Indigenous Environmental Autonomy and the issue of Extractivist Development

- A Comparative Case Study of Bolivia and Sweden

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Abstract

In this global 'age of autonomy' this thesis will discuss the relation between indigenous peoples autonomy, their political agency and the national environmental agenda in the Plurinational State of Bolivia and in Sweden. With decolonial critique of development the cases will be analysed looking at factors such as indigenous rights policy, resource management, conservation agendas and the structure of autonomy. The research questions that will be asked are, to what extent do indigenous peoples have the political agency to participate in the environment agenda in the Plurinational State of Bolivia and Sweden? How is this political agency put into practice? And, what are the implications for indigenous autonomy? By doing this comparative case study and asking these questions this thesis will argue, that by introducing a radical form of environmental autonomy, indigenous peoples in Bolivia and Sweden will gain political agency to create an environmental agenda that is based on their ontologies and notions of development. Something that is their collective right as indigenous peoples in theory - and should be in practice.

Keywords: indigenous peoples, autonomy, self-determination, extractivism, development.

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1. Introduction

"I went to the woods because I wished to live deliberately, to front only the essential facts of life, and see if I could not learn what it had to teach, and not, when I came to die, discover that I had not lived."

— Henry David Thoreau, Walden: or life in the woods, 1854 (pp. 41)

This westernized essentialist and romanticised dual view of nature, as something in opposition to the civilized culture, is not a new phenomena. Paradoxically enough it has continued to be a theme, a dream, a way out - for decades for people living in the 'modern society.'Although, the question is: what is a modern society? Since the Western Enlightenment there has been a recognized perception that a modern society is synonymous with a 'developed' society and that development ought to be extractivist (De la Cuadra, 2015). What is a developed society? Some recent critical scholars argue that since nation-states base their knowledge about how to *do* as well as how to *be* on this idea*,* diverse ontologies about development are met with discrimination and ignorance (i.e. Sehlin MacNeil, 2017:37). Modernity has been and still is to some extent thought of as the universal goal for societies, almost degrading other ideas of human (and non-human) organization as to be romanticised dreams. Still this notion, that results in inequality and trade-offs, is not shared by all as will be shown. More specifically, reading this thesis will provide a deeper understanding of the relation between indigenous peoples autonomy, political agency and the national environmental agenda in the Plurinational State of Bolivia and in Sweden. The research questions that will be asked are, to what extent do indigenous peoples have the political agency to participate in the environment agenda in the Plurinational State of Bolivia and Sweden? How is this political agency put into practice? And, what are the implications for indigenous autonomy? By doing this comparative case study and asking these questions this thesis will argue, that by introducing a radical form of environmental autonomy, indigenous peoples in Bolivia and Sweden will gain political agency to create an environmental agenda that is based on their ontologies and notions of development. Something that is their collective right as indigenous peoples in theory - and should be in practice.

1.1 Background

Since the late 1980s there has been a global debate surrounding the issues of the right to 'self-determination' and 'autonomy' for indigenous peoples, alongside the central debate regarding individual versus collective rights (Stevenhagen in Stevenhagen, 2013:118). Continuously, it is said that the 21st century is the age of autonomy (Tomaselli in Lennox and Short:2016:149), although there is still an ongoing conceptualization and a need for contextualization of the concept. Moreover, autonomy is a contested concept among peoples, governments, scholars and also across academic fields - where political scientist often define autonomy has synonymous with self-determination, independence, self-government, self-direction, self-reliance and self-legislation (Tomaselli in Lennox and Short, 2016:149).

Currently in the international normative rights regime autonomy and self-determination are two central terms, as in the United Nation Declaration of the Rights of Indigenous Peoples (UNDRIP) where it is stated that indigenous peoples should be able to determine political status and *freely* pursue their economic, social and cultural development (Anya, 2004:110). As well as in the International Labour Organization (ILO) Indigenous and Tribal Peoples Convention no. 169 where it is stated in Article 7 paragraph 1 that indigenous peoples should have the right to *decide* the process of development in relation their own lives, lands, institutions, beliefs etc. as well as "to exercise control, to the extent possible, over their own economic, social and cultural development." (ilo.org, 2018). Furthermore Anya (2004) argue that self-determination and autonomy is both goals and means, it is both concepts and political terms. Politically autonomy is often seen as a radical project resistant to the nation-state, which some scholars argue to be a misconception and one of the main reason that states are resistant towards its implementation (Stavenhagen in Stavenhagen, 2013:82, Gonzales and González, 2015). Others argue that autonomy should be built upon indigenous norms and practices and does not per se need to adjust to the model of liberal democracy. As for example Mörkenstam (2015) that conclude after reviewing previous literature that self-determination is even more radical than it is portrayed and that its implementation will as well as should have consequences for the national power dynamics.

Furthermore, the critique as well as the concepts ought to be contextualized. For example Stavenhagen (in Stavenhagen, 2013:84) ague the indigenous struggle for self-determination and autonomy is especially difficult in former colonies where the national decolonization process is ongoing, as for example in the Plurinational State of Bolivia (henceforth Bolivia). Still, Bolivia as well as other former colonies in Latin America has been subject to progressive constitutional change for indigenous peoples, through resistance from social movements and to some extent through international norms. As for example in Colombia, Bolivia, Nicaragua and Ecuador where constitutional reforms have increased the possibilities for new modes of governance, territorial governance, territorial community-based indigenous autonomies, administrations, and regional institutions (González, 2016). According to Heintze (in Tomaselli in Lennox and Short, 2016:150) there is a theoretical and practical distinction between Territorial Autonomy (TA) which is bound to land and territory; and Non-territorial Autonomy (NTA) which involves personal, functional and cultural practices. While TA is the dominant form of indigenous autonomy in Bolivia, Sweden has implemented a model of NTA (Tomaselli in Lennox and Short, 2016:157). In Swedish Sápmi the struggle for autonomy resulted in the Sami Parliament (Sámediggi) established in 1993, which handles allocation of state subsidies and funds, community development, electing the board of directors for the Sami school, guide the work on Sami language, mapping the needs and provide information about the community (Johansson in Lennox and Short, 2016:625-6). Since Sámi is a national minority in Sweden, Finland, Norway and Russia, NTA has been a common approach for nation-states to respond to their demands (Josefsen, Mörkenstam and Sagile, 2015). In Bolivia TA is constituted to be achieved on a municipal and/or regional level under conditions that will be further described in the analysis (Tockman, Cameron and Plata, 2015).

Ultimately, in the light of the debate about indigenous autonomy an environmentalist perspectives has emerged that stresses a socio-environmental approach to indigenous struggles. The concept of environmental autonomy, which by some scholars is put in opposition to extractivist capitalist development, has emerged recently i.e. in response to cases of indigenous resistance towards nation-state development projects and resource extraction (i.e. Hope, 2016, Ulloa, 2017). This emerging concept, of environmental autonomy, is especially interesting for

this case study where issues of extractivism, resource management, nature conservation strategies as well as the structure of autonomy is key issues for indigenous peoples political agency, as will be further explained in the theoretical framework and analysis.

1.2 Scope and Delimitations

In the light of the current debate about indigenous autonomy and the environment this 15 credit Bachelor Thesis will look at the most recent publication in order to make an international comparative case study with Bolivia and Sweden as the two cases. Empirical and theoretical literature on indigenous peoples, autonomy and the environment has been selected as the basis for the study. Furthermore it is also in the scope of the research to present some key parts of transnational and national policy as well as legislation in order to do the comparison.

1.3 Significance and Aim

The aim with this research is to compare how the issue of indigenous autonomy and self-determination is related to national environment agenda in these two contexts. The choice to do the study on a national as well as subnational level is based on the clearly defined territorial boundaries which violates indigenous land, territory and livelihoods. As nation-states Bolivia and Sweden share common reference points with their own administrative and legal structures, defining relevant comparators (Hantrais, 2009:51). The purpose with this thesis is significant because it touches upon some of the key epistemological issues of what development is as well as what it should be, combining important theoretical and practical aspects. It also uses the interdisciplinarity aspects of the field of Development Studies to approach the topic which fills a gap within the existing literature. In addition the context, the comparison and the approach to be more critical to autonomy itself is new with this research. The fact that environmental issues are included ties it to the development debate that is increasingly influenced by these issues. This is for example evident in the mainstreaming of the United Nations Sustainable Development Goals (SGD) where seven of the seventeen goals are more or less directly related to environment issues

(un.org., 2018). The choice of cases is based on being able to find both differences as well as similarities for indigenous peoples within two nation-states that supposedly is seen to be different contexts. Both in historical, political, economical, social, geographical and environmental terms. Johansson (in Lennox and Short, 2016) finds it interesting to look at how the nordic countries have treated indigenous peoples since there is a history of a high level of implementation of human rights (pp. 613-4), which stresses the significance of the Swedish case. In addition, Bolivia has been progressive in the creation of policy with the UNDRIP almost being entirely implemented in the 2009 national convention (Tockman, Cameron and Plata, 2015), making it a unique case especially from a legislative point of view.

1.4 Research questions

1. To what extent do indigenous peoples have the political agency to participate in the environment agenda in the Plurinational State of Bolivia and Sweden?
a) How is this political agency put into practice?
b) And, what are the implications for indigenous autonomy?

1.5 Disposition of the Thesis

Regarding the disposition of the thesis there is first the introductory part with important background information for the study;second the analytical framework of the thesis is presented; third the research design and method are written out; fourth there is the part with the analysis of the cases and the comparison; and finally there is the concluding part.

2. Analytical Framework

In order to understand the elements of the research questions and the analysis some key concepts need to be defined. Firstly, 'political agency' is used in the research questions as the ability for indigenous peoples to act in a self-determined way as political agents disregarding their position in the discourse. Discourse in this thesis, as defined by Laclau and Mouffe's, is a fixation of meaning within a particular domain where signs as moments create an unified system (Jørgensen and Phillips, 2002:26). In addition with Escobar's idea of development discourse there are discursive restrictions in the form of relations and practices that limits who can speak, with what level of authority and from what perspective in this so called system (Escobar, 1995:41). Second, 'indigenous peoples' will in this thesis be used as concept in relation to the nation-state, as rights-holders and as political agents. It will be used as contextually as possible respecting the fact that in reality there are many perceptions of what indigeneity means, and with the reservation that not all right-holders may self-identify as indigenous (Laing, 2015). Moreover, there is no intention to have an essentialist approach to indigeneity nor homogenising indigenous peoples, although that appear to be common in environment politics.

Lindroth and Sinevaara-Niskanen (2013) detect a problematic form of indigenous agency in their content analysis of official documents from the United Nations (UN) Permanent Forum on Indigenous Issues (PF) and the Arctic Council. They argue that there is implicit expectations that result in that in order to be heard, recognized and gain political legitimacy in these formal governmental structures, indigenous peoples need to represent and perform according to an established and essentialist conception of indigenousness. A conception that is based on stereotypes and a dual western rationality that limits indigenousness to be synonymous of having a 'primitive' relation to nature in the idea of a nature-culture dichotomy.

This notion of political agency of indigenous peoples is linked to Reimerson's (2015) historical discussion about value-barreras contra rights-holders where Sámi in Sweden are hamstrung to access real power and merely are seen as objects of public policy, rather than what Stevenhagen (in Stevenhagen, 2013) defines in his approach to development, as subjects of collective rights (pp.158). Generally, in Sweden the Sámi space for political agency is limited

due to unequal power relations, historical and contemporary inequalities, and predominant understandings of what indigenous peoples can do, say and be (Reimerson, 2015). In Bolivia the political agency for indigenous peoples looks a bit different on a national level since there are relatively more indigenous peoples with 41% of the population (Documents.worldbank.org, 2015:25-6), some of the historical and contemporary struggles differ, the president Evo Morales self-identify as indigenous (Havemann in Lennox and Short, 2016:287), and an emerging hybrid model of autonomy is set out to increase political agency (Tockman, Cameron and Plata, 2015). Still, political agency for indigenous peoples is a relevant concept in both cases. Acknowledging that the subject position for indigenous peoples in the discourse is a result of power relations, human relations and discursive notions about nature (Reimerson, 2013).

2.1 A decolonial critique of Development

This thesis builds upon a decolonial critique to the normative understanding of development as well as modernity and with the understanding that development is contextual and a process. Already in 1986 Stavenhagen (2013) promoted ethnodevelopment in relation to indigenous peoples since he saw a need for alternative context based development approaches (pp.81). He wanted to create alternative development and alternative modernities that was more inclusive to diverse ontologies. From that perspective he saw a need to promote further decoloniality, but not through the state as homogenization has been a driving force for nation-building (pp.80), but rather through social movements and human rights protection mechanisms on an international level (pp. 157, 197-9). In addition, he discusses internal colonialism as a continuation of colonialist practices (Stevenhagen in Stevenhagen, 2013:77-8), which frame autonomy as a decolonizing practice. Furthermore, Escobar and Rocheleau (2008) is critical towards modernization meaning a process that requires conquest of peoples and territories, as the neoliberal globalization intensifies (pp.14-5). Alternatively, they want to reclaim 'modernity' as a political and ontological project; challenge the hegemony of the modern/colonial world system; and quote Grossberg that want to create a "modernity without coloniality" (pp. 305). In this definition of modernity 'the traditional' and other ideas can be a part of development as well as

there do not have to be a distinction between developed and underdeveloped. On this note De la Cuadra (2015) criticize the trajectory of modernization and economic growth as synonymous with development. This way of rationalization put the environment lower on the prioritization list, which he says has led to an environmental crisis and to some extent a crisis for this way of thinking. Additionally, the aspiration for a normative form of development put many indigenous peoples in a vulnerable situation since they are affected by both climate change and changes in the ecosystem. In addition this dual view has led to many conflicts about resources as in the case of Isiboro Sécure National Park and Indigenous Territory (Territorio Indígena y Parque Nacional Isiboro Secure, TIPNIS) in Bolivia and Koolak (Gállok) in Sweden.

Theoretically these ideas will be the base for this study, as well as there will be no division between underdeveloped/developed or developing/developed. Also since the notion of underdevelopment itself can be seen as a form of cultural domination that will be avoided in this decolonial critique (Peet and Hartwick, 2015:255). For this thesis the choice to use decolonial theory is based on the assumption that colonisation is an ongoing practice of knowledge and power (Kohn and McBride, 2011:3). A practice that is seen for example in nation-state control over resources, in internal colonialism and in who have the power to define what development is. Political theory especially relevant when analysing cases of indigenous peoples political agency where there are historical and contemporary patterns of colonialism as will be described in further detail.

2.2 Autonomy

As mentioned in the introductory section autonomy is a contested concept and term that needs to be contextualized. However, in order to frame the practical aspect of autonomy there will be a distinction between Territorial Autonomy (TA) which is connected to land and Non-Territorial Autonomy (NTA) which is personal, functional and/or cultural (Tomaselli in Lennox and Short, 2016:150).

To further describe the critique of autonomy for example Gonzales and González (2015) argue that some of the central issues with autonomy is that it does not include subaltern forms of

rationality, agency, epistemologies and ontologies. Additionally, the aspects of modernity, coloniality and decoloniality are not sufficiently discussed. Escobar (in Gonzales and González, 2015) discusses a power 'asymmetry' that is making the creation of knowledge to base social change exclusive for those who possess power. The normative understanding of autonomy is created in relation to the liberal democratic model of creating a state - something that is not necessary inline with customary practices. Gonzales and González (2015) continue to stress a need to point out that autonomy itself is not a radical way of thinking. However, acknowledging that neoliberal development is the normative understanding of development and that the liberal democratic model is the normative for of democracy, some form of radical autonomy would be a catalyst for socio environmental change. As for example Lantto and Mörkenstam (2008) explain that "As long as the real power and the final right of decision on indigenous issues remain within the sovereign nation-state, the prospects for radical policy changes are low, despite the continuous and forceful change by the Sami movement." (pp. 42). Or in this case the forceful changes by both Sami and Bolivian social movements.

2.2.1 Environmental autonomy

The issue of environmental autonomy have not appeared in a vacuum. Indigenous peoples are vulnerable to climate change (Lindroth and Sinevaara-Niskanen, 2013, Havemann in Lennox and Short, 2016:283), a major part of protected areas in the world are claimed or owned by indigenous peoples (Reimerson, 2015), demands for greater control over resources are worldwide (Stevenhagen in Stevenhagen, 2013:82) and extractivist industries are exploiting indigenous land all over the world (Ulloa, 2017). This, apart from lacking autonomy structure is central issues for the political agency of indigenous peoples

According to Ulloa (2017) the indigenous demands for autonomy has evolved to demands for relational environmental autonomy and self-determination. This should be based on contextual indigenous knowledge as well as conceptions of law and justice, acknowledging that there is no such thing as one set of indigenous ideas. The recent etno and ecocide generated by the current global environmental geopolitics of knowledge and economic dynamics, that once

again is based on Western dual concepcion is criticized by decolonial scholars and indigenous intellectuals (Ulloa, 2017). It was and is implemented with colonial and top-down processes leading to socio-environmental inequalities and extractivist developments of land grabbing, dicplacements etc. Despite social mobilization and conflicts has increased around illegal mining, deforestation, and biodiversity loss and effects of climate change on indigenous peoples' territories (Ulloa, 2017). Social movements in Latin America have presented their demands, visions and proposals regarding extractive issues. As for example in Bolivia there has been marches and other elements of resistance following the Cochabamba 'water wars' (Marston, 2015), and now TIPNIS, however on the later occasion the resistance was met with violence (Hope, 2016). In the light of this, even though social mobilization can create change to some extent Ulloa (2017) argue, as will be argued in this thesis that environmental autonomy would give indigenous peoples the authority and legitimacy - the self-determined political agency - to make decisions about the environment.

Lastly, the two key documents that declare universal rights for indigenous peoples, UNDRIP and ILO convention no. 169, mention not only issues of autonomy but what can be read as environmental autonomy to some extent. First, article 26, 27 and 32 in UNDRIP are especially concerned with lands, territories and resources. It is declared that not only should states consult and cooperate with indigenous peoples they should also have the right to obtain "free and informed consent prior to the approval of any project affecting their lands or territories and other resources, particularly in connection with development, utilization or exploitation of mineral, water or other resources." (Article 32.2). Second, there is the ILO convention no. 169 where article 15 is declaring the right for safeguarding of natural resources on indigenous lands where they should have the right to participate in the conservation, management and use of these resources. Additionally they should be consulted when state retain the ownership over resources, and be benefited as far as possible as well as be compensated if any damage is being made (ilo.org, 2018). These formulations is in theory defending indigenous peoples rights, but in practice more has to be done before they are fully implemented.

3. Research Design and Method

The design of this research is the one of a descriptive International Comparative Case Study in which indigenous peoples of the Plurinational State of Bolivia and Swedish Sapmí, in relation to the nation-state, are the units of analysis. It is descriptive in the way that it is describing already analysed relations, although from a new perspective. The comparative element is visible in the presented research questions, which are not asked with the assumption that 'indigeneity' is shared globally, but that there are common experiences that is valuable to compare for research purposes. It is an inductive qualitative case study which is based on a theory building approach (De Vaus, 2001:223,226). For the analysis part analytical induction has been used where the focus has been to see what the two cases have in common in terms of patterns in order to arrive at a generalization to apply to both cases (De Vaus, 2001:263-6). In the analysis the comparison is made between the core subject acknowledging the influence by the contextual social reality (Hantrais, 2009:61), although having the advantage of an inherent strive for contextualization in the chosen design (De Vaus, 2001:250). Additionally, the justification of cases, concepts and comparators are presented in the introduction as well as in the theoretical framework since it is based upon previous research. This is important for validity, reliability, replicability and plausibility (Hantrais, 2009:50). Arguably there is a risk of selection bias since the cases are not random, however the descriptive aim of this research demands an in-depth understanding of the cases that was only possible having previous knowledge about the two contexts (Hantrais, 2009:62). The study is based mainly on secondary qualitative material and policy documents which is systematically read and selectively coded by cases, theory and concepts (Bryman, 2008:569).

With the intention to have a critical approach the research process have been influenced by reflexively; the researcher is aware of her position; different biases such as the selection bias have been taken into account; as well as the researchers own values and ideology has been critically considered (Bryman, 2008:715, Hantrais, 2009:66). Moreover, the study is built upon a constructivist and interpretive notion of knowledge; and with the understanding that knowledge is culturally bound and relative (Hantrais, 2009:57-8). In that sense this International

Comparative Case Study oppose eurocentric academia and strive to include a plurality of perspectives.

3.1 Data

The reason for the use of secondary material is partly because professionally collected data is accessible from the University library as well as it is less costly compared to a field study. Due to the internet and a lot of desk time the research cover a relatively large scope of material collected from different sources written by different scholars, some of them having an indigenous heritage and some having long-time experience within the academic field. A desk study approach has especially been useful since this is a study of two geographically different cases. It has also minimized the risk of biases such as the 'tourist bias' and other biases that can occur in the field.

Regarding the sampling strategy LubSearch and Google Scholar have been the main search engines for academic material; Google for other official and external published material; and Lovisa for books accessed in the library. Additionally, the Center for Samí Research has provided material about Sweden as well as correspondence with professional researchers at different Swedish universities. Combining the empirical and theoretical literature this thesis aim to provide a new piece of research material. When collecting the sources J Scott's concepts (in Bryman:2008:544) credibility, meaning, authenticity and representativeness have been considered, as well as the authors position. Consideration of biases such as confirmation bias has also been apart of the process of collecting sources. Additionally, the academic quality of the sources have been considered, acknowledging the fact that academic quality requirements can exclude some important aspects and understanding that there are more nuances to be explored. Finally, the ambition has to been to have equal amount of sources considering theory, Swedish Sápmi and Bolivia.

3.2 Limitations

The limitations of this study is firstly the issue of representation, although the secondary material is collected with representation of both ontologies and peoples in mind. Second, there is an issue of the time limit for this research as well as with the limited language skills of the researcher which restrained the collection of sources. Moreover, there has also been the issue of getting access to certain national policy documents since they are not open to the public. Additionally, there is the potential issue that secondary data may not be sufficient to answer the research question, although the study is designed to fit the research questions. There are also limits of coding since one might lose the context of when something is said in the text, which have been avoided as much as possible (Bryman, 2008:578). In addition to considering biases, ethical deliberation has been made for example in regard to the integrity of the original source (Bryman, 2008:586-7).

4. Analysis

In the analysis part the research questions will be answered which for repetition are, to what extent do indigenous peoples have the political agency to participate in the environment agenda in the Plurinational State of Bolivia and Sweden? How is this political agency put into practice? And, what are the implications for indigenous autonomy?

4.1 The Case of Bolivia (the Plurinational State of)

According to the World Bank (2015) and their calculation of national census data it was estimated in 2010 that in the end of the decade the indigenous population in Bolivia will be 4.12 million people which is 41% of the total population (Documents.worldbank.org, 2015:25-6). Despite a slight improvement, 60% of the indigenous population lives in extreme poverty compared to 10% of non-indigenous peoples (Documents.worldbank.org, 2015:60). Not only does this mean that more than half of the indigenous population in Bolivia live under 2.5 american dollars a day, but that they are subject to a double vulnerability in terms of changes in the environment. Especially since many indigenous communities are dependent on land and water to sustain their livelihoods, apart from aspects of land having different cultural and spiritual meanings (Springerová and Vališková, 2016).

Historically, Bolivia is a postcolonial state that has gone through processes of decolonization from their colonial legacies of dependence. First, when becoming an independent state and second as a post-neoliberal state resistant towards capitalism and the exploitation following the structural adjustment programs (SAP) (Ulloa, 2017). In the second decolonization process there was an effort to regain control over capital and a nationalisation of resources such as hydrocarbons before and during the presidency of Evo Morales and the Movement for Socialism (MAS) (Fabricant and Postero, 2015). Backed-up by a crucial social movement Morales was elected to be the first ever indigenous leadership to lead a state in 2005, promoting indigenous rights, anti-capitalism and being against environmental exploitation and US intervention (Havemann in Lennox and Short, 2016:287) Although his ideology initially came

from the grassroots it shifted in 2011 from a decolonization agenda to one of extractive-led development based on capitalism (Springerová and Vališková, 2016).

Before the shift the ongoing struggle of indigenous autonomy, that had been part of a larger decolonizing project, became a mobilizing tool against the interests of the nation-state. As for the regional Media Luna movement that was one of the driving forces for the 2009 constitutional changes. The movement had been fighting for autonomy since 2003 after the so called 'water and gas wars' that initiated the nationalisation of resources (Cooke in Eisenstadt et al., 2013:67-8). It went as far as a referendum for autonomy in 2006 which was a success for the movement, but ultimately it did not get through. Since then the indigenous social movements may no longer control the rhetoric of autonomy to the same extent according to Cooke (in Eisenstadt et al., 2013:81, 84). However, with organizations such as Confederación Sindical Única de Trabajadores Campesinos de Bolivia (CSUTCB), Confederación de Pueblos Indígenas de Bolivia (CIDOB), and Consejo Nacional de Ayllus y Markas del Qullasuyu (CONAMAQ) there have been progressive change for territorial autonomy (TA), even if the model has its weaknesses (Tomaselli in Lennox and Short, 2016:159-60)

During the last decade a hybrid model of autonomy has emerged combining a municipal liberal democratic way of governing with indigenous communitarian norms with deliberative assemblies. According to indigenous academics and leaders deliberative forms of democracy is highly valued since there is room for more people to influence the decision-making (Van Cott in Tockman, Cameron and Plata, 2015). When Tockman, Cameron and Plata (2015) wrote their article seven municipalities had successfully gone through the autonomy process with its 14-15 steps of for example getting the signature of 10% of the adult population in the municipality, collecting evidence of pre-colonial occupation of the territory, having mandatory meetings, and the ratification of a municipal council ordinance if favor for starting a conversation. This long political, legal and bureaucratic process is an issue for autonomy and could be interpreted as a strategy for the MAS party to remain in control and power (Tockman, Cameron and Plata, 2015) In addition the model have led to people ending up showing pragmatic willingness on the behalf of real influence (Tockman, Cameron and Plata, 2015), and it decreases the political agency to

decide what autonomy as well as development could be. As such this model of autonomy does not seem to be the decolonial project it was set out to be.

Gonzales and González (2015) see ambiguities, contradictions, and overall debilitating conditions in the practice of autonomy in Bolivia. The political agency for indigenous peoples is undermined by extractivism, neoliberal governance and de facto powers in this model which is not fully satisfactory for indigenous self-determination. Hence, external factors are not taken into account as autonomy is contextual and each municipality has different material realities. Marston (2015) explains this generalizing mistake to be on the basis of a liberal trap where there is an inherent assumption that all decisions are made in a vacuum. However, even if it is a complicated process to gain autonomy the constitutional change are relatively progressive even though there are still improvements to be made. Moreover, alongside the struggle for autonomy special social programs were designed based on indigenous ontologies targeting indigenous groups across Latin America such as "vivir bien" in Bolivia, and "bien vivir" in Colombia (Hope, 2016., Escobar and Rocheleau, 2008:301), showing that there have been room for some political agency on some levels. The Bolivian programme was based on Morales post-neoliberal agenda (Hope, 2016), which with the recent extractivist ambitions have been called a multicultural neoliberalist agenda (Fabricant and Postero, 2015).

4.1.2 Key documents

Internal and external public pressure led to the Bolivian 2009 Constitution that include many aspects of the UNDRIP. Except, there is a consultation principle in cases when the nation-state is making decisions affecting indigenous peoples but not a consent principle (Tockman, Cameron and Plata, 2015). Furthermore all natural resources is administered and owned by the state on the behalf of the Bolivian people even though they are found on indigenous territories, which hinders their political agency. As it is stated in Article 348 paragraph 2: "The natural resources are of strategic character and of public importance for the development of the country." (Constituteproject.org, 2018). An arbitrary statement raising questions of who the public is as well as what development is.

Even though there is a new ideal of governance following the 2009 Constitution based on representative, communitarian and participatory democracy (Havemann in Lennox and Short, 2016:287), there are some major aspects that de facto limits the political agency of indigenous peoples. Since there is an ongoing mining boom in Latin America there have been more negotiations with extractive industries as well as scholars discussing the issue of free, prior and informed consent rather than, what is once were, mainly around territorial property rights (Havemann in Lennox and Short, 2016:357). Internationally Evo Morales is representing Bolivia and indigenous peoples for a global environment agenda as 'a progressive friend of the earth' adopting an essentialist role and rhetorics gaining influence in the debate. At the same time they still have the control and ownership over resources and promoting extractive-led development (Hope, 2016). This could be seen as a paradox but since Bolivia has ratified ILO Convention no. 169 (Laing, 2015), implemented the UNDRIP in their constitution and adopted a certain "indigenousness" (Reimerson, 2013), it is possible that they have gained political legitimacy enough to continue on their current extractivist development path.

4.1.3 The TIPNIS debate

A recent debate about a transnational highway project through indigenous territory, the TIPNIS debate, shows contradictions with the nation-state approach to autonomy. This project that goes through the lowlands have been argued to sacrifice both indigenous bodies through labour exploitation and migration as well as indigenous lands in an extractive racialized patterns of oppression, practices of internal colonialism. Furthermore there has also been increasing tensions between lowland indigenous peoples and highland labourers that wants the road in order to be closer to the market (Fabricant and Postero, 2015). Although, it is important to keep in mind what Fabricant and Postero (2015) says that: "indigenous groups may support or oppose large-scale development depending upon their relationship to extraction, the market, and/or nature." (pp.456). Still, this does not contradict a need for a mechanism that strengthen political agency and make a space for consultation and consent.

The pragmatic and capitalist decision to build the road was met with resistance through for example marches that was met with violence from the national army and later on a symbolic ex-post facto consultation for the people of concern (Fabricant and Postero, 2015). In the end a fatigue, pressure and manipulation led people to believe that the road was a good idea (Hope, 2016). Also worth mentioning is that during this time of protests "vivir bien" the social programme was down (Hope, 2016), which also could have affected the outcome. In the case of TIPNIS Morales reproduces a colonial practice of subordination and the conflict shows how there is tensions between conceptions of territoriality, land and development in Bolivian politics (Springerová and Vališková, 2016). The fact that the Bolivian state is critical to neoliberalism and still invite large companies to extract from larger territories and build their economy on an extractive capitalist model, shows that their notion of development is not alternative after all. Instead it is part of a neoliberal globalization hegemony (Fabricant and Postero, 2015). This case also shows that indigenous peoples do not have much political agency in terms of Bolivia's environmental and development agenda. In spite of the unique model of autonomy it is a long process of getting autonomy status and since it does not include key issues of consent to resource management etc. the political agency is still not enough to sustain their rights.

Additionally, parallel to the extractive-led development agenda the Bolivian government have developed a conservation agenda which is similar to that of other Latin American countries (Hope, 2016). Despite the sustainable intentions of conserving nature it has resulted to be more difficult to sustain livelihood of indigenous communities not only in Bolivia but also in other Latin American countries such as Peru, Colombia and Nicaragua (Finley-Brook in Barocco, 2011:286-9, Escobar and Rocheleau, 2008:14-5, De la Cuadra, 2015). Reasons being for example conflicts between ontological understandings of nature, land, tradition and culture. Where 'nature' is an object to conserve and a contrast to the modern society. This parallel agenda does also describe a relation between indigenous autonomy and nation-state environmental agenda where there are lacking political agency for indigenous peoples.

4.2 The Case of Sweden

In Sweden there are estimated numbers that there are between 20.000-40.000 Sámi people, and a majority lives in Swedish Sápmi which covers half of Sweden (Sametinget, 2014). This area is very rich on resources which has resulted in a history of conflicts of interests and internal colonialism (Sehlin MacNeil, 2017:4). Combined with territorial interference the Swedish state has had much influence with its intervening policies continuously during the 20ths century starting with the Reindeer Grazing Act in 1886, although there has been some critical junctures that has created change. After the Second World War there was still a dominant notion that Sámihood was limited to reindeer herding and a nomadic lifestyle which was prominent in policies of segregation for reindeer herders and assimilation for other Sami communities. This was soon met with radical resistance and increased activism, however the focus of the state remained on reindeer herding and within the adopted modernization approach Sámi was seen as an underdeveloped interest group. Still an increased grassroot demand for indigenous rights resulted in the Sami Political Program of the Sami in 1968, and a decade later in 1981 the case of the Taxed Mountains alongside an increasingly influential international debate boosted the Sami mobilization for rights (Lantto and Mörkenstam, 2008). Eventually the Sami Parliament Act of 1992 took form and the Samediggi (Sametinget/The Sami Parliament) was founded in 1993 as a form of Non-Territorial Autonomy (NTA). And with its main assignment "of monitoring questions related to Sami culture in Sweden." (Sami Parliament Act, 1992:1).

Since then the Swedish Samediggi has gotten both external and internal critique since it does not provide the self-determination mechanisms that it was intended to but reproduces hierarchical relations between the Sámi people and the nation-state (Lawrence and Mörkenstam, 2016). Autonomy in this form is hence not the decolonizing project it was set out to be. Comparing the Swedish model with the one in Norway in the light of the contextual similarities, the Swedish Samediggi has a formal subordination to the state and is rather a government agency then a sovereign entity. One explanation is the historical relationship between Sámi and the states since Norway has had a history of assimilation on different levels of society, while Sweden to some extent still has an asymmetrical power relation. As of today the Samediggi in Norway

have a status as a mandatory consultative body that guarantees participation in the decision-making process in all matters that may affect Sami interests, apart from handling administrative work which means real authority and influence. In Sweden on the other hand the Samediggi has low political legitimacy within the Sami society, it has a low legal status and work more as an administrative body. In addition the Swedish Samediggi gets less resources in terms of finances and a major part of the budget is earmarked which limits their work (Josefsen, Mörkenstam and Saglie, 2015).

The political agency of the Sámi in Sweden is minimal and seem to still be embedded in historical and colonial power relations. The Parliament have not gotten access to a political arena with the legal status to get real influence over important questions and are still subject to paternalistic policies (Lantto in Reimerstam, 2016).

4.2.1 Key documents

However, since the establishment of the Parliament the process of change have been slow, for example it was first until 2006 that Sámi was considered as peoples and not only as a minority (Josefsen, Mörkenstam and Saglie, 2015). A part from the Sami Act from 1992 that mainly concerns issues of culture and language, the Sámi people in Sweden are subject to international policy as the indigenous peoples in Bolivia. First, the UNDRIP that took 23 years of drafting due to the sovereignty of states but was adopted in 2007 (Johansson in Lennox and Short, 2016:620). Second, there is the ILO Convention no. 169 which Sweden has not yet ratified compared to the other nordic countries, due to land rights in article 14 and 15 (Johansson in Lennox and Short, 2016:615-20). The question was discussed in 2015 but did not lead to ratification (sverigesradio.se, 2018) and this unwillingness prevent access to a platform in international law to put forward demands against the nation-state. An additional reason for why the Norwegian Samediggi has a higher legal status (Josefsen, Mörkenstam and Saglie, 2015). Since the Samediggi is not enough of a platform for change and does not provide the Sámi indigenous peoples with political agency the ratification may hence be a critical juncture for future change (Lantto and Mörkenstam, 2008). Although other international policy are ratified that used to be

ignored, such as Council of Europe's Framework Convention for the Protection of National Minorities and European Charter for Regional or Minority Language, it still does not provide political agency (Lantto and Mörkenstam, 2008). Sámi is being treated as a 'minority deluxe' rather then as right-holders (Johansson in Lennox and Short, 2016:618).

Nevertheless the Committee on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination (CERD) recently held a meeting with representatives from the Swedish state and which after they declared some concluding observations on the combined twenty-second and twenty-third periodic reports of Sweden (CERD, 2018). On the issues of rights of the Sámi indigenous people they declared five concerns, the first two being the issue of "insufficient legislation to fully guarantee the right to free, prior and informed consent, while natural resource extraction, industrial and development projects continue" and "the insufficient legislation to protect the rights of the Sámi people in their traditional lands." (pp. 4). Further, they proposed changes in the legislation towards the international standard and towards the right to free, prior and informed consent. At the time of writing this thesis there has been no formal answer to the critique, however this is not new. As a matter of fact there is a proposed national law with the intention to strengthen the role of Sámi indigenous peoples as consultants in decision-making regarding issues of their concern in a genuine and effective way (Kulturdepartementet, 2017). Both Amnesty International and Civil Rights Defenders in their response to the proposal discusses the Free, prior and informed consent principle (FPIC) which even more would secure the political agency of Sámi (regeringen.sem 2018ab). Also there is still a focus on individual indigenous rights and not the collective rights which shows that the Swedish state have insufficient knowledge about indigenous struggles. However, by applying the FPIC principle the Samediggi might be one step closer to environmental autonomy.

Additionally, there is a proposal for a Nordic Sami Convention with a draft from 2005 written by the nordic Sami Parliament Council (Johansson in Lennox and Short, 2016:617-9). The convention would strengthen Sámi indigenous rights, but issues of land rights and resource management is slowing down the process (Johansson in Lennox and Short, 2016:619) In the draft chapter four article 34-40 includes land and water. And it makes promises about effective protection of land and resources which would be a good leap forward (sametinget.se, 2005).

4.2.2 The Kallak (Gállok) debate

The case of Kallak is only one example where the Swedish nation-state has an agenda that limits Sámi political agency. Just as in Latin America there is a mining boom in Sápmi and the historic value of the land is set aside. Sami history is often neglected in policy due to for example lack of knowledge, and although small efforts have been made there have been no large improvements. The island Kallak has much historic value and is situated in Laponia that is an United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation (UNESCO) World Heritage, yet the land is not protected from extractive mining companies. Even though there are restrictions about what the companies can do as well as they are required to do an evaluation of the impacts for the environment, the impacts are often more extensive than planned. As for example when the British company Beowulf Mining Ab, occupied a larger territory than planned without any major consequences except with protests from the grassroots (Larsson, 2017). This shows a power asymmetry that has historical roots - with national and international actors creating a mining industry already in the beginning of the 20th century. Both the Swedish Minerals Act and Mineral Strategy makes Sweden an attractive mining nation which have kept the companies interested (Sehlin MacNeil, 2017:8-10). Victoria Tauli-Corpuz (2016) that is the current UN Special Rapporteur on Indigenous Rights, is critical to the mining laws in Sweden which excludes the Sami interests. She explains that the law "does not include any explicit references to Sami rights"(pp. 12). Critique about extractivism in Sápmi has also come from a new wave of social resistance where Sami communities, the Samediggi, the Sami youth organisation Sáminuorra and Svenska Samernas Riksförbund (the National Union of the Sami People in Sweden or Sámiid riikkasearvi or SSR) has showed their concern (Sehlin MacNeil, 2017:10).

Apart from extractive industries Sweden has a parallel conservation agenda just as in Bolivia. The Laponia World Heritage is part of that agenda and in that Sámi indigenous peoples have political agency to some extent (Reimerson, 2015). Laponia is in many ways an unique case since it is majority of Sámi representatives in the board of direction and it is a decentralizing effort in an otherwise centralised conservation management. It is an effort to use indigenous knowledge that is good in theory with support from UNESCO and representatives from the state,

two municipalities and reindeer-herding communities in the operative organization Laponiatjuottjudus. In practice however Sámi indigenous peoples still have limited agency due to societal inequalities and formal/informal power relations manifested in a dominant discourse (Reimerson, 2016). They are as previously mentioned seen as value-beares rather than rights-holders which is a continuation of an historical pattern of inequality, knowledge and power. Also in this platform indigenous peoples have limited possibilities to influence and affect policy due to dominant essentialist understandings of who they are, but also due to a lacking decision-making system (Mörkenstam and Lantto in Reimerson, 2015).

4.3 Comparative Analysis

In a comparative perspective these two cases are examples of that there are both theoretical and practical issues with autonomy, although there are some contextual differences. One of the major differences is the relative number of how many indigenous peoples that live in Bolivia compared to Sweden. Since it is inherent in the liberal democratic model as practiced in Sweden, that the majority decides and are de facto 'the people' the Sámi people are in another position than the indigenous peoples in Bolivia. This is evident in the difference between adopting TA as in Bolivia and NTA as in Sweden. Comparing these two cases TA seem to give more political agency on a broader spectrum of issues then the NTA, however when it comes to environmental and development issues the both approaches lack space for political agency. Even if the TA model would work better in theory in terms of environment issues such as conservation and resource management, the outcome is similar when the right for indigenous peoples to control and practice their own notion of development is lacking. Furthermore, despite different approaches to autonomy the models are mainly based on knowledge created in the West and the implemented policy reproduces neoliberal ideas which manifest geopolitics of knowledge. In addition the adopted autonomy models are both subnational, a body within the state, which weaken self-determination and political agency. Although the both nation-states has and/or will adopt mechanisms for consultation the FIPC principle is not taken into account or implemented, which is not in accordance with collective indigenous rights framed in international law. By

adopting and practicing the FIPC principle the chance for genuine and effective influence over questions of interest for indigenous peoples in Bolivia and Sweden, are higher than if there is only principles of consultancy. As for example in the TIPNIS case where the nation-state could legitimize the road project with an ex-post facto consultation, which is not only a strategy in Bolivia but seems to be the strategy for the Nicaraguan state when initiating the project of the grand interoceanic canal through indigenous territory (Amnesty International, 2017).

Additionally, there are historical differences comparing the two contexts were Bolivia is a former colony and Sweden has been a colonizer, which affects indigenous struggles in different ways. What is similar though in terms of colonialism is the internal colonialism that the both nation-states practice on indigenous territory. One more similarity is the *reaction* of social movements to critical junctures which in different forms and to different extent has created change. From extensive legislative policy changes to changes in the general attitude towards indigenous peoples. Still there are limitations for social movements to *act* and create long term changes that secure a platform for long lasting political agency. Perhaps there will be change after the next clitical juncture (Josefsen, Mörkenstam and Saglie, 2015), but in the meantime resistance towards projects such as in the case of TIPNIS is met with violence which shows the urgency of the issue. That type of direct violence is with Sehlin MacNeil (2017) definition of violence, based on Galtung's triangle model, only one type of violence that indigenous peoples are subject to (pp. 22-4). She introduces the term extractive violence as a form of "direct violence against nature and/or people and animals that is caused by extractivism and that primarily affects peoples closely connected to land." (pp. 23). By this definition Sámi peoples are subject to forms of violence as indigenous peoples in Bolivia, even if their resistance is not met with direct physical violence.

Although, the contemporary situation follows some of the same historical patterns there have been some improvements in both cases. In Bolivia the Constitution changed 2009 inline with the UNDRIP and the leadership changed in 2005 to a representative at least initially for indigenous demands. This was for example seen in the design of the mentioned social programmes even though they seemed conditional to no resistance in for example cases of substantial road projects. Hence, the environmental aspects of implementing indigenous rights

are still inadequate and extractivist development proceed. In Sweden recent legislative efforts does make the nation-state seem to show willingness to strengthen indigenous rights. Yet as critics from different sectors have shown, in order to fully implement indigenous rights another more radical form of autonomy is needed in order for political agency. As well as the environmental aspects need to be implemented and the extractivist developments taken into account. One way could be for the Swedish state to ratify the ILO convention no. 169 as Bolivia have done, that provides a legal platform for indigenous peoples to negotiate with the nation-state.

Generally, on a transnational level the environment debate surrounds self-determination and autonomy which is the main demands for indigenous peoples (Claeys and Pugley, 2017). Despite a transnational platform there are as mentioned the issue of essentialism to gain political agency, authority and legitimacy. As in the Convention of Biological Diversity (CBD) where the space for agency is narrow due to colonial discourse based on understandings that indigenous peoples as closer to nature, holders of traditional knowledge etc. There is still a nature-culture dichotomy that hinders effective and genuine participation of indigenous representatives (Reimerson, 2013). This limits indigenous peoples in Sweden and Bolivia and their political agency. Also, this limitation is a problem because many indigenous peoples live on lands that are rich in natural resources and where national conflicts of interest emerges. Conflict of interests that indigenous peoples are not in the legal position to win, since they do not have a platform to be equal in the negotiations - a platform which radical autonomy could grant indigenous peoples.

Nationally, there is a similar struggle for agency in the conservation agendas that both Sweden and Bolivia have adopted parallel with extractivist developments. The difference there is that there has been efforts to co-manage areas that are of interest to indigenous peoples in Sweden as Laponia, although there are improvements to be made. Foster (2016) contribute with an example of how Māori in New Zealand has been able to engage in resource management as a strategy for self-governments to get involved and included in state politics. Although there was difficult to initiate a cross-culture conversation three different cases shows that combining Māori and 'modern' knowledge gave all parties access to and control over the resources. In addition to grant Māori a platform to create policy and change practice according to their notions of

development, the project was a practice to resist ongoing colonization, secure indigenous rights and facilitate autonomy as well as authority. Noteworthy is that the New Zealand state similarly to Bolivia and Sweden practiced extractivist development as well as privileged beliefs and practices based on western ontology, excluding customary understandings until a shift in the 1980s. Offering an example of the possibilities of an alternative development approach.

Other approaches to autonomy as Binder and Binder's (2016) capability approach is also emerging in the debate and could potentially be useful in the comparasition between Bolivia and Sweden. However, what is lacking in their approach is the acknowledgement that there are material differences due to a reproduction of colonial structures of knowledge and power, and that a more radical approach is needed for change. So even though the framework " is a promising tool to conceptualise indigenous autonomy because it puts at the centre the freedom of indigenous peoples to pursue the paths of development they value." (pp. 309) - indigenous peoples for example in Sweden and Bolivia still does not have the political agency to not be at least to some extent dependent on the dominant path.

Theoretically autonomy should be a way to balance power between nation-states and indigenous peoples (Mörkenstam, 2015). A legal platform to negotiate the relation which indigenous themselves can define in their own terms and with their own ontological understandings. In the contextual light of colonial past and present. This implies indigenous peoples autonomy to stand equal to states as if they were a sovereign entity and not a governmental agency nor a subnational project. If the platform were at hand it would lead to political agency and indigenous peoples being able negotiate as political agents and rights-holders. This is currently not the case in neither Bolivia nor Sweden which shows that the power and knowledge of the nation-states still dominates in practice, and that an instrument for radical change is required for change.

5. Conclusions

Don't we all romanticize nature? Haven't we all dreamt of another, perhaps *better* world? A world closer to our personal or even collective understanding of how we should organize societies? In this nature-culture dichotomy that we are subject to, the dominant understanding of development has almost taken over our ability to think outside the box without being dismissed as naive idealists. Reaching out for other ideas of development, alternative paths seem distant yet possible, improbable yet necessary for a sustainable future for indigenous peoples as well as for the globe as a whole. Perhaps it is now once and for all time to learn, listen and develop inclusively.

In this 'hour of autonomy' (Esteva, 2015), the normative understanding of autonomy need to change into one that include socioenvironemtal aspect. Examples from Bolivia and Sweden shows that this issue is present for indigenous peoples in different contexts as well as where nation-states establish both models of NTA and TA. Even though there is political agency for indigenous peoples to some extent in these two contexts reasons such as exclusion in resource management, conservations agendas and extractivist developments prevent possibilities to exercise collective rights and practice self-determination. In addition even though international policy documents such as UNDRIP and ILO Convention no. 169 provide a framework for indigenous rights the Free, prior and informed consent (FPIC) principle is not nationally implemented. Indigenous peoples in Bolivia and Sweden are de facto lacking political agency to participate in the environment agenda which is inherent in the current structures of autonomy and in how it is constructed in relation to the postcolonial Bolivian state and the neoliberal Swedish state. There is still a dominant notion of development as synonymous with modernity and extractivism which reproduces patterns of colonial power structures and limits political agency for indigenous peoples. Although there has been some progresses within the field of indigenous rights for the last decades indigenous autonomy is a trade-off for extractivist development in the current neoliberal political economy. Politically legitimized with essentialist arguments that indigenous understandings of for example land and territory is not inline with a developing society.

Nonetheless, when indigenous peoples gain environmental autonomy they will be able to gain political agency to create an agenda based on their knowledge and without accepting their position in a historical colonial relationship. This will mean a radical change in the relationship as well as in the power dynamics between nation-state and indigenous peoples. It is first then that indigenous rights will be fully acknowledged and that autonomy will be the decolonizing project it was set out to be. Finally for the future, in the case of Sweden the first step could be to include the FPIC principle in the new consultation law as well as to ratifying the ILO Convention no. 169, which would give Sámi a national and international legal platform. That would in its turn increase the political agency to influence the environmental agenda and strengthen the autonomy of indigenous peoples. In the case of Bolivia the process to municipal autonomy should be made more efficient as well as it should include environment aspects of resource and conservation management. For example by adopting a model like in New Zealand and/or an improved version of the Laponia model. Parallel the Bolivian nation-state should make adjustments in the law to endorse the FPIC principle in cases of extractivist industries and in other issues that might affect indigenous peoples. These would all be steps in a direction towards radical environmental autonomy.

5.1 Future research

For future research a comparative study like this could with advantage be made through field studies with observations, interviews etc. as the main source of data. That would deepen the understanding of how autonomy operetes and the perceptions of the its implementation locally. A field study would increasingly give us knowledge about epistemologies and ontologies that the researcher could only read about for this thesis. Additionally a need for different epistemologies and ontologies are needed within the adamia as a whole. Indigenous peoples and scholars need to get more attention also when it comes to creating policy. More research could also be from an international comparative perspective since that has shed light on common issues in different context, which is important to describe the complexities of the world we live in. Especially in creating theory since different perspectives that can increase the overall understanding.

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