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Indigenous Protest and the Roots of Sustainable Forestry in Bolivia

Abstract

In the mid-2000s, Bolivia emerged as a leader in sustainable tropical forestry, in large part because of Ley 1700, the 1996 forestry law. The 1996 forestry law reformed Bolivian forestry by requiring management plans, inventories, and harvest limits while also guaranteeing the legal right of Indigenous communities to manage their forests for timber. This article analyzes the history of Bolivian forestry reforms, paying particular attention to the involvement of Indigenous lowland communities in influencing the forestry law. Specifically, we analyze the role a 1990 Indigenous protest march called the March for Territory and Dignity had in unifying Indigenous communities, incorporating Indigenous concepts of territory into the national dialogue and legal framework, and influencing the 1996 forestry law. We argue that the Indigenous protest march united Indigenous communities around the common cause of territorial sovereignty. In response to Indigenous protest, the Bolivian government established Indigenous-controlled territories and enacted forestry reforms that incorporated community demands and values.

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INTRODUCTION

On August 15, 1990, a group of lowland Indigenous people in Bolivia began a 650-mile protest march to the capital city of La Paz in what they called the March for Territory and Dignity (*Marcha por el Territorio y la Dignidad*). The participants demanded sovereignty over their traditional territories and natural resources while also demanding increased respect for lowland Indigenous people, communities, and cultures. Indigenous communities united in solidarity along the physically demanding route from the lowland tropics through the high Andes. Arnaldo Lijerón Casanovas, a Bolivian educator and march participant, chronicled the protest and described the protesters in epic terms: “The [S]partan column of men, women, and children went with their spiritual and physical fibers of being shivering through thick cold fog and rain that threatened to cause landslides and trap the marchers.” The marchers endured hardships because they tied their demands to the survival of their cultures through control of their territories. The president of the Indigenous Women of the Beni, Carmen Pereira de Noe, collapsed with exhaustion along the route and explained: “It is not important if I die. I want to fight for the future of my children and all of my Indigenous brothers.” The informal motto of the marchers became: “Only god can stop this march,” and it showed a deep conviction to overcome all obstacles physical, political, and spiritual.¹

Many Indigenous communities around the world perceive forestry as a way to improve their livelihoods, protect their forests, and maintain their cultural heritage. Few academic studies, however, incorporate Indigenous and historical perspectives into research on sustainable tropical forestry. In the mid-2000s Bolivia emerged as a world leader in sustainable tropical forestry and had the most certified sustainable acreage of any tropical country in the world. Many scholars and foresters have attributed Bolivia’s forestry success to the passage of Ley 1700, the 1996 forestry law, which regulated timber harvests and required scientific forestry practices. Scholars and foresters, however, rarely recognize that Bolivia’s Indigenous people played a major role in compelling the Bolivian government to establish the 1996 forestry law.²

This article explores the interconnected history of forestry and Indigenous activism in Bolivia and argues that Indigenous protests galvanized a broad Indigenous movement in Bolivia that laid the foundation for the establishment of Indigenous-controlled territories and shaped Bolivian forestry policy by compelling the government to enact a forestry law that incorporated Indigenous demands for territorial control. To do this, we show how lowland Indigenous people articulated their understanding of sustainability and linked it to their own communities’ concepts of territory, forest management, and

Indigenous identity and how these concepts were incorporated into the national dialogue and legal frameworks guiding territorial sovereignty and land use. Finally, we demonstrate how these Indigenous concepts became incorporated into national forestry reforms that put Bolivia on its path to become a world leader and model for sustainable tropical forest management across the globe.³

FORESTRY IN BOLIVIA

Bolivia is one of the most ecologically and biologically diverse countries in the world. Located in the center of South America, almost half of its national territory (131 million acres) is covered by forest (figure 1). Indigenous lowland communities are some of the poorest communities in Bolivia and are engaged in shifting agriculture, hunting, fishing, and even small-scale timber extraction. For thousands of years, Indigenous populations in Bolivia have transformed forest soils, hydrologic systems, and vegetation. Researchers from Bolivia and the United States argue that forest diversity in the Bolivian lowlands results, in part, from past human land use. For example, before the Spanish invasion, Indigenous people created vast earthen walls that altered the hydrology to create savannah and forest islands in an area called Llanos de Moxos in the tropical lowlands in what is now the department of Beni. Adjacent to Moxos, in an area within the Guarayos Indigenous territory in the department of Santa Cruz, scientists have found *terra preta*, anthropogenic dark soil formations composed of charcoal and pottery shards. The Bolivian tropical rainforest is not a “pristine” landscape; rather, it is a cultural landscape resulting from generations of active Indigenous land management and use.⁴

Colonial timber harvesting in Bolivia began in the sixteenth century in order to supply fuel and building materials for settlements and Andean mines. Additionally, Spanish missionaries used Indigenous labor to extract timber from the lowland tropical forests for buildings, church artifacts, and musical instruments. While these practices altered the lowland forests, extensive lowland deforestation did not begin until the twentieth century when land clearing for agriculture, ranching, and timber harvesting expanded. This expansion was constrained by the accessibility of forest stands because few railroads, roads, or navigable rivers allowed for the easy transport of logs to mills or of milled lumber to markets. Before the 1950s, timber harvesting was limited to forests that were close to either the larger population centers such as Santa Cruz de la Sierra and Trinidad or the departmental capitals of Santa Cruz and Beni or that were close to the banks of navigable rivers. Poor transportation



Figure 1. Map of Bolivia showing forest ecozones, departments, departmental capital cities, 1990 March for Territory and Dignity route, highway connecting Santa Cruz and Trinidad, and TIPNIS and Guarayos Indigenous Communal Territories. Credit: Kevin McCullough, 2018.

networks limited the scale and intensity of timber harvesting and land clearing in this era.⁵

In the 1950s and 1960s, the Bolivian government expanded the road network into the lowlands and encouraged internal migration from the highlands to the lowlands, often using policies and funds from the United States. In 2000, Gudrun Birk, writing for the

Indigenous Headquarters of the Original Communities of Lomerio, described the aftermath of the road network penetrating into the lowland Bolivian forests: “It became clear that not only were there more people living [in the lowlands] than previously thought but also that the laws regulating land tenure were insufficient and badly managed.” Because Indigenous land tenure was not secured by government title, government road-building projects in Indigenous communities provided access to Indigenous land and created profits for national and international logging companies, which resulted in the loss of Indigenous sovereignty over their traditional territories.⁶

Continued expansion of roads in the 1960s and 1970s increased accessibility to interior forests, and timber harvesting in Bolivia expanded dramatically. The increase in harvesting was particularly acute in the northern parts of the department of Santa Cruz. Some foresters have described the increase as the “most important expansion of timber harvesting” in the Bolivian lowlands. As a result of the extreme diversity of forests and the lack of a market for the majority of tree species found in Bolivian forests, timber was high-graded, which meant that logging removed only the most valuable species, such as mahogany (*Swietenia macrophylla*), Spanish cedar (*Cedrela fissilis*), and Spanish oak (*Amburana cearensis*). This type of logging did not remove the entire forest overstory, but it did degrade the diversity of the forest and the economic value of future harvests.⁷

Pressure on lowland Indigenous communities in the Beni and Santa Cruz departments increased when the construction of a modern highway in the 1980s connected the departmental capitals of Trinidad and Santa Cruz de la Sierra (figure 1). The highway passed through multiple Indigenous communities and increased the accessibility of these forests to non-Indigenous people. Throughout the Santa Cruz and Beni departments, cattle ranchers began to clear land, and loggers began to harvest timber—often on land considered to be Indigenous territories by local communities. Indigenous communities rarely received economic benefits from these new activities, and the road construction facilitated increased deforestation, Indigenous displacement, and loss of Indigenous control of their traditional territories, patterns that were seen throughout the tropics.⁸

To understand the history of forestry in Bolivia, it is important to understand how the 1952 national revolution reorganized Bolivian society. The revolutionary government—spurred by popular grassroots movements led by miners, factory workers, students, rural farmers, and others—nationalized extractive mining industries, allowed workers to form unions, abolished feudal agrarian rules causing land titles to revert to highland Indigenous farmers, and abolished literacy requirements for voting, which created universal enfranchisement that included Indigenous people. The Bolivian nationalization project continued for several decades through rotating and often unstable

governments, both civilian and military. Nationalization and agrarian reforms, however, were mostly enacted in the highland mountainous regions. During the decade that followed, the Bolivian government, with support and encouragement from the United States, looked to the lowland tropics as a place for private enterprise to take hold. At the time, Bolivia was the largest recipient of US aid in Latin America and the highest recipient per capita of any country in the world, mainly due to Cold War efforts by the United States to prevent Bolivia from becoming communist. With this support, the Bolivian revolutionary government encouraged petroleum extraction and large-scale commodity agriculture (mostly cotton and sugar) in the lowlands—a pattern that was also continued by subsequent Bolivian dictatorships and governments. Transportation infrastructure including roads and an international airport were built in the lowlands to facilitate the movement of people and goods and to foster private enterprise. These activities occurred with seemingly little regard for the lowland Indigenous people who had lived on these lands and in these forests for generations.⁹

In 1964, the Bolivian nationalist government was overthrown in a military coup, ushering in two decades of rotating dictatorships and shifting governmental alliances.¹⁰ During this time, the lowland forests continued to be cleared for new uses, deforested, burned, and degraded. In response to this, the Bolivian government implemented a new forestry regime in 1974 to “bring the national forests into the country’s economic [market]” and to free the forests from “fire, irrational exploitation, clearing and deforestation, nomadic grazing, and insects and diseases.” The 1974 forestry law put a state forestry agency in charge of regulating large-scale timber harvesting to maintain forests and to create economic production, but the agency became known for its inefficiency, corruption, and political favoritism.¹¹ As the economist Pablo Pacheco and his colleagues argue, the 1974 forestry regulations essentially excluded small, mid-size, and Indigenous landholders from forest management in favor of companies with extensive capital and large sawmills. Additionally, the implementation of forestry practices in Bolivia failed to meet basic standards of scientific forestry to regulate timber harvests so as not to exceed growth and regeneration despite the 1974 forestry law. Neither timber companies nor small-scale harvesters followed the legal requirements to conserve forested lands. Additionally, access to lowland forests continued to increase because of roads built to facilitate logging. Despite the stated purposes of the law for improved forest management, the 1974 forestry law heralded unsustainable harvesting, a large illegal market for timber, and a state forestry agency that was unwilling or incapable of implementing the law.¹²

The law also eroded lowland Indigenous communities’ control over their local forests. Under the 1974 forestry law, the Bolivian state

declared that it owned all of the trees and all of forest resources. In addition, the Bolivian state claimed the right to control harvesting and access to all Bolivian forestlands, public as well as private. The state alone could grant harvest permits, and those permits would be granted only to entities that could demonstrate an ability to both harvest and process the timber. The 1974 forestry law excluded many Indigenous communities because communities often lacked the resources required by law to commercially harvest, transport, and mill the timber. Thus, the law did not provide many options for Indigenous communities to legally harvest timber, and they lost legal control of their forest resources. To benefit from timber harvesting, they had to sell their timber illegally by either employing intermediaries to harvest and sell their timber or else by directly participating in small-scale illegal harvesting for sale in the thriving black market that emerged with the 1974 forestry law.¹³

During the 1980s, as the access to, and degradation of, lowland forests was increasing, the Bolivian government began to more strictly enforce management regulations of the Isiboro-Sécure National Park, which was established in the 1960s (labeled TIPNIS on [figure 1](#)). As with the 1974 forestry law, the enforcement of the national park regulations also excluded Indigenous communities from using these forests, which echoed the patterns of exclusion of Indigenous peoples from protected areas in other parts of Latin America, the United States, and throughout the world. The Mojos, Sirinó, and Chimanes Indigenous communities resisted their exclusion from the protected areas because they considered the land to be part of their traditional territory. They complained that the management regulations not only excluded them physically but also prevented them from making use of the land and resources within the park boundaries. The communities also objected to being excluded from decision-making about the park and believed that the government did not have the right to exclude them from what they considered to be their territory.¹⁴

Similarly, the Indigenous Confederation of the Bolivian Orient (CIDOB) was founded in 1982 with the goal of organizing the Indigenous communities of Chiquitanos, Ayoreos, Guaraníes, and Guaraníes. The CIDOB's mission was to "support and contribute to the consolidation of property rights of the Indigenous communities ... and [to work toward] a legal framework that guarantees the management and utilization of their natural resources. [The CIDOB] focuses its efforts on community health, opportunities for Indigenous youth education and professionalization, and equity."¹⁵ The CIDOB, like the communities in the vicinity of the national park, organized to fight for territorial control and the right to use their natural resources. The CIDOB eventually expanded to represent the broader lowland Indigenous resistance movement. Additionally, in 1988, the Mojos, Sirinó, and Chimanes Indigenous communities organized

workshops and meetings to resist government control of the national park and to regain their own sovereign territorial control. These communities also demanded a stop to what they believed was an increase in unsustainable timber harvesting throughout the broader region. This Indigenous protest movement initially represented the interests of the lowland communities excluded from Isiboro-Sécure National Park, but it soon expanded to include Indigenous communities from other lowland areas in Bolivia like the CIDOB that were experiencing similar losses of territorial control.¹⁶

THE 1990 MARCH FOR TERRITORY AND DIGNITY

By 1990, Indigenous communities in lowland Bolivia coalesced around their shared belief that state practices and non-Indigenous ranchers, loggers, and farmers were damaging their territories and causing them to lose control of the ways their territories were used. Initially, the Mojos, Sirinó, and Chimanes Indigenous communities organized the 1990 march to protest their exclusion from the national park. They saw this as a direct affront to their Indigenous cultures because their concept of territory was broader than a geographic location and included culture; territory and Indigenous cultures were inseparable. These Indigenous communities also wanted the ability to use the natural resources and harvest timber in the area, things that were not allowed in a national park. Other Indigenous communities from throughout the lowlands had similar demands for territorial control, and the 1990 march brought many of them together. The exclusion of local Indigenous communities from their traditional territories became a unifying theme that many Indigenous communities understood and united behind. These communities believed that if one community could be excluded from their lands, all communities were vulnerable.

On August 15, 1990, a group of lowland Bolivian Indigenous people from the Santa Cruz and Beni departments gathered for a protest march to highlight their common problems of territorial exclusion. Approximately 300 Indigenous leaders, elders, children, men, and women—including educator Lijerón Casanovas and Carmen Pereira de Noe, president of the Indigenous Women of the Beni—gathered in the Beni Department in the Amazonian tropics. They collectively set out into what they described as “the unknown” as they began their march toward the capital city of La Paz, high in the Andes, about 400 miles away.¹⁷ The participants called the protest the March for Territory and Dignity (*Marcha por el Territorio y la Dignidad*); their main goals were to raise awareness of, and respect for, lowland

Indigenous people among the broader Bolivian society and to demand access to their traditional territories and natural resources.

The marchers' ranks grew from 300 to 800 as they passed through numerous pueblos, cities, and Indigenous communities, including Trinidad, San Ignacio de Moxos, San Borja, Yucmo, Sapecho, Caranavi, Coroico, Pongo, and, finally, La Paz (figure 2). The sheer number of communities that welcomed and joined the protesters illustrated that the fledgling Indigenous movement was, at its core, community based. According to Lijerón Casanovas's first-hand account of the 1990 protest, not only did the march grow in size as it progressed, but the level of solidarity increased as the marchers passed through one Indigenous community after another. Marchers described being welcomed into communities along the route with traditional songs, music, food, water, and shelter. The marchers shared their own music and dances with communities along the route, solidifying bonds among Indigenous communities. According to Lijerón Casanovas, "communities, families, and farmers that lived along the route lavished [the marchers] with their profound kindness, excessive generosity, and all the help [necessary] for the men, women, and children walking into the unknown. Sugar cane, pineapple, watermelon, *yuca*, banana, grapefruit, to go with the breath of humanity, everything served to express solidarity." Music and dance were also shared as a sign of joy and solidarity. Finally, Lijerón Casanovas wrote, rhapsodically, of the marchers' feelings toward the communities showing support for their cause:

With new expressions of solidarity, one can see tears in [community members'] eyes ... Words are not sufficient to tell them [a community along the route] THANK YOU BROTHERS FOR YOUR MARVELOUS SUPPORT! How one's heart swells with brotherly sentiments and how faith in this sacred fight makes one happy when poor and exploited people are a significant part of this movement for territory and dignity! ... Because of this, the march cannot fail. It has to be triumphant for the immense involvement of the communities participating in this march with their own expressions, strength, and destiny. New Indigenous communities add to the march from the far corners of the national territory.¹⁸

The Indigenous marchers believed that broad Indigenous solidarity would allow them to reach their goals.

Participants described roads of thick mud, torrential downpours, blistering heat, sun, freezing rain, rocky ground, and high altitude as they marched closer and closer to La Paz. The marchers recounted battling fierce tropical insects along the sandy riverbanks. Several marchers fainted from the intense pace and the sun. When they

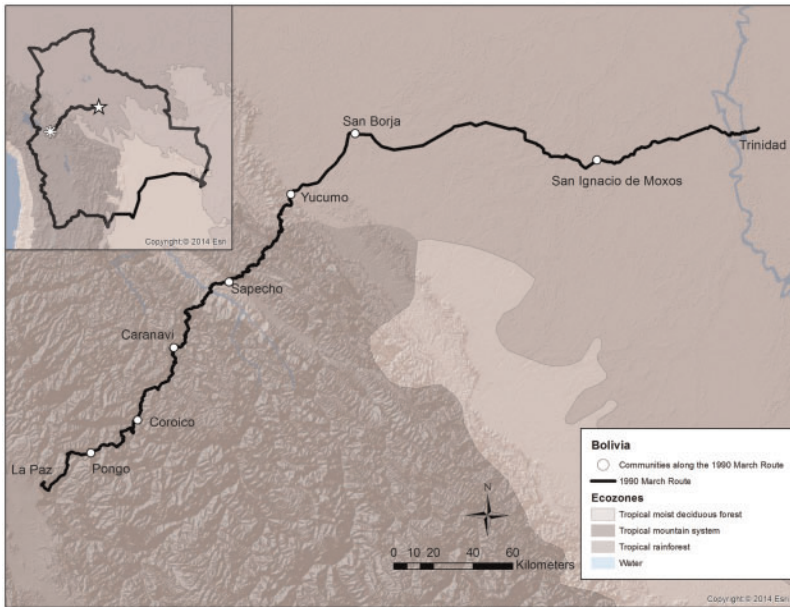


Figure 2. The 1990 March for Territory and Dignity route. Credit: Kevin McCullough, 2018.

reached the foothills of the Andes, marchers spoke of their bare feet and bodies reverberating with pain caused by gravel, stones, and high altitude—things not found on the sandy roads of their lowland communities. The cold of the Andean highlands was another hardship endured by the lowland marchers, yet it was overcome in part by support from highland Indigenous communities. As Lijerón Casanovas explained, “the weather continues to be extremely cold. There is a need for more provisions and blankets. Women and children also lack warm clothes. [However,] people from the [high Andes] display excellent work of support and solidarity.”¹⁹ Marchers overcame these hardships because the highland communities shared clothing—hats, jackets, and scarves—that the lowland people did not own or need in the lowland tropics (see figure 3).

Marchers later recounted that these hardships only strengthened their resolve and solidarity upon reaching the capital city, La Paz. Lijerón Casanovas wrote: “The extraordinary human column advances triumphantly to the insensitive and bureaucratic epicenter of the country. It advances with the rhythm of traditional music from the Mojos people. With the rhythm of their drum. The Indigenous march has conquered not only the hostile nature of the cold mountains but also the fear that others tried to put into the marchers.” The earth itself was seen as welcoming despite the harsh landscape of the high mountains: “The Andean landscape resembles a giant Bolivian hug to



Figure 3. Indigenous protesters in the Andes Mountains outside the capital city of La Paz during the 1990 March for Territory and Dignity. Protesters holding the sign in the foreground are from the lowlands but can be seen wearing traditional highland Indigenous hats and wearing jackets that were given to them by the highland Indigenous communities they passed along the route. Credit: Image from El Viejo Topo (www.elviejotopo.com) and used under a creative commons license: Attribution-NonCommercial-ShareAlike 4.0 International (CC BY-NC-SA 4.0).

the men, women and children that arrive with their distinct culture, unknown language, skin and mentality of the tropics. The *pachamama colla* [Andean mother earth] opens her maternal lap to those from the green and extensive lowlands of the Bolivian amazon who fight for the earth and her dignity.”²⁰ The march was recounted in epic terms, and participants stressed the hardships they endured to emphasize the significance of their journey. Recounting the march this way indicated that they saw the march as a matter of life and death for themselves and their communities. It was the beginning of a broader Indigenous solidarity in Bolivia.

One of the major demands of the Indigenous marchers was territory. Territory can hold different meanings for different people and cultural groups. As documented in primary source material describing the 1990 march, the concept of territory for Indigenous marchers went beyond land, ownership, and jurisdiction and also included animals, plants, rivers, lakes, soil, rocks, human communities, and the spiritual and cultural relationships among these components. Territory for the marchers represented relationships among the communities themselves and everything else connected to the land. As Evelio Aranzibida, a Guaraní Indigenous leader and the CIDOB’s economic secretary, stated, “in CIDOB we try to demonstrate that territory is the integral concept that approximates the true concept [relationship] that we have with respect to natural resources, the soil, the

subsoil; but, in judicial terms, in legal terms, the concept of territory is not compatible with the current [1990 era] legislation." He also said: "We say: the Indigenous [person], who knows that wood [timber] is the bread of life, is going to defend [the forest] tooth and nail, and will not finish off [the forest] from one day to the next because it is their daily sustenance." José Urañawi, an Indigenous leader and the CIDOB's representative at a post-march workshop, simply stated: "Our land is our home in that we live and die [there] and our future generations will continue living [there]." Finally, Jorge Añez, a Chimane Indigenous council representative and protest participant, explained: "The government has given us a territory and we are thankful for that. We, the Chimanes, and I believe that the other Indigenous people too, need territory. We do not want to destroy the forest because ... the forest has been ours, our home, our house, where our ancestors have lived for many years, where we have always lived and where we will always live." These quotes illustrate that under an Indigenous definition of territory, human communities, Indigenous community rights, and forests were all connected.²¹

Territory encompassed the natural resources that the community needed to live full and culturally productive lives. Lijerón Casanovas quoted a person he called a "leader of the march" as saying: "We will never go back after walking 600 kilometers [370 miles]. Our fight is not only for the land of our ancestors. It is also for the natural resources that are irresponsibly destroyed to enrich few [people]. We want to conserve our natural riches, because this is the only way our communities will be able to continue living. We know how to care for the forests because we have lived in them and our children will continue living in them." José Urañawi explained that by working together before and during the march, "we believe that the fundamental base [of our communities] is the territory; without mother earth we cannot have education, there would not be health, there would not be ... cultural identity, language, religion, etcetera. [Territory] is the fundamental base that gives them life itself, that will guarantee the survival and the growth of the people. This [territory] is what we search for ... [our own] space because we are a family."²² For the Indigenous marchers, territory was intimately intertwined with their communities and culture; without territory, the marchers believed their lives would cease to exist. This contrasts to the Bolivian state's legal structure where the state controls and makes decisions about the natural resources, petroleum, and minerals, despite Indigenous views. The difference centers on territorial sovereignty and who makes decisions: the state or the Indigenous communities. The marchers were calling for their right to make decisions for their community lands.

Sustainability and Indigenous resource use were also core community demands incorporated into their concept of territory. The marchers believed their cultural knowledge would allow them to

protect their forests, natural resources, and territories, even as they used them. They demanded the right to use the resources of their territories according to their own definitions of sustainability, as Lijerón Casanovas explained: “Thousands of years of experience[,] of knowing how to live with the forests and its natural resrouces, of using them without destroying them will be from here on out a scientific instrument used to recuperate [restore] the ecological values of the regions degraded by ambition.” Thus, sustainability included the use and incorporation of new knowledges and science to restore and support ecological systems and, by extension, the Indigenous communities themselves. Ernesto Noé Tamo, president of Central de Pueblos Indígenas del Beni and march participant, also explained how sustainability was central in their demands for legal protections that allowed for the use of their territories. He stated: “We believe that if we look for a way to manage our natural resources in Bolivia ... we have to contribute to regulating how to manage and how to use [natural resources] in a sustainable manner, in a diversified manner, not only the mahogany [timber] resources but other natural resources that are very important to the Indigenous communities as well as other communities that are not Indigenous.”²³ This definition of sustainability also includes the idea of using the natural resources—harvesting timber—but doing it in a way that preserves the ecosystem for the entire Bolivian population, not just specific Indigenous communities. In other words, sustainable use of natural resources will support a nationalist vision of Bolivia and unite Indigenous and non-Indigenous communities.

It was a clear demand for timber harvesting that did not degrade the forest and that followed Indigenous values and legal state support. Chimane leader and marcher, Jorge Añez, explained similar ideas about timber harvesting: “We do not want to harvest the forest illegally, we want to harvest it under a sustainable management [system], rational forest management; but, for this we need to harvest the forest in a legal way.” In other words, the marchers were demanding a legal recognition of Indigenous territories and the right to legally harvest the forest in a sustainable manner. As Evelio Aranzibida stated, “we do not want territory for territory’s sake, or that we are just living there; we want the territory also for development, but using our own logic and rationale to manage and harvest it.”²⁴ The marchers’ definitions of sustainability did not equate to forest preservation without human use; they demanded that they be allowed to use their natural resources, that they be allowed to harvest timber, but to do so in ways that were based on their own cultures and ideas of sustainability. As explained above, the backdrop to this protest was not being able to use a national park and unsustainable timber harvesting that was degrading the forest. The marchers were demanding an end to this. They were demanding the right to use their territory

in ways that would strengthen their communities while maintaining the ecological system.

Finally, marchers called for territorial demarcation as critical means to protect their territory. Without legal demarcation, explained a council member of the Tsimane (Chimane) community, Jorge Añez, “the chain sawyers are entering and cutting wood in our territory; [we] warned them not to enter the Chimane’s territories, [not to enter] Indigenous territories. But they do not listen to us and, actually, there are many chain sawyers in our territory. I believe that one of the solutions to end this situation is the demarcation of [our] territory, because without this we cannot say: up to here is our territory and you may not pass. We need a physical demarcation of our territory.”²⁵ With territorial demarcation, the communities would be able to develop their own harvesting and uses of the forest and be able to better defend against outside interests.

The other major demand of the Indigenous marchers was *dignidad* (dignity). The marchers argued that the majority of people in Bolivia neither recognized nor respected their cultures and communities. Since they considered their cultures to be a part of their territories, protestors argued that an affront to their territories was an affront to their cultures. In other words, because the Indigenous people believed that both their communities and their cultures defined their territory, territorial exclusion and unsustainable forestry practices were direct assaults on their dignity. These communities sought dignity by demanding the legal recognition of Indigenous organizations and traditional authorities; improved economic, health, and educational conditions in communities; and respect for Indigenous cultures. They noted that their Indigenous cultures had been denigrated since the arrival of the Spaniards in South America and were still being denigrated by the more powerful segments of Bolivian society.²⁶ As Lijerón Casanovas explained, “a challenge began for the Indigenous communities of the tropical amazon of Mojos: to demonstrate in addition to just survival they are capable of development themselves with dignity, preserving their culture and teaching—it is clear—the immense current of their values and knowledge that have been negated for five centuries of colonialism, and they can contribute to and realize a more just and fraternal society.”²⁷ Dignity for the marchers also included leaving territories for their children. José Urañawi explained: “Our land is our house where we survive and die, and our future generations will continue to live. If we think about the protection of the environment, the forests, we do not think about today but about the future generation, if we want our children to continue to have a healthy and dignified life.”²⁸ Dignity, like territory, was an all-encompassing concept that fostered a holistic Indigenous worldview.

IMPLICATIONS OF THE 1990 MARCH

The Indigenous communities ended their march at the seat of the Bolivian government in Plaza Murillo in La Paz on September 17, 1990. The march lasted more than thirty days and raised the profile of Indigenous rights, territory, and dignity throughout Bolivia and the rest of the world. The widespread support from myriad Bolivian Indigenous communities ensured that when the marchers arrived in La Paz the Bolivian national government, led by President Jaime Paz Zamora and the Movimiento de Izquierda Revolucionaria, did not ignore their demands and began to discuss an agreement to recognize 5 million acres of land as Indigenous territories.

The Bolivian state began to incorporate Indigenous concepts into how territory was defined and understood. Territory was more than just land and President Paz Zamora recognized the importance of the marchers' connection to their Indigenous territories: "In this manner, the distribution of territory cannot strictly be done with the mechanical concept of Agrarian Reform [which started with the 1952 revolution and the 1953 agrarian reform law] ... Now necessarily, one has to use the definition of territory that has a direct relationship with habitat, socio-economic space, and biodiversity through which the Indigenous communities will develop."²⁹ In other words, the president of Bolivia was beginning to incorporate Indigenous epistemologies into national understandings of territory. National policy was at long last going to incorporate Indigenous concepts. President Paz Zamora codified this policy on September 24, 1990, through several supreme decrees that established Indigenous territories and mandated that the communities would be able to control the use and management of the areas by changing the Isiboro-Sécure National Park that excluded Indigenous communities to the Isiboro-Sécure Indigenous Territory and National Park (TIPNIS) (figure 1).³⁰ Indigenous communities viewed the march as successful and recognized that they had tremendous power through their unity because the government not only listened to their demands but acted with concrete measures that began to rectify decades of Indigenous dispossession by incorporating Indigenous concepts into the national dialogue and legal framework.³¹

While these decrees represented a shift toward the recognition of Indigenous peoples in lowland Bolivia by creating Indigenous territories and incorporating Indigenous concepts into national policy, they were not national laws and therefore not permanent. Any Bolivian president can issue or change supreme decrees, but laws or constitutional changes require broader legislative approval—processes that often take more time than a simple presidential decree. Unless new laws were passed or the Constitution was revised, legal protections and enforceability could not be assured. Permanent changes that

incorporated Indigenous concepts and rights into new laws and the Constitution would come only after continued resistance, marches, and pressure from Indigenous communities.

The Bolivian government recognized the march as a turning point for Bolivia and the rights of lowland Indigenous people. President Paz Zamora acknowledged this during his opening speech at a 1991 conference to commemorate the march; he described his government's response to the march as "transformational" and that it fostered "the spirit of national unity" by supporting "the rights of indigenous people and environmental preservation." As Mauro Bertero Gutiérrez, Bolivian government minister of rural communities and agriculture, stated, "more than the decrees, more than the written pages, what Bolivians took on with this march was the recognition of the Indigenous peoples as a renewed social actor that is able to establish a new social-cultural scene and qualitatively support the development of our society."³² The Bolivian government saw the 1990 march as a historic social shift in which Bolivian society began to recognize Indigenous communities as social actors capable of influencing national policy.

The Indigenous communities themselves also viewed the march as a turning point that united disparate cultures and communities and engendered solidarity among both the lowland and highland people. By the end of the march, the Indigenous people of Bolivia had recognized their cultural differences and shared problems; they began to understand that most of their problems were either directly or indirectly related to land. José Urañawi, a CIDOB representative, provided this explanation: "It started with a dialogue between several Indigenous communities: the Guaraníes from the south, the Ayoreos, the Guarayos and Chiquitanos. This is how the organizational process started, with the first congress of Indigenous communities formed because of the root problems that each group was facing, especially the problem of the plundering of some of our territories."³³

Despite the wide recognition of Indigenous rights, the historic nature of the march, and the supreme decrees, lowland Indigenous people continued to push for more rights through continued demands, protests, and marches. Responding to this continuous pressure, the Bolivian government—now led by President Gonzalo Sánchez de Lozada and the Nationalist Revolutionary Movement party with a focus on enacting neoliberal reforms (the privatization and decentralization of government institutions)—eventually reformed its Constitution in 1994 and again in 1995. One important concept that the government incorporated into the revised Constitution was the idea that Bolivia was a "multiethnic and pluricultural" nation. Another important change was the creation of Indigenous Communal Territories (*Tierras Comunitarias de Origen* [TCOs]). For the first time in modern Bolivian history, TCOs provided lowland

Indigenous communities with control over the use and development of their territories. TCOs were based on the Indigenous territories designated in the 1990 supreme decrees. They incorporated Indigenous concepts of territory and recognized the Indigenous communities to make decisions about land use and development. TCOs were to become the center of lowland peoples' cultures and livelihoods, and both the Bolivian government and the Indigenous communities viewed the TCOs as places where Indigenous people could develop their own resources and communities according to their own cultures and values. While scholars have shown that the 1990 neoliberal reforms had mixed results, the TCOs and the constitutional reforms directly responded to the 1990 marchers' demands.³⁴

Another major outcome of the march was the new forestry law. Drafting the law began in 1992, but it took several years and many iterations before it finally passed in 1996. The process was led by Bolivian governmental ministers in conjunction with international forestry organizations like the United Nations Food and Agriculture Organization and included many forestry sector stakeholders. From the beginning, different groups fought over what the new forestry law should contain. Disagreements centered on several points including timber concessions and forest ownership; payments for timber and acreage; the inclusion of municipal governments and rural communities; the exportation of processed timber versus whole logs; and Indigenous rights. Bolivian timber companies worked for several years to delay the development of a new law in order to maintain their continued access to timber with little legal oversight. In 1994, the Lower House and Senate passed a forestry law that pleased the environmental institutions and Indigenous communities. However, lowland agrarian communities (composed of migrants from the Bolivian highlands) argued that the law favored large companies and lowland Indigenous communities and that it would not allow for their own agricultural development. The timber industry argued that the law contradicted the "free-market" economic model of the country at the time because, in part, forestry concessions were not permanent. Because not every stakeholder was in agreement with this version of the law, a series of stakeholder meetings were held throughout Bolivia to further discuss the structure of the new law. These debates continued until President Gonzalo Sánchez de Lozada became personally involved in the process. In 1996 he organized a new commission composed of government ministers and forestry stakeholders and charged them with modifying the draft law to address the disagreements. The Bolivia Sustainable Forest Management Project, a Bolivian non-governmental organization (NGO) funded by the United States Agency for International Development, organized critical meetings that led to the forestry law's passage in July 1996.³⁵

At the same time, the government also passed several related laws, including the agrarian reform law. Indigenous demands were central to the agrarian reform law in that it provided the legal framework to implement and designate the collective Indigenous territories or TCOs that had been outlined in the reformed 1995 Constitution. The forestry law was intimately tied to the agrarian reform law because it outlined how TCOs could be used and also clarified that the Indigenous communities were the only ones that had the right to make decisions about timber harvesting in Indigenous territories. No longer could outsiders come into Indigenous territories and harvest timber without community support. Both laws expanded the legal sphere in which Indigenous peoples operated by recognizing Indigenous communities, Indigenous people, and their rights to communally controlled Indigenous territories. Thus, the new Constitution established TCOs; the agrarian reform law provided a way to specify, create, and demarcate these territories; and the 1996 forestry law provided the means for Indigenous communities to manage their forest resources within their territories.³⁶

The 1996 forestry law can be seen as one of a suite of laws passed during a neoliberal period in Bolivia that, in part, devolved control of national-level resources to local and private entities. The forestry law, however, was more of a hybrid between nationalistic and neoliberal policies. The law not only provided private companies with access to forty-year timber concessions but also gave municipalities, Indigenous communities, and individuals rights to harvest timber; at the same time, it established a new national-level technocratic forestry bureaucracy that was charged with approving management plans, monitoring forestry activities, and enforcing regulations.

Scholars have discussed similar forestry devolution policies in other parts of the globe, such as Asia, and have found that the devolution of forestry through neoliberal policies often has had a negative impact on local communities and forests. Among their explanations are that technocratic foresters did not include local communities in forestry planning and implementation; entrenched forestry bureaucracies did not actually devolve control to local communities; and local communities were not given meaningful decision-making authority. The situation in Bolivia was different because the 1996 forestry law created a new forestry bureaucracy that replaced the entrenched forestry interests, while local communities, especially the Indigenous communities, were given the ultimate decision-making authority with regard to engaging in timber harvesting. Most importantly, the Indigenous communities were supportive of the law because it incorporated many of their demands. Thus, the forestry law can be thought of as a hybrid neoliberal policy where the state supported local control of natural resources through a national-level bureaucracy.³⁷

The 1996 forestry law was predicated on the idea that sustainable forest management is only possible through the implementation of appropriate scientific forestry and regulated management practices. The law also required sustainable planning and harvesting, forest regeneration, timber processing, transportation, monitoring, and evaluation. The forestry law guaranteed Indigenous communities the exclusive rights to harvest timber within the TCOs. This was meant to put an end to outside timber interests harvesting timber without Indigenous community input. Under the law, if an Indigenous community wanted to harvest timber within their TCO, they could do so themselves or contract with timber operators as long as they followed the requirements of the law for sustainable harvesting. The law regulated commercial forest-harvesting activities in the TCOs, but it did not require permits for traditional and domestic use. This gave communities the opportunity to continue to use forest resources and trees as they had historically done without governmental approval, providing Indigenous communities with wide latitude for cultural and traditional activities while ensuring their access to timber for commercial harvesting. In short, the 1996 forestry law incorporated the core demands of the 1990 March for Territory and Dignity.³⁸

Oscar Yamba Añeinda, an Indigenous leader from the Guarayos community of Cururú, reiterated these points when he explained that without the 1996 forestry law his community would still be selling timber but that the harvesting would not be sustainable. As he explained, “they would sell timber illegally as pirated [wood]. . . . Pirating . . . is not applying the forestry law . . . for [the illegal loggers] there are no seed trees . . . from end to end they harvest [everything].”³⁹ During a group interview recorded in 2008, a Guarayos community leader from San Juan described the time before his community held the title to their TCO—before the forestry law: “In those times, truthfully, the businessmen were given our natural resources . . . but not a cent returned [to us]; it did not even generate work [for us]. . . . The law itself, the forestry law supports us to work in a sustainable manner.”⁴⁰ While the 1996 forestry law did not eliminate illegal logging in lowland Bolivia, both professional foresters and community members believe that the law greatly improved the situation by allowing Indigenous communities to consolidate their land tenure rights and use natural resources in a legal manner.⁴¹

During the 1990s, voluntary certification of tropical forests became popular with NGOs such as Smart Wood as well as with Western consumers as a way to ensure sustainable harvesting and ecological conservation. The Bolivian government began to investigate voluntary sustainable forestry certification programs, hoping to promote consumer interest in Bolivian forest products. Indigenous communities were involved in some of the first voluntary certification programs in Bolivia. These certification programs flourished in Bolivia because

forest management based on the 1996 forestry law fulfilled many of the requirements for sustainability certification. By 2005, Bolivia had more certified forestland—over 5 million acres—than any other tropical country in the world. Indigenous communities, foresters, and NGOs saw this as a positive result. However, Indigenous communities first and foremost saw forestry as a way to control their territories, maintain their cultures, and support their communities economically, while foresters and NGOs like Smart Wood saw forestry mainly as a way to conserve forests and biodiversity.⁴²

CONCLUSION

Forest management in Bolivia changed significantly with the passage of the 1996 forestry law. For the first time in Bolivia's history, forest management was based on scientific principles mandating measures to ensure sustainable management and included Indigenous communities by allowing them to control forestry activities within their territories. By explicitly allowing Indigenous communities to use their territories for forest management, the law expanded Indigenous rights in the 1995 reformed Constitution and in the 1996 agrarian reform law. It provided the legal framework for Indigenous people to use forest management as a tool for controlling their territories, which had been a key demand of the 1990 march. The 1996 forestry law led to the rise of scientific forest management in Bolivia on Indigenous, state, and private forestlands. The Indigenous resistance and protest march that led to the new law directly impacted forestry practice throughout the entire country.

The Bolivian Indigenous movement that emerged on the national and international stage in August and September 1990 was a reaction to the historical realities of Bolivia. Indigenous people began to openly resist and reject hundreds of years of social, political, and cultural exclusion. Bolivia's lowland Indigenous movement was part of a larger Indigenous movement throughout the world. Since the 1960s, Indigenous groups around the world have organized around issues of culture, territory, respect, and environmental protection. In 1990, Bolivia's Indigenous communities banded together in solidarity to demand the recognition of their own concepts of territory, dignity, and equality. This was one of the first times that highland and lowland groups had united, but the movement was built upon a long history of Indigenous mobilization in Bolivia. Their efforts led to a new forestry law that explicitly recognized Indigenous rights to forests and decisions regarding forests. This unity ultimately helped usher in an era of Indigenous political revolution with the election of Bolivia's first self-identified Indigenous president, Evo Morales, in 2006. Empowered by unity, cultural understandings of territory, and values

that entailed both using and protecting their natural resources, a unified Indigenous populace also transformed the practice of forestry throughout Bolivia and propelled Bolivia to become the world leader in sustainable tropical forestry in the 2000s.

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Notes

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1. Arnaldo Lijerón Casanovas, *De la resistencia pacífica a la interpelación histórica: crónica preliminar de la Marcha Indígena por el Territorio y la Dignidad*, Publicación no. 26 (Trinidad, Bolivia: Centro de Investigación y Documentación para el Desarrollo del Beni, 1991), 6, 10, 15. All translations in this article were done by the lead author unless otherwise noted; Spanish language quotations are available from the lead author upon request.
2. Ley Forestal, Ley 1700, July 12, 1996. For example, Bret Gustafson does not discuss the 1996 forestry law in his treatment of laws that grew out of a "liberal indigenism" in the 1990s. See Bret Gustafson, "Paradoxes of Liberal Indigenism: Indigenous Movements, State Processes, and Intercultural Reform in Bolivia," in *The Politics of Ethnicity: Indigenous Peoples in Latin American States*, ed. D. Maybury Lewis (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2002), 267–306. Furthermore, the most widely cited academic papers on Bolivian forestry all but exclude the Indigenous roots of the forestry law. See Todd S. Fredericksen et al., "Sustainable Forestry in Bolivia: Beyond Planned Logging," *Journal of Forestry* 101, no. 2 (2003): 37–40; Krister Andersson, "What Motivates Municipal Governments? Uncovering the Institutional Incentives for Municipal Governance of Forest Resources in Bolivia," *Journal of Environment and Development* 12, no. 1 (2003): 5–27; Pablo Pacheco, Wil de Jong, and James Johnson, "The Evolution of the Timber Sector in Lowland Bolivia: Examining the Influence of Three Disparate Policy Approaches," *Forest Policy and Economics* 12, no. 4 (2010): 271–76. Finally, Iciar Pavez and Alan

- Bojanic, *El proceso social de formulación de la Ley forestal de Bolivia de 1996*, Bosques y Sociedad no. 1 (La Paz, Bolivia: Centro Internacional de Investigaciones Forestales (CIFOR), El Centro de Estudios para el Desarrollo Laboral y Agrario (CELDA), Taller de Iniciativas en Estudios Rurales y Reforma Agraria (TIERRA), Programa de Manejo de Bosques de la Amazonia Boliviana (PROMAB), 1998), outline the Indigenous involvement, but this is a Spanish language document. Other exceptions include J. Montgomery Roper, "Bolivian Legal Reforms and Local Indigenous Organizations: Opportunities and Obstacles in a Lowland Municipality," *Latin American Perspectives* 30, no. 1 (2003): 139–61; Arnoldo Contreras-Hermosilla and María Teresa Vargas Ríos, *Social, Environmental and Economic Dimensions of Forest Policy Reforms in Bolivia* (Washington, DC: Forest Trends, 2002); Omar Espinoza and Michael Dockry, "Forest Certification in Bolivia: A Status Report and Analysis of Stakeholder Perspectives," *Forest Products Journal* 64, no. 3–4 (2014): 80–89.
3. Numerous scholars indicate that Bolivia was a world leader in sustainable forestry. See Espinoza and Dockry, "Forest Certification in Bolivia"; Pacheco, de Jong, and Johnson, "Evolution of the Timber Sector"; Marielos Peña-Claros and Michael J. Dockry, "Bolivia," in *Forests and Forestry in the Americas: An Encyclopedia*, ed. F. W. Cubbage (Bethesda: Society of American Foresters and International Society of Tropical Foresters, 2010); M. Peña-Claros, R. Guzman, and M. Dockry, "Bolivia," in *Sustainable Management of Tropical Rainforests: The Celos Management System*, ed. Marinus J. A. Werger (Paramaribo Zuid, Suriname: Tropenbos International Suriname, 2011), 200–12.
 4. Ministerio de Desarrollo Sostenible y Planificación, *Estrategia Nacional de Conservación y Uso Sostenible de la Biodiversidad* (La Paz, Bolivia: Ministerio de Desarrollo Sostenible y Planificación, 2001); P. L. Ibisch, "Bolivia Is a Megadiversity Country and a Developing Country," in *Biodiversity: A Challenge for Development Research and Policy*, ed. Barthlott Wilhelm and Matthias Winiger (Berlin: Springer-Verlag, 1998), 213–31; Superintendencia Forestal de Bolivia, *Potencial de los bosques naturales de Bolivia para producción forestal permanente* (Santa Cruz, Bolivia: Superintendencia Forestal de Bolivia, 1999), 29; Gonzalo Navarro and Mabel Maldonado, *Geografía ecológica de Bolivia: Vegetación Y Ambientes Acuáticos* (Cochabamba, Bolivia: Centro de Ecología Simón I. Patiño, 2002); W. M. Denevan, "The Aboriginal Cultural Geography of the Llanos de Mojos of Bolivia," *Foreign Field Research Program Report* (Washington, DC: National Academy of Sciences and National Research Council, 1966); C. L. Erickson, "Archaeological Methods for the Study of Ancient Landscapes of the Llanos de Mojos in the Bolivian Amazon," in *Archaeology in the Lowland American Tropics: Current Analytical Methods and Applications*, ed. Peter Stahl (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 66–95; F. E. Mayle et al., "Long-Term Forest-Savannah Dynamics in the Bolivian Amazon: Implications for Conservation," *Philosophical Transactions of the Royal Society B: Biological Sciences* 362, no. 1478 (2007): 291–307; C. Paz Rivera and F. E. Putz, "Anthropogenic Soils and Tree Distributions in a Lowland Forest in Bolivia," *Biotropica* 41, no. 6 (2009): 665–75.
 5. Daniel Gade, "Deforestation and Reforestation in the Central Andean Highlands," in *Nature and Culture in the Andes* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1999), 42–74; Daviken Studnicki-Gizbert and David Schecter, "The Environmental Dynamics of a Colonial Fuel-Rush: Silver Mining and Deforestation in New Spain, 1522 to 1810," *Environmental History* 15, no. 1 (2010): 94–119; Marc K. Steininger et al., "Tropical Deforestation in the Bolivian Amazon," *Environmental Conservation* 28, no. 2 (2001): 127–34.
 6. Herbert S. Klein, *Bolivia: The Evolution of a Multi-Ethnic Society*, vol. 2: *Latin American Histories* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1992). English language

- quote from Gudrun Birk, *Dueños del bosque: manejo de los recursos naturales por indígenas chiquitanos de Bolivia*, vol. 14: *Pueblos indígenas de las tierras bajas de Bolivia* (Santa Cruz de la Sierra, Bolivia: Central Indígena de las Comunidades Originarias de Lomerío and Apoyo para el Campesino-Indígena del Oriente Boliviano, 2000), 149.
7. P. Pacheco Balanza, "Políticas forestales y acceso a los recursos del bosque," in *Las tierras bajas de Bolivia a fines del siglo: tenencia, uso y acceso a la tierra y los bosques*, ed. M. Urioste and P. Pacheco (La Paz, Bolivia: Programa de Investigación Estratégica en Bolivia, 2001), 29; Fredericksen et al., "Sustainable Forestry in Bolivia"; G. Nebel et al., "Development and Economic Significance of Forest Certification: The Case of FSC in Bolivia," *Forest Policy and Economics* 7, no. 2 (2005): 175–86.
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 9. Klein, *Bolivia*; K. A. Young, *Blood of the Earth: Resource Nationalism, Revolution, and Empire in Bolivia* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2017); Benjamin Kohl and Linda Farthing, "Material Constraints to Popular Imaginaries: The Extractive Economy and Resource Nationalism in Bolivia," *Political Geography* 31, no. 4 (2012): 225–35. For a picture of forestry in Bolivia on the eve of the 1952 revolution, see Henry S. Kernan, "A Forest Policy for Bolivia," *Journal of Forestry* 49, no. 5 (1951): 353–56. We use the term highlands to refer to the Andean mountains, intermountain valleys, and the highland plateau.
 10. Klein, *Bolivia*.
 11. Ley Forestal General de Bolivia, Decreto Ley No. 11686, 1974, General Hugo Banzar Suarez, Presidente de la Republica.
 12. Pacheco Balanza, "Políticas forestales"; Pacheco, de Jong, and Johnson, "Evolution of the Timber Sector."
 13. Pacheco, de Jong, and Johnson, "Evolution of the Timber Sector."
 14. For Indigenous exclusion in protected areas in the United States see: Jacoby, K, *Crimes against nature : squatters, poachers, thieves, and the hidden history of American conservation*. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2001); Keller, R.H. and Turek, M.F., *American Indians & national parks*, (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1998); Spence, M.D., *Dispossessing the wilderness: Indian removal and the making of the national parks*, (New York: Oxford University Press, 1999). The Isiboro-Sécure National Park was essentially a "paper" park until the government began to enforce the regulations in the 1980s. Zulema Lehm Ardaya, *Milenarismo y movimientos sociales en la Amazonía boliviana: la búsqueda de la Loma Santa y la marcha indígena por el territorio y la dignidad*, (Centro de Investigación y Documentación para el Desarrollo del Beni, 1999); Lijerón Casanovas, "De La Resistencia Pacífica."
 15. Indigenous Confederation of the Bolivian Orient (CIDOB) website, "La Confederación de Pueblos Indígenas de Bolivia CIDOB," http://www.cidob-bo.org/index.php?option=com_content&task=view&id=12&Itemid=41.

16. Zulema Lehm Ardaya, *Milenarismo y movimientos sociales en la Amazonía boliviana: la búsqueda de la Loma Santa y la marcha indígena por el territorio y la dignidad*, (Centro de Investigación y Documentación para el Desarrollo del Beni, 1999); Lijerón Casanovas, "De La Resistencia Pacifica."
17. Quoted from Lijerón Casanovas, "De la resistencia pacifica," 4.
18. Lijerón Casanovas, "De la resistencia pacifica," lists many smaller pueblos and neighborhoods within cities in addition to the ones shown on the map. Quoted from Lijerón Casanovas, "De la resistencia pacifica," 10, 11–12 (capitalization emphasis in original text).
19. *Ibid.*, 16. Photo used under a Creative Commons Attribution-NonCommercial-ShareAlike 4.0 International (CC BY-NC-SA 4.0) from El Viejo Topo, June 1, 2016. Álvaro García Linera, "No hay revolución verdadera sin profunda revolución cultural," June 1, 2016, <http://www.elviejotopo.com/topoexpress/no-hay-revolucion-verdadera-sin-profunda-revolucion-cultural/>.
20. Quoted from Lijerón Casanovas, "De la resistencia pacifica," 17, 18. American Indian Studies scholarship explores many examples of internal differences and viewpoints among Indigenous communities. Bolivian scholarship has shown this as well. See Gustafson, "Paradoxes of Liberal Indigenism"; N. Postero, *The Indigenous State: Race, Politics, and Performance in Plurinational Bolivia* (Oakland: University of California Press, 2017). Similarly, the Indigenous communities involved with the 1990 march were not monolithic.
21. All quotes taken from C. Libermann and G. Godínez, *Territorio y dignidad: pueblos indígenas y medio ambiente en Bolivia* (Bolivia: Instituto Latinoamericano de Investigaciones Sociales, 1992), 30, 31, 34, 41.
22. Lijerón Casanovas, "De la resistencia pacifica," 19. Quoted in Libermann and Godínez, *Territorio y dignidad*, 32.
23. Lijerón Casanovas, "De la resistencia pacifica," 23. Quoted in Libermann and Godínez, *Territorio y dignidad*, 44.
24. Both statements quoted in Libermann and Godínez, *Territorio y dignidad*, 31, 41.
25. Quoted in *ibid.*, 43.
26. Lehm Ardaya, *Milenarismo y movimientos sociales*.
27. Lijerón Casanovas, "De la resistencia pacifica," 23.
28. Quoted in Libermann and Godínez, *Territorio y dignidad*, 34.
29. Libermann and Godínez, *Territorio Y Dignidad*, 20.
30. Víctor Paz Estenssoro, "Decreto de Reforma Agraria de Bolivia (2 De Agosto De 1953)," *El Trimestre Económico* 20, no. 79(3) (1953): 507–39; Jamie Paz Zamora, "Decreto Supremo nos. 22609, 22610, 22611, and 22614" September 20, 1990. Supreme decrees are analogous to executive orders in the United States.
31. Libermann and Godínez, *Territorio y dignidad*, 20.
32. Quoted in *ibid.*, 20, 59.
33. Quoted in *ibid.*, 31.
34. The Bolivian Constitution was reformed through Ley No 1585, August 12, 1994, and the text was updated through Ley No 1615, February 6, 1995. See Political Database of the Americas, <http://pdpa.georgetown.edu/Constitutions/Bolivia/con-sboliv2005.html>; Colectivo de Estudios Aplicados al Desarrollo Social (CEADES), *Manejo Forestal Comunitario en la TCO Guarayos*, ed. CEADES (Santa Cruz, Bolivia: CEADES, 2004); Libermann and Godínez, *Territorio y dignidad*; Birk, *Dueños del bosque*. There is a lot of scholarship on neoliberalism, Indigenous responses, and the mixed results in Bolivia. See W. Assies, "David versus Goliath in Cochabamba: Water Rights, Neoliberalism, and the Revival of Social Protest in Bolivia," *Latin American Perspectives* 30, no. 3 (2003): 14–36; M. Goodale and N. Postero, *Neoliberalism, Interrupted: Social Change and Contested Governance in Contemporary*

- Latin America* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2013); Gustafson, "Paradoxes of Liberal Indigenism"; B. Kohl, "Challenges to Neoliberal Hegemony in Bolivia," *Antipode* 38, no. 2 (2006): 304–26; B. H. Kohl and L. C. Farthing, *Impasse in Bolivia: Neoliberal Hegemony and Popular Resistance* (London: Zed Books, 2006).
35. Pavez and Bojanic, *El proceso social de formulación*, 111.
 36. The 1990 March for Territory and Dignity, which is considered the "First March," was followed by a "Second March" by Indigenous peoples in 1996 and a "Third March" in 2000. The First March raised awareness of Indigenous peoples and their demands. The Second March facilitated the passage of legislation based on Indigenous demands. The Third March focused on the implementation of the new laws and regulations. To date, there have been eight "marches." W. Assies, "From Rubber Estate to Simple Commodity Production: Agrarian Struggles in the Northern Bolivian Amazon," *Journal of Peasant Studies* 29, no. 3 (2002): 83–130; Birk, *Dueños del bosque*; Pablo Pacheco, "Descentralización Forestal En Bolivia : Implicaciones En El Gobierno De Los Recursos Forestales Y El Bienestar De Los Grupos Marginados" (La Paz, Bolivia: Center for International Forestry Research (CIFOR) : Plural Editores, 2006), 71; Roper, "Bolivian Legal Reforms"; Gustafson, "Paradoxes of Liberal Indigenism"; Pavez and Bojanic, "El proceso social de formulación de la Ley Forestal"; N. Postero, *Now We Are Citizens: Indigenous Politics in Postmulticultural Bolivia* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2007).
 37. For information on neoliberalism in Bolivia, see Goodale and Postero, *Neoliberalism, Interrupted*; B. Kohl and L. Farthing, *Impasse in Bolivia: Neoliberal Hegemony and Popular Resistance* (New York: Zed Books, 2006); T. Perreault, "From the Guerra del Agua to the Guerra del Gas: Resource Governance, Neoliberalism and Popular Protest in Bolivia," *Antipode* 38, no. 1 (2006): 150–72; J. R. Webber, "Rebellion to Reform in Bolivia. Part III: Neoliberal Continuities, the Autonomist Right, and the Political Economy of Indigenous Struggle," *Historical Materialism* 16 no. 4 (2008): 67–109; K. Bakker, "The Limits of 'Neoliberal Natures': Debating Green Neoliberalism," *Progress in Human Geography* 34, no. 6 (2010): 715–35; D. Edmunds and E. Wollenberg, "Historical Perspectives on Forest Policy Change in Asia: An Introduction," *Environmental History* 6, no. 2 (2001): 190–212. Hybrid neoliberalism is a concept used to describe forms of neoliberalism that limit state actions while maintaining state control in specific areas. Hybrid neoliberalism has also been used by scholars to describe community forestry policies in the United States and other developing countries. See J. McCarthy, "Devolution in the Woods: Community Forestry as Hybrid Neoliberalism," *Environment and Planning* 37, no. 6 (2005): 995–1014; J. Peck, "Geography and Public Policy: Constructions of Neoliberalism," *Progress in Human Geography* 28, no. 3 (2004): 392–405.
 38. L. Ferroukhi, *Municipal Forest Management in Latin America* (Bogor, Indonesia: Center for International Forestry Research and International Development Research Center, 2003); Ley Forestal, Decreto Ley No 1700. Gonzalo Sanchez de Lozada, Presidente Constitucional de la Republica. July 12, 1996; Pacheco, de Jong, and Johnson, "Evolution of the Timber Sector;" J. Collao, *Aspectos básicos de la Ley Forestal No 1700, del 12 de Julio de 1996* (Santa Cruz, Bolivia: Prefectura de Santa Cruz Dirección Departamental de Recursos Naturales y Medio Ambiente Unidad de Manejo de Recursos Naturales, 2005).
 39. O. Yamba Añeoinda, interviewed by lead author, August 22, 2008.
 40. L. Canahuira, interviewed by lead author, August 20, 2008 (digital recordings and transcripts in possession of lead author). Professional foresters represented by Pacheco Balanza, "Políticas forestales"; Pacheco, de Jong, and Johnson, "Evolution of the Timber Sector."

41. Professional foresters represented by Pacheco Balanza, "Políticas Forestales Y Acceso a Los Recursos Del Bosque"; Pacheco, de Jong, and Johnson, "Evolution of the Timber Sector."
42. J. B. Nittler and D. W. Nash, "Certification International Forestry-the Certification Model for Forestry in Bolivia," *Journal of Forestry* 97, no. 3 (1999): 32–6; Espinoza and Dockry, "Forest Certification in Bolivia"; A. M. L. Stearman, "One Step Forward, Two Steps Back: The Sirionó and Yuquí Community Forestry Projects in the Bolivian Amazon," *Human Organization* 65, no. 2 (2006): 156–66; M. J. Dockry, "Indigenous Forestry in the Americas: Comparative Environmental Histories in Bolivia and Wisconsin" (PhD diss., University of Wisconsin Madison, 2012).