitution post-2006, in terms of a pragmatic refusal to be subjected to mistreatment (as highlighted by Doña Renata's response to being called a thief). In addition, women's variable knowledge of their (new) rights in some

¹⁴⁴ Notably Doña Fabiana *did* complain about mistreatment/exploitation washing clothes on two occasions (she left one job), both some years ago. She seems to be explaining here that she could not do anything about mistreatment in public or formal settings, such as in offices for cleaning companies. This suggests that despite improved compliance with labour rights in the formal sector, it may be even harder for women to claim rights in some formal sector roles, given that unequal power relations may be amplified by formal labour hierarchies.

cases framed the way they discussed exit. For example, Doña Violeta, a C/LM woman said she would leave a job in the case of mistreatment so as not to have an argument. Prior to this, when I asked her about women-workers' rights, she seemed only to be able to conceptualise the rights of employers and the obligation of workers 'to comply'. When I asked specifically whether employers also had to 'comply' with anything, she replied:

'Yes [...] the patrones say to us you are going to do these things, you see? And if we don't comply, they have the obligation to get rid of us.'

GW15

In contrast while Doña Margarita, a C/LM woman in her early 50s, also employed exit as a strategy pre- and post-2006, she explained that now she knows her rights, that her working day as a domestic worker should only be 8 hours. Furthermore, when two years ago, her employer got annoyed with her for asking to leave on time, and then decided to check her handbag to see if she had stolen anything, while there was little she could do (apart from comply and then exit), she did feel able to answer back: 'Look through it', I said to her 'But in my sight', I said to her, 'just as you are mistrusting, I also mistrust [you] with my things' (GW94).

However, even when women do not feel able to protest mistreatment, this does not mean that exit is unambiguous. Even though they might not say anything to their employer, exit is still employed as a way of ensuring their dignity as a human being is met, even if they do not have the power to ensure compliance with their rights, as shown by the words of two Guaraní women below. Doña Florencia's words are particularly powerful, as she explains how she left her job as a kitchen assistant due to the kind of every-day, mundane mistreatment, to which low-income women in Bolivia continue to be subjected:

'Sometimes also the boss [...] wants you to do [things] quickly [but] one isn't the machine then, also. One isn't a machine to do be doing [things] quickly, no? For that reason also sometimes they get annoyed with you [...] and I didn't like that also [...] I've never argued with my boss, but I felt something there in my heart that hurt [...] it's not [okay] just

because they have money and they pay you [...] You also know that you're human, well, you see? So, in that way, so as not to argue with her, I left quietly.'

GW67

Doña Alvira also explained that she had worked for a woman a few years ago who treated her badly and would not even let her sit down to eat lunch. Like Doña Florencia, she left. What is more in explaining her decision to leave she claimed her value as a citizen-worker:

'There was a señora who was very bad [...] I left again [...] it's ugly that they treat you badly also, no? [...] Because you are poor, they're not going to humiliate you also [...] She doesn't have empleadas because she was like that, discontented, a bad [person] [...] You [had to] eat standing up! [...] She wanted you to start doing things again immediately after finishing lunch [...] you're going [there] to earn [to work], well, it's not that they're gifting us.'

GW26

Exit may also be facilitated by the shifting power relations between workers and employers in the informal economy, where, as discussed in Chapters 4 and 6, despite ongoing precarity of casual work, there has been a perceived increase in demand for casual female labour with the growth of the city, as well as increasing socio-spatial mobility of many peri-urban women. It is less likely, therefore, that peri-urban women will put up with mistreatment, inconvenient hours or low salaries (GW11, GW83). Thus, aligning with Alberti's research on the complexity of precarious work for migrant resistance (see 7.1), the low-skilled labour market in Santa Cruz, alongside processes of rapid urbanisation, also has ambiguous effects for women's agency (2014: 878).

Thus, Doña Adriana's pragmatism discussed earlier may be explained by the fact that she lives further away from the city (in the comparative municipality) and therefore looking for work in the city would be more difficult and expensive. Thus, she relies on limited possibilities for work close-by. As Doña Nely, a Guaraní woman living in the peri-urban area, explained:

'Now one looks for a job that one likes, no? [...] If one doesn't like it, one leaves. There's that possibility, before there wasn't [...] It's that there used to be less work. If you went out there, you didn't find work, then, also. You had to withstand it (aguantar) until there was [other] work'

GW104

Brandzel has cautioned against all 'political acts' being understood as acts of citizenship (2016: 8). Thus, acts of exit may better be understood as 'acts of anticitizenship or noncitizenship' in which by leaving their jobs, women actively refuse the unequal terms of economic citizenship (2016: 8). By viewing these acts as anti-citizenship, the exclusionary or intersectional 'violence' of citizenship's normative promise of inclusion is brought to the fore (Brandzel 2016). This is particularly so when thinking through Guaraní women's agency in exercising exit rather than voice. As discussed above, women explained that Guaraní women tend to be quiet in the event of problems at work, not speaking up/back to employers. Yet, not saying anything and exiting is also a form of (very constrained) agency in actively disengaging. However, given Guaraní women's economic necessity, and the difficulties of income generation at the community level – particularly as collective indigenous economic citizens as discussed – disengaging with paid work as a long term strategy of 'refusal' is generally not an option (Perry 2020), even as women move in and out of work. The concept of 'anti-citizenship' thus seems less appropriate to understand Guaraní women's agency in leaving work.

Furthermore, building on Brandzel's point, there is also the danger of conceptualising all acts of exit through the lens of citizenship, as a political or *representational* act, whether oriented towards claiming citizenship or disavowing its false premises of inclusion. For example, Alberti examines labour mobility among migrants in London as a result of varying motivations and life goals, not all of which can be considered directly political (2014).¹⁴⁵ Peri-urban women in Santa Cruz also leave their work for various motivations, notably childcare and illness, as well as personal preferences. However, while I have tried to include under acts of 'exit' instances of leaving work as an orientation towards underpayment, exploitation, mistreatment or discrimination, this is

¹⁴⁵ She also found that migrants' ability 'to make a positive and strategic use of their mobility' depended on various intersectional factors (Alberti 2014: 874)

subjective (both in women's framing of their acts *at the point of interview* and in my interpretation) as well as often ambiguous, given that women's reasons for leaving jobs may also be multifaceted. For example, Doña Bernarda left her office job not only as a result of discrimination but also as she was dissatisfied with the work, which she felt was not helping her in her university degree, while the strict office hours did not give her the time to pursue her other life projects.

Furthermore, women often explained that they quit jobs as a result of tiredness, including from the long commute, yet exploitation at work could contribute to this exhaustion even if tiredness is not framed as a direct response to this mistreatment (and I have *not* coded these instances of quitting jobs as act of 'exit'). For example, Doña Jacinta, the Guaraní woman who experienced mistreatment as a kitchen assistant (Chapter 5) recounted that she left this job simply as she 'got tired' (*me cansé*) (GW65). Thus, diverse women also leave work when their 'energies' and bodies get worn down by the every-day, repetitive and grinding nature of low-skilled, female-typed work, as well as the mundane indignities involved (Gutiérrez-Rodríguez 2010: 137–9). For example, one Guaraní woman explained that she left one job when she became fed up with cleaning up the excrement left by her employer's dog. Such (chronic) exhaustion and indignities may be compounded by long commutes in often hot, packed buses, as well as women's double burden, where a change in childcare arrangements or a bout of illness (either their own or their children's) may be enough to trigger a decision to leave a job. For example, one woman (GW31) left her job as a kitchen assistant at a fast-food joint after two months when her son got sick, yet she was also unhappy with the pay at 60Bs out of which she had to pay two buses each way (totalling 8Bs). Furthermore, (unusually) she was working a late-night shift, which meant that she sometimes had little or no sleep while waiting for buses home at dawn, at which point she would need to get her young children ready for school. She had decided to work at night so she could be at home in the day and help her children with schoolwork. While her immediate decision to leave her work was based on her child's illness, her exhausting schedule compounded by poor pay and her care burden (with almost no help from her husband) seem in the background of her decision to quit her job.

Thus, while such acts of leaving work are not overtly political acts in themselves, they seem neither acts of citizenship or 'anti-citizenship', they do highlight the ongoing, intersectional exploitation and inequality in productive and reproductive work as experienced by peri-urban women and, in

particular, Guaraní women who are more likely to pursue casual paid employment. Thus, as Page has pointed out, understanding marginalised women's agency requires attention to the 'ordinary, everyday modes of self-maintenance and endurance required to sustain lives' (2017: 16). While Page makes this point in relation to one woman's explicitly political act of self-harm, this insight also applies to mundane, seemingly non-political acts around work in illuminating the ongoing or 'durative' intersectional inequalities within the assemblage of labour, which exclude women from substantive economic citizenship (Page 2017: 21; Povinelli 2011: 13).

However, despite the complexity of women's decision to leave their jobs, in acts of 'exit' where an orientation to mistreatment or exploitation plays a certain role in their decision to leave their jobs (as recounted in interview), it seems that women are not simply 'retreating' given the intersectional inequalities which impede 'voice' and wear them down, nor necessarily claiming an alternative 'space of belonging' (Ahmed 2000: 97) in their homes and communities away from the exploitation (and misrecognition) of urban employment as an act of 'anti-citizenship', but symbolically claiming their value and rights as citizen-workers within the post-neoliberal citizenship regime. Such complex and certainly constrained acts fall across Katz' typology of agency (as discussed by Coe & Jordhus-Lier 2010: 216–7). There are thus elements of 'getting by' (resilience) such as removing themselves from situations of mistreatment and exploitation, as well as challenges to inequalities within the system (reworking) such as women leaving work as a result of underpayment. However, there also seem to be (limited) elements of 'resistance' to the capitalist and colonial-modern system, even if these are largely symbolic. In his work on lay normativity and (class) inequality, Sayer argues for the importance of attention to moral 'sentiments' (everyday ethical feelings and emotions) in understanding socio-economic inequalities as well as the interconnections between (mis)recognition and (mal)distribution (see also Bolton & Laaser 2013: 516–7 who highlight the agentic and reflective aspect of lay morality at work; Sayer 2005: 42–3, 53). While deeply ambiguous, exit by peri-urban and Guaraní women can also be conceptualised as an act of constrained economic citizenship via a moral claim to value, equality and humanity in resisting citizen-citizen misrecognition as an inferior, subaltern worker.¹⁴⁶

¹⁴⁶ Relatedly, a few Guaraní women also mentioned that they or other Guaraní women just 'look' at people who mistreat them. While this again highlights the constraints on agency, this 'looking' or not saying anything can also

7.5 Conclusion

This chapter primarily addresses research question 2 in addressing how diverse, low-income and indigenous women negotiate and claim economic rights within Santa Cruz' urban labour market. In this chapter I have argued that Guaraní and low-income women's ability to claim rights collectively is limited, both as indigenous and as low-skilled workers. As indigenous workers, peri-urban Guaraní women are misrecognised and invisibilised both by indigenous organisations *and* the departmental and municipal government, where they are considered too urban, and by implication not poor enough, to require projects from the state. Furthermore, claiming collective rights (through projects) is difficult given breakdown in cohesion in the peri-urban communities well as women's limited resources and time, particularly with women increasingly going into the city to work.

Yet, despite increasing insertion into the labour market, claiming rights as workers is also complicated, given low levels of work-based associativity, particularly within paid work which is particularly important for Guaraní women. Low-skilled workers, in both formal and informal roles are not unionised and so claims for rights are mostly made individually, even if some women are increasingly learning about labour rights and institutional routes to claim these rights. The evidence presented in this chapter thus provides a counterpart to much scholarship on the Andes and in Bolivia in which women's collective action, particularly as market and street vendors, is predominant. This chapter thus shows that despite the process of change post-2006, low-skilled women are mostly fragmented within Bolivia's informal economy, placing real constraints on collective action.

However, attention to women's constrained agency at work underscores the importance of changing citizen-subjectivities post-MAS. While women still have little practical power to claim rights, despite being aware of their hypothetical possibilities to do so as exemplified by 'symbolic'

be interpreted as a form of silent but *agential* moral judgement. As Doña Lucy explained, when her boss gets angry with her: 'I don't say anything to her, I just look at her (*le miro no más*) until her rage passes' (GW107)

acts of discursive citizen-constitution, diverse women overwhelmingly exercise their agency by leaving their job in the event of mistreatment. While this strategy has continuities pre- and post-2006, in their acts of exit post-2006 women are ambiguously claiming recognition and displaying agency as citizen-workers not to be subject to degrading and even inhuman forms of treatment and exploitation at work, even if this act of exit at the same time highlights their ongoing lack of economic power.

This chapter thus shows how framing disruptive acts of citizenship in contrast to a stable habitus (and the everyday practices of citizenship) does not adequately reflect the complicated shifting legal and social terrain of informal labour, where assemblages of unequal power and knowledge are slowly shifting in certain threads of the entangled assemblage, but where some *patrones* and companies – particularly in the informal private sector – continue to take advantage of the material inequalities and lack of enforcement of labour rights, which persist post-2006. Attention to peri-urban Guaraní and other diverse women's constrained agency thus highlights the locationally specific and 'grounded' nature of labour's agency (Coe & Jordhus-Lier 2010: 218), as well as the limits to women's substantive economic citizenship under the post-neoliberal citizenship regime.

Chapter 8. Conclusion

In the first section of this conclusion, the empirical findings for the first three research questions will be summarized, combining the evidence from chapters 2-7. In the second section, the wider relevance for Bolivian scholarship will be drawn out. Section 3 will then discuss the final research question to think through some policy implications for economic citizenship.

8.1 Summary of empirical findings

Through the concept of the ‘gender-ethnic assemblage of labour’ initially elaborated in chapters 3 and 4, then developed further in chapters 5-7, this thesis has attempted to address research question 3 to understand how and why intersectional labour market stratification, as experienced by Guaraní and other diverse peri-urban women, is reproduced yet also shifting in key ways under the post-neoliberal citizenship regime in Bolivia, and the implications for women’s substantive economic citizenship. The thesis has argued that gendered occupational segregation in low-skilled work, as well as women’s disadvantage in terms of possibilities for work and pay, has largely continued post-2006, as a result of strong gender norms around men and women’s capabilities, as well as women’s ongoing (normative) responsibilities for social reproduction.

It has also been argued that gender-blind economic planning at the national level has, in general, not provided enhanced opportunities for low-skilled women’s work, while women’s responsibilities for social reproduction have been invisibilised and marginalised (devalued) within the futurity of national development planning based around extractivism, thereby addressing research question 1. Furthermore, important and far-reaching legislation on women’s labour rights and gender-based violence has been reduced in policy terms to tackling discrete moments of harm, while women’s institutions have been degraded, with limited budgets for programmes and reach nationally.¹⁴⁷ This represents a fundamental misrecognition by the state of women’s productive activities and ongoing work of ‘maintaining time’, in which the unequal ‘gender contract’ has not

¹⁴⁷ Although as highlighted in Chapter 3, the creation of the National Women’s Service in 2019 is an exciting development.

been fundamentally altered in the post-neoliberal citizenship shift, despite (discursive) attention to gender equality, in particular through the lens of gender-based violence.

However, new legislation has circulated in important ways in the local assemblage of labour with some change in shifting gendered citizen-consciousness and subjectivities. Many women are aware of a ‘women’s law’ that protects them at work (both within and outside the home), while some women have noted increased compliance with (gendered) labour rights and opportunities for gender-equal work, particularly public sector municipal work. Furthermore, women have experienced increased opportunities for work with the growth of the city, which has in some cases combined with the new legislative context to provide greater possibilities for work and somewhat improved pay. Yet, apart from some increase in (sub-contracted) municipal work, the work available to women is largely confined to traditional ‘female-typed’ occupations, and is mostly casual work, which is often poorly remunerated and without social security, thereby limiting the substantive realisation of low-skilled women’s economic citizenship in terms of access to decent paid work.

Furthermore, through attention to diverse women’s socio-spatial and material locations within the peri-urban assemblage of labour (chapters 3 & 4), the thesis has argued that Guaraní women are disadvantaged as economic citizens in specific ways, even in comparison with other low-skilled women with similar gender-class constraints. Such disadvantage contributes to increasing stratification between low-income peri-urban women. Firstly, the thesis has argued that despite the post-neoliberal state’s devaluation and misrecognition of women’s work in informal trade, such work – particularly the sale of foodstuffs or groceries – continues to be an important source of income for low-skilled women, particularly with childcare responsibilities. However, informal commerce is particularly difficult to sustain for Guaraní women, given the way their socio-spatial *ñande reko* combines with material and infrastructural inequalities of the peri-urban area, as well as the particular dynamics of the peri-urban economy. The substantive realisation of economic citizenship via self-employment is thus particularly difficult for Guaraní women, even as self-employment continues to represent a key route to economic citizenship in post-neoliberal Bolivia. Guaraní women thus overall employ different labour strategies than other diverse women, notably looking for casual work in washing clothes and carrying out debt-work to ensure the social

reproduction of their families.

The thesis has also argued that these uneven socio-spatial and material practices further entrench derogatory and racialised representations circulating in the peri-urban area: of Guaraní women as ‘lazy’ and living for the day, and highland migrant women as ‘progressives’ or ‘mercantilist’. The circulation of representations of Guaraní women as lazy is further territorialised by local departmental and municipal gendered productive programmes which, in addition to reinforcing traditional gender roles around work, continue to promote the neoliberal (normative) ideal of the entrepreneurial woman and mother. Such imaginaries continue to circulate and rebound upwards to the national level, despite the marginalisation of informal gendered commerce within post-neoliberal planning. Neoliberal market inequalities therefore persist, yet also territorialise in new ways post-2006 as new forms of class differentiation between some peri-urban highland migrant and Guaraní women are set in place, reconstituting inequalities in gendered economic citizenship. Furthermore, racialised representations of Guaraní women as lazy by HM women are also embedded in the colonality of power (of Being and Knowledge), as well as linked to changing class-differentiation between indigenous women, in which inter-indigenous/ethnic mistreatment may be increasing.

Chapters 5 and 6 further developed the analysis of economic citizenship by interrogating the operation of race-ethnicity within the assemblage of labour, and in extending considerations of socio-spatial materiality into the city. Chapter 5 examined how differing ethno-racialised representations of (indigenous) highland and lowland women have shifted, yet also persisted into the post-neoliberal present, with implications for women’s work and their experience of economic citizenship via citizen-citizen misrecognition at work (addressing research questions 1 & 2). This chapter further developed the concept of the gender-ethnic assemblage of labour to understand how entangled markers of race-ethnicity-class stick to bodies in exclusionary ways. It has been argued that while overt and extreme forms of racism have decreased significantly within Santa Cruz, subtle forms of status distinctions persist which limit Guaraní women’s substantive economic citizenship in paid work via misrecognition, both in access to work and in discrimination/mistreatment within work. While these status distinctions are also based on embodied markers of class as well as race-ethnicity, given the closely intertwined categories of

class and race-ethnicity in Bolivia as in other Andean countries, such status distinctions may sometimes be experienced and embodied by Guaraní as racial-ethnic discrimination. Such distinctions may also result in the racial discrimination and devaluation of Guaraní women's work as the indigenous lowland Other, even while some Guaraní women may draw on increasing cultural capital in some spaces of paid work as the *india permitida*, particularly through Guaraní language skills. High-skilled Guaraní women with fewer embodied markers, yet known to be indigenous, may also be misrecognised as the lowland Other when they step out of place or challenge the status hierarchy.

Chapter 6 showed how diverse women's relationship to the infrastructure and spaces of the city 'in between', as well as their socio-spatial networks as providing a collective phenomenological resource, affect their possibilities for work and income generation through uneven and unequal urban encounters, which compound intersectional stratification between diverse women. Attention to such encounters in the city helps to de-essentialise intersectional categories given that they draw attention to difference within *intracategorical* groups, as well as commonalities across *intercategorical* groups. It also illuminates the unequal experience of economic citizenship as lived through the unequal gendered right to city (Fenster 2005), thereby addressing research questions 2 and 3. This chapter also showed how the intersectional inequalities of knowledge within the 'lettered city' extend beyond formal qualifications and technical skills, but take on a phenomenological quality as these inequalities are lived by women in urban space.

Finally, through attention to 'acts of citizenship', chapter 7 considered research question 2 to ask whether indigenous and low-income peri-urban women have been able to negotiate and claim economic citizenship. This chapter focused specifically on questions of 'representation', the third element of Fraser's framework of social justice. The chapter showed that Guaraní and other peri-urban women's ability to represent themselves as collective economic citizens and claim redistribution is limited, both as workers and indigenous. In particular, the constraints on women's collective acts as indigenous economic citizens to claim productive projects highlight the difficulties for lowland peri-urban women in the particular power-geometries of indigeneity post-MAS, given that they are misrecognised as normative indigenous citizens both as *urban* (within Santa Cruz) and as *lowland* (nationally). Thus, when women attempt to negotiate or claim rights

they largely do so as individuals, fragmented in Santa Cruz' informal and casualised labour market. However, despite ongoing difficulties in claiming rights, women exercise limited agency through acts of exit. Such ambiguous acts – as well as continuities with strategies pre-2006 – highlight the ongoing inequalities of material power within Santa Cruz' labour market as well as limited state resources to guarantee the substantive realisation of formal economic rights. Yet, they also highlight constrained agency among diverse and marginalised women, by which they claim a normative recognition as citizen workers in the post-neoliberal citizenship regime.

8.2 Implications for Bolivian scholarship

The findings of the thesis have implications for Bolivian scholarship in several respects. Firstly, with regard to the literature on the highland indigenous bourgeoisie (Maclean 2018; Tassi, Hinojosa & Canaviri 2015), the thesis highlights subtle forms of differentiation within peri-urban Santa Cruz as some women, through activities in informal commerce, have been able to obtain a measure of basic security for their families. Notably, these *comerciantes* are often highland migrants who, mostly having migrated to Santa Cruz some years ago, have entered informal commerce and, little by little, built up small business. In some cases, HM women employ peri-urban women, notably lowland Guaraní women, to carry out some limited domestic tasks or as kitchen assistants in urban informal markets. However, in the peri-urban area, this differentiation is not of the spectacular form as highlighted by research on the wealthy Aymara bourgeoisie in EL Alto; there were no luxurious 'cholets', for example, in the peri-urban communities.¹⁴⁸

While the links between the new indigenous bourgeoisie and the MAS government are suggestive of a 'reconstituted neoliberalism' in Bolivia (Webber 2011: 176; Webber 2016), the findings of *subtle* forms of differentiation between peri-urban women reveal that other gendered dynamics are also at play, which have not been sufficiently explored. Thus, while there are certainly continuities with the neoliberal era post-2006, the concept of a 'reconstituted neoliberalism' does not seem to

¹⁴⁸ '*Cholet*', a combination of the term '*cholo*' referring to the urban indigenous (see Glossary) with '*chalet*', is the name given to the colourful – and expensive – multi-story buildings in El Alto built in a neo-Andean style by the Aymara architect Freddy Mamani; such buildings, used for residential, leisure and business purposes, symbolise the power and wealth of the Aymara bourgeoisie, as well as indigeneity's claiming of urban space (Runnels 2019).

fully explain this increasing, but still overall small stratification between peri-urban women post-2006, which I argue can helpfully be understood through the concept of precarity with a social reproduction lens. By illuminating these subtle forms of differentiation between peri-urban women, this thesis adds in important ways to the scholarship of indigeneity in Bolivia by highlighting new power-geometries among indigenous and racialised women in Santa Cruz, as such differentiation also involve struggles over symbolic power. Furthermore, in drawing attention to this subtle gender-ethnic class differentiation, the thesis highlights that the new post-neoliberal citizenship regime is also gender-blind in the economic domain, despite the discursive commitment to ‘depatriarchalisation’ and some limited action on gender-based violence. However, the post-neoliberal state’s misrecognition of women’s economic citizenship has intersectional effects of maldistribution across configurations of gender-ethnicity-race-class and place.

While the existing literature has highlighted the extreme racism and abuse faced by highland migrant women in Santa Cruz in the early years of the MAS government, this thesis highlights that in the post-neoliberal configuration, lowland indigenous women face specific exclusions as economic citizens within Santa Cruz which have so far been invisibilised. In addition to the socio-material configurations within the peri-urban area which provide particular constraints for Guaraní women in setting up and maintaining small businesses, this thesis has argued that in looking for paid work, lowland Guaraní women also face discrimination by potential employers through subtle status distinctions based on embodied class and ethno-racialised markers, while the coloniality of knowledge particularly affects some (older) Guaraní women’s possibility to look for work and the substantive realisation of economic citizenship through uneven access and right to the city.

The thesis thereby provides a counterpart to a large body of scholarship within Bolivia (and indeed the Andean countries) on indigenous and *chola* Aymara and Quechua women’s informal market work as *comerciantes*. This thesis highlights that more attention is required to urban indigenous women’s *paid* work across the formal-informal economies (and beyond live-in domestic work). Firstly, attention to indigenous women’s opportunities for and experiences in paid work highlights shifting configurations of racism, discrimination and class-based exploitation, which are invisibilised through attention to market work alone. Secondly, attention to paid work is important, given the potential of formal work compliant with labour rights for indigenous women’s inclusions

as economic citizens. In particular, the importance of public sector municipal work for Guaraní women has been highlighted, including in accessing decent work with rights and benefits (even while there are also ongoing issues with subcontracting). Yet such an increase in public sector and sub-contracted municipal work among lowland Guaraní women is not as a result of national state policy, such as quotas for public employment as in the Ecuadorian case (Walsh 2015: 29), but seems rather to be a result of Guaraní women's previous involvement in public works programmes as well as processes of ethnic niching in the context of a slight increase in public sector employment overall post-MAS.

Indigenous women's paid work within the public sector provides another way of imagining alternative economies in Bolivia and as responses to precarity (Kalleberg 2009: 17; Cameron & Gibson-Graham 2003), understood specifically within this thesis as the precarity of social reproduction. Such attention to (decent) public sector work could complement current attention to the solidarity or socio-communitarian economies within Bolivia, which have mostly focused on the complex intertwinement of reciprocal and capitalist relations within (indigenous) women's cooperative activities (Hillenkamp 2015). Attention to municipal urban employment also provides a response to public policy which prioritises rural indigeneity in terms of how to envision 'communitarian' work among indigenous women within urban space, where other forms of communal work have largely disappeared. Within these municipal roles, women are collectively and publicly caring for the material infrastructure and environment of the city and neighbourhoods, while in some cases accessing better labour rights and benefits. Thus, more attention needs to be paid to revaluing the public work of (communal) urban care, as well as links with the wider work of social reproduction (Katz 2001).

In addition, while the literature has focused on the new *political* citizenship of indigenous women, there has been limited research on the effect of new equalities and (gendered) labour legislation on (indigenous) women's economic opportunities and experiences as *economic* citizens. This thesis has highlighted the importance of the legislation for women's new citizen-subjectivities and belonging as economic citizens in Bolivia post-2006, as well as limited material effects, including in their possibilities to negotiate and claim rights (as representational practices across the fuzzy boundary with political citizenship).

However, notably this new consciousness does not seem to have translated into an awareness among peri-urban Guaraní women of the state's duty in terms of positive labour rights (in terms of promoting women's incorporation into work, as stated in the constitution), and this may be in large part precisely because the state has not taken measures to fulfil this duty - or has done so in extremely limited and patchy ways, aligning with limitations of the Ecuadorian state in implementing affirmative action beyond wider measures to tackle socio-economic inequality, such as improving infrastructure (Walsh 2015: 31). Thus, in line with other research in Bolivia, which has emphasized women's community-based citizenship in mediating interactions with the state (Lazar 2007b), my findings suggest that in this post-neoliberal 'multi-layered' citizenship, women generally continue to place a duty for positive economic rights (notably productive projects) at the feet of their community leadership.

8.3 Economic citizenship, recognition-redistribution and policy implications

This final section of the conclusion aims to address research question 4 to ask how post-neoliberal differentiated citizenship regimes can challenge intersectional economic inequalities. In thinking about differentiated citizenship, some commentators have argued that recognition may be counterproductive for equality among groups with unequal power. For example, Goldberg notes the paradox that to acknowledge histories of racism, racialised groups must be named, which brings with it dangers of the reification of identities and 'categories' (2002: 275). Similarly, Fraser has noted that cultural recognition may encourage 'group differentiation' via 'affirmative' rather than 'transformative' approaches to social justice, i.e. 'correcting inequitable outcomes' rather than 'restructuring the underlying generative framework' (1997: 16, 23–7). These critiques also have some resonance with Brandzel's argument of the violence of citizenship in the production of 'anti-intersectional, anti-coalitional politics' (2016: 4). Indeed, the experiences of Guaraní women suggest that processes of decolonisation and indigenous recognition – as intertwined with gendered exclusions of Bolivia's post-neoliberal economic model – may have functioned to produce (recognise) in the national citizen imaginary (if not by the state) a normative gendered urban indigenous economic citizen-subject, *the highland indigenous or chola entrepreneur*, which is

violent to peri-urban Guaraní women's inclusion as full economic citizens in the post-neoliberal state.

However, intersectional recognition as part of the post-neoliberal citizenship regime has also taken on a transformative life of its own within assemblages of labour in changing citizen-subjectivities, which seems to have had real (albeit limited) effects for greater equalities at work and citizen-citizen recognition through the labour relation. Attention to this new consciousness as citizens thus highlights the fuzziness of the distinction between formal and substantive citizenship. While arguably the realisation of peri-urban women's economic citizenship is still limited, given a lack of material power and state enforcement of labour rights, the symbolic circulation of their formal citizenship has substantive effects for their work. Despite continuing discriminatory gendered and racialised representations, some Guaraní and other peri-urban women are interpreting the circulation of this new legislation as a 'chain of equivalence' as they connect up intersectional inequalities and see increased equality in one dimension as connected to the strengthening of equality in another (Mouffe 1991: 79–80). Thus, for some grassroots indigenous and racialised women, intersectional citizen rights are not experienced as a zero-sum game but may function to reinforce each other in a positive way, and indeed some of the worst abuses and exploitation of racialised, indigenous and low-income women seem to be reducing, as employers realise that such abuse is less acceptable. This highlights that affirmative approaches to recognition may also be transformative providing they can work against status 'subordination' (Fraser & Honneth 2003: 82).

Building on this, the question seems to be how a post-neoliberal citizenship regime can best support recognition *and* redistribution through economic citizenship, strengthening transformative justice, while weakening tendencies to normative violence through misrecognition. Firstly, the emphasis placed by Bolivian academics on the need to align social, labour and macroeconomic/development policy seems key to bring together aspects of recognition and redistribution which have largely been separated in policy domains, and thereby also centre social reproduction within imaginaries of *vivir bien* (Wanderley 2011: 549–50; Wanderley 2009: 21–3; Farah, Wanderley & Sánchez 2009: 130). Secondly, affirmative approaches to social justice may meet 'immediate' needs while also stimulating a longer term 'trajectory' for transformative change

(Fraser & Honneth 2003: 78–82). Thus, the evaluation of economic/redistributive policies through an (intersectional) gender lens is crucial to improve marginalised women’s immediate situation *within* the existing unequal gendered division of labour, while at the same time challenging gendered norms across the productive and reproductive economies. This would arguably require significant state commitment through the allocation of sufficient resources (far beyond the budgets for national gender institutions in 2017) for incorporating and promoting women’s work in non-traditional sectors, alongside the redistribution of care.

Furthermore, as shown throughout the thesis, gender inequalities are lived and produced unevenly through the entanglement and (re)configuration of intersectional hierarchies in socio-spatial and material assemblages. Thus, in thinking about how a *differentiated* economic citizenship could further a transformative material recognition that is not exclusionary (or violent), more attention needs to be paid to state support at the local level for indigenous women’s decent work (productive and reproductive), alongside the wider implementation of equalities and labour legislation to challenge racist-gendered-classed discrimination and exploitation at work.

Thus, exploring economic citizenship through an assemblage lens (with attention to the ‘social environment’) emphasises the importance of a *locationally* differentiated economic citizenship, which is different from the kind of ‘group’ differentiated citizenship as advocated by Young, despite her acknowledgement of the importance of ‘social location’ (1989: 264). This is because it takes as the starting point the constitution of intersectional economic inequalities within place, rather than groups, which could encourage group reification and so citizenship’s tendencies towards ‘normative violence’. This is not to advocate for the continuation of the kind of neoliberal participatory development as exemplified by the LPP, but rather for the expansion of (long term) gendered employment programmes and public sector employment (compliant with labour rights) alongside state provision of care, which are developed in conjunction with marginalised and low-income communities and neighbourhoods (thereby promoting economic representation and democracy), and which include attention to women’s *lived* ‘social environment’ and ‘multi-layered’ citizenship. The obligation would thus be on the state to provide employment or help indigenous women to find decent work, such as through a localised labour exchange sensitive to women’s diverse lifeworlds, rather than the onus on women to generate their own precarious

income as ‘market citizens’ (Fudge 2005: 645) or obligations on communal leaders to request projects and ‘help’. This locational focus would also enable better articulation between employment policies, programmes and the local economic context (Farah, Wanderley & Sánchez 2009: 131; Jiménez Zamora & Contreras 2014), with the aim of promoting a situated *material recognition* to challenge intersectional inequalities in substantive economic citizenship.

To conclude, as I finish the corrections to my thesis, the MAS has just celebrated an overwhelming victory in Bolivia’s 2020 elections, ending their year-long hiatus from power. After a turbulent year and right-wing caretaker government, the election result suggests a vindication of the post-neoliberal citizenship regime. However, with a new incoming president, Luis Arce, and in the midst of the COVID crisis – an intersectionally unequal crisis with severe impacts for social reproduction – the direction that Bolivia will now take, along with the effects for indigenous women’s economic citizenship, remain to be seen.

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Appendices

Appendix: Glossary and Acronyms

A1 Glossary of Spanish, Guaraní and Ayoreo terms

Bachiller – the academic qualification received on graduating from secondary school

Camba - refers to people from the lowlands and, more specifically, from the department of Santa Cruz, in contradistinction to ‘*colla*’.

Capitán/Capitana – Captain. ‘The term Capitán has been used since colonial times to translate the Guaraní term *mburuvicha*’, which means the ‘communal leader’ (Ros Izquierdo & Combes 2003: 20,).

Chola – refers to women from the Andean highlands and valleys (often from rural areas) who dress in the pleated skirt (*pollera*), often with braided hair. The diminutive ‘*cholita*’ is also commonly used. In the highlands, Cholo/chola also refer to the urban indigenous, particularly market women, as in ‘in between’ status between rural indigeneity and urban mestizos (see Seligmann 1989).

Cojñone – Ayoreo term referring to the non-Ayoreo, meaning ‘people without correct thought’ (APCOB 2014: 129)

Colla – refers to people from the Andean highlands and valleys. Has pejorative and racist connotations in the lowlands but may also be used by people from the Andean highlands and valleys as a self-descriptor and in a positive sense. The term is used in contradistinction to ‘*camba*’.

Interior, exterior – Both ‘interior’ – and confusingly sometimes ‘exterior’ – are used in Santa Cruz to refer to the western part of the country, i.e. to the Andean highlands and valleys.

Karai – A Guaraní term referring to people who are not Guaraní and specifically to white people.

Mburuvicha – a Guaraní term meaning leader.

Ñande reko – a Guaraní term meaning ‘our way of being’.

Occidente – Occident. Refers to the western part of the country, i.e. to the Andean highlands and valleys.

Oriente – Orient. Refers to the eastern part of the country, i.e. the lowlands.

Paisano/a – Countryman/woman. Term used to refer to a) someone with the same provenance as the speaker (e.g. *mi paisano*, my countryman) but also b) someone from the Andean highlands and valleys (e.g. *es paisana*, she’s from the highlands). Sometimes used in the diminutive (e.g. *paisanita*).

Plan 3000 – A large low-income (popular) neighbourhood with a bustling market, around 30-40 minutes by bus from the peri-urban area. Following a fire in 2017, some of the market was cleared as part of the municipal reorganization of the markets.

Porrear – verb meaning to drink mate. Mate is a tea commonly drunk across South America, including Chile, Argentina and Paraguay. In Bolivia, mate is consumed in the lowlands.

Trufi – a collective taxi (large car or minibus) following a pre-defined route. They take fewer passengers, are faster than buses and are therefore also more expensive.

A2 Key acronyms and abbreviations

APG – Asamblea del Pueblo Guaraní (Assembly of the Guaraní People)

APISACS – Asociación de Pueblos Indígenas de Santa Cruz de la Sierra (Association of Indigenous Peoples of Santa Cruz de la Sierra)

CEDLA – Centro de Estudios para el Desarrollo Laboral y Agrario (Centre of Studies for Labour and Agrarian Development)

CIDOB – La Confederación de Pueblos Indígenas del Oriente Boliviano (The Confederation of Indigenous Peoples of the Bolivian Orient)

C/LM – Cruceña/Lowland Migrant

FENATRAHOB – Federación Nacional de Trabajadoras Asalariadas del Hogar de Bolivia (National Federation of Salaried Household Workers of Bolivia)

FG – Focus Group

HM - Highland migrant

HS/I – Household Surveys and Interviews

LPP – Ley de Participación Popular (Law of Popular Participation)

MAS – El Movimiento al Socialismo – Instrumento Político por la Soberanía de los Pueblos (MAS-IPSP) – (Movement Towards Socialism – Political Instrument for the Sovereignty of the Peoples). The MAS government led by Evo Morales was in power from December 2005 to October 2019.

NCPE – Nueva Constitución Política del Estado (New Political Constitution of the State)

PDES – Plan de Desarrollo Económico y Social 2016-20 (Economic and Social Development Plan 2016-20)

PND – Plan Nacional de Desarrollo 2006-11 (National Development Plan 2006-11)

Appendix B: Research participants

Table B1 Summary of research participants

Appendix Reference table	Group	Type of Data	Number of participants
B2	Grassroots women	Household surveys	116
B2	Grassroots women	Interviews	14
B3	Grassroots women	Focus groups (7)	30
B4	Grassroots women	Principal participant observation	3
B5	Grassroots men	Interviews	7
B6	Peri-urban professionals	Interviews	3
B7	Leaders	Interviews	7
B8	Public sector/Civil servants	Interviews	14
B9	NGOs	Interviews	4
B10	(Other) Lowland Indigenous Women	Interviews	2
Total			200

Table B2 Grassroots peri-urban women (GW) Household surveys (HS) and interviews (I)

Identifier	Pseudonym	Dates	Household Survey (HS)/Interview(I)	Intersectional group	Indigenous Language	Age Group
GW1	Aluisa	20/01/17	HS (pilot)	Guaraní	Guaraní	25-29
GW2	Senobia	21/01/17	HS (pilot)	Guaraní	Guaraní	35-39
GW3	Tomasina	27/01/17	HS (pilot)	Guaraní	Guaraní	20-24
GW4	Ofelia	27/01/17	HS (pilot)	Guaraní	Guaraní	30-34
GW5	Yolanda	29/01/17	HS (pilot – incomplete)	Guaraní	Guaraní	55-59
GW6	Trinidad	30/01/17	HS (pilot)	Guaraní	Guaraní	65-69
GW7	Nelia	17/02/17	HS	Guaraní	Guaraní	20-24
GW8	Anabella	18/02/17	HS	Guaraní	Guaraní	45-49
GW9	Selena	19/02/17	HS	Guaraní	Guaraní	35-39
GW10	Nora	21/02/17	HS	Guaraní	Guaraní	20-24
GW11	Renata	21/02/17 & 22/02/17 & 08/12/17	HS	Guaraní	Guaraní	25-29
GW12	Yuly	22/02/17	HS	Guaraní	Guaraní	45-49
GW13	Esperanza	23/02/17 & 04/09/17	HS	Guaraní	Guaraní	30-34
GW14	Katia	24/02/17	HS	Guaraní	Guaraní	20-24
GW15	Violeta	02/03/17	HS	Cruzeña/lowland migrant	Guaraní (understands)	30-34
GW16	Fabiana	06/03/17	HS	Guaraní	Guaraní	50-54
GW17	Petrona	16/03/17	HS	Guaraní		20-24
GW18	Cefernia	20/03/17	HS (incomplete)	Guaraní	Guaraní	50-54
GW19	Kiara	22/03/17	HS	Guaraní	Guaraní	30-34
GW20	Sofia	24/03/17	HS	Guaraní		25-29
GW21	Alameda	25/03/17 & 28/03/17 & 07/04/17	HS	Guaraní	Guaraní	20-24
GW22	Aranza	28/03/17	HS	Guaraní	Guaraní	45-49

GW23	Paloma	29/03/17	HS	Guaraní	Guaraní	35-39
GW24	Brisa	31/03/17 & 30/05/17	HS	Cruzeña/lowland migrant	Guaraní (understands)	50-54
GW25	Betina	4/4/2017 & 11/04/17	HS	Cruzeña/lowland migrant	Quechua	45-49
GW26	Alvira	6/4/2017 & 27/04/17	HS	Guaraní	Guaraní	40-44
GW27	Angela	07/04/17	HS	Guaraní	Guaraní	30-34
GW28	Sonia	10/4/2017 & 25/04/2017	HS	Guaraní	Guaraní	35-39
GW29	Cimona	23/04/17	HS (incomplete)	Highland migrant	Aymara	55-59
GW30	Rafaela	23/04/17 & 09/05/17	HS	Cruzeña/lowland migrant		20-24
GW31	Cecilia	26/04/17/ & 29/04/17	HS	Guaraní		25-29
GW32	Miranda	28/04/17	HS	Guaraní	Guaraní	45-49
GW33	Octavia	28/04/17 & 11/05/17	HS	Highland migrant	Quechua	45-49
GW34	Soledad	29/04/17	HS	Highland migrant	Quechua	25-29
GW35	Amelina	30/04/17 & 27/05/17	HS	Guaraní	Guaraní	35-39
GW36	Flor	30/04/17	HS (incomplete)	Highland migrant	Quechua	35-39
GW37	Paula	30/04/17 & 12/05/17	HS	Highland migrant	Quechua	35-39
GW38	Yoli	11/5/2017 & 18/05/17	HS (incomplete)	Guaraní	Guaraní	65-69
GW39	Adelina	19/05/17	HS	Highland migrant	Quechua	60-64
GW40	Rosalina	21/05/17	HS	Cruzeña/lowland migrant		20-24
GW41	Karina	23/05/17 & 24/05/17 & 30/05/17	HS	Guaraní	Guaraní (understands)	25-29
GW42	Irenea	26/05/17	HS (incomplete)	Cruzeña/lowland migrant		55-59
GW43	Isabel	01/06/17	HS	Guaraní	Guaraní (understands)	25-29
GW44	Clementina	05/06/17	HS	Cruzeña/lowland migrant		35-39

GW45	Tavia	5/6/2017 & 13/06/17	HS	Cruzeña/lowland migrant		25-29
GW46	Camila	6/6/2017 & 15/09/2017	HS	Guaraní	Guaraní	40-44
GW47	Danna	06/06/17	HS	Guaraní	Guaraní	40-44
GW48	Nicanora	11/06/17	HS	Highland migrant		55-59
GW49	Rubi	12/06/17	HS	Cruzeña/lowland migrant		30-34
GW50	Dulcina	15/06/17 & 27/06/17	HS	Cruzeña/lowland migrant		30-34
GW51	Gregoria	20/06/17 & 04/07/17	HS	Cruzeña/lowland migrant		30-34
GW52	Loyisa	20/06/17	HS	Highland migrant	Aymara	30-34
GW53	Noelia	21/06/17 & 05/07/17 & 05/09/17	HS	Cruzeña/lowland migrant		55-59
GW54	Constanza	22/06/17 & 27/06/17 & 28/06/17	HS	Cruzeña/lowland migrant		60-64
GW55	Susana	23/06/17 & 29/06/17	HS	Guaraní	Guaraní (understands)	20-24
GW56	Mery	24/06/17 & 26/07/17 & 27/07/17 & 16/08/17	HS	Cruzeña/lowland migrant		25-29
GW57	Gemma	27/06/17 & 29/11/17	HS	Highland migrant		30-34
GW58	Enriqua	28/06/17 & 03/07/17	HS	Cruzeña/lowland migrant		45-49
GW59	Yesabel	30/06/17 & 03/07/17	HS	Cruzeña/lowland migrant		25-29
GW60	Belén	1/7/2017 & 31/07/17 & 02/08/17 & 09/08/17	HS	Guaraní	Guaraní	30-34
GW61	Ana	2/7/2017 & 07/07/17 & 08/07/17	HS	Cruzeña/lowland migrant		40-44
GW62	Rosa	4/7/2017 & 05/07/17 & 28/08/17 & 29/08/17	HS	Cruzeña/lowland migrant	Quechua	35-39
GW63	Crisanta	4/7/2017 & 25/08/17	HS	Cruzeña/lowland migrant		60-64

GW64	Benicia	06/07/17	HS (incomplete)	Guaraní	Guaraní	35-39
GW65	Jacinta	8/7/2017 & 25/11/17	HS	Guaraní	Guaraní	50-54
GW66	Guillermina	03/08/2017 & 16/08/2017	HS	Guaraní	Guaraní	40-44
GW67	Florencia	8/8/2017 & 25/11/17	HS	Guaraní	Guaraní	55-59
GW68	Telma	10/8/2017 & 26/08/17	HS	Highland migrant	Quechua	40-44
GW69	Liocadia	11/8/2017 & 18/08/17 & 22/08/17	HS	Highland migrant	Quechua	60-64
GW70	Paulina	12/8/2017 & 22/08/17	HS	Guaraní	Guaraní	35-39
GW71	Elisa	14/08/17 & 19/08/17	HS	Guaraní		30-34
GW72	Tona	17/08/17	HS (incomplete)	Cruzeña/lowland migrant		55-59
GW73	Marilin	19/08/17 & 21/08/17	HS	Cruzeña/lowland migrant	Quechua (understands)	25-29
GW74	Bianca	20/08/17	HS	Guaraní	Guaraní (understands)	30-34
GW75	Sara	27/08/17	HS	Guaraní	Guaraní	35-39
GW76	Inesa	28/08/17 & 14/09/17 & 18/09/17	HS	Highland migrant	Quechua	35-39
GW77	Mariana	29/08/17 & 30/09/17	HS	Highland migrant	Quechua	45-49
GW78	Isidora	31/08/17 & 05/09/17 & 07/09/17	HS	Guaraní	Guaraní	40-44
GW79	Eloisa	01/09/17	HS	Guaraní	Guaraní	30-34
GW80	Nelida	02/09/17	HS (incomplete)	Highland migrant	Quechua	25-29
GW81	Ursula	2/9/2017 & 07/10/17 & 29/11/17	HS (incomplete)	Highland migrant	Quechua	55-59
GW82	Elocadia	03/09/17	HS	Guaraní	Guaraní	20-24
GW83	Faustina	04/09/17	HS	Guaraní	Guaraní	30-34
GW84	Salome	8/9/2017 & 23/09/17	HS (Incomplete)	Highland migrant	Quechua	60-64
GW85	Marcia	16/09/17 & 19/09/17 & 28/09/17 & 10/10/17	HS	Cruzeña/lowland migrant		50-54
GW86	Jorgina	20/09/17 & 03/10/17	HS	Guaraní	Guaraní	40-44
GW87	Bernarda	21/09/17 & 02/10/17	HS	Guaraní	Guaraní (understands)	25-29
GW88	Araseli	28/09/17 & 05/10/17 & 12/12/17	HS	Guaraní	Guaraní	40-44

GW89	Clarisa	29/09/17	HS	Guaraní	Guaraní	75-79?
GW90	Siena	29/09/17	HS	Highland migrant	Aymara	35-39
GW91	Esmeralda	02/10/17 & 04/10/17 & 30/10/17	HS	Cruzeña/lowland migrant		18-19
GW92	Ariana	4/10/2017 & 11/10/17	HS	Highland migrant	Quechua	20-24
GW93	Hilaria	15/10/17 & 31/10/17	HS (Incomplete)	Highland migrant	Aymara	45-49
GW94	Margarita	30/10/2017 & 15/11/17	HS	Cruzeña/lowland migrant		50-54
GW95	Fiorella	07/11/17	HS	Guaraní	Guaraní	60-64
GW96	Alicia	08/11/17	HS	Guaraní	Guaraní	55-59
GW97	Alejandra	8/11/2017 & 03/12/17	HS	Guaraní	Guaraní	40-44
GW98	Orlanda	09/11/17	HS	Cruzeña/lowland migrant		35-39
GW99	Gina	10/11/17	HS	Guaraní	Guaraní	35-39
GW100	Felisia	12/11/2017 & 08/12/17	HS	Cruzeña/lowland migrant		25-29
GW101	Rosario	13/11/17	HS	Guaraní	Guaraní	40-44
GW102	Solana	15/11/17 & 28/11/17	HS	Cruzeña/lowland migrant		25-29
GW103	Belinda	18/11/17 & 22/11/17	HS	Guaraní	Guaraní	35-39
GW104	Nely	21/11/17	HS	Guaraní	Guaraní (understands)	25-29
GW105	Alma	21/11/17	HS	Highland migrant	Quechua	50-54
GW106	Verena	23/11/17	HS	Guaraní	Guaraní (understands)	35-39
GW107	Lucy	23/11/17	HS	Guaraní	Guaraní	40-44
GW108	Valeria	25/11/17	HS	Guaraní	Guaraní (understands)	25-29
GW109	Lilelia	28/11/17	HS	Cruzeña/lowland migrant		40-44
GW110	Elena	30/11/17	HS	Cruzeña/lowland migrant		30-34

GW111	Florinda	03/12/17	HS	Guaraní	Guaraní	35-39
GW112	Cloe	04/12/17	HS	Guaraní	Guaraní (understands)	20-24
GW113	Marisela	07/12/17	HS	Highland migrant	Quechua	30-34
GW114	Claudia	07/12/17	HS	Guaraní	Guaraní	25-29
GW115	Priscila	08/12/17	HS	Guaraní	Guaraní (understands)	45-49
GW116	Eva	11/12/17	HS	Guaraní	Guaraní	30-34
GW117	Francisca	13/08/17	I	Guaraní	Guaraní (understands)	25-29
GW118	Clara	18/09/17	I	Cruzeña/lowland migrant	Quechua	35-39
GW119	Marisol	22/09/17	I	Highland migrant	Quechua	25-29
GW120	Jazmín	28/09/17	I	Guaraní	Guaraní	60-64
GW121	Daniela	14/11/17	I	Guaraní	Guaraní	55-59
GW122 & GW123	Rebecca & Pedra	26/11/17 (joint interview)	I	(both) Guaraní	(both) Guaraní	25-29 & 20-24
GW124	Rosmery	02/12/17	I	Guaraní	Guaraní	50-54
GW125	Adriana	02/12/17	I	Guaraní	Guaraní (understands)	35-39
GW126	Julieta	02/12/17	I	Guaraní	Guaraní	35-39
GRW127	Ivanna	02/12/17	I	Guaraní	Guaraní	45-49
GRW128	Paciencia	08/12/17	I	Guaraní	Guaraní	45-49
GW129	Abegail	09/12/17	I	Guaraní	Guaraní	25-29
GW130	Amanda	09/12/17	I	Guaraní	Guaraní	40-44

Table B3 Focus groups (GW)¹⁴⁹

Peri-urban Guaraní community/ neighbourhood	Focus group No.	Date	Numbers of women	Grassroots women identifiers		Intersectional group
				Only participated in focus group	Also participated in HS/I	
Neighbourhood A	FG1	9/4/2017	5	FW1	GW31, GW34, GW104, GW105	1 Guaraní woman, 1 Cruzeña/Lowland migrant woman, 3 highland migrant women (all Quechua speakers)
Guaraní community B	FG2	11/4/2017	8	FW2, FW3, FW4, FW5, FW6, FW7	GW43, GW107	All Guaraní women
Guaraní community B	FG3	4/6/2017	4	FW8, FW9, FW10	GW107	All Guaraní women
Guaraní community C	FG4	24/06/17	14	FW11, FW12, FW13, FW14, FW15, FW16, FW17, FW18	GW2, GW10, GW11, GW87, GW107, GW122	13 Guaraní women; 1 Cruzeña/Lowland migrant woman
Guaraní community C	FG5	8/7/2017	7	FW19, FW20, FW21, FW22	GW2, GW10, GW122	All Guaraní women
Guaraní community C (micro-credit group)	FG6	19/10/17	6	FWG23, FWG24, FWG25, FW26	GW10, GW122	All Guaraní women
Guaraní community D	FG7	7/11/2017	5	FW27, FW28, FW29, FW30	GW97	All Guaraní women

¹⁴⁹ I have not given women who only participated in FG pseudonyms, so will be referred to by identifier in thesis (apart from FW30 who I have individually quoted and so given the pseudonym Romina)

Table B4 Grassroots women principal participant observation activities (not included in HS/I)¹⁵⁰

Identifier	Pseudonym	Date	Intersectional Group	Indigenous Language	Activities
PW1	Hilda	31/05/17	Cruzeña/lowland migrant		Sale of homemade food and baked goods
PW2	Eduina	24/08/17 & 27/09/17	Quechua	Quechua	Selling plastic bags (ambulatory market vendor) & breakfast food stall
PW3	María	6/9/2017	Quechua	Quechua	Walk to look for her horses (to pull cart – seller of <i>mote</i> , cooked corn and broad beans)

Table B5 Grassroots men interviews (GM)

Identifier	Pseudonym	Date	Intersectional group	Indigenous Language
GM1	Benjamín	29/11/17	Guaraní	Guaraní
GM2	Matias	03/12/17	Guaraní ¹⁵¹	Guaraní
GM3	Lucas	05/12/17	Guaraní	Guaraní (understands)
GM4	Eduardo	08/12/17	C/LM	
GM5	Alonso	09/12/17	Guaraní	Guaraní
GM6 & GM7	Ricardo & Gabriel	12/12/2017 (Joint interview)	Guaraní & C/LM	

¹⁵⁰ Principal participant observation activities with individual women. This does not include the various other women I informally chatted with for shorter periods of time, particularly street vendors, as well as attending the meetings of 3 micro-credit groups (one on a regular basis) and the activities of a mother's club. This also does not include the participant observation activities carried out with GW who participated in HS/I.

¹⁵¹ Has '*karai*' parents but grew up in a Guaraní community.

Table B6 Other interviewees (Peri-urban professionals)

Identifier	Date	Gender	Professional group
O1	01/04/17	F	Schoolteacher
O2	24/07/17	M	Doctor/pharmacist
O3	24/07/17	F	Doctor

Table B7 Leader interviewees - National (LN) and Santa Cruz (LSC)

Identifier	Date	Gender	Leadership
LN1	28/10/17	F	Leader of self-employed women (in commerce)
LSC1	14/11/17	F	Guaraní <i>Mburuvicha</i>
LSC2	06/12/17	F	Guaraní <i>Mburuvicha</i>
LSC3	06/12/17	M	Guaraní <i>Mburuvicha</i>
LSC4	07/12/17	F	Leader of self-employed women (in commerce)
LSC5	05/11/17	F	Leader of salaried household workers federation (SC) ¹⁵²
LSC6	23/08/17	F	Leader, Social Control

¹⁵² During this interview other household workers were present at the federation's headquarters (where they were about to carry out a training session) and talked about their experiences of domestic work.

Table B8 Public Sector Interviewees – National (PN) & Santa Cruz (SC)

Identifier	Date	Gender	Leadership
PSC1 ¹⁵³ Doña Koemi	16/09/17 & 06/10/17	F	Gobernación (Departmental council)
PN1	27/10/17	F	Ministry of Work
PSC2	03/11/17	M	Alcaldía (Municipal council)
PSC3	07/11/17	F	Gobernación (Departmental council)
PSC4 & 5	24/11/17	F, F	Ministry of Work
PSC6	24/11/17	F	Ministry of Work
PSC7	06/12/17	F	Alcaldía (Municipal council)
PN2	13/12/17	M	Ministry of Productive Development and Plural Economy
PN3	14/12/17	F	Ministry of Work
PN4	14/12/17	M	Ministry of Work
PN5	14/12/17	F	Ministry of Cultures and Tourism
PN6	Dec 2017 (specific date not provided for anonymity)	Information not provided according to wishes of participant who wished to remain completely anonymous. The participant asked to be quoted only as 'Authority in Bolivia' (<i>Autoridad en Bolivia</i>)	
PN7	18/12/17	F	Ministry of Justice and Institutional Transparency (previous role)

Table B9 Women's rights NGOs Interviewees – National (NN) & Santa Cruz (NSC)

Identifier	Date	Gender
NN1	04/04/16 (pilot)	F
NSC2	12/04/16 & 13/04/16 (pilot)	F
NN2	15/12/17	F
NN3	18/12/17	F

¹⁵³ PSC1 is a Guaraní woman and gave the pseudonym *Koemi*, which means Dawn.

Table B10 (Other) Lowland Indigenous women (Santa Cruz)

Identifier	Date	Gender	Indigenous group
LW1	12/04/16	F	Ayoreo
LW2	15/04/16	F	Mojeño

Appendix C: Household Survey and Sampling

C1 Summary of household survey instrument

The household survey was comprised of the following sections:¹⁵⁴

- A. Sociodemographic information and migration history
- B. Education and training
- C. Work – initial questions
- D. Main job (paid work and self-employment)
- E. Second job (paid work and self-employment)
- F. Third job (paid work and self-employment)
- G. Work history (paid work and self-employment)
(sections D to G include questions on finding work, contracts/benefits and experiences of work, including treatment at work)
- H. Job search/possibilities for work
- I. Income, household expenses and credit
- J. Domestic work and care
- K. Final questions (including wider, more open questions on differences between women's work, the state, legislation, rights at work, changes at work etc.)

C2 HS survey and interview sampling methods: challenges and difficulties:

The initial aim was to recruit a random sample of Guaraní women within one of the communities (based on household location in street blocks and the age of participants) before expanding to others. However, it rapidly became clear that this method was infeasible, as many women simply did not want to speak with me or would confirm an interview time and then change their mind. This is not surprising given that I was a stranger and women did not trust me. I also found out that some women had taken me for a proselytising Jehovah's Witness! Given these difficulties, I started

¹⁵⁴ An initial pilot HS was modified after 6 participants. Half-way through the fieldwork period, I added a small number of further clarificatory questions.

to use social networks and the great initial help of one my host family's adult sons to find participants and recruit through snowball sampling. As I got to know the women, it became easier to gain their trust, and a few women were extremely kind and helpful in introducing me to other women and accompanying me to some interviews. Little by little, it became easier to find participants; however, I never managed to gain the trust of some, particularly older, Guaraní women I would have liked to speak with.

Given the difficulties of recruiting Guaraní women, I started purposive sampling via approaching any household I knew to be Guaraní within the first community (to increase the pool), rather than use a random method to select Guaraní households. However, mindful of the fact that extended family members often lived in proximity to each other, I aimed to include women living in different blocks and areas of the community. While this purposive sample is certainly not random, from getting to know the women in this community, I believe that it is fairly representative of the different social and extended family networks of Guaraní women, as well as the kind of work and employment that Guaraní women of different ages and educational background carry out (as triangulated with the perceptions of Guaraní women on their and other women's work – see chapters 3 and 4).

Later in the research, I included three other Guaraní communities (two adjoining peri-urban communities and the comparative municipality) and recruited women through social networks. However, the majority of my participants are from the first community where I lived, and so the women included in three communities methodologically function as a comparison also with women in the first community, and so for further triangulation. To recruit my small sample of grassroots men, I relied on social networks and carried out semi-structured interviews, again loosely based on the themes of the household survey.

Similarly, when I opened-up the research to include other diverse women in the area (including also the adjoining neighbourhoods), I relied on social networks (both Guaraní and non-Guaraní). In addition to these methods, I also approached women who had businesses using purposive sampling, for example who were street vendors or who had neighbourhood stores. I also interviewed two peri-urban market vendors by approaching them at their market stalls.

Alongside purposive and snowball sampling, I continued with some limited random sampling in the first community, with the aim of further opening out my ‘intercategorical’ sampling of diverse women and to provide a further check that my purposive and snowball sampling was in fact resulting in a reasonably representative sample of diverse women in the area, even if not random. Given the time I spent walking round the community trying to speak with women (often without success) and given also that by this point I had become increasingly nervous walking in quieter parts of the peri-urban area,¹⁵⁵ I limited this random sampling to the two sets of blocks surrounding the football pitch (the centre of the community), which were generally busier and where I felt safer (although I continued my snowball sampling in other parts of the peri-urban area). I started with the aim of trying at each house in these blocks at least twice, but this proved unrealistic and I did not get to all the houses. Furthermore, this sampling only resulted in the recruitment of a handful of diverse women and so was not particularly successful (even though I managed to include other women living in these streets through social networks). Other women I did manage to speak with through this method either did not want to participate or were not at home at the agreed time.

¹⁵⁵ This was as a result of an embarrassing and increasing fear of dogs, who would often run out of the yards when I approached houses or be in the paths. By this point, my extensive walking had resulted in various run-ins with dogs (and eventually I got bitten).

Appendix D: Grassroots women demographics (HS & I)

Table D1 Age groups by intersectional group

Age group	All women	Guaraní women	Cruzeña/ lowland migrant women	Highland migrant women
18-20	1	0	1	0
20-24	13	10	2	1
25-29	22	13	6	3
30-34	18	10	5	3
35-39	22	14	4	4
40-44	14	11	2	1
45-49	12	7	2	3
50-54	8	4	3	1
55-59	10	4	3	3
60-64	7	2	2	3
65-69	2	2	0	0
70-74	0	0	0	0
75-79(?)¹⁵⁶	1	1	0	0
Total	130	78	30	22

Table D2 Marital status by intersectional group

Marital status	All	Guaraní	Cruzeña/ lowland migrant women	Highland migrant
Single	12	8	3	1
Married/co-habiting	104	64	23	17
Non cohabiting partner	1	1	0	0
Divorced/separated	8	2	3	3
Widowed	4	2	1	1
Total	129	77 ¹⁵⁷	30	22

¹⁵⁶ I am not sure that the age provided by the 75-79 year old participant is correct given that she works full-time and as the age range of her children would suggest that she is at least 10 years younger.

¹⁵⁷ I do not have some demographic information for one short interview with a Guaraní woman on micro-credit.

Table D3 Number of children by intersectional group

Number of children (living)	All women	Guaraní women	Cruzeña /lowland migrant women	Highland migrant women
0	12	9	3	0
1	13	7	3	3
2	17	4	7	6
3	30	18	8	4
4	21	15	4	3
5	7	3	2	2
6	13	11	1	1
7	6	4	0	2
8	7	5	1	1
9	1	1	0	0
10	1	0	1	0
Total	129	77	30	22

Table D4 Literacy levels by intersectional group and age group

Group	1. Literate		2. Can read and write a little		3. Can read and write very little/ only knows how to sign name/ illiterate		Total number of household surveys/interviews by group	
Intersectional								
Guaraní	58	75%	8	10%	11	14%	77	100%
Highland migrant	12	55%	3	14%	7	32%	22	100%
Cruzeña/Lowland migrant	25	83%	3	10%	2	7%	30	100%
Age group								
18-29	35	97%	1	3%	0	0%	36	100%
30-39	29	73%	6	15%	5	13%	40	100%
40-49	17	65%	5	19%	4	15%	26	100%
50-59	10	56%	2	11%	6	33%	18	100%
60+	4	44%	0	0%	5	56%	9	100%
Total	95	74%	14	11%	20	16%	129	100%

Table D5 Educational level by intersectional group¹⁵⁸

Educational level	All	Guaraní	Cruzeña / lowland migrant	Highland migrant
1. None ¹⁵⁹	9	5	2	2
	7%	6%	7%	9%
2. 1-3 years (primary school)	26	17	3	6
	20%	22%	10%	27%
3. 4-6 years (primary school)	26	17	4	5
	20%	22%	13%	23%
4. 7-9 years (secondary school)	17	10	3	4
	13%	13%	10%	18%
5. 9-12 years (secondary school)	35	17	13	4
	27%	22%	43%	18%
6. Technical/Institute/Short course at university (completed) ¹⁶⁰	12	8	4	1
	9%	10%	13%	5%
7. University: Undergraduate and postgraduate (completed)	4	3	1	0
	3%	4%	3%	0%
Total number	129	77	30	22
Total percentage	100%	100%	100%	100%

¹⁵⁸ Years 7 and 8 used to form part of primary education but following legislation in 2012 were moved to secondary education http://www.la-razon.com/suplementos/especiales/Primaria-Secundaria-dividen-cursos_0_1553244717.html (accessed 19.07.19)

¹⁵⁹ Excluding adult literacy classes

¹⁶⁰ Including courses on indigenous rights at the university. Excluding short and technical courses in beauty, hairdressing or sewing.

Appendix E: Grassroots women work and (self-)employment

Table E1 Economic ‘inactivity’¹⁶¹: Women without paid work/self-employment at time of HS/I in 2017

Economically ‘inactive’ groups	All women	Guaraní women	Cruzeña/Lowland migrant	Highland migrant	Identifiers
Housewives	18	14	3	1	GW6, GW11, GW13, GW19, GW20, GW28, GW34, GW35, GW44, GW67, GW71, GW79, GW91, GW98, GW103, GW104, GW115, GW129
Illness	2	1	1	0	GW8, GW94
Students	1	1	0	0	GW55
Pregnancy	2	2	0	0	GW14 (initially defined as housewife), GW112
Unpaid community leadership	1	1	0	0	GW97
Unemployed, not carrying out income generating activity	4	4	0	0	GW1, GW17, GW18, G108 ¹⁶²
Total	28	23	4	1	

¹⁶¹ This term ‘inactive’ is used for pragmatic reasons, while recognising that on feminist grounds it is problematic given that it ignores the economic activities and value of unremunerated domestic and caring labour, as long pointed out by feminist economists.

¹⁶² Three of these women had just quit their jobs, so were only very recently unemployed. The fourth women used to make bread for 3 years (GW18) but stopped after her oven broke. It is likely that she could be categorised as a housewife, given that as an older woman with 8 children, this was the only remunerated activity she had ever carried out. However, this interview is incomplete, I do not have information on domestic and caring labour in her home and she did not identify as a housewife.

Table E2 Economic activity at time of HS/interview in 2017

	Guaraní	% of EA group	Cruzeña / Lowland migrant	% of EA group	Highland migrant	% of EA group
Paid work	32	58%	7	27%	3	14%
Paid work and self employed	6	11%	3	12%	4	19%
Self-employed	17	31%	16	62%	14	67%
Total economically active	55	100%	26	100%	21	100%

Table E3.1 Women who have dropped a self-employed activity since 2016

	All	Guaraní	Cruzeña/ Lowland migrant	Highland migrant
Number of women	24	17	6	1
Total number of self-employed women in 2016 (excluding new activities)	71	30	22	19
Percentage of women who have dropped an activity	34%	57%	27%	5%

Table E3.2 Women who have dropped a paid activity since 2016 (including casual work)

	All	Guaraní	Cruzeña/ Lowland Migrant	Highland migrant
Number of women	34	27	7	0
Total number of women in paid work 2016-17 (excluding new activities)	66	47	14	5
Percentage of women who have dropped an activity	52%	57%	50%	0%

Table E4.1 Self-employment current and recent 2016-17

	Current self-employment 2017 (at time of interview)					Previous self-employment in 2017 and all work in 2016				
Self-employed activity	All	G	C/LM	HM	Identifiers	All	G	C/LM	HM	Identifiers
Sells (homemade) cooked food/snacks/drink	26	12	7	7	GW10, GW12, GW21, GW22, GW23, GW26, GW33, GW36, GW37, GW42, GW48, GW49, GW53, GW63, GW65, GW51, GW54, GW69, GW73, GW74, GW75, GW81, GW92, GW106, GW114, GW121	35	18	8	9	GW12, GW20, GW22, GW26, GW27, GW33, GW36, GW37, GW41, GW42, GW48, GW49, GW51, GW53, GW54, GW55, GW63, GW65, GW69, GW75, GW79, GW81, GW88, GW91, GW92, GW94, GW97, GW107, GW113, GW106, GW114, GW116, GW117, GW121, GW129
Neighbourhood store or kiosk- groceries, stationery, alcohol, CDs.	8		4	4	GW39, GW45, GW54, GW56, GW57, GW72, GW80, GW90	7	1	2	4	GW39, GW45, GW57, GW80 GW90, GW100, GW103
Sells homemade bread	6	6			GW7, GW26, GW41, GW95, GW96, GW120	10	10			GW7, GW26, GW38, GW41, GW78, GW114, GW95, GW96, GW122, GW128
Handicrafts, artisans	6	3	2	1	GW24, GW30, GW38, GW46, GW81, GW114	7	3	3	1	GW24, GW30, GW38, GW46, GW56, GW81, GW114
Fixed market seller (stall or kiosk) - CDs, groceries (vegetables, meat)	4	1	1	2	GW76, GW101, GW118, GW119	4	1	1	2	GW76, GW101, GW118, GW119
Sewing workshop, mends/alters clothes, assists husband in sewing	3	1		2	GW76, GW80, GW124,	3	1		2	GW76, GW80, GW124,

Livestock and agriculture (peri-urban and Isoso)	3		1	2	GW25, GW76, GW105	4	1	1	2	GW25, GW76, GW105, GW128
Promoter (sells from catalogues for commission)	3	1	2		GW24, GW43, GW72	2		2		GW24, GW72
Street or urban/provincial market trader of various goods, inter-country trader	3		1	2	GW76, GW84, GW110	3		1	2	GW76, GW84, GW110
Restaurant/ <i>pensión</i> with substantial material infrastructure or sells large quantities of food such as orders for special events	3		2	1	GW58, GW61, GW113	3	1	2		GW58, GW61, GW74
Owens gym (aerobics classes) and sells health drinks	2	1	1		GW62, GW75	2	1	1		GW62, GW75
Rents chairs and tables for parties, helps in family party business	2		2		GW58, GW59	2		2		GW58, GW59
Sells goods through social networks (clothes, gifts, stationery)	2	1	1		GW26, GW51	2	1	1		GW26, GW51
Solderer	1		1		GW110	1		1		GW110
Money lender	1	1			GW117	0				
Hairdresser	1			1	GW57	1			1	GW57
Attends pharmacy (family business)	1		1		GW59	1		1		GW59

Sells home-made cakes (for special occasions)	1			1	GW77	1			1	GW77
Commercial activity (unknown)	1			1	GW29	1			1	GW29
Nurse (giving injections etc.)	0					1		1		GW73
Internet store	0					1			1	GW68

Table E4.2 Paid work current and recent 2016-17

	Current work 2017 (at time of interview)					Previous work in 2017 and all work in 2016				
Work activity	All	G	C/LM	HM	Identifiers	All	G	C/LM	HM	Identifiers
Washing clothes	13	11		2	GW4, GW16, GW32, GW37, GW60, GW64, GW66, GW69, GW83, GW88, GW124, GW125, GW127	11	9		2	GW32, GW37, GW60, GW64, GW66, GW69, GW83, GW88, GW124, GW125, GW127
Domestic worker (houses)	10	5	3	2	GW9, GW15, GW15 GW40, GW48, GW52, GW66 GW89, GW100, GW116	11	7	3	1	GW9, GW22, GW26, GW40, GW48, GW53, GW66, GW70, GW89, GW94, GW107
Kitchen assistant (supermarket, restaurant/pension, market stall, church, unknown)	6	5		1	GW3, GW5, GW64, GW99, GW105, GW128	13	10	3		GW10, GW14, GW31, GW35, GW56, GW60, GW64, GW67, GW91, GW94, GW99, GW112, GW128,
Cleaning (houses)	6	4	2		GW27, GW46, GW83, GW85, GW109, GW127	9	6	3		GW1, GW46, GW63, GW83, GW85, GW103, GW109, GW124, GW127
Cleaning (factory/business/institute/hotel/NGO/constructions/public buildings/with company)	2	2			GW47, GW117	8	7	1		GW1, GW16, GW28, GW47, GW63, GW114, GW116, GW124

Associated municipal recycler	3	1	1	1	GW85, GW93, GW130	3	1	1	1	GW85, GW93, GW130
Municipal security guard	2		1	1	GW50, GW68	2		1	1	GW50, GW68
Sewing workshop (packing), sewing assistant for sister-in-law	2	2			GW122, GW123	1		1		GW91
(Sub-contracted) municipal street or green areas cleaner / gardener	2	2			GW82, GW86	2	2			GW7, GW82
NGO worker	1	1			GW2	1	1			GW2
Graphic designer	1		1		GW30	1		1		GW30
Sells plots of land in urbanisations for commission	1	1			GW87	0				
Manager, promotor for an employment agency	1		1		GW110	2		2		GW58, GW110
Factory work (bottling wine/decorating pizzas)	1	1			GW31	2	2			GW17, GW31
Sometimes helps husband as builder	1		1		GW110	1		1		GW110
Packer (supermarket) - works for tips	1	1			GW107	0				
Waitress (restaurant/ <i>pensión</i> or bar)	1		1		GW102	3	1	2		GW20, GW91, GW102
Cook (restaurant/ <i>pensión</i> or market stall)	1		1		GW58	2	1	1		GW58, GW82
Makes cakes for another woman (<i>queques</i>)	1	1			GW70	0				
Municipal roles (administrative)	2	2			GW101, GW111	2	2			GW101, GW111
Says prayers for the dead	1	1			GW95	1	1			GW95
Guaraní teacher - university/institute	1	1			GW78	2	2			GW78, GW126
School teacher (kinder)	1	1			GW126	1	1			GW126
Caretaker (<i>portera</i>) in a school	1	1			GW88	1	1			GW88
Office worker - filing (agrochemical company)	0					1	1			GW87
Construction (painting, sanding windows, clearing up)	0					1		1		GW91
Cashier/saleswoman (clothes store)	0					1	1			GW10
Employee at an internet	0					1	1			GW108

Domestic worker (businesses)	0					1	1			GW16
Nanny/childcare & elder care	0					2	1	1		GW43, GW63
Employee at a breakfast market stall	0					1	1			GW11
Volunteer/volunteer secretary for NGO	0					1	1			GW55
Hairdressing assistant /beauty salon. Market stall	0					1		1		GW98
Promotor for a household groceries distribution company	0					1	1			GW55
Nursery, kindergarten assistant	0					1	1			GW43

Table E5 Employment Diversity index¹⁶³

	Guaraní					C/LM					HM				
	2016-17	2011-15	2006-10	2001-2005	2000 and prior	2016-17	2011-15	2006-10	2001-2005	2000 and prior	2016-17	2011-15	2006-10	2001-2005	2000 and prior
Number of (different) paid activities	23	25	17	15	12	11	19	14	6	13	4	9	8	9	11
Number of women in paid work	55	60	50	34	28	16	21	19	12	14	7	10	12	10	15
Diversity index	42%	42%	34%	44%	43%	69%	90%	74%	50%	93%	57%	90%	67%	90%	73%

¹⁶³ The results of this index of course depend on the categorization of activities, and so is approximate. For example, I have grouped similar activities together to align with the charts, for which some consolidation was necessary (e.g. grouping together cooks and kitchen assistants). However, as a rough approximation, it shows clear differences between groups.

Charts E (Work history) notes:

Given the complexity of women's work histories, moving in and out of different roles, for clarity in the following charts, I have grouped women's work histories in the following time periods: 2016-17, 2011-15, 2006-10, 2001-5, (pre)-2000, in mostly 5-year time periods to align with political changes of the MAS post-2006. I have included women's activities in a time period even if they only carried out this activity once, i.e. not for the complete time period. The number of economically active women thus does not show the gaps in women's work histories or economic inactivity within time periods. It also does not show number of jobs within an activity.

I have tried to piece together the dates of women's work histories as best I can. However, this information is necessarily approximate, given that I do not have exact dates for all jobs or activities (although I do have dates or rough dates for the vast majority). Sometimes it was difficult for women to provide exact dates, sometimes dates provided were inconsistent, and sometimes it was easier for women to provide other time markers such as the age of their children. However, the information is accurate enough to show broad trends between groups. Where women worked as children, I have included this as an economic activity, rather than 'child'.

A small group of women migrated to other countries in South America, and HM women to Spain, to carry out mostly domestic or caring labour prior to 2015. I have not distinguished these women, and their activities are included in the charts. Similarly, some (in their majority HM women) first migrated to highland cities before Santa Cruz or carried out activities, mostly agricultural labour, in their highland communities of origin. Again, this migration history is not highlighted in the charts. While migration has important effects on socio-material relations, I do not have the space in the thesis to engage with this added complexity – it has also been discussed elsewhere (see Bastia 2011; Ryburn 2016).

Chart E1 Economic activity and 'inactivity' pre-2001 to 2017

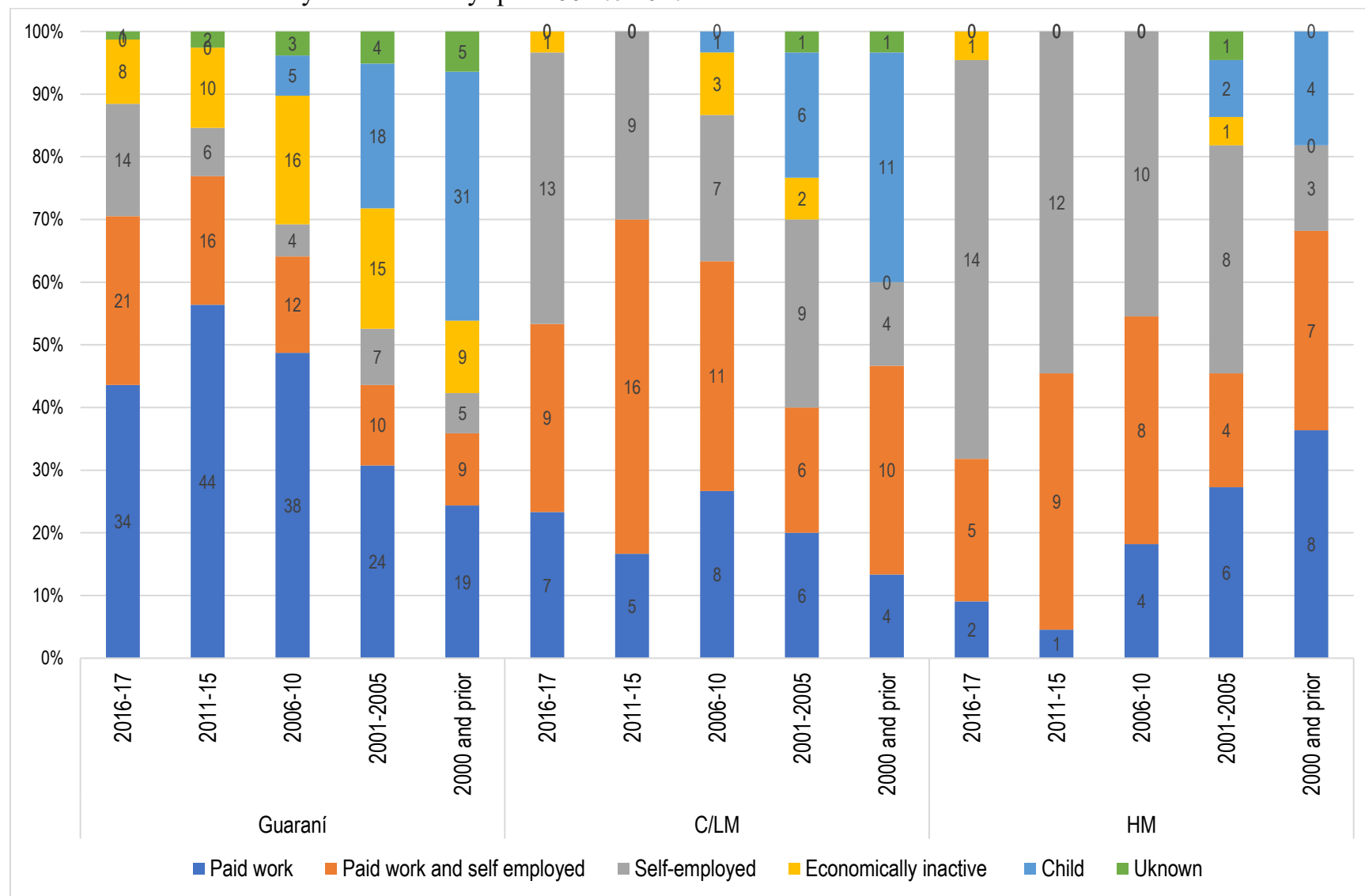


Chart E2 Economic activity pre-2001 to 2017

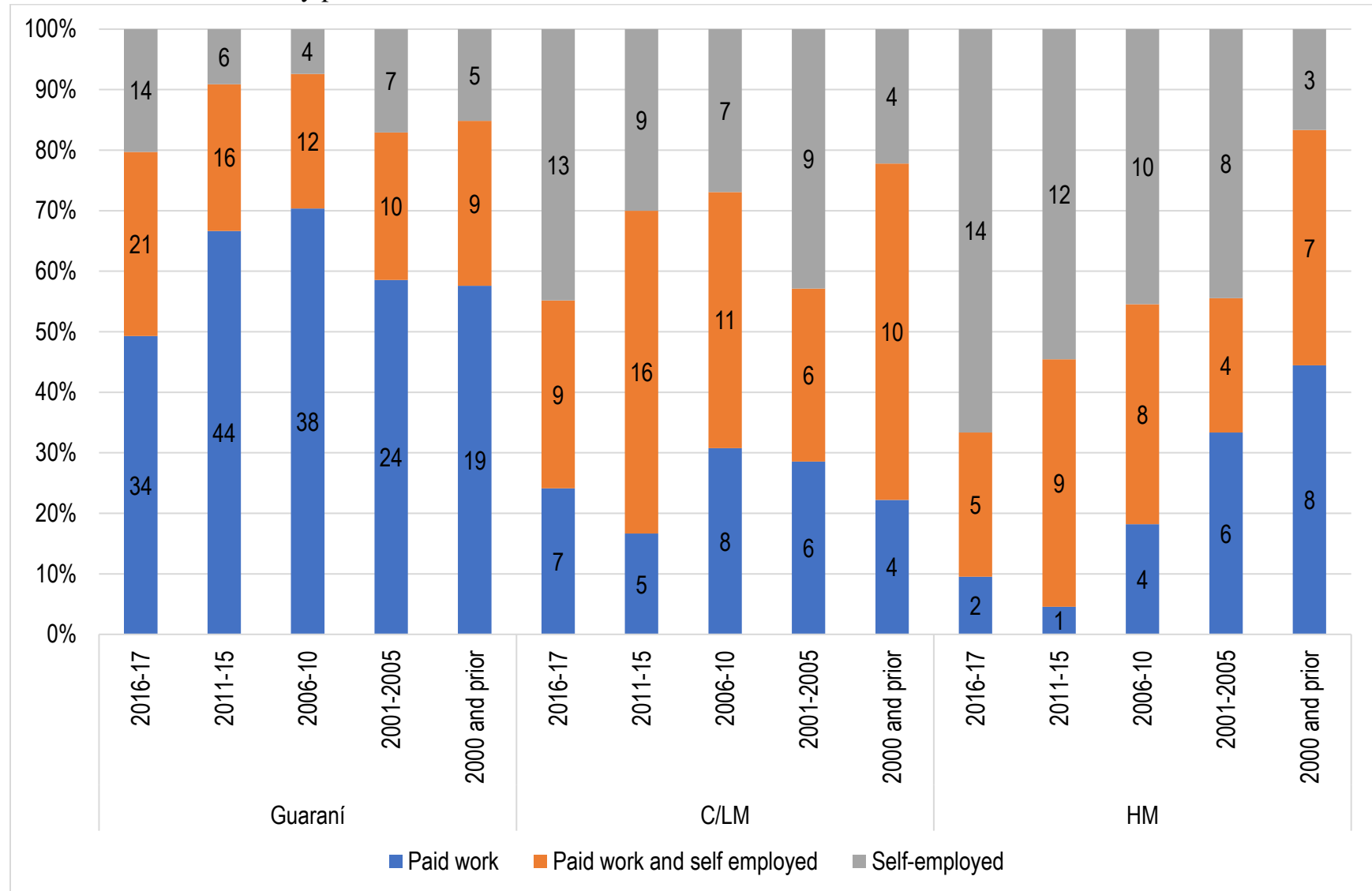


Chart E3 Work activities pre-2001 to 2017

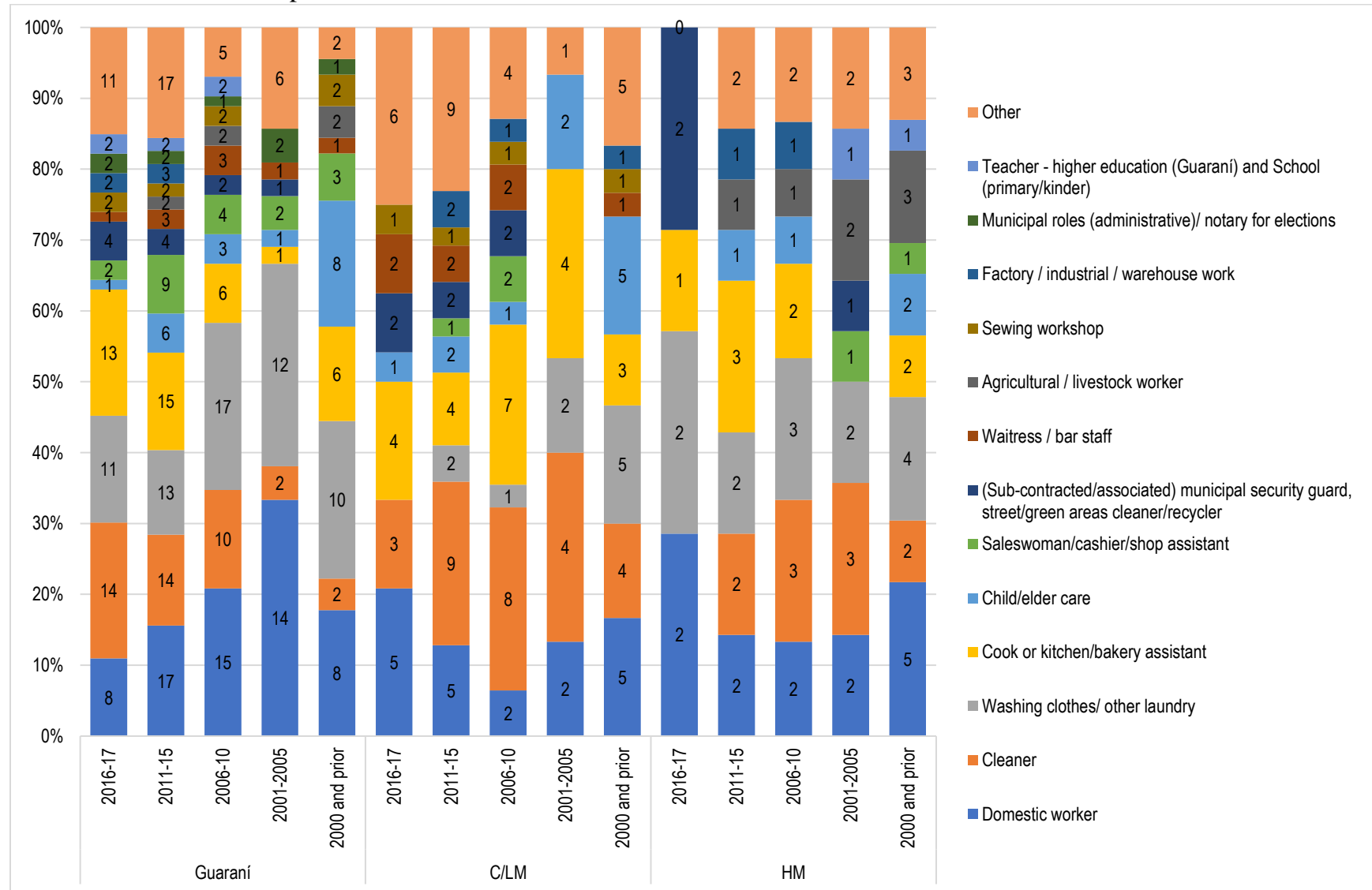
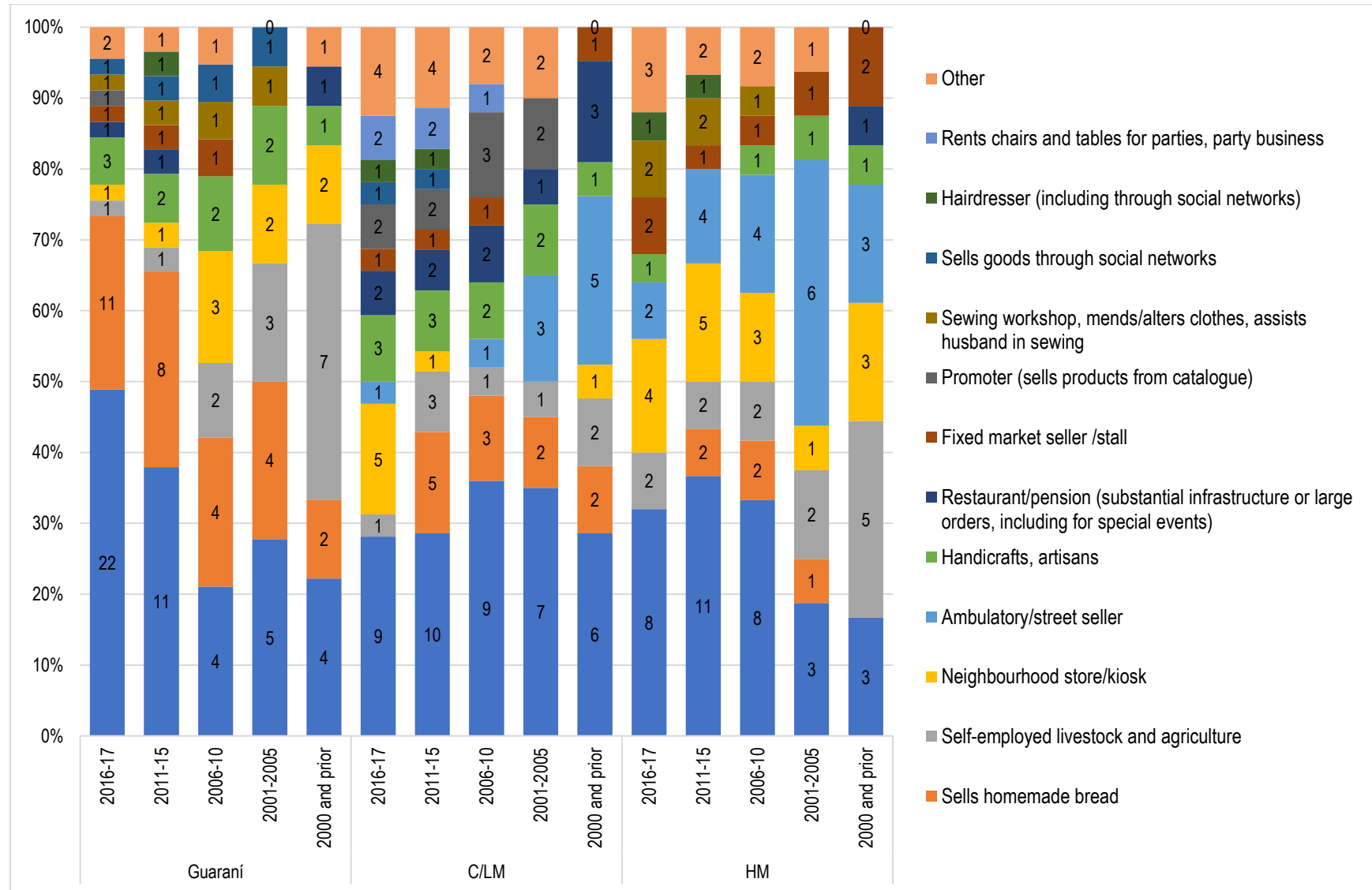


Chart E4 Self-employed activities pre-2001 to 2017



Appendix F. Three indicative labour histories (women 36-49 years old).

Guaraní

Doña Amelina (GW35) was born in the peri-urban community. She self-identifies as Guaraní and speaks Guaraní as her first language, learning Spanish when she went to school. She stayed in school until the 6th year of primary school and is literate. Her mother was a housewife; her father worked in agriculture. She lives with her husband and children, although shares her yard with extended family who live on the same plot of land. She has 4 children from pre-school to adolescent. Currently she is a housewife, explaining that as a mother, her obligation is to look after her children. However, she sometimes works on a casual or intermittent basis. The previous year she went to work in a market food stall, cooking and cleaning. She was paid 60 pesos a day (with bus-fare 65). She decided to go out to work as they had a debt to pay, which she took out to build a room for her family. Prior to this she has worked as a washerwoman in the peri-urban area and in Plan 3000, a low-income neighbourhood with a bustling market, around 30-40 minutes by bus.

C/LM:

Doña Enriqueta (GW58) was born in the city of Santa Cruz. She does not identify as indigenous and speaks only Spanish. Her mother was a housewife; her father was a trader, selling cars and then clothes. She is literate and studied in secondary school up to 2o medio, when she became pregnant and got married (missing two years to finish and become bachiller). She has 6 children between primary school age to adult children in their 30s (two other children sadly died). She lives with her husband and 4 of her children (and grandchildren). When she received an inheritance 10 years ago, they moved to the peri-urban area to buy a house as they could not afford to buy in the centre where they were renting. During the last 5 years she has worked in her own business, renting out plastic chairs and large tables for events (and can earn up to around 500Bs a week). She started this business when she bought the house. She also prepares and sells food in large quantities for events. Prior to this they had a business selling cars in the centre of the city. In addition to her businesses, she works one day a week as a cook for a large restaurant in Plan 3000 (and is paid 200Bs a day). The previous year she took on paid work in charge of an employment agency. Prior to this she worked on a casual, part-time basis as a cook, cleaning houses and apartments, and

washing tablecloths for events. When her children were young, her husband didn't like her going out to work. She also had a hairdresser's salon for a year in a central market around 7 years ago, as well as a market food stall in Plan 3000 for a short period of time in the late 90s.

HM:

Doña Paula (GW37) was born in a provincial community in Potosí. She does not identify as from an indigenous group. She speaks Quechua as her first language. She used to wear the pollera but stopped because of the heat in Santa Cruz. She learnt to speak Spanish on arriving in Santa Cruz to work as a young woman.¹⁶⁴ Her mother and father both worked in agriculture. She stayed in school until the 3rd year of primary school and can read and write a little, although she says she doesn't understand much. She went to alphabetization classes post-2006 for a few months. She migrated to Santa Cruz to work as a live-in domestic worker (cleaner) and kitchen assistant. After she got married, she moved to the peri-urban area in the early 2000s with her husband and children when she bought a plot of land. She is now separated from her husband and lives with her three adolescent children (she had two other children who sadly died). She works as a morning street vendor. She earns around 30-40Bs a day in profit. She has carried out this work for around 8 years. She used to sell also during the afternoon but stopped this to be at home with her children and make sure they do their homework. She also works as a washerwoman on a casual basis. She stopped paid work after getting married and having children, however she started working again when her husband left her with small children. Before working as a street seller, she worked for a cleaning company for two years, cleaning a bank. At this time, her sister lived with her and took care of the children.

¹⁶⁴ She understood Spanish on arriving in Santa Cruz. Her children, in contrast, speak only Spanish but understand Quechua.

Appendix G: Grassroots men's work and self-employment

Table G1 Men's Economic (in)activity

Activity	Number
Economically active	102
Unemployed	2
EIA - Illness, retired	2
Total (99 partners of GW¹⁶⁵ and 7 GM interviews)	106

Table G2 Men's work and self-employed activities

Activity	Number
Construction (builder, plumber, electrician, carpenter)	42
Pavement	9
<i>Driver (taxi, moto, bus, inter-regional coach and transport)¹⁶⁶</i>	8
Security Guard/watchman	6
Solderer/locksmith	6
Supervisor (warehouse, street lighting)	2
Street/green areas cleaning, including operating micro-tractor	2
Shop assistant (iron mongers, electro domestic products)	2
Sewer in sewing workshop or factory	2
<i>Mends computers/televisions (own business)</i>	2
Mechanic (industrial, air conditioning)	2
Machinery operator (in factory, company)	2
Lawyer for public/indigenous institution	2
<i>Helps in wife's business (pensión, neighbourhood store)</i>	2
Baker's assistant, pizza maker	2
Agricultural worker / works in chicken shed	2
Works with lumber (madera)	1
Waiter in restaurant	1
<i>Solderer - own workshop</i>	1
<i>Sewer - own business</i>	1
Sales (security cameras)	1
Police	1
Pharmacist	1
<i>Market vendor</i>	1
<i>Looks after own cows (vaquero)</i>	1
Journalist	1
Indigenous leader	1
Clears land (carpidor)	1

¹⁶⁵ Where women had a partner or where information available

¹⁶⁶ Italics denote self-employment (or possible self-employment where unknown)

Appendix H: Santa Cruz

Table H1 Key demographic information for the municipality of Santa Cruz de la Sierra, 2012

	Bolivia		Santa Cruz de la Sierra	
Population	10,059,856		1,454,539	
Indigenous originart peasant population (A,B &C)¹⁶⁷	4,199,977		152,423	
Indigenous originary peasant population (A&B)	3,918,187		139,194	
5 Largest Indigenous original peasant groups (A&B)	Quechua	1,837,105	Quechua	58,294
	Aymara	1,598,807	Aymara	26,575
	Chiquitano	145,653	Chiquitano	20,833
	Guaraní	96,842	Guaraní	14,687
	Mojeño	42,093	Afroboliviano	4,164
Moderate poverty rate	35.3		20.3	
Indigent Poverty rate	9.2		0.9	
Percentage of the population with an identity card	79.6		78.6	
	Women	Men	Women	Men
Global labour force participation rate	49.5	69.7	50.4	70.9
Literacy rate for population over 15 years	92.3	97.6	97.8	99.3

Elaborated from Census 2012 Data, INE

¹⁶⁷ A: Majority Nations or Peoples, B: Minority Nations or peoples, C: Other population group (includes generic categories such as 'indigenous' and 'peasant', as well as what appear to be territorially defined indigenous groups) (INE 2015: 29). The data was accessed from the following links (in 2016): <http://datos.ine.gob.bo/binbol/RpWebEngine.exe/Portal?LANG=ESP> and <http://censosbolivia.ine.gob.bo/>.

Chart H2 Economic activity by gender, Santa Cruz de la Sierra

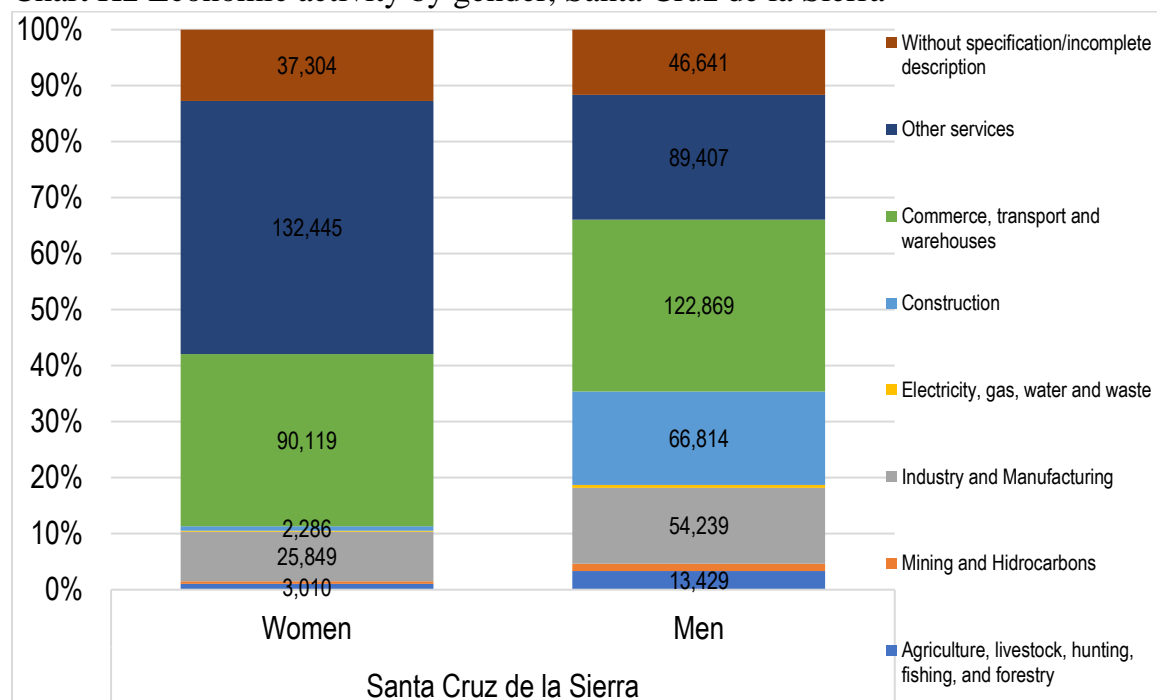
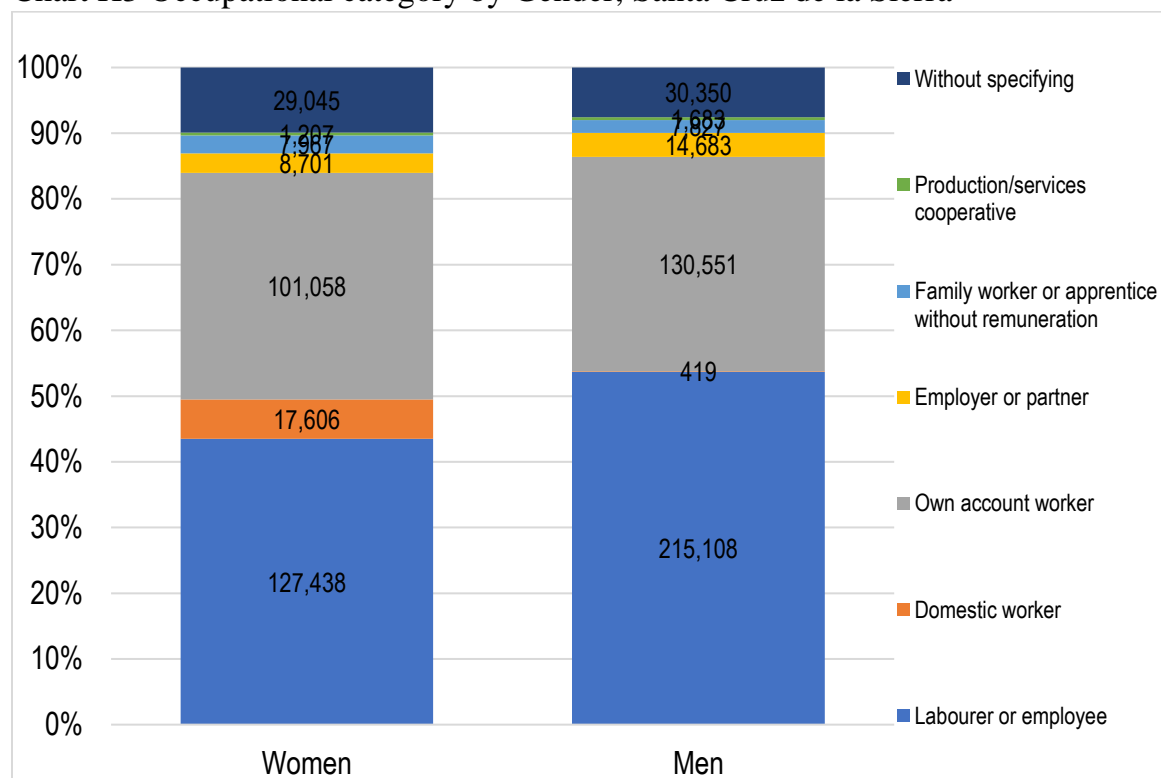


Chart H3 Occupational category by Gender, Santa Cruz de la Sierra



Charts H2 & H3 elaborated from Census 2012 Data, INE

Appendix I Legislative and Institutional context for women's work

Table I1 Chronology of key legislation and policy relating to (indigenous) women's labour rights

Date	Legislation	Key points
1942	General Law of Work	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Women considered as vulnerable group (e.g. shorter legal working day than men)¹⁶⁸ • Project to update law post-2006 has stagnated following divisions between the government and unions.¹⁶⁹ • A myriad of supreme decrees have modified the law in intervening years (NN3) (Escobar de Pabón, Rojas Callejas & Arze Vargas 2014: 39; Muriel & Ferrufino 2014: 2–4)¹⁷⁰
2003	Law regulating Salaried Domestic Work (<i>Trabajo Asalariado del Hogar</i>)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Defines various rights for domestic workers around contracts, working hours and wages (including specifying that salaried domestic workers receive the national minimum wage), as well as justified reasons for dismissal.¹⁷¹
2008	The National Plan for Equality of Opportunities “Women Constructing the new Bolivia to Live Well”	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The six strategic axes of the plan include an “Economic, Productive and Labour” axis • Policies to promote women's labour rights, promote women's access to (natural) resources and productive goods and assets (including land, as well as intangible assets such as technology), and to redistribute care work within the household and with the state (Ministerio de Justicia/ Viceministerio de Género y Asuntos Generacionales 2008: 106–7)
2009	New Political Constitution of the State	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 30 articles of the constitution guaranteeing women's rights (Rousseau 2011; Ybarnegaray Ortiz 2011: 165) • The constitution does not contain any articles that ‘specifically’ pertain to indigenous women (Agreda Rodríguez 2012: 65) • Article 14.II Prohibits all forms of discrimination • Article 64 recognises the joint responsibility of partners/spouses for their household and children as well

¹⁶⁸ The law considers women to have ‘limited capacity’ and to be primarily ‘responsible for the care of the family, justifying their protection and special treatment’ (cited in Farah, Wanderley & Sánchez 2009: 19; Marco Navarro 2014: 24–5)

¹⁶⁹ The women's movement unsuccessfully campaigned for the law to be changed into a code (*código*) to include informal sector workers (NN3)

¹⁷⁰ There have also been substantial yearly increases to the minimum wage post-2006, which rose from 440Bs in 2005 to 2,000Bs in May 2017. See: https://www.ine.gob.bo/subtemas_cuadros/salarioMinimo_html/SalarioMinimo_41201.htm (Last accessed 14.12.19)

¹⁷¹ <https://www.lexivox.org/norms/BO-L-2450.xhtml> (Last accessed 19.12.19)

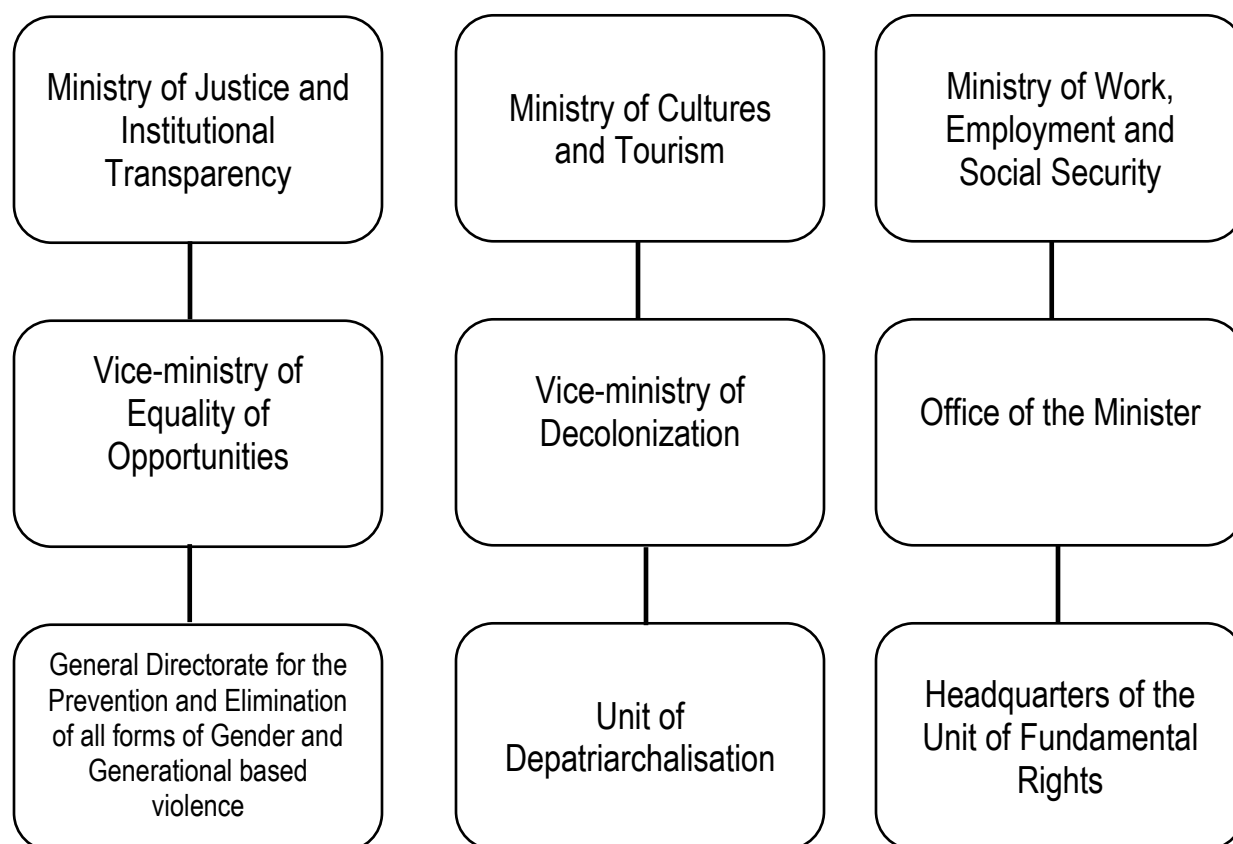
		<p>as obligations of state to assist those with family responsibilities</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Article 48 stipulates that ‘the state will promote the incorporation of women in work’ and guarantee equal pay for ‘work of equal value’. Also prohibits (labour) discrimination against women and guarantees labour immobility to pregnant women and parents until the child’s first birthday. Article 338 ‘recognises the economic value of household work’
2009	Supreme Decree No.213	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Establishes mechanisms to prevent discrimination in hiring practices; it also establishes the right to bring a complaint to the Ministry of Work in the case of discriminatory treatment.
2009	Supreme Decree No.12	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Legal implementation of the constitutional right of labour immobility for pregnant women and new parents (i.e. that they may not be dismissed from their work), building on and further enforcing a prior 1988 law guaranteeing labour immobility to new mothers (Muriel & Ferrufino 2014: 3)
2009	Article 15 of Supreme Decree No. 115 (regulating law 3460)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Permits mothers of new-borns up to six months of age to take their babies to places of work or study in order to breastfeed or, as previously established in the General Law of Work, allows them up to an hour away from work. The law also obliges places of work and study to provide an adequate space for mothers to breastfeed.
2010	Law to end all forms of racism and discrimination (No. 045)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Article 5 of the law refers to race as a social construct used ‘to assign some groups an inferior status and others a superior status which gives them access to privilege, power and wealth’.
2011	Supreme Decree No. 861 (overturns Supreme Decree No. 21060)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> D.S 21060 was implemented in 1985 during Bolivia’s neoliberal reforms and reduced labour stability by allowing for the ‘free recruitment and salary negotiation between businesses and workers’ (Escobar de Pabón, Rojas Callejas & Arze Vargas 2014: 43; Farah, Wanderley & Sánchez 2009)
2013	Integral Law to Guarantee Women a Life Free of Violence (No. 348)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Recognises 17 types of violence Economic and patrimonial violence (no. 10) is defined primarily as the economic control of women and denial of their economic goods, property and assets Labour violence (no. 11) is defined as discriminatory actions within a work setting or actions which could prevent women’s access to employment
n.d	Multi-sectorial Plan against Racism and All	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> The plan explicitly links racism/discrimination with material inequality in its general objective to ‘improve the

	Forms of Discrimination 2016-20	quality of life of harmed populations through the overcoming of racist and discriminatory attitudes as a fundamental mechanism to eliminate extreme poverty in the country' (Comité Nacional Contra el Racismo y Toda Forma de Discriminación n.d: 50)
2017	Supreme decree No. 3106	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 'Establishes the responsibilities to the Ministries of the Executive of the national level of the State for the implementation of Integral Public Policy Agenda for [the] Dignified Life of Bolivian Women'. • Tasks the Ministry of Work with actions to tackle direct discrimination through training and awareness-raising, adopting measures against labour harassment, actions for dignified employment for women in violent situations and adopting regulations for the reconciliation of women's work and family life.
2017	Multisectorial Plan for the Advance in Depatriarchalisation and the Right of Women to Live Well ¹⁷²	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Incorporates much of the theoretical and policy framing of the 2008 plan, while aligning it with the new agenda for development planning based around the 13 pillars of the Agenda 2025 (see chapter 2) • Women's access to productive resources and assets (rural focus)

Note: This table draws on analysis of (gendered) legislation around labour rights and care work in the Bolivian academic and policy literature (e.g. Escobar de Pabón, Rojas Callejas & Arze Vargas 2014; Marco Navarro 2014; Farah et al. 2012; Farah, Wanderley & Sánchez 2009), as well as a publication by the Ministry of Work on 'Legislative advances in favour of women' (Ministerio de Trabajo, Empleo y Previsión Social 2015), as well as developing this with my own interviews and analysis of legislation. I have also included anti-discrimination legislation.

¹⁷² At the end of 2017, this multisectorial plan had been passed, but was being adjusted according to data from a national survey on gender-based violence. I was unofficially able to obtain a copy of the plan pre-adjustment but have not been able to find a published copy of the final plan on the Ministry of Justice's website, despite a new website for the General Directorate. I understand from informal correspondence in 2019 with a contact in the women's rights sector that the plan has not been publicly disseminated.

Figure I1 Organigram of gender institutions in the Plurinational State (2017)¹⁷³



¹⁷³ In March 2019, the creation of a National Women's Service was announced. This is an exciting new development, particularly given that the new director Tania Sánchez previously headed up a critical women's organisation based in El Alto (CPMGA). News reports seem to suggest a significantly larger budget and staff than existing gender institutions, as well a wider focus on tackling gender inequality and 'economic empowerment'. However, there is little official information, and the impact of this new service remains to be seen. See: http://www.la-razon.com/sociedad/Tania-Sanchez-Defensoria-Mujer-MM_0_3112488728.html (last accessed 15.12.19)

Appendix J: Maps

J.1 Administrative Map of Bolivia

Map of Bolivia removed for copyright reasons. Copyright holder is One World - Nations Online, OWNO, nationsonline.org.

https://www.nationsonline.org/oneworld/map/bolivia_map.htm

J.2 Physical Map of Bolivia

Map of Bolivia removed for copyright reasons. Copyright holder is Ezilon.com.

<https://www.mapsland.com/south-america/bolivia/large-physical-map-of-bolivia-with-major-cities>