The paradoxes of multiculturalism policies in Bolivia: between inclusion and exclusion

Bolivia is a clear example of a country which has put multiculturalism at the very centre of its political ideology: not only does the current Morales administration endorse the politics of multiculturalism but the very principles of a multicultural and pluriethnic nation are enshrined in the new Constitution. This article explores some of the paradoxes at the heart of this multicultural nation where the new language of indigeneity – through which much of the ideas of multiculturalism is articulated – serves to liberate the subaltern masses but also excludes others with less access to state discourses of power. I suggest that when indigeneity moves from the language of protest to the language of governance it can serve to exclude as much as it can liberate and a critical analysis of indigeneity is necessary to distinguish between competing claims under its label.

Andrew CANESSA

Métis in spite of everything: an amazonian resistance to ethnical policies

Nação Mestiça is a political movement born in the poor suburbs of Manaus, capital of the state of Amazonas, in response to the so-called "ethnoracial" public policies that were nationally implemented since the early 2000s. With the aim to understand the logical point of view from which its activists question Brazilian democracy, the article first shows how Nação Mestica defends miscegenation. This is in perfect contradiction to the ideological deconstruction through which the concept has been gradually removed of its legitimacy at the national political level. It will then be argued that this position should be understood from a pragmatic mestiça experience, in which a particular conception of the relationship between democracy and miscegenation is rooted. In conclusion, it will be shown how the movement moves the debate on "affirmative" policies on by re- territorializing it within the practical space of micro-local issues.

Jean-François VÉRAN

CHRONICLE OF AN ETHNOGENESIS FORETOLD: AN ACCOUNT OF CONTEMPORARY INDIGENOUS STRUGGLES IN THE ARGENTINIAN NORTHWEST (1970-2014)

This article explores the important process of ethnogenesis in the northwest region of Argentina. This is tied to the development of multiculturalism in Argentina and the passage of laws which have, since 1980, granted cultural, social and territorial rights to indigenous populations. In order to understand this process of ethnicisation we must first consider the region's colonial history and the treatment of Indians who have been dispossessed of their territory. This phenomenon intensified in during the nation-building process of the 19th century where, not only were Indians taken into account, but the nation was imagined as devoid of Indian inhabitants. How then, can we explain this renewed indigenous

identity in contemporary Argentina? In this article I will look at 40 years of social and territorial struggles as well as the strategies employed by landowners to delegitimise indianists' arguments. Each group deploys profoundly different arguments which sometimes develop into violent conflict, according to the particular circumstances. These case studies allow us to measure the progress made since the implementation of multicultural laws in the country, the valorisation of indigenous identity that they have inspired, the rights that they have allowed to be reclaimed, but also to observe the limits and ambiguities of indigenous discourses.

Maité BOULLOSA JOLY

DOUBLESPEAK IN THE PARAGUAYAN POLICIES OF BILINGUAL INTERCULTURAL EDUCATION

The current Paraguayan constitution (1992) recognizes Guarani as an official language alongside Spanish in the entire country. Since 1994 a bicultural and intercultural national education policy has also existed and Paraguay was proclaimed a "bilingual and multicultural country". However, what has been put into place is another demonstration of Paraguayan nationalism, instead of multiculturalism; the nation is imagined as being interracial (mestizo) and bilingual in Guarani and Spanish, excluding all other ethnic identities. To understand the particularities of these policies it is necessary to see them as a continuation of the past management of otherness in Paraguay during the colonial and post-colonial periods. A single form of otherness has been incorporated (Guarani) while others have been kept out (Avoreo, Aché, Enxet, Mbya...). Nevertheless, whereas it is true that Guarani has benefitted politically from a strong and emblematic recognition, there has, on the other hand, been resistance to the official use of Guarani. In parallel with its officialization and increased visibility, numerous efforts have been proposed for erasing indigenous elements from Guarani, to the better to emphasize its nationalistic dimensions.

Capucine BOIDIN

BELICE, A PLURICULTURAL SOCIETY WITHOUT MULTICULTURAL POLICIES

The former British colony in Central America, Belize, is usually described by observers as well as administrators and rulers in terms of cultural diversity and multiplicity of ethnic groups which compose it. However, since recent independence (1981), the Government of Belize has not implemented multicultural policies that would grant differential treatment to individuals because of their ethnicity or racial background, as is generally the case across the Americas since the 1980s. From this observation, this article is built around a double questioning on the modalities for the implementation of a national project: how has the Government of Belize managed the legacy of the "divide and rule" colonial policy aimed at segmenting the population? How has it adapted to the "multicultural turn" of the 1980s and its logic of recognition of diversity? Based on two fields of application – cultural policies and agrarian policies –, analysis tends to show that taking account of otherness though public policy is part of the British colonial tradition while integrating the aspirations born of the long march towards independence. It also creates specific forms of management of difference, in the sense of differential redistribution on the basis of collective memberships.

Elisabeth CUNIN & Odile HOFFMANN