From *Indigenismo* to *Patrimonialismo*: An Introduction to the Special Issue on Music and Cultural Heritage Making in Latin America

Michelle Bigenho (Colgate University, USA), Henry Stobart (Royal Holloway University of London, UK), and Richard Mújica Angulo (CIDES, UMSA, Bolivia)

Resumen

Además de señalar lo que vienen en los artículos de este dossier, esta introducción presenta a los lectores cierta orientación con respecto al "patrimonio inmaterial," su relación con la música, y sus significados en contextos latinoamericanos. Se parte del planteamiento que el patrimonio no es igual que la cultura y que el patrimonio se tiene que construir a partir de la conciencia de la idea de "la cultura" (entre comillas) que surge en los viajes inter-étnicos (Carneiro da Cunha, 2009). Mientras el patrimonio inmaterial parece tener más relación con los hechos musicales, se exploran las diferencias, no ontológicas sino políticas, entre el patrimonio material e inmaterial. El patrimonio inmaterial resulta ser como el Otro de los patrimonios y esto marca desigualdades que se replican en las instituciones administrativas. A pesar de las iniciativas de UNESCO, a través de su centro regional CRESPIAL a través de lo cual se promocionan los listados multi-nacionales del patrimonio cultural inmaterial, los procesos de hacer patrimonio varían ampliamente en América Latina. También suelen reflejar competencias locales o nacionalistas, donde el declarar patrimonio podría ser concebido casi como una alternativa a la propiedad intelectual. A pesar de lo sonoro de las expresiones musicales, se plantea que los cambios mundiales en los medios de comunicación contribuyen a un énfasis en lo visual; entonces discusiones sobre los hechos musicales patrimonializables muchas veces van por lo visto y no por lo escuchado. En relación a cuestiones regionales, planteamos que lo que llamamos *el patrimonialismo* en muchos países de América Latina es algo muy integral al momento neoliberal y multicultural, pero que también hay que entenderlo como la etapa subsiguiente y por ende vinculada, aunque diferenciada de las políticas estatales del indigenismo del siglo XX. En el patrimonialismo del siglo XXI, los Otros están motivados a utilizar sus propias "culturas" como recursos potenciales de extracción, como posibles caminos al desarrollo y/o como nuevas maneras de reivindicar una serie de derechos. Al cerrar, se consideran los papeles de las pericias y los estudios académicos en el patrimonialismo.

Abstract

Besides previewing the articles in the dossier, this introduction offers readers some guidance on the concept of "intangible heritage," its relationship to music, and its meanings in Latin American contexts. The introduction takes as a starting point the contention that heritage is not the same as culture, and that heritage necessarily builds on a consciousness of the idea of "culture" (in quotes), which emerges through interethnic journeys (Carneiro da Cunha 2009). Although music's attributes might seem to have more in common with intangible than tangible heritage, closer consideration shows that this tangible/intangible distinction is more political than ontological. Intangible heritage ends up being like heritage's Other, in turn reflecting inequalities that are replicated in administrative institutions. Despite UNESCO-derived initiatives, like its regional center CRESPIAL that promotes multi-county intangible cultural heritage listings, heritage-making processes vary widely across Latin America. They also often reflect local or nationalistic competitions, where heritage law may be conceived as something almost like an alternative to intellectual property. Despite the sonic dimension of musical expressions, it is argued that transformations in global media have contributed to an emphasis on the visual; consequently, discussions about music heritage often focus on what is seen and not on what is heard. In relation to regional issues, we suggest that what we call "*patrimonialismo*" in many countries of Latin America is integral to the neoliberal and multicultural moment, but that it must also be understood as a successive phase linked to but distinct from twentieth-century state policies of *indigenismo*. In twenty-first century patrimonialismo, the Others are motivated to use their own "cultures" as a possible resource for extraction, as possible paths to development, and/or as new ways to lay claim to a series of rights. To close, we consider the roles of expertise and academic research in patrimonialismo.

From *Indigenismo* to *Patrimonialismo*: An Introduction to the Special Issue on Music and Cultural Heritage Making in Latin America

Michelle Bigenho (Colgate University, EEUU), Henry Stobart (Royal Holloway University of London, Inglaterra), and Richard Mújica Angulo (CIDES, UMSA, Bolivia)

This special issue gathers articles that address questions at the intersection of music and cultural heritage in Latin America. With the editorial team (Bigenho, Mújica, and Stobart), we began these conversations on three occasions: at an international symposium that the Pachakamani Collective organized in La Paz titled "Reflections on the Heritagization of Music in Bolivia" (2016), at a panel titled "Heritage Otherwise" of the Latin American Studies Association Congress in Lima (2017), and at another panel titled "Ethnography of Law and Indigenous Heritage" at the International Law and Society Conference in Mexico City (2017).[1] To develop the dialogue of the special issue, we have privileged Spanish as the common language among the editing authors, even writing first in that language, while for some of us (Bigenho and Stobart), our first language is English.[2] We also recognize that because of the editorial team's language limitations we have not included texts in Portuguese, thus leaving out of this collection important relevant work being developed in Brazil. (However, Seeger, makes passing reference to Brazilian case studies in his Afterword).

In addition to introducing the articles of this special issue, this introduction aims to provide an orientation for readers in relation to "intangible heritage," its relation to music, and its meaning in Latin American contexts. We begin with a distinction between culture and heritage. We take as a given the idea that heritage does not exist as such, but rather needs to be made (Bendix 2009: 255; Kuutma 2012: 24). If the anthropologist Marilyn Strathern has written, "the nice thing about culture is that everyone has it" (1995), one cannot say the same of heritage. Although we could say that today, many aspire to have it. Strathern used this phrase to title her book chapter that discussed how the culture concept, developed by anthropologists, now had other meanings in its global circulation (1995). George Yúdice, from the areas of American Studies and Literature, writes about a broad role of culture, a role that leads to the expediency of culture or the use of culture as a resource (2003: 11). However, we return to anthropology to develop greater clarity about an important distinction. We could say that the concept of heritage is more like the "culture" (in quotation marks) about which the anthropologist Manuela Carneiro da Cunha writes (2009). Culture, without quotation marks, is what everyone has and what anthropologists study in depth; the second concept of "culture" in quotation marks is something that lately has accrued value in the global market; the problem, according to Carneiro da Cunha, is that these two concepts, although belonging to very different discourses, consistently are mixed and confused with one another (2009: 3). "Culture" in quotation marks exists in an intercultural universe where those who have it are conscious of the fact and are performing their "culture" for the world (Carneiro Da Cunha 2009: 3). So "culture," of which heritage is an example, depends on the conditions of an intercultural nexus. Following the ideas of Bruno Latour, who seeks to reconstruct the social (2005), here we try to reconstruct the processes through which heritage is made.

---

[1] This last panel contained a trans-hemispheric dialogue that we continue to develop in other works. We thank the National Science Foundation and the Latin American Studies Association, entities that made it possible for some authors of this issue to attend and participate in the conferences in Peru and Mexico.

[2] Subsequent translations into English have been created in a few cases.

Of course a narrative exists about the UNESCO effects in these processes--in other words, the importance of the UNESCO Conventions of World Heritage of 1972 and of Intangible Heritage of 2003. Although these facts are important for entering the topic and for understanding how intangible cultural heritage is framed, it seems problematic to leave it at that. With a few notable exceptions, many studies of heritage provide perspectives from and towards Europe and the Global North.[3] On the other hand, although the heritage politics of UNESCO emerged with the participation of Member States from Latin America, and also with the specific and sometimes well-known voices of anthropologists who are from or work in this region, like Lourdes Arizpe and Manuela Carneiro Da Cunha (Aikawa-Faure 2009: 23-24; see also Seeger 2015), we insist on looking at the articulation of these policies in the Latin American contexts where they have been applied. Much like the narrative of modernity that emerges in the centre and is markedly different in the peripheries and margins (Pratt 2002), dialogues with UNESCO define the politics that heritagize things, but this does not mean that UNESCO should be seen as all-determining. As Anthony Seeger indicates, UNESCO politics are not monolithic; rather they are the outcome of a very complex consensus (2015: 131). Nevertheless, such a consensus sometimes congeals and seems like one uniform policy coming from UNESCO, even though policies assume distinct forms according to the different contexts where they are applied. Dorothy Noyes reminds us that the power of the state continues to play a predominant role in intangible cultural heritage practices (2015:167). So, to write about heritage in Latin America, we must take into account the cultural politics of Latin American states.

In the rest of the article: 1) We explore the differences—not ontological, but rather political—between tangible and intangible heritage. Intangible heritage ends up like the Other of heritages and this marks the inequalities that are replicated in administrative institutions. 2) Then we present some of the motivations, dynamics, and institutions that are involved in the declaratory processes of heritage in Latin America. 3) We also explore how the debates about musical things that might become heritage often concentrate on what is seen and not on what is heard, and this fact is connected to certain changes in media. 4) In relation to regional questions, we argue that what we call *patrimonialismo*, in many Latin American countries is something very integral to the neoliberal and multicultural moment; but that it also should be understood as a stage subsequent to and therefore also related to the state politics of *indigenismo* coming from the 20th century. (Like *indigenismo*, we purposely leave *patrimonialismo* untranslated to English) 5) To close, we consider the role of expertise and academic studies in patrimonialismo.

The Politics of the Tangible and the Intangible

At the 2000 Annual Meeting of the Museum of Ethnography and Folklore in La Paz, Bolivia, a round table was convened with the title "Tangible and Intangible Heritage in Andean Ethnomusicological, Acoustic, and Organological Areas" (Sánchez 2001). Several national and international scholars of Bolivian music participated, touching on topics related to musical instruments and including questions related to intellectual property. It was not coincidental that those who studied music began to turn their attention to heritage at this moment, and began to think more about this new category of "intangible heritage," what would become termed in Spanish as "inmaterial heritage." (In the English translation we will keep the reference as "intangible heritage.")

Music entered the rubric of what would become UNESCO's 2003 Convention for the Safeguarding of Intangible Heritage. However, the adjective "intangible" obfuscates more than it

---

[3] For exceptions see, for example, Albro (2010); Arizpe (2006); Breglia (2006); Collins (2011); De Cesari (2010); De Jorio (2016); Lacarrieu (2008), or some chapters in the edited volumes of Howard (2012) and Norton and Matsumoto (2018).

clarifies, particularly if one considers the respective tangibility or intangibility of the elements to be made into heritage. The division between tangibility and intangibility has no ontological basis in those things that actually are made into heritage. However, this divide does have a historical basis in UNESCO and thus reverberates in the cultural, administrative, and disciplinary politics of heritage. The World Heritage Convention of 1972 established processes by which *sites, monuments, and buildings* could be named and conserved as places considered to have "outstanding" and "universal" significance *for humanity*. This was universal unmarked heritage, originally without any qualitative adjective beyond "world." When it was observed that this 1972 list filled up with sites from Europe, the West, and the Global North (Munjeri 2009: 132; Skounti 2009: 79, 90; Harrison 2013: 95-111), campaigns began to consider other kinds of heritage--the immaterial or intangible—as a balancing of global accounts in the symbolic economies of heritage. Beyond this balancing of accounts, heritage scholars have criticized World Heritage for being Eurocentric and based on a mix of "Enlightenment and Romanticist philosophies," what Laurajane Smith summarizes and critiques as "authorized heritage discourse"; this discourse does not take into account local communities, depends on experts that are not from the places (many of them have degrees and titles in archaeology, architecture, or art history), prioritizes aesthetic values, and defines "the authentic" in terms of that which is historically original (Smith and Waterton 2009: 290-291; also see Lowthorp 2015: 33).

At the beginning of the 20th Century, a different heritage takes the stage that receives from UNESCO the label of "intangible." The 2003 Convention indicates that "communities, groups, or individuals" are the authorities in questions of intangible heritage. Obviously, the phrase "communities, groups, or individuals" has multiple ambiguities in its interpretations. Nevertheless, there is the intention to look at this heritage not from the perspective of experts from above, but rather from the culture bearers, from the quotidian experts from below. With this second kind of heritage, the communities of culture bearers are supposedly taken into account; if world heritage seems to come from above, the other heritage is sought from the bottom up; at least, such are the intentions (Hertz 2015). This heritage still engages expertise. In practice, the experts linked to this heritage tend to come from the academic disciplines of folklore, ethnomusicology, sociology, and cultural anthropology. Prior to the 2003 Convention, UNESCO premiered in 2001 a List of Masterpieces of the Oral and Intangible Heritage of Humanity; but the word "masterpiece" was abandoned in the officialdom of the new Convention, with the intention of following more egalitarian processes (Foster 2015: 6). Instead of naming "masterpieces," the 2003 Convention set up a "Representative List."

Within the rubric of intangible heritage, priority no longer was granted to the logic of something distinguished, something that had to be preserved for humanity; instead, "the communities" took a privileged position. In practice, such "communities," in many cases are nation-states, placed side by side in a cultural relativism, each one competing as if it were a cultural Olympics (Harrison 2013: 141; Foster 2015: 6; Turtinen 2000). In this way, the Representative List ends up being a "metacultural artifact" (Kirshenblatt-Gimblett 2004: 56). It is assumed that the signatories of the 2003 Convention will take inventory of *the totality* of their intangible heritage, following a logic not too distant from that which reigned in late 19th century anthropology, when it was thought necessary to document all cultures before they disappeared (Lacarrieu 2008: 4,12; Brown 2005: 48).

Heritage making in "the intangible" still tends to form "things" (Lacarrieu 2008: 7), and that presents another problem about the inventory. As anthropologist Lourdes Arizpe pointed out, the processes of creation should be even more important than the products (Lacarrieu 2008: 11), but

an inventory seeks to list *things*. Additionally, taking an inventory, as it turns out, often requires funding. On the one hand, it is not clear who will provide funding for these activities, even more so within decentralizing politics and autonomies. States are passing these responsibilities to local governments, while local actors often continue waiting for backing from "the State." On the other hand, it is not entirely clear that the supposed culture "bearers" are all that interested in completing these totalizing inventories. In the case of some indigenous peoples, reticence exists around taking an inventory that could end up being controlled by states that have not stopped being colonizers (Marrie 2009: 177).

Sometimes, as in the case of Bolivia, it is not the inventory that dominates local practices, but rather the promulgation of multiple declaratory laws about intangible cultural heritage, processes through which certain inequalities continue to be reproduced, and some indigenous peoples continue to rearticulate their struggles for territory and self-determination. Such processes indicate the importance of considering legal systems, territorialities, and the structured relations between the State and indigenous peoples. We will return to this point when we touch on the themes of indigenismo and patrimonialismo.

Turning back to general studies of heritage: After so much critique of the material and the "authorized heritage discourse," Rodney Harrison, trained in archaeology, made a call for heritage studies scholars to return to materiality, or at least to bring an *analytical balance*; drawing from the ontological turn, he suggested paying attention to the material world, as much as to the discursive one (2013). However, in these debates, one should not lose sight of the institutional realities that continue to mark the more political than ontological difference between tangible and intangible heritage (Kuutma 2012: 24). It is in the juncture of being "the Other" of heritage, the Other of World Heritage, that intangible heritage contains its most important sense of differentiation. These are the divisions that affect the structuring of ministries of culture, and within these institutions, different voices of expertise compete. The different values of academic disciplines enter the scene. Often archaeology, architecture, and art history rule the day in heritage administration. Ethnomusicology, folklore, and cultural anthropology tend to take a second place in ministerial work.

To summarize, one can waste time trying to distinguish which is tangible heritage and which is intangible heritage. As Amanda Kearney suggests, the separation here does not exist in phenomenological terms between the material and the immaterial because "any discussion of intangibility implicates tangibility (of the body)" (2009: 211). Nevertheless, in practice, intangible heritage, where one usually encounters references to music, tends to be about minorities and often represents a process that reinforces inequalities (Lacarrieu 2008: 4). Therefore, the historic and administrative divisions coming from UNESCO do have relevant effects: in how work is divided; in the structuring of ministries of culture; and in the disciplines that lend expertise to heritage-making processes.

Heritage Making in Latin American Countries: Motivations and Processes

In the process of identifying contrasts between "tradition" and "heritage," (see culture, without quotation marks and "culture" in Carneiro da Cunha 2009), the Swedish ethnologist Owe Ronström (2013) proposed that "Heritage tends to resist local people's claims for indigenous rights. Heritage tends to 'empty' objects and spaces, which makes it possible to refill them with all kinds of owners and inhabitants" (2013: 12). Although these generalized points find resonance in some Latin American cases, it is also important to emphasize that heritage making is often seen as one strategy, among others, for claiming diverse rights. For many people, heritage declarations are seen much

like a form of intellectual property, although as such, they carry no legal protections (Bigenho and Stobart 2014). From one country to another, a great variety exists in relation to the processes and institutions of heritage making. In some countries, multiple and specific laws about heritage have been passed at local, regional, and national levels; and national legal declarations draw on multiple governing bodies for decision-making (for example, like the Chamber of Deputies in Bolivia), while other countries involve the directives of the Ministry of Culture, which gains its legitimacy through a single general law of heritage (for example, in Peru). Some regional and national heritage laws are motivated by perceived "improper appropriation" of a cultural expression, and are presented as an act of defence. Passionate nationalist conflicts over intangible cultural heritage have emerged between bordering countries, as in the case between Peru and Bolivia (Bigenho and Stobart 2016). This type of nationalist competition over heritage goes completely against the objectives of UNESCO, whose institutions—like CRESPIAL—explicitly try to encourage collaboration between countries.

CRESPIAL, the Regional Centre for the Safeguarding of Intangible Cultural Heritage for Latin America, is a UNESCO entity (created in 2006, with Peruvian funding and also with its office in this country). Fifteen Latin American countries participate in the office: Argentina, Bolivia, Brazil, Colombia, Costa Rica, Cuba, Chile, Ecuador, El Salvador, Guatemala, Paraguay, Peru, Mexico, Uruguay, and Venezuela. Its principal objectives are to articulate, exchange, and communicate about the activities related to the safeguarding of intangible cultural heritage in the region; to promote the implementation of the 2003 UNESCO Convention; to reinforce the cooperation and the capacities of the countries of the region, and to raise awareness in States about the involvement of communities in activities for the safeguarding of their own heritage. Within this framework, CRESPIAL carries out direct actions with Member States in the areas that have been mentioned; they also produce publications about the policies, as well as about the actions, of member countries in relation to heritage.

After the 2003 Convention was established, the area of intangible cultural heritage in Latin America gradually gained importance within the public policies of these countries. With the goal of better understanding this situation, CRESPIAL undertook a study about the state of the art of intangible cultural heritage in each country (2008). Here, the persistence of the folklore paradigm was revealed, a conservationist vision of "the cultural," and a legislative framework for its preservation. In 2017, they updated this study (in press) that in recent meetings demonstrated that today all these countries possess organic or general laws of Culture framed in the legislative realm of intangible cultural heritage.

Additionally, the office is working on multinational safeguarding programs, about communication and skill building that involve three specific ethnic groups: Aymaras, Guaranís, and Afro-descendants. The first one, called "Safeguarding the Intangible Cultural Heritage of the Aymara Communities of Bolivia, Chile, and Peru," received recognition in 2009 on UNESCO's Register of Good Safeguarding Practices for Intangible Cultural Heritage of Humanity. Through an appreciation and safeguarding of the Aymara population's cultural expressions, a registration and research of music was completed, followed by a study of oral tradition; now a study of knowledges and know-how is underway. The second multinational project, "Safeguarding the Guarani Cultural Universe" managed to bring together five countries (Argentina, Bolivia, Brazil, Paraguay, and Uruguay), proposing the need to design and apply safeguarding policies that would be agreed upon and socialized within the Guarani communities and organizations. In spite of more than seven regional meetings held since 2007 to plan collective actions and to share what different countries had achieved, significant progress was not made because of government changes and their effects on

technical teams and the search for funding. The third case involves a pilot project "The Afrodescendant Cultural Universe," which began in May 2012 and in which thirteen countries participate (Argentina, Brazil, Bolivia, Colombia, Costa Rica, Cuba, Chile, Ecuador, México, Paraguay, Perú, Uruguay, and Venezuela). This project took as a starting point the heterogeneity of the contexts and processes that Afrodescendant populations have experienced throughout their history and into the present. This has turned out to be one of the projects that has made the most progress, as they have already completed established tasks, which included producing a review of related research and also creating a record of music, dance, and song forms (see Ruiz Rodríguez in this special issue).

In the end, these projects opened up space for multiple activities, from debates about how to work on intangible heritage in each country, to all that is related to the recognition of indigenous peoples, at the technical-operational level, as well as at the legal level. Participants also shared applied methodologies for fieldwork that included participatory processes with the communities. These processes were proposed as challenges for the countries involved, because cultural policies of the State did not always succeed in meeting the necessities, expectations, and representations of "cultural heritage" as seen from local perspectives.

The Senses, Media, and Heritage

Contrary to UNESCO organizers' aims of creating in the 2003 Convention something that would recognize the equal positions of all member nation-states, in many cases uses of this Convention have fanned the flames of international competition. Some countries try to fill the list with their own elements, often entering into squabbles in the process. However, the *sounds* of music usually are not at the centre of what leads to conflicts.[4] It is notable that the boom in music-related heritage making did not arrive in the era of radios and cassettes, but in the era of YouTube, Facebook, and Whatsapp---all online platforms that can be *seen* on a smartphone. Additionally, music often becomes heritage, not as something separate, but as part of festive or ritual events; contexts that frequently include dances and characters in colourful costumes. In intangible heritage, sight dominates; what catches visual attention takes priority (see Bigenho and Stobart 2016).

In other contexts, this attention to the visual has been studied in development projects that aspire to foment tourism. The anthropologist, Jenny Chio has noted that rural inhabitants of a Miao village in the Guizhou Province of China are incentivized to make a spectacle of themselves with "the imperative to be *more visibly* ethnic" (2017: 418). She builds on research about Chinese development politics in Tibet, as documented by the geographer, Emily Yeh, who uses the ideas of Guy Debord about "the spectacle" to develop the idea of "the image as a technique of power" (Yeh 2013: 236). Debord focused on the spectacle as something always linked to commodification—a process that supposedly takes something essential from an expression, something that is imagined to have existed at some previous moment before the expression became a spectacle (Debord 1994). Chio wanted to move away from an interpretation that always sees the making of spectacle as something that tarnishes; she proposed the making of spectacles as a "world-making practice," and this practice is seen within a framework of "the politics of appearance" (Chio 2017: 419-420). The seen, the visual, and the politics of appearance certainly are very present in matters of intangible

---

[4] We stress that music has important intersensory dimensions, where its sonic aspect works alongside and interacts with other sensory modalities. For example, in a festive context, key aspects of performance, affect and meaning may be connected. These may include the tastes and smells of food and drink, as well as visual and tactile dimensions (Stobart 2018 [2002]).

heritage, even when it comes to musical sounds.

Transformations in media communications have much to do with heritage making. The elements on the UNESCO List that focus on music almost always are presented on the website with videos and photos. These images are a central aspect of the dossier that UNESCO solicits, although their instructions lack detailed guidance about the focus, content, and selection of video materials (Norton 2018). We note that a website is now a relatively "old" platform in comparison with the applications of a smartphone. Images of dancers in striking costumes circulate rapidly via new social media platforms, becoming much more accessible with the exponential growth in popularity of the smartphone. Even as the quality and the cost of smartphone service vary across Latin America, the quantity of smartphone users in the region has tripled since 2012 to reach an estimated 236 million users.[5] The widespread use of smartphones in Latin America has shaped current debates on intangible heritage, with people increasingly making claims on-line about their "culture", and complaining when others use it inappropriately. The focus on the visual can be disappointing for those who want to pay more attention to sounds. On the other hand, the attention to the visual could facilitate the analytical integration of music in festive rituals or in forms of collaborative documentation that might contribute to cultural sustainability (Yoshitaka 2018). However, there are notable cases where this attention to the visual has caused serious disagreements. For example, we turn to a case between Peru and Bolivia. The frictions that arose in relation to Carnival of Oruro (Bolivia) and the Virgin of Candelaria in Puno (Peru), took place with pressures from the organization that represents the dance troupes of Oruro. While these dancers were angry at the Puneños, the same bands that played for Oruro continued to be contracted for performances in Puno, Peru. The dance troupes of Oruro were vociferous in their complaints about their musician compatriots, telling them they should "wear the Bolivian T-shirt."

In summary, music within heritage making has the possibility of being linked and even reconnected with ritual contexts that evoke all the senses. However, in very high profile cases, we see a tendency to make music part of visual spectacles. Musical sounds end up occupying a second place in many heritage-making processes. In the age of television, the attention paid to the visual and not to sound was also present in questions of musical spectacles, for example, like a "Concert for the Indigenous Peoples" in Bolivia in 1995 (see Bigenho 2002). However, today's media, which has brought wider access and great speed of circulation, takes to a whole other level the question of "the image as a technique of power" (Yeh 2013: 236). The spectacle, the search for "the authentic," and the recuperation of something sacred all lend themselves to tourism projects (Chio 2017; MacCannell 1973; Graburn 1989). But the images of these spectacles also lend themselves to exchanges over social media platforms, where the visual reigns and where nationalist expressions happen to be particularly strident (Stobart 2010).

From *Indigenismo* to *Patrimonialismo*

Rodney Harrison writes about "the abundance of heritage in our late-modern world" (2013: 2), and this author presents the heritage boom as something linked to a public interest in the past, an interest that has grown at the same time as people position themselves in relation to modernity, technological changes, deindustrialization, and the formation of a tourist perspective (Harrison 2013: 69). While he writes about heritage in the world, and about the tangible as well as the

---

[5] eMarketer. n.d. "Number of smartphone users in Latin America from 2012 to 2020". *Statista*. https://www.statista.com/statistics/285611/number-of-smartphone-users-in-latin-america/ Accessed June 18, 2018

intangible, we see this argument, with its emphasis on a relation with *the past*, as coming from a more Eurocentric perspective; and he also applies an archaeologist's perspective, as this is his training. Although his argument aims to be global and universal, in relation to heritage many of his points of reference do not resonate with what one encounters in Latin American heritage-making processes, and even less so in relation to the heritage that becomes registered as "intangible."

We propose that to better understand the contemporary boom in heritage in Latin America, 1) one has to view a historical trajectory that is distinct from the European one, a trajectory in which it is not the relation with the past that is primary, but rather the relation with *cultural differences within nation-states*, 2) it also is necessary to go back and consider some of the earlier Latin American politics that dealt with these differences—politics which were not those of heritage, but rather those of *indigenismo* that began in the early 20th century. In the 20th century politics of indigenismo, states began to recognize the value of "culture," but first in the formation of nations. Here we refer to "culture" as what emerges from inter-ethnic travel (Carneiro da Cunha 2009).

These "cultural differences" often come with the presence of indigenous peoples. In the UNESCO Representative List for intangible heritage, one can note a great variety in the number of elements that have been inscribed by different Latin American countries. Some countries enthusiastically have taken advantage of the opportunities the 2003 Convention has offered; others have been reluctant to participate in it.[6] For example, Peru has 9 elements in the UNESCO Representative List of intangible heritage; Mexico has 9; Brazil has 8; Colombia has 7; and Bolivia has 5. These countries seem to be involved in a very active way with intangible heritage projects. In contrast, in the cases of Uruguay, Argentina, Venezuela, and Chile, each country has just one single element on the List; they are much less active in this area.[7] The countries with more elements on the Representative List tend to be countries that also have significant populations of indigenous peoples, not always in statistical terms, but also in terms of the role they play in the national imaginary. For example, the indigenous population in Brazil, in relative terms, is not large, but these people play an important role in how Brazilians imagine their nation (Ramos 1998). In the case of Brazil, other elements related to marginalized populations also become heritage: those of Afrodescendants. We argue that this correlation between intangible heritage and marginalized peoples is not a coincidence. To what degree is heritage a strategy used by nations that have significant populations that historically have been marginalized? We argue that in order to understand what is distinct about heritage in 21st century Latin America, one needs to go back to the 20th century cultural politics of indigenismo, a first moment when several, although not all, Latin American states began to address seriously the cultural differences that existed within their national territories. Indigenismo--somewhat like what we could call the subsequent "*patrimonialismo*"--consisted of cultural policies that attempted to deal with the themes of cultural differences within nation-states. Of course, the past was still important, for example, in relation to Pre-Columbian archaeological sites. But even here, of greatest importance were the colonial and even neocolonial relations through which the national became defined in reference to the local indigenous populations. Additionally, there are long traditions in Latin America and even in the discipline of anthropology, of constructing the Other or indigenous peoples as a representation of the past

---

[6] Outside of Latin America, other places also have been reluctant to participate in the 2003 Convention, as is seen in the case of northern Europe (Norton and Matsumo 2018).

[7] During a colloquium Stobart attended about "Music and Indigenous Peoples of America" in Montevideo (2015), Uruguayan students interrupted the proceedings to express their profound sorrow for the loss of their country's indigenous heritage. One of them circulated several rocks among the participants, noting that these had existed a long time ago when Uruguay still had an indigenous population. The students' grief, they explained, was compounded by the recognition that their own ancestors had been complicit in the processes that destroyed indigenous peoples.

(Fabian 1983; Ramos 1998; Stobart 2016: 22). However, we propose that marginality and otherness—not the past—are more determinant in questions of intangible heritage in Latin America.

We locate heritage making in relation to the indigenista politics of the last century--when nations were being forged--, and in relation to present cultural policies that are structured through multiculturalism and neoliberalism. We do not pretend to present a universal argument, but rather one that aims to provide insights for a better understanding of the particularities of heritage in Latin America. We argue that the boom in heritage in this region is something very integral to the neoliberal and multicultural moment, but that it can also be understood as a period subsequent to and thus related to indigenismo.

Indigenismo in its hemispheric form can be described as the study, celebration, and incorporation of indigenous peoples in nation-state projects (Saldívar 2011: 67; Giraudo and Lewis 2012: 3). The indigenous world conceptualized as a living past also figures in indigenismo, roots of nations that, in clear contradiction, are simultaneously praised, assimilated, and considered as something to overcome (Mijangos Díaz and López Torres 2011; Giraudo and Lewis 2012). For example, the post-revolutionary politics in Mexico in the 1920s included education projects by the Minister José Vasconcelos that celebrated indigenous people *at the same time* as they called for their assimilation into a mestizo nation (Mijangos Díaz and López Torres 2011: 54). Indigenismo had inter-American forms since the First Interamerican Indigenista Congress held in 1940 in Pátzcuaro (Michoacán, México) (Giraudo 2012: 12, Hellier-Tinoco 2011: 121). Many different indigenismos emerged from that moment, although one can note some shared characteristics. Their politics tended to celebrate traditions of indigenous peoples as they pushed to modernize and "improve" them (Giraudo and Lewis 2012: 3). As they transformed into national culture the images, dances, and music of indigenous peoples, they also promoted national narratives of mestizaje as the basis upon which to incorporate different citizens into the nation (see Máiz 2004: 136; Bigenho 2006; Bigenho 2009). Indigenismo and mestizaje end up being "twin discourses" of the 20th Century (Bigenho 2006: 268), and they have to do with "forging a fatherland" where, in most cases, indigenous subjects were represented by non-indigenous peoples (Coronado 2009).

These indigenista politics became an integral part of some state projects, as in the case of the Mexican revolutionary state and the 1952 Revolutionary Bolivian state. In other words, the elements that today people want to make into heritage, from early to mid-20th century were seen as things by which to weave the cultural differences within that territory into a new culture of the nation-state. For example, the Mexican state applied cultural relativism, with the work of anthropologists at the National Indigenista Institute (INI, in Spanish); between 1948 and 2003 this institute promoted a sensibility about cultural differences, as they also supported national integration (Saldívar 2011: 69-70).[8] Bolivian indigenismo has roots in mestizo fears, following the indigenous rebellions at the end of the 19th Century (García Pabón 1998:126; Paz Soldán 2003: 13; Rossells 2004: 34; Salmón 1997: 21; Sanjinés 2004: 71-78). The Bolivian State of the 1952 Revolution promoted cultural policies that brought indigenous musical expressions into the centre of the mestizo national project (Bigenho 2006; Bigenho 2009; Rios 2010).

Before turning to the critiques of indigenismo and the shift to patrimonialismo of the 21st Century, it is also worth considering these cultural elements in relation to what in Latin America has been called "the popular." Today, much of what falls under the label of "intangible heritage" used

---

[8] In 2003 the INI of Mexico became the National Commission for the Development of the Indigenous Peoples (Saldívar 2011:69).

to be called "popular culture" and this reference also had its political associations with the left. In the popular, Latin American analysts saw the possibility of rebellion and the promises of radical political proposals. A key text in these discourses was that of William Rowe and Vivian Schelling, in which the authors used ideas about memory and modernity. They rejected the idea of modernity as something unidirectional coming only from the west (1991). "The popular" indexed many things: the foundation of a nationalist culture; a marker of distance from the metropolitan class; and a sign of underdevelopment (Franco 1999: 209). At this time, popular culture was seen as something that had to be documented before it disappeared, or as something through which to create resistance to capitalism (Franco 1999: 171). In the resistance reading, they also took ideas from Antonio Gramsci, working with his concept of the national-popular. In this second perspective, as with the case of novelist/anthropologist José María Arguedas in Peru, folklore studies were proposed as a form of cultural politics against capitalism (Franco 1999: 172). Within the supposedly mestizo states, "indians" were transformed into "peasants" and they had "their class dimensions as the exploited and potential protagonist of the revolution" (Máiz 2004: 136).

Many authors have written about a "crisis of the popular" in Latin America, something that began in the 1980s and linked up with the beginnings of neoliberalism (Franco 1999: 208; Williams 2002: 7; Kantaris and O'Bryen 2013: 2). After this so-called "crisis," the Latin American left began talking about "citizenship" and "civil society" instead of "the popular" (Franco 1999: 208). The term "multitude" entered discussions and researchers focussed on new social movements (Hardt and Negri 2004; Olivera and Lewis 2004). One might ask what these social movements have to do with heritage. While patrimonialismo is involved in the juncture of neoliberalism, it also has political roots in these new social movements that emerge with the crisis of the popular. Patrimonialismo is characterized by this ambiguity: at the same time that things as potential heritage can be seen as new commodities in a market where *everything* is up for sale, so too do historically marginalized populations take up heritage discourses to make demands and claim their rights.

Patrimonialismo, Indianism, and New Rights

Between the ideals and the facts, critical perspectives on indigenismo entered the scene even before the crisis of "the popular." In 1971, a group of Latin American anthropologists wrote the Declaration of Barbados in which they critiqued indigenista politics as "colonial" (Giraudo and Lewis 2012: 5). Similarly, mestizaje also became critiqued as a continuation of colonial relations (Rivera Cusicanqui 1993). Indigenismo also entered into crisis when several agrarian reforms failed (Máiz 2004: 143). Jorge Coronado interpreted indigenismo as "a reaction to—and implementation of—modernization in a region that is marginal to Europe and the United States" (2009: 2). In studying the Mexican context, Emiko Saldívar discovered that "indigenismo is not about creating equality or hegemony, but about reproducing 'the state's' right to rule" (2011: 70). Ramón Máiz found that indigenista projects incorporated indigenous peoples in national projects, but "in a marginal and precarious way (2004: 135).

In spite of all the critiques of indigenismos, these politics formed bases for ethnic and indigenous movements at the end of the 20th Century. During this time, some aspects of indigenous peoples' politics changed in the world. The International Labour Organization Convention 169 on Indigenous and Tribal Peoples (1989) established principles of prior consultation. In 1992, the indigenous peoples of Latin America marked 500 years of resistance to colonialism. In 1995, the United Nations began its first, followed by a second, Decade of Indigenous Peoples. In 2000, the United Nations established the Permanent Forum on Indigenous Issues. In 2007, the United Nations

Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples was adopted and in the initial votes, all Latin American countries voted in favour of the Declaration, with the exception of Colombia, a country that at first abstained.[9]

Several Latin American countries were making constitutional changes that indicated "a growing path of recognizing cultural pluralism" (Máiz 2004: 148). In contrast with the indigenista politics, many of these constitutional changes began to touch on more weighty themes like territorial rights, bilingual education, and the right to "free, prior, and informed consent." This final topic was seen as something more substantial than a mere "prior consultation," something that would permit indigenous peoples to reclaim control over many resources (Schilling Vacaflor 2017: 1060). Indigenous peoples themselves learned the discourses of rights and they began to claim and exercise them (Speed 2008). In spite of the "great distance between legal declarations and the implementation of public politics," what comes from these constitutional transformations is a rupture "with the monocultural logic of the nation-state" and a legal basis from which indigenous peoples can make demands, first for their cultures and education, and then for their autonomy and self-determination (Máiz 2004: 148-149). These politics, what Henri Favre called "Indianismo" (1998) or what Xavier Albó called "the return of the Indian," (1991) are different from indigenismo, but still linked with it. The big difference is that with Indianismo, indigenous citizens are demanding their own rights. For example, although indigenismo in Colombia did not achieve the same importance as it did in Peru and Mexico, the cultural policies of Colombian indigenismo created intellectual circles and alliances that facilitated indigenous social movements themselves (Troyan 2008: 81-85). In this way, the indigenous rights consecrated in the 1991 Colombian Constitution have roots in the 1930s (Troyan 2008: 87). It is within this trajectory, from indigenista to indianista politics, that one must locate the boom in Latin American heritage, particularly in relation to the 2003 Convention that makes special mention of indigenous peoples.[10]

The article of Yeshica Serrano Riobó, in this special issue, features a complex dynamic of patrimonialismo, between the rights-claiming politics of indigenous peoples in Colombia (a national declaration for the Ancestral Knowledge of the indigenous peoples of the Sierra Nevada de Santa Marta) and the significant presence of indigenous musicians in the vallenato, a music genre that fuses Spanish, Afro-descendant, and indigenous elements, and that also has its official declaration with UNESCO. Instead of a narrative of mestizaje, Serrano suggests instead that the vallenato case can be interpreted as an example of *indigenization*.

An example explored by José Manuel Izquierdo König presents a case that sits in contrast with the other articles of this issue; most of the articles are developed in national contexts where the politics of indigenismo have been very present. As we already mentioned, Chile only has a single declaration in the UNESCO List of intangible heritage, and according to Izquierdo, this listing, the *baile chino* (left untranslated to English on the List) is associated with "pre-Columbian" roots and its UNESCO listing was a surprise to many Chileans. The author explains how Chile forged a "primarily Spanish" nation, leaving aside indigenous elements in this process. In other words, indigenismo did not have the same prominent place in Chile as it had in other national projects of the last century. In contrast with the other contexts of this special issue (Mexico, Colombia, Peru, and Bolivia), the

---

[9] Conversely, countries of British colonialism (Australia, New Zealand, Canada, and the United States) initially opposed the Declaration.

[10] "Recognizing that communities, in particular indigenous communities, groups and, in some cases, individuals, play an important role in the production, safeguarding, maintenance and re-creation of the intangible cultural heritage, thus helping to enrich cultural diversity and human creativity..."(UNESCO 2003).

state's enthusiasm for politics of "culture" is something that only recently has emerged with the development of patrimonialismo.

Patrimonialismo emerges simultaneously with the surge in Indianist politics, but also at the moment when neoliberal forms of governance begin to rule. Although neoliberalism is characterized by shrinking states that are pulling back from their social programmes and commitments, at the same time, the same states are bursting forth with new legal framings (Sawyer 2004: 14). In Bolivia, under a state that since 2006 self-proclaims its anti-neoliberal position, one still sees a proliferation of laws, and many of them are in relation to patrimonialist initiatives. These laws are forming at each level of government-- especially since Bolivia's 2010 Law of Autonomies--and do not necessarily correspond with UNESCO politics. These legal processes are marking and developing the new and complex articulations of departmental, municipal, and sometimes indigenous autonomies (in this issue see Bigenho and Stobart; and Hachmeyer).

In neoliberal policies, the local populations are incentivised to participate in their own politics of recognition (Coombe and Weiss 2015: 5; Albro 2010). Charles Hale has shown how multiculturalism can dance quite well with neoliberalism; as certain cultural rights become recognized, other paths of political opposition become closed off (2005). Even in contexts where neoliberalism has been challenged, as in the case of Bolivia, the country continues, in contradictory ways, to depend on an extractivist capitalist economy (Postero 2013). Heritage becomes seen as one more "resource" that can be extracted and sold in a global market. And these are the ambiguities of patrimonialismo. With indigenismo, people who generally were not indigenous made the decisions at the moment of contemplating the relation with modernities; and here they used "cultures" of Others to forge their nations. Conversely, in patrimonialismo of the 21st Century, the Others become motivated to use their own cultures as a resource for potential extraction, as a possible path to development (see Radcliffe 2006; Andolina, Laurie, and Radcliffe 2009) and/or as a new way of claiming a series of rights. Even in cases that seem motivated by the claiming of rights, processes of commodification and the desires of professionalization are at play. Hachmeyer's article about the qantu panpipes of "the "Kallawaya Nation" in Bolivia, something that comes under the UNESCO declaration for the "Andean Cosmovision of the Kallawaya", shows how the processes of heritage making have come to restrict who, in local contexts, participates in playing qantu music. In the processes of heritage making and the assertion of rights, Hachmeyer shows how indigenous music becomes transformed, taking on professional characteristics that privilege external values and standards, for example like "equal temperament" (which means the musical octave divided into twelve equal semitones).

This case also points to the impossible but persistent dichotomy that appears in the moment of patrimonialismo and the proliferation of the discourses about rights: the division between cultural and economic rights. Such a separation remains impossible in practice in spite of the institutional attempts to impose it. For example, when experts began to discuss an instrument for intangible heritage, they insisted that "UNESCO should not duplicate the activities of other organizations particularly in the field of economic rights for which specialised agencies such as WIPO and WTO have specific expertise" (Aikawa-Faure 2009: 34). As such, the organizations of the United Nations cut the cake of rights, and it was assumed that UNESCO should focus on "the cultural dimension" and leave to other entities the question of economic rights, those generally imagined in relation to laws of intellectual property.

However, in practice these rights cannot be pulled apart. In heritage matters, questions of cultural identity and material economics cannot be separated, and they are considered together with topics that are very important for indigenous peoples, like autonomy and self-determination

(see Ruiz Rodríguez 2011: 34; Brown 2004; Kearney 2009: 214; Coombe and Weiss 2015: 56). It could be that for indigenous peoples and other collectivities the protections offered by laws of intellectual property are completely inappropriate (Coombe 1998; Brown 2003; Bigenho, Cordero, Mújica, Rozo, and Stobart 2015; Bigenho and Stobart 2014). But this does not mean that historically marginalized populations will not use these legal instruments as strategies to improve their lot. For example, Hachmeyer (in this issue) documents how a municipal government in Bolivia passed a "law of ancestral musics" in 2016 that declared their music as "collective intellectual property of the indigenous Kallawaya Nation."

With the discursive tools to reclaim their own rights, those who have been marginalized imagine for themselves paths out of poverty that might include tourism and variations on the theme of selling one's "culture." But these moves are rarely only about commodification; politics of identity and of asserting rights generally are also in the mix of motivations. For those who have a more narrow and legalistic vision, heritage should not have anything to do with intellectual property. When this does occur, UNESCO declarations function somewhat like a trademark (see Seeger 2015: 138). In such contexts, the production of and control over knowledges becomes incredibly important.

Knowledges in the New Economy of *Patrimonialismo*

Many authors have focused on the importance of research for the elaboration of cultural policies (for example see Ruiz Rodríguez 2011: 31). For Latin America, it is important to take into account that such research projects also were undertaken during the age of 20th Century indigenismo. Anthropologists, sociologists, folklorists, and archaeologists have studied cultures for indigenista projects of nation-states. The production of knowledge in the age of patrimonialismo varies somewhat from this previous era. If research used to serve nationalist projects or regional ones of nationalist import, now the dynamic is much more dispersed and varied. Today, many states recognize the diverse cultures in their territories, and sometimes this recognition is accompanied by politics of decentralization and/or autonomies, the responsibilities of carrying out the research can rest on local administrators. As such, states "respect" rights and autonomies, but they also let the autonomous entities seek their own funding for research and projects.

In spite of the fact that intangible heritage supposedly has its own experts in "the community" and in the "culture bearers" (Blake 2009), the article by Bigenho and Stobart, in this special issue, examines how the protagonists of patrimonialist politics still appeal to academic expertise to put together a heritage case file, a kind of archive of aspirations (Appadurai 2003) that serves to promote a declaratory law about a piece of "heritage." Academic expertise has also participated in supporting cultural policies of indigenismo. Anthropologists were integral to many state projects of indigenismo. However, disciplinary norms have changed significantly between the era of indigenismo and that of patrimonialismo. In putting together cases, actors make selective use of academic discourses (Rodríguez 2011: 32), and often the anthropological knowledge presented seems antiquated to anthropologists themselves (Bendix 2009: 259).

To navigate these ideas about knowledges that support a case file, Sara Lucia Guerrero Arenas develops in this issue the very useful idea of what she calls "the heritage story approved by consensus." Between the labyrinth of "culture bearers," "communities," "groups," and "individuals," she shows how the case file for UNESCO has to tell a story that justifies a declaration of heritage. In the case of the Feast of the Virgin of Candelaria that she studies in Peru, the construction of such as story entails moving beyond the conflict between local anthropologists who

wanted to emphasize the beliefs thought to have Pre-Columbian roots, and a bishop who only wanted to recognize the Catholic elements of the rituals. In this case, to achieve a heritage story approved by consensus was a great challenge. We suggest that the politics of patrimonialismo bring very important questions about the role of academics and activists in these processes.

Also in this special issue, Carlos Ruiz Rodríguez charts the efforts of academics to revive the Afromexican *fandango de artesa* tradition in the face of culture bearer indifference, and the resigned view that traditions – like human beings – will inevitably fade away and die. In other words, the community challenges the very premise of heritage safeguarding. Over many decades, outsider initiatives have attempted to breathe life into the *artesa* tradition, but local engagement remained half-hearted until the dance was embraced as an emblem in Afromexican political activism – albeit in a more presentational format. Ruiz Rodríguez contrasts the sense of participation provoked when the dance was linked with locally meaningful political struggles with the community's lukewarm reception of academics' efforts to put the dance forward for UNESCO intangible heritage listing. This article raises fundamental questions about the local relevance of heritage making, safeguarding, and the roles of academics and other outsiders in such initiatives. Ruiz Rodríguez argues for the importance of stressing contemporary aspects of tradition, rather than insisting on past attributes (as often happens in heritage making and externally motivated revival initiatives). Also, while offering a sharp critique of heritage, he nonetheless keeps open the possibility that heritage making may be employed as a strategy in struggles for rights.

Although this special issue and introduction offer perspectives on some distinctive aspects of heritage in Latin America, like the historic impact of indigenismo, it can be problematic to generalize for such a large and diverse region. However, we do argue that something is lacking in analyses that extend to Latin American contexts Harrison's argument that the contemporary global heritage boom has to do with a public that is saturated in modernity and therefore fascinated with the past (2013). We also question the degree to which Owe Ronström's thoughtful characterization of heritage as "a homogenizing counterforce to the diversifying and globalizing forces of post- or late modernity", based on perspectives from Northern Europe, resonates with the Latin American context. Heritage in this region does not always seem to reflect forms of society that are "more disembedded, individualized, glocalized, fragmented, multicultural" (Ronström 2013: 16). As we hope this issue highlights, many other dynamics are at play. What is certain is that, in recent years, heritage in many places of Latin America has become such a high profile and controversial subject, that as researchers of music, we cannot possibly ignore it.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Aikawa-Faure, Noriko. 2009. "From the Proclamation of Masterpieces to the Convention for the Safeguarding of Intangible Cultural Heritage". In *Intangible Heritage*, eds. Laurajane Smith and Natsuko Akagawa, 13-44. London and New York: Routledge.

Albó, Xavier. 1991. "El retorno del indio" (con debate). *Revista andina* 9 (2-diciembre): 299-366.

Albro, Robert 2010. "Neoliberal Cultural Heritage and Bolivia's New Indigenous Public". In *Ethnographies of Neoliberalism*, ed. Carol J. Greenhouse, 146-161. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.

Andolina, Robert, Nina Laurie, and Sarah A. Radcliffe. 2009. *Indigenous Development in the Andes: Culture, Power, and Transnationalism.* Durham: Duke University Press.

Appadurai, Arjun. 2003. "Archive and Aspiration". In *Information is Alive: Art and Theory in Archiving and Retrieving Data*, eds. Joke Brouwer and Arjen Mulder, 14-25. Rotterdam: NAi Publishers.

Arizpe, Lourdes. 2006. "Los debates internacionales en torno al patrimonio cultural inmaterial". *Cuicuilco* 13 (38, septiembre-diciembre): 14-27.

Bendix, Regina. 2009. "Heritage Between Economy and Politics: An Assessment from the Perspective of Cultural Anthropology". In *Intangible Heritage*, eds. Laurajane Smith and Natsuko Akagawa, 253-269. London and New York: Routledge.

Bigenho, Michelle. 2002. *Sounding Indigenous: Authenticity in Bolivian Music Performance.* New York: Palgrave Macmillan.

_____. 2006. "Embodied Matters: Bolivian Fantasy and Indigenismo". *Journal of Latin American and Caribbean Anthropology* 11 (2): 267-293.

_____. 2009. "Para repensar el mestizaje boliviano a través del folklore boliviano: la reorganización del espacio urbano compartido en la Revolución de 1952". In *Estudios urbanos: En la encrucijada de la interdisciplinaridad*, Coord. Fernanda Wanderley, 243-268. La Paz CIDES-UMSA.

Bigenho, Michelle and Henry Stobart. 2014. "Rethinking Creativity, Recognition, and Indigenous Heritage". Bilingual website (English/Spanish) about a workshop in Coroico Bolivia, 2012 https://www.royalholloway.ac.uk/boliviamusicip/home.aspx

_____. 2016. "The Devil in Nationalism: Indigenous Heritage and the Challenges of Decolonization". *International Journal of Cultural Property* 23 (2): 141-166.

Bigenho, Michelle, Juan Carlos Cordero, Richard Mújica, Bernardo Rozo, and Henry Stobart. 2015. "La propiedad intelectual y las ambigüedades del dominio público: casos de la producción musical y la *patrimonialización*". In *Lo público en la pluralidad: Ensayos desde Bolivia y América Latina*, coord. Gonzalo Rojas Ortuste, 131-161. La Paz, Bolivia: CIDES-UMSA.

Blake, Janet. 2009. "UNESCO's 2003 Convention on Intangible Cultural Heritage: The Implications of Community Involvement in 'Safeguarding.'" In *Intangible Heritage*, eds. Laurajane Smith and Natsuko Akagawa, 45-73. London and New York: Routledge.

Breglia, Lisa. 2006. *Monumental Ambivalence: The Politics of Heritage.* Austin: University of Texas Press.

Brown, Michael F. 2003. *Who Owns Native Culture?* Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

_____. 2004. "Heritage as Property". In *Property in Question: Value Transformation in the Global Economy*, eds. Katherine Verdery and Caroline Humphrey, 49-68. Oxford: Berg.

_____. 2005. "Heritage Trouble: Recent Work on the Protection of Intangible Cultural Property". *International Journal of Cultural Property* 12: 40-61.

Carneiro da Cunha, Manuela. 2009. *"Culture" and Culture: Traditional Knowledge and Intellectual Rights*. Chicago: Prickly Paradigm Press.

Chio, Jenny. 2017. "Rendering Rural Modernity: Spectacle and Power in a Chinese Ethnic Tourism Village". *Critique of Anthropology* 37 (4): 418-439.

Collins, John F. 2011. "Culture Content and the Enclosure of Human Being: UNESCO's 'Intangible' Heritage in the New Millennium". *Radical History Review* 109 (Winter): 121-135.

Coombe, Rosemary. 1998. *The Cultural Life on Intellectual Properties: Authorship, Appropriation, and the Law.* Durham: Duke University Press.

Coombe, Rosemary J. and Lindsay M. Weiss. 2015. "Neoliberalism, Heritage Regimes, and Cultural Rights". In *Global Heritage: Reader*, ed. Lynn Meskell, 43-69. Hoboken, N.J.: Wiley-Blackwell.

Coronado, Jorge. 2009. *The Andes Imagined: Indigenismo, Society, and Modernity.* Pittsburgh: University of

Pittsburgh Press.

Crespial. 2008. *Estado del Arte del Patrimonio Cultural Inmaterial. Argentina, Bolivia, Brasil, Chile, Colombia, Ecuador y Perú*. 1ra ed. (Ed.) Crespial (Comp.). Cusco: Centro Bartolomé de las Casas.

De Cesari, Chiara. 2010. "Creative Heritage: Palestinian Heritage NGOs and Defiant Arts of Government". *American Anthropologist* 112 (4): 625-637.

De Jorio, Rosa. 2016. *Cultural Heritage in Mali in the Neoliberal Era.* Urbana: University of Illinois Press.

Debord, Guy. 1994. *The Society of the Spectacle*, trans. Donald Nicholson-Smith. New York: Zone Books.

Fabian, Johannes. 1983. *Time and the Other: How Anthropology Makes Its Object*. New York: Columbian University Press.

Favre, Henri.1998. *El indigenismo*. México: Fondo de Cultura Económica.

Foster, Michael Dylan. 2015. "UNESCO on the Ground". In *UNESCO on the Ground: Local Perspectives on Intangible Cultural Heritage*, eds. Michael Dylan Foster and Lisa Gilman, 1-14. Bloomington: Indiana University Press.

Franco, Jean. 1999. *Critical Passions: Selected Essays*, eds. and intro. Mary Louise Pratt and Kathleen Newman. Durham: Duke University Press.

García Pabón, Leonardo.1998. *La patria íntima: alegorías nacionales en la literatura y el cine de Bolivia*. La Paz: CESU/Plural Editores.

Giraudo, Laura. 2012. "Neither 'Scientific' Nor 'Colonialist': The Ambiguous Course of Inter-American Indigenismo in the 1940s". (Translation: Victoria J. Furio) *Latin American Perspectives* 39 (5): 12-32.

Giraudo, Laura and Stephen E. Lewis. 2012. "Introduction: Pan-American Indigenismo (1940-1970)". *Latin American Perspectives* 39 (5): 3-11.

Graburn, Nelson. 1989. "Tourism: The Sacred Journey". In *Hosts and Guests: The Anthropology of Tourism,* Second edition, ed. Valene L. Smith, 21-36. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.

Hale, Charles. 2005. "Neoliberal Multiculturalism: The Remaking of Cultural Rights and Racial Dominance in Central America". *Political and Legal Anthropology Review* 28(1): 10-28.

Hardt, Michael and Antonio Negri. 2004. *Multitude: War and Democracy in the Age of Empire.* New York: Penguin Books.

Harrison, Rodney. 2013. *Heritage: Critical Approaches*. London and New York: Routledge.

Hellier-Tinoco, Ruth. 2011. *Embodying Mexico: Tourism, Nationalism and Performance.* Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press.

Hertz, Ellen. 2015. "Bottoms, Genuine and Spurious". In *Between Imagined Communities and Communities of Practice: Participation, Territory, and the Making of Heritage*, eds. Nicolas Adell, Regina F. Bendix, Chiara Bortolotto and Markus Tauschek, 25-57. Göttingen Studies in Cultural Property 8. Universitätsverlag Göttingen.

Howard, Keith (ed.), 2012. *Music as Intangible Cultural Heritage: Policy, Ideology, and Practice in the Preservation of East Asian Traditions.* Farnham: Ashgate.

Kantaris, Geoffrey and Rory O'Bryen. 2013. "Introduction: The Fragile Contemporaneity of the Popular". In *Latin American Popular Culture: Politics, Media, Affect*, eds. Geoffrey Kantaris and Rory O'Bryen, 1-42: Rochester, NY: Tamesis Boydell and Brewer.

Kearney, Amanda. 2009. "Intangible Cultural Heritage: Global Awareness and Local Interest". In *Intangible Heritage*, eds. Laurajane Smith and Natsuko Akagawa, 209-225. London and New York: Routledge.

Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, Barbara. 2004. "Intangible Heritage as Metacultural Production". *Museum*

International 56 (1-2): 52-65.

Kuutma, Kristin. 2012. "Between Arbitration and Engineering: Concepts and Contingencies in the Shaping of Heritage". In *Heritage Regimes and the State*, eds. Regina Bendix, Aditya Eggert, and Arnika Peselmann, 21-36. Göttingen Studies in Cultural Property, Vol. 6. Göttingen: Universitätsverlag Göttingen.

Lacarrieu, Mónica. 2008. "¿Es necesario gestionar el patrimonio inmaterial? Notas y reflexiones para repensar las estrategias políticas y de gestión". *Boletín Gestión Cultural* 17 (septiembre). referencia directa al artículo: www. gestioncultural.org/boletin/2008/bgc17-MLacarrieu.pdf

Latour, Bruno. 2005. *Reassembling the Social: An Introduction to Actor-Network-Theory*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Lowthorp, Leah. 2015. "Voices on the Ground: Kutiyattam, UNESCO, and the Heritage of Humanity". In *UNESCO on the Ground: Local Perspectives on Intangible Cultural Heritage*, eds. Michael Dylan Foster and Lisa Gilman, 17-40. Bloomington: Indiana University Press.

MacCannell, Dean. 1973. "Staged Authenticity: Arrangements of Social Space in Tourist Settings". *American Journal of Sociology* 79 (3): 589-603.

Máiz, Ramón. 2004. "El indigenismo político en América Latina". *Revista de Estudios Políticos* 123 (enero-marzo): 129-174.

Marrie, Henrietta. 2009. "The UNESCO Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage and the Protection and Maintenance of the Intangible Cultural Heritage of Indigenous Peoples". In *Intangible Heritage*, eds. Laurajane Smith and Natsuko Akagawa, 169-192. London and New York: Routledge.

Mijangos Díaz, Eduardo and Alexandra López Torres. 2011. "El problema del indigenismo en el debate intelectual posrevolucionario". *Signos históricos* 25(enero-junio): 42-67.

Munjeri, Dawson. 2009. "Following the Length and Breadth of the Roots: Some Dimensions of Intangible Heritage". In *Intangible Heritage*, eds. Laurajane Smith and Natsuko Akagawa, 131-150. London and New York: Routledge.

Norton, Barley. 2018. "Filming Music as Heritage: The Cultural Politics of Audiovisual Representation". In *Music as Heritage: Historical and Ethnographic Perspectives*, eds. Barley Norton and Naomi Matsumoto, 79-101. London and New York: Routledge.

Norton, Barley and Naomi Matsumoto. 2018. "Introduction: Historical and Ethnographic Perspectives on Music as Heritage". In *Music as Heritage: Historical and Ethnographic Perspectives*, eds. Barley Norton and Naomi Matsumoto, 1-17. London and New York: Routledge.

Noyes, Dorothy. 2015. "From Cultural Forms to Policy Objects: Comparison in Scholarship and Policy". In *UNESCO on the Ground: Local Perspectives on Intangible Cultural Heritage*, eds. Michael Dylan Foster and Lisa Gilman, 161-175. Bloomington: Indiana University Press.

Olivera, Oscar and in collaboration with Tom Lewis. 2004. *Cochabamba! Water War in Bolivia.* Cambridge, MA: South End Press.

Paz Soldán, Edmundo.   2003. *Alcides Arguedas y la narrativa de la nación enferma*. La Paz: Plural Editores.

Postero, Nancy. 2013. "Bolivia's Challenge to 'Colonial Neoliberalism'". In *Neoliberalism, Interrupted: Social Change and Contested Governance in Contemporary Latin America*, eds. Mark Goodale and Nancy Postero, 25-52. Stanford: Stanford University Press.

Pratt, Mary Louise. 2002. "Modernity and Periphery: Toward a Global Relational Analysis". In *Beyond Dichotomies: Histories, Identities, Cultures, and the Challenge of Globalization*, ed. Elisabeth Mudimbe-Boyi, 21-48. Albany: State University of New York Press.

Radcliffe, Sarah A., ed. 2006. *Culture and Development in a Globalizing World: Geographies, Actors, and Paradigms*. London and New York: Routledge.

Ramos, Alcida Rita.1998. *Indigenism: Ethnic Politics in Brazil.* Madison: University of Wisconsin Press.

Rios, Fernando. 2010. "Bolero Trios, Mestizo Panpipe Ensembles, and Bolivia's 1952 Revolution: Urban La Paz Musicians and the Nationalist Revolutionary Movement". *Ethnomusicology* 54 (2): 281-317.

Rivera Cusicanqui, Silvia.1993. "La raíz: colonizadores y colonizados". In *Violencias encubiertas en Bolivia I*, coords. Xavier Albó and Raúl Barrios, 27–139. La Paz: CIPCA/ Aruwiyiri.

Ronström, Owe. 2013. "Traditional Music, Heritage Music". In *The Oxford Handbook of Music Revival*, eds. Caroline Bithell and Juniper Hill, 1-20 (Digital edition: www.oxfordhandbooks.com). Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press.

Rossells, Beatriz. 2004. "Espejos y máscaras de la identidad: el discurso indigenista en las artes plásticas (1900–1950)". In *Estudios bolivianos 12: La cultura del pre-52*, ed. Ana Rebeca Prada M., 297–400. La Paz: Instituto de Estudios Bolivianos/CIMA.

Rowe, William and Vivian Schelling. 1991. *Memory and Modernity: Popular Culture in Latin America*. London: Verso.

Ruiz Rodríguez, Carlos. 2011. "Reflexiones en torno a la etnomusicología y el patrimonio musical de México". *Diario de campo* 5 (julio-septiembre): 30-34.

Saldívar, Emiko. 2011. "Everyday Practices of Indigenismo: An Ethnography of Anthropology and the State in Mexico". *Journal of Latin American and Caribbean Anthropology* 16 (1): 67-89.

Salmón, Josefa. 1997. *El espejo indígena: el discurso indigenista en Bolivia 1900-1956*. La Paz: Plural Editores/UMSA.

Sánchez, Walter. 2001. "Patrimonio, propiedad intelectual, autoría y 'música indígena'". In *Anales de la Reunión Anual de Etnología, MUSEF (Museo Nacional de Etnografía y Folklore)*, 105-126. La Paz, Bolivia: MUSEF.

Sanjinés C., Javier. 2004. *Mestizaje Upside-Down: Aesthetic Politics in Modern Bolivia*. Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press.

Sawyer, Suzana. 2004. *Crude Chronicles: Indigenous Politics, Multinational Oil, and Neoliberalism in Ecuador*. Durham: Duke University Press.

Schilling-Vacaflor, Almut. 2017. "Who controls the territory and the resources? Free, prior and informed consent: FPIC as a contested human rights practice in Bolivia". *Third World Quarterly* 38 (5): 1058-1074.

Seeger, Anthony. 2015. "Understanding UNESCO: A Complex Organization with Many Parts and Many Actors". In *UNESCO on the Ground: Local Perspectives on Intangible Cultural Heritage*, eds. Michael Dylan Foster and Lisa Gilman, 131-142. Bloomington: Indiana University Press.

Skounti, Ahmed. 2009. "The Authentic Illusion: Humanity's Intangible Cultural Heritage, the Moroccan Experience". In *Intangible Heritage*, eds. Laurajane Smith and Natsuko Akagawa, 74-92. London and New York: Routledge.

Smith, Laurajane and Emma Waterton. 2009. "'The Envy of the World?' Intangible Heritage in England". In *Intangible Heritage*, eds. Laurajane Smith and Natsuko Akagawa, 289-302. London and New York: Routledge.

Speed, Shannon. 2008. *Rights in Rebellion: Indigenous Struggle and Human Rights in Chiapas.* Stanford: Stanford University Press.

Stobart, Henry. 2010. "Rampant Reproduction and Digital Democracy: Shifting Landscapes of Music Production and 'Piracy' in Bolivia". *Ethnomusicology Forum* 19 (1): 27-56.

_____. 2016. "Dancing in the Fields: Imagined Landscapes and Virtual Locality in Indigenous Andean Music Videos". *TRANS-Revista Transcultural de Música/Transcultural Music Review* 20 [Fecha de consulta: 29/06/2018]

_____. 2018 [2002]. "Sacrificios sensacionales: Deleitando los sentidos en los Andes bolivianos" (Translation: Marino Martínez). *Anthropológica* 36 (40):197-223.

Strathern, Marilyn. 1995. "The Nice Thing about Culture is that Everyone Has It". In *Shifting Contexts: Transformations in Anthropological Knowledge*, ed. Marilyn Strathern, 153-176. London: Routledge.

Troyan, Brett. 2008. "Re-imagining the 'Indian' and the State: Indigenismo in Colombia, 1926-1947". *Canadian Journal of Latin American and Caribbean Studies* 33(65): 81-106.

Turtinen, Jan. 2000. "Globalising Heritage: On UNESCO and the Transnational Construction of a World Heritage". SCORE Rapportserie 12, Stockholm: Stockholm Centre for Organizational Research.

Williams, Gareth. 2002. *The Other Side of the Popular: Neoliberalism and Subalternity in Latin America*. Durham: Duke University Press.

Yeh, Emily. 2013. *Taming Tibet: Landscape Transformation and the Gift of Chinese Development*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press.

Yoshitaka, Terada 2018. "Audiovisual Media and Performing Arts in Danger". In *Music as Heritage: Historical and Ethnographic Perspectives*, eds. Barley Norton and Naomi Matsumoto, 61-78. London and New York: Routledge.

Yúdice, George. 2003. *The Expediency of Culture: Uses of Culture in the Global Era*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press.

Michelle Bigenho is Professor of Anthropology and Africana & Latin American Studies at Colgate University. She is author of two monographs: *Intimate Distance: Andean Music in Japan* (2012) and *Sounding Indigenous: Authenticity in Bolivian Music Performance* (2002). She plays the violin and has participated in many performances and recordings with the Bolivian orchestra, "Música de Maestros." With Henry Stobart she has organized, run, and documented a National Science Foundation-funded workshop in Bolivia (2012), "Rethinking Creativity, Recognition, and Indigenous Heritage." They received an ACLS Collaborative Research Fellowship (2015), and on the basis of this research they have co-authored articles and are currently finishing a book manuscript on Bolivia's heritage fever.

Henry Stobart is Reader in Music/Ethnomusicology in the Music Department of Royal Holloway, University of London. His books include *Music and the Poetics of Production in the Bolivian Andes* (Ashgate 2006) and the edited volumes *Music, Indigeneity, Digital Media*, co-edited with Thomas Hilder and Shzr Ee Tan (University of Rochester Press 2017) and *The New (Ethno)musicologies* (Scarecrow, 2008). Since 2012 he has collaborated in several research projects with Michelle Bigenho, focused on intellectual property and heritage issues in Bolivia, which have received support from the National Science Foundation and an ACLS Collaborative Research Fellowship (2015).

Richard Mújica Angulo is a musician and researcher. He has a *licenciado* in Anthropology from the Universidad Mayor de San Andrés. He is currently studying for a Master's degree in Critical Development Studies at CIDES-UMSA. He belongs to the Collective PachaKamani: Espacio Intercultural de Práctica e Investigación Ancestral (La Paz, Bolivia) and also to ALTA-PI (Alternativas a la Propiedad Intelectual). He currently works as an anthropologist in the Cultural Heritage unit of the Bolivian Ministry of Cultures and Tourism.

Cita recomendada

Article

Black to the Future: Making the Case for Indigenist Health Humanities

Chelsea Watego [1,*], Lisa J. Whop [2], David Singh [3], Bryan Mukandi [4], Alissa Macoun [5], George Newhouse [6], Ali Drummond [7], Amy McQuire [8], Janet Stajic [9], Helena Kajlich [8] and Mark Brough [1]

[1] School of Public Health and Social Work, Queensland University of Technology, Brisbane 4059, Australia; m.brough@qut.edu.au
[2] National Centre for Epidemiology and Population Health, Australian National University, Canberra 2601, Australia; lisa.whop@anu.edu.au
[3] Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Studies Unit, The University of Queensland, Brisbane 4067, Australia; david.singh@uq.edu.au
[4] School of Languages and Cultures, The University of Queensland, Brisbane 4067, Australia; b.mukandi@uq.edu.au
[5] School of Justice, Queensland University of Technology, Brisbane 4000, Australia; alissa.macoun@qut.edu.au
[6] Macquarie Law School, Macquarie University, Sydney 2109, Australia; georgen@justice.org.au
[7] School of Nursing, Queensland University of Technology, Brisbane 4059, Australia; ali.drummond@qut.edu.au
[8] School of Political Science and International Studies, The University of Queensland, Brisbane 4067, Australia; a.mcquire@uq.edu.au (A.M.); h.kajlich@uq.edu.au (H.K.)
[9] Faculty of Medicine, The University of Queensland, Brisbane 4067, Australia; j.stajic@uq.edu.au
* Correspondence: chelsea.bond@qut.edu.au; Tel.: +61-07-3138-0212

Abstract: This paper outlines the development of Indigenist Health Humanities as a new and innovative field of research building an intellectual collective capable of bridging the knowledge gap that hinders current efforts to close the gap in Indigenous health inequality. Bringing together health and the humanities through the particularity of Indigenous scholarship, a deeper understanding of the human experience of health will be developed alongside a greater understanding of the enablers to building a transdisciplinary collective of Indigenist researchers. The potential benefits include a more sustainable, relational, and ethical approach to advancing new knowledge, and health outcomes, for Indigenous people in its fullest sense.

Keywords: Indigenous; humanities; race; sovereignty; health; justice; Indigenist; transdisciplinarity

1. Introduction

> *Rather than going beyond conflict towards a more humane world, we seem to be going in the opposite direction. People seem more than ever to be polarised along lines of difference, more seeking to exploit difference to divide rather than cooperate...I'm not suggesting that we go back to the past: but that we might all draw hope from the Murri experience, and learn from it, about what it might be possible to achieve in the future. Seeking co-operation out of conflict can be a first step along the road. It will take time. But drawing on our experience as Murris, while we don't expect to see dramatic change in a life-time, we know change is possible. We see our future stretching out as far in front of us as it does behind us. And we hope that our contribution to the process will be recognised and valued. (Dr Lilla Watson, Gungalu and Birra Gubba)* [1] (Murri is a term used by Aboriginal people to describe themselves and is used most typically in Queensland and north-west New South Wales regions.)

This is not a traditional Indigenous health research paper. There is no specific health problem that we propose to solve via our knowing, whether through canvassing the available literature or via a discrete study involving Indigenous subjects. We present

no alarming statistics, or clinical interventions. This paper is instead a story, a story of the emergence of a new field of research from so-called Australia which redefines the parameters by which we understand health and humanity via a foregrounding of Indigenous sovereignty, both locally and globally. Rather than be positioned as peoples destined to die, or researched to death, Indigenist Health Humanities as a field of research is based on an Indigenous imagining of 'a future stretching out as far in front of us as it does behind us' [1].

We tell this story as a multidisciplinary team of Indigenous and non-Indigenous academics which comprises Aboriginal health workers as well as a nurse, epidemiologist, critical social scientist, journalist, philosopher, political scientist, lawyer, and a critical race scholar. Each of us is concerned with Indigenous health and wellbeing in its broadest sense, encompassing the historical, political, cultural, social, and economic conditions of Indigenous life worlds. As such, we tell this story in a different kind of way than the traditional health research team would, and, while we represent a research team that was recently awarded an Australian Research Council grant to establish a new field of research, we too represent a community brought together through a shared values framework, namely the Inala Manifesto [2], which represents the foundation from which this future is built. Instructed by Birra Gubba and Gungalu elder and academic Dr Lilla Watson's call, we envisage a future of health and humanity that is only made possible via Indigenist terms of reference, as first articulated by Narungga, Kaurna, and Ngarrindjeri scholar Professor Lester Rigney [3]. In making the case for Indigenist Health Humanities we briefly chart the inglorious history of health research in the 'Australian' Indigenous context, from its past silence to its present failures, and chronicle the emergence of a new field of research that will advance the knowledge required to attend to the persisting health inequality experienced by Indigenous peoples. In starting with the story of health inequality, we could well be accused of establishing a field on the same troubled foundations of deficit and despair that most operate on, reproducing the racialised knowledges that make illness an inherent part of the Indigenous condition. But it is outrage at the injustice of inequality that forms the foundation of this field. It provides us with an imperative to act, in service of the supposed subjects of study, rather than performing the illusion of objective and impartial knowers of their experience. The fetishised search for 'best practice' located within conservative positivist research agendas camouflage, rather than address, injustice.

It is rage that fuels the formation of this field.

> *I did listen to my rage, allow it to motivate me to take pen in hand and write in the heat of that moment. At the end of the day, as I considered why it had been so full of racial incidents, of racist harassment, I thought that they served as harsh reminders compelling me to take a stand, speak out, choose whether I will be complicit or resist. All our silences in the face of racist assault are acts of complicity. What does our rage at injustice mean if it can be silenced, erased by individual material comfort? If aware black folks gladly trade in their critical political consciousness for opportunistic personal advancement then there is no place for rage and no hope that we can ever live to see the end of white supremacy. Rage can be consuming. It must be tempered by an engagement with a full range of emotional responses to black struggle for self-determination.* (bell hooks [4])

Bridging the Health Gap via the Knowledge Gap

The epidemiological narrative has become a taken-for-granted feature of Indigenous health discourse in recent decades, demonstrated most notably in the handing down each year of the failing Closing the Gap report to the Australian parliament [5,6] However, these statistical portraits have not brought "the rewards that a scientific imagination might assume" [7] (p. 90), such as a more organised examination of the production of health disparities, including the practices of health research, policy, and service provision; and the social, political, economic, and historical conditions that create and maintain such inequalities. Epidemiology has long been the conjoint of how Australians have come to "know" Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people [8]. This "knowing" has painted

Indigenous people into a bleak corner of humanity where they are reduced to a continuum of just four possibilities: at risk of sickness, sick, dying, or dead [9]. A discipline so neutral it cannot, or rather will not, account for state-sanctioned violence, oppression, and dispossession in ways that could describe, explain, predict, and control inequity, but instead reinforces whiteness as superior—the norm by which the diseased and deviant Indigenous population will be measured. Inasmuch as the discipline has contributed to highlighting the health inequities experienced by Indigenous peoples, it has created, produced, and perpetuated accounts of 'alarming' negative statistical portraits that garner little to no action, as they simultaneously render Indigenous people less than human, and less capable of living a healthy life [10]. Instead, the gap of Indigenous health inequality continues to be a 'known problem' with 'unknown solutions', attributed to a mysterious failure in resourcing and implementation, despite renewed commitments or refreshed numerical targets.

The National Health and Medical Research Council (NHMRC) has committed 5% of its total budget to Indigenous health research for well over the past decade [11]. This dedicated funding is necessary but remains insufficient as they have yet to invest in a research agenda that has an explicit commitment to transforming health outcomes over its existing preoccupation with describing Indigenous ill-health [12] (p. 2). This increased investment in Indigenous health research has led to increased visibility of Indigenous ill-health as a problem [13], but this has yet to translate to a reduction in Indigenous health disparities at the rate which is so urgently needed. Neither statistically significant nor culturally significant, Indigeneity comes to represent a category of risk in health research, devoid of rights, but in need of being known.

Nurungga scholar Professor Lester Rigney has described the efforts of Indigenous scholars from Australia and the Pacific who, in contesting the ongoing production of racialised knowledges about Indigenous peoples, have sought "more progressive knowledge seeking methods that privilege the diversity of Indigenous experiences" [14]. He explains:

> . . . I have used the term Indigenism to describe and define this body of knowledge and its discourse . . . what I mean by this term is a distinct Indigenous Australian academic body of knowledge that seeks to disrupt the socially constructed identity of the 'archetypal Aborigine', as a controlled and oppressed being, that informed the emergence of a distinct yet diverse Indigenist Research epistemological and ontological agenda. There are clearly many historical, social and political factors that have led to the emergence of Indigenism in Australia . . . However, it is important to note that classic scholarly works of anticolonialism have provided valuable theoretical approaches to the contemporary Indigenous Australian Intellectual Movement in its interrogation of dominant research tendencies that assume central positions of 'power' and 'truth'. Moreover, the debates in Aotearoa (New Zealand), the United States and Canada by First Nations peoples, scholars of color, and non-Indigenous people have also influenced methodological reform developed by Indigenous peoples in the Pacific. Australian Indigenism has also capitalized on new and flexible ways to conduct research. (Lester Rigney [14] (pp. 37–38))

2. Building a Community of Practice on Indigenist Terms

Indigenist Health Humanities seeks to bridge the knowledge gap of Indigenous health by broadening the intellectual investment: inviting humanities and social science perspectives about the social world that Indigenous people occupy to better understand its role in the production of health, illness, and inequality. This is particularly salient given the increasing recognition of the social and cultural determinants of health, both locally and globally [15,16]. The assertion of an 'Indigenist' health humanities, as opposed to the emerging fields of medical and health humanities, is an important demarcation that recognises the violence of the humanities upon Indigenous peoples. Indigenist Health Humanities makes explicit the criticality of critical Indigenous studies and, particularly, Rigney's Indigenist research principles of resistance, political integrity, and privileging of Indigenous voices [14]. Indigenist Health Humanities insists upon a foregrounding

of Indigenous intellectual sovereignty to resist and remedy the prevailing racist research paradigms found across both health and humanities. Similarly, Indigenist Health Humanities is not a field whose parameters are defined by the Indigeneity of researchers or research subjects; rather, it is a field that regards Indigenous knowledges as foundational for knowing not just an ancient past, but a possible future. In being Indigenist, rather than Indigenous, neither the knowers or known must be Indigenous; however, the principles of Indigenist research, as expressed by Rigney, provide the parameters by which knowledge is produced.

Indigenist Health Humanities as a field of research harnesses a holistic and reparative methodology in the context of Australian health research. It represents a new Indigenous health research paradigm that can revitalise efforts to improve health beyond an Indigenous Australian context. The parameters for this field emerged from a one-day workshop convened in Inala, Brisbane (4 June 2019) among an interdisciplinary team of Indigenous and non-Indigenous scholars interested in expanding the current parameters of Indigenous health research from within and beyond their disciplines. From this workshop emerged the Inala Manifesto, which was first launched at the Lowitja Institute's International Indigenous Health Conference in Darwin, Northern Territory [2]. The Inala Manifesto represents six foundational values that provide the framework for forging a new field of research. Thus, Indigenist Health Humanities is research which:

- Recognises that the prevailing Indigenous health research paradigm is an apparatus of colonial control and thus calls for a resistance against the ideological foundations which insist that ill-health experienced by Indigenous peoples is a product of Indigenous deficit, biologically or culturally.
- Foregrounds Indigenous intellectual sovereignty, recognising the centrality of an Indigenous criticality to Indigenous health advancement which is defined by Indigenous peoples, making visible the strength, capability, and humanity of Indigenous peoples in all processes and products.
- Recognises health and wellbeing as a fundamental human right, including recognition of Indigenous peoples' unique rights as articulated via the United Nations Declaration of the Rights of Indigenous Peoples [17]. As Indigenous rights are highly contested, health is a matter of justice and health research too becomes a question of politics and political struggle, rather than simply the production of an evidence base for action.
- Attends to the nature and function of race within an Australian context and not just in how Indigenous people experience racism in the health system, but, more broadly, how race operates in the everyday, from birth to death, including the embodied consequences of racism.
- Demands courage of health researchers to shift the gaze away from Indigenous incapability to consider how institutions, structures, systems, and processes operate to undermine Indigenous health and wellbeing. Consequently, it is also concerned with developing the researcher's toolkit beyond the academy as a public intellectual and change-maker.
- Considers disciplinary disloyalty a form of academic excellence, demanding a shared allegiance to Indigenous health advancement and action rather than adherence to disciplinary knowledges and power. In this instance, the sociologist, the anthropologist, the political scientist, the legal scholar, and the philosopher are as integral to the health research team as the clinically trained health researcher and epidemiologist. It is precisely with the collective coming together on the terms articulated here that new conceptual tools and frameworks can be brought to bear to carve out the necessary landscapes for imagining and enabling Indigenous health and wellness.

In its commitment to Indigenous advancement, this field of research is configured around mobilising an Indigenous intellectual collective capable of effecting the necessary social, political, and economic change required for the achievement of better health while simultaneously building the field of Indigenist Health Humanities. It is inclusive of non-Indigenous scholars and their scholarship but reconfigures, rather than reinforces,

existing hierarchical relationships that have traditionally favoured non-Indigenous health researchers. Indigenous health advancement is as much a matter of strategy as it is a matter of knowledges, and a stress on broadening research methods, in combination with Rigney's principles, is designed to level the western epistemological edifice that presently maintains the status quo.

Indigenist Health Humanities brings together health and the humanities through the particularity of Indigenous scholarship and Indigenous advancement. While health humanities has gained some traction within the academy, it remains removed from those for whom health outcomes are the worst. An Indigenist Health Humanities agenda would not emulate but disrupt the abiding, yet less than inclusive, understandings of what the academy and wider public health discourse take health humanities to be. Broadening the focus of health research in this way requires embracing interdisciplinarity: marrying disciplines in a bid to fully encompass the Indigenous human experiences of health. By extension, an ideal health research team in this regard would bring together the disciplines of applied philosophy, the social and political sciences, legal and literary studies, and history alongside those of epidemiology and the clinically trained health researcher—which is exemplified in our investigative team. Through this work, the categories of health research and health researcher will be widened, thus also broadening the possibilities for current Indigenous health research investments beyond the existing individualised, medicalised, deficit-based, capacity-building approaches. In foregrounding Indigenous intellectual capabilities through the deliberate cultivation of an intellectual collective, a more sustainable, relational, and ethical approach to advancing new knowledge that advances health outcomes for Indigenous peoples will emerge.

Edward Said, Palestinian public intellectual and founder of post-colonial studies, described the opportunities that arise from the challenges of transformative scholarly work:

> *For the intellectual an exilic displacement means being liberated from the usual career, in which 'doing well' and following in time-honoured footsteps are the main milestones. Exile means that you are always going to be marginal, and that what you do as an intellectual has to be made up because you cannot follow a prescribed path. If you can experience that fate not as deprivation and as something to be bewailed, but as a sort of freedom, a process of discovery in which you do things according to your own pattern, as various interests seize your attention, and as the particular goal you set yourself dictates; that is a unique pleasure... The exilic intellectual does not respond to the logic of the conventional but to the audacity of daring, and to representing change, to moving on, not standing still.* (Edward Said) [18] (pp. 62–64)

3. The Vision

Taking the core principles articulated via the Inala Manifesto [2], as a collective we have taken up the 'audacity of daring' to carve out core streams we believe underlie the formation of Indigenist Health Humanities as a new field of research. This new field provides an intellectual home for the exiled intellectuals whose work is committed to the "special duty" of addressing "the constituted and authorised powers of one's own society" [18] (p. 98). That being said, such a home is open to expansion to accommodate the increasing members who find warmth and solidarity in the refusal of injustice that binds us intellectually and politically to such a place. Inasmuch as this is an intellectual project, the political nature of it demands a strategising that attends to, rather than acts in spite of, the forces of marginalisation that such scholars are subject to—particularly when such scholars are not likely to be beneficiaries of institutional patrons. This field is formed through the engagement of disparate researchers, research units, and institutions, not working in isolation but working together in a more collective fashion. The foundations here have emerged from such relationships among the authors and are outlined below.

3.1. Indigenous Knowledges as Pedagogy

Led by Drummond, this stream explores the contribution of Indigenous knowledges to contemporary health discipline scopes of practice, specifically in the education preparation of health professionals. Centred upon the scholarship of teaching, Ali Drummond's PhD and forthcoming postdoctoral research will further engage and theorise Indigenous ways of knowing, being, and doing, as embodied and emplaced by Indigenous health academics, as essential to nurturing a health workforce that will primarily enhance their work with and for Indigenous peoples. This scholarship will implicitly explore and promote regulatory mechanisms for the use of Indigenous knowledges as pedagogies and curricula content. This necessitates the expansion of the current community of practice for Indigenous health scholars and higher degree research students to rightfully encompass their communities with the express goal of upholding Indigenous intellectual sovereignty within health discipline education.

3.2. Philosophising Health as Life

The dominant approach to philosophy across Australian universities presumes that meaningful thought originates elsewhere, typically from the Anglo-American tradition or continental Europe. The effect is the perpetuation of what Rigney terms 'intellectual nullius' [19]. An Indigenist approach to philosophy on the other hand—an Indigenist approach to the pursuit of wisdom, the creation of concepts, and the shaping of direction and procedures employed in human and social sciences—begins with the critical and creative intellectual works and capacity of Indigenous peoples. In conversation with Mukandi, a community of thinkers including community leaders will gather to study critical and creative Indigenous affirmations of health and life; engage in dialogue and debate; create concepts; and work towards writing the beginnings of a canon of Indigenist philosophy of health.

3.3. An Indigenist Epidemiology

While the limitations of epidemiological approaches to Indigenous health are well-documented, an Indigenist epidemiology takes on the challenge of Rigney's Indigenism [3], interrogating the possibility of a transformative epidemiology which centres the human experience of Indigenous peoples—culturally, politically, intellectually, and ethically—throughout all stages of research, including data collection, analysis, and translation. Led by Whop, an Indigenist epidemiology will emerge that is committed to driving change over performances of objective observations. Indigenist epidemiology will stretch the parameters of existing attempts at strength-based approaches within the discipline to foreground Indigenous sovereignty and survival, including more meaningfully accounting for race that does not continue to render Indigenous peoples statistically insignificant or inferior.

3.4. Unsettling Colonialism

This stream seeks to apprehend and reveal the violence of colonial systems and institutions through which health is currently conceived and managed, requiring an expanded conceptual language where the frame for 'health research' moves beyond 'evidence-based policy and practice' to political dynamics and relations, as well as to questions of redress and transformation. Drawing upon the expertise of Brough and Macoun, this stream brings to bear the social and political sciences not simply in understanding how the health system works, but how various macro political, economic, and social structures operate in the production of health inequalities. Critical of the dominant individualised, behaviourist discourse, this scholarship includes and extends theoretical and applied understandings of settler colonialism and the social determinants of health, bringing together critical social researchers from justice, law, health, education, and creative industries to take up a transformative agenda which pushes, rather than privileges, orthodoxies as a catalyst for social change. This work necessarily involves destabilizing settler presence, structures,

and futures in order to contribute to the project of ensuring the intellectual and political authority of Indigenous peoples is respected and taken for granted, rather than contested.

3.5. Indigenous Critical Race Theory

Critical race theory (CRT) traces its origins to legal studies in the US but it has yet to take seriously the intersection of race and Indigeneity or foreground the intellectual sovereignty of Indigenous peoples in the global south. An Indigenous critical race theory extends on Watego and Singh's work which seeks an Indigenous public health application for CRT that centres the embodied experiential knowledge of Indigenous peoples. The goal of an Indigenous critical race theory is to imagine Indigeneity not as a variation to being human but as foundational, and, in doing so, to illuminate understandings of what it is to be uniquely and fully human in relation to the natural and ancestral world. This work seeks to forge a Black (When referring to Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples, we use varying terms such as Indigenous and Blackfullas. Indigenous can include First Nations peoples locally and globally, while the term Blackfulla is one of many terms used by Indigenous peoples within so-called Australia to refer to themselves and captures the unique intersection of race and Indigeneity) humanity explored and defined by Blackfullas, challenging received notions of liberation and the traditional role of race in animating liberation struggles. This includes critically examining the purpose of race scholarship beyond a purely theoretical framework, to include a framing of an ethics of anti-racist practice that foregrounds Indigenous sovereignty. It also offers a deeper understanding and delineation of how Blackfullas have imbued meaning to race. It seeks development of a critical mass of Blackfulla race scholars through an innovative teaching program that brings Blackfullas, Black communities, and victims of racial violence together in company and righteous rage. It seeks the creation of spaces—culturally, intellectually, and politically—for those negatively racialised to speak freely about race and how it makes and breaks them, but also to strategise how to make the perpetrators of racial violence pay.

3.6. Health Justice

Led by Newhouse and Kajlich, health justice refers to scholarship that understands issues of justice as not only located in colonial legal systems, but through and because of Indigenous sovereignty. Kajlich's research, which includes unprecedented access to the National Coronial Information System, has examined the varying ways that race operates in health and legal systems in order to inform better strategies for health justice. This scholarship will extend and enable the current work of the National Justice Project, providing the intellectual rigour for legal responses to the ongoing health injustices Indigenous peoples experience. Through this research, justice is understood not only as a strictly legal response or remedy for racial harm in the health system, but as intimately tied to health and the systems and services that care for Indigenous peoples because they are grounded in place, community, and action. It also involves intellectual and political strategising—in relation to law reform—locally and globally, recognising that colonial legal systems must be challenged and held to account for their overt and insidious failures. This is particularly critical in relation to the ongoing refusals to attend to the harms of race and racism beyond narrow definitions of racial discrimination and the limited, and often problematic, remedies currently available: remedies which were never designed to deliver health justice for Indigenous peoples or, more fundamentally, that could imagine health justice as foundational to the wellbeing of Indigenous peoples.

3.7. Transformative Knowledges

Led by Indigenous journalist and social commentator McQuire and health researcher Stajic, this stream recognises the centrality of social transformation to knowledge production and the role of traditional and new media and the creative industries as enablers of achieving such objectives. McQuire's current work critically examines media reporting of violence against women, and, in response, she has developed her own methodology for

humanising women as part of this work. Furthermore, Stajic's work incorporates digital storytelling to amplify Indigenous theorising about health and healthcare as articulated by Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander health workers. Here we seek to engage with literary scholars, artists, and activists to explore new methodologies for knowledge production that centre social transformation. Creative works are not simply the means to decorate or communicate the knowledge accomplishments of the health sciences, but are respected here as legitimate forms of knowledge production in their own right, making a critical contribution to understandings of health and humanity.

4. Discussion

Indigenist Health Humanities offers the required critical imagination for better understanding of the complexities of the social and the cultural in producing ill-health and/or promoting better health. Through this, we might come to realise the limitations of drawing too heavily upon a medical response to what is effectively a socio-political problem, enabling us to extend our strategies for health advancement beyond individual illness and health behaviours to include attending to the social, economic, cultural, legal, linguistic, and political conditions in which health inequalities are produced and maintained. It enables a shift in focus for researchers from documenting and attempting to address inequalities between Indigenous peoples and a non-Indigenous norm, to creating the conditions through which Indigenous peoples' understandings and sovereign expressions of health and wellbeing might be realised, which extend beyond the narrow parameters of closing statistical health gaps.

Indigenist Health Humanities offers a way to break out of the biomedical mould that has struggled to encompass the life worlds of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples, and offers instead an original way of asking new questions of 'old problems', as well as contesting the very construction of these problems. It reconfigures Indigenous peoples from a problem to be solved to that of knowledge bearers of both strategy and solutions for survival. While the problem of Indigenous ill-health provided the impetus for a new imagining, the application of Indigenist Health Humanities is not confined to Indigenous peoples. It is the criticality of Indigenous studies that is being brought to bear to broaden our imaginings of health and humanity. Indigenous peoples are not a subset of a population group, rather, Indigenous sovereignty is the foundation from which a new future can be conceived—one that is most sustainable, most equitable, most caring, and most humane.

What is most innovative about this field is the recognition of Indigenous sovereignty in the formation of inquiry that has a global application in relation to the amorphous field(s) of medical and health humanities, which represent an academic configuration still in formation [20,21]. While some may see these as interchangeable, others view the 'health humanities' to be an advance over the 'medical humanities', one which resists the tendency towards an overemphasis on the biomedical [22–24]. This concern, of course, precedes the development of the health humanities, with the longstanding supposition that the incorporation of the humanities into medical education makes for more rounded, humane medical practitioners [21,25,26]. An Indigenist Health Humanities extends the aim of deepening "our understanding of human health and wellbeing by calling on multiple perspectives—biomedical, philosophical, historical, artistic, literary, anthropological and sociological" [27] (p. 5); to actors beyond the clinician as sole teacher, and clinician as central figure within the health humanities [22,24]. If people are understood in their full, relational sense rather than as atomistic, potential loci of pathology, their health "is reconceptualized as something that is produced through the relations between bodies rather than as something that a body is or is not" [23] (p. 77). The challenge, as well as the most lucrative site of investment across the health humanities via an Indigenist Health Humanities, is the study of those relations. Put another way, a key task that lies before the health humanities is to begin to address the full humanity of members of marginalised groups. While there have been attempts at articulating an 'Indigenous health humanities',

in its failure to foreground Indigenous sovereignty, Indigenous knowledges and peoples remain marginalised [28].

Indigenist Health Humanities is a field of research that disavows Black lack and instead marshals various methods commonly used in the humanities (e.g., film making, literary criticism, creative writing, ethnography, etc.) to investigate the ways in which power is configured to the detriment of Indigenous peoples' health and wellbeing. It is a field of research that recognises that Indigenous ways of working based on relationality, as opposed to the neo-liberal valorisation of individuality and leadership. We offer a new way of thinking about health and Indigeneity and, through the Inala Manifesto, offer an alternative vision of scholarship and knowledge production as a collective endeavour guided by Rigney's Indigenist principles. Through this investment, we will also advance understandings of research impact beyond the narrowly defined parameters which it is currently measured against.

5. Conclusions

As the oldest continuous culture on the planet, Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples have much to teach about survivance in a rapidly changing world. To think globally through Indigeneity is to return to a future that foregrounds Indigenous sovereignty, sustainability, and relationality. These principles can guide the transdisciplinary turn which is still firmly wedded to conceptions of modernity and change—the very ideas that have generated some of the global challenges we face, not just those uniquely experienced by Indigenous peoples. The transdisciplinarity required to effect change requires more than a bringing together of different methodologies—it demands attention to different ways of knowing and being in a relational, rather than hierarchical, manner, recognising the limitations of different knowledge systems as well as their strengths, so that the most appropriate conceptual tools are brought to bear in addressing the grand challenges we face both now and into the future.

Int. J. Environ. Res. Public Health **2021**, *18*, 8704

10 of 10

References

1. Watson, L. Let Us Work Together. Uniting Church in Australia Assembly. 2004. Available online: https://uniting.church/lilla-watson-let-us-work-together/ (accessed on 5 July 2021).
2. McInerney, I. The Inala Manifesto: A Call to Arms for Indigenous Health Researchers. Available online: https://www.croakey.org/the-inala-manifesto-a-call-to-arms-for-indigenous-health-researchers/ (accessed on 28 June 2021).
3. Rigney, L.-I. Internationalization of an Indigenous anticolonial cultural critique of research methodologies: A guide to Indigenist research methodology and its principles. *Wicazo Rev.* **1999**, *14*, 109–121. [CrossRef]
4. Hooks, b. *Killing Rage: Ending Racism*; St Martin's Press: New York, NY, USA, 1996.
5. Close the Gap Campaign Steering Committee for Indigenous Health Equality (Australia); Holland, C. *Close the Gap 2018: A Ten-Year Review—The Closing the Gap Strategy and Recommendations for Reset*; Close the Gap Campaign Steering Committee: Sydney, Australia, 2018.
6. Bond, C.; Singh, D. More than a refresh required for closing the gap of Indigenous health inequality. *Med. J. Aust.* **2020**, *36*, 71–81. [CrossRef] [PubMed]
7. Brough, M. Healthy imaginations: A social history of the epidemiology of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander health. *Med. Anthropol.* **2001**, *20*, 65–90. [CrossRef] [PubMed]
8. Bond, C. A culture of ill health: Public health of Aboriginality? *Med. J. Aust.* **2005**, *183*, 39–41. [CrossRef] [PubMed]
9. Watego, C.; Whop, L. The Answer to Indigenous Vulnerability to Coronavirus: A more Equitable Public Health Agenda. *The Conversation*, 2 April 2020. Available online: https://theconversation.com/the-answer-to-indigenous-vulnerability-to-coronavirus-a-more-equitable-public-health-agenda-135048(accessed on 12 August 2021).
10. Bond, C. When You're Black They Look at You Harder. Ph.D. Thesis, School of Population Health, University of Queensland, St Lucia, QLD, Australia, 2007.
11. Thomas, D.P.; Bainbridge, R.; Tsey, K. Changing discourses in Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander health research, 1914–2014. *Med. J. Aust.* **2014**, *201*, S15–S18. [CrossRef] [PubMed]
12. Bainbridge, R.; Tsey, K.; McCalman, J.; Kinchin, I.; Saunders, V.; Lui, F.; Cadet-James, Y.; Miller, A.; Lawson, K. No one's discussing the elephant in the room: Contemplating questions of research impact and benefit in Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Australian health research. *BMC Public Health* **2015**, *15*, 696. [CrossRef] [PubMed]
13. Thomas, D.; Anderson, P. Getting the most from Indigenous health research. *Med. J. Aust.* **2006**, *184*, 500–501. [CrossRef] [PubMed]
14. Rigney, L.-I. Indigenist Research and Aboriginal Australia. In *Indigenous Peoples' Wisdom and Power Affirming Our Knowledge through Narratives (Vitality of Indigenous Religions)*; Kunnie, J., Goduka, N., Eds.; Ashgate: Aldershot, UK; Burlington, VT, USA, 2016.
15. The Lowitja Institute, Cultural Determinants of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Health Roundtable, Report, 26 November 2014. Available online: https://www.lowitja.org.au/content/Document/PDF/Cultural-Determinants-RT-Report-FINAL2b.pdf (accessed on 10 August 2021).
16. The Lowitja Institute. Culture Is Key: Towards Cultural Determinants-Driven Health Policy. Policy Brief. Feb 2021. Available online: https://www.lowitja.org.au/content/Image/Lowitja_PolicyBrief_CulturalDeterminants_240221_D3[3].pdf (accessed on 10 August 2021).
17. UN General Assembly. *United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples*; A/RES/61/295; UN: New York, NY, USA, 2007.
18. Said, E.W. *Representations of the Intellectual: The 1993 Reith Lectures*, 1st ed.; Vintage Books: New York, NY, USA, 1996.
19. Rigney, L. A first perspective of Indigenous Australian Participation in Science: Framing Indigenous research towards Indigenous Australian intellectual sovereignty. *Kaurna Higher Educ. J.* **2001**, *7*, 1–13. Available online: http://citeseerx.ist.psu.edu/viewdoc/download?doi=10.1.1.1070.9865&rep=rep1&type=pdf (accessed on 5 July 2021).
20. Campo, R. "The Medical Humanities," for Lack of a Better Term. *JAMA* **2005**, *294*, 1009–1011. [CrossRef] [PubMed]
21. Shapiro, J.; Coulehan, J.; Wear, D.; Montello, M. Medical Humanities and Their Discontents: Definitions, Critiques, and Implications. *Acad. Med.* **2009**, *84*, 192–198. [CrossRef] [PubMed]
22. Crawford, P. Health humanities: The future of medical humanities? *Ment. Health Rev. J.* **2010**, *15*, 4–10. [CrossRef]
23. Atkinson, S.; Evans, B.; Woods, A.; Kearns, R. 'The Medical' and 'Health' in a Critical Medical Humanities'. *J. Med. Humanit.* **2015**, *36*, 71–81. [CrossRef] [PubMed]
24. Jones, T.; Blackie, M.; Garden, R.; Wear, D. The Almost Right Word: The Move from Medical to Health Humanities. *Acad. Med.* **2017**, *92*, 932–935. [CrossRef] [PubMed]
25. McManus, I.C. Humanity and the medical humanities. *Lancet* **1995**, *346*, 1143–1145. [CrossRef]
26. Evans, M. Reflections on the humanities in medical education. *Med. Educ.* **2002**, *36*, 508–513. [CrossRef] [PubMed]
27. Gordon, J. Medical humanities: To cure sometimes, to relieve often, to comfort always. *Med. J. Aust.* **2005**, *182*, 5–8. [CrossRef] [PubMed]
28. Crawford, A.; Boivin, L.; Richardson, L. Indigenous Health Humanities. In *The Routledge Companion to Health Humanities*; Routledge: London, UK, 2020; pp. 96–105.

UNIVERSITY OF CALGARY
Press
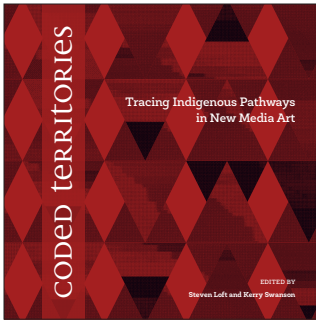
CODED TERRITORIES:
TRACING INDIGENOUS PATHWAYS
IN NEW MEDIA ART
Edited by Steven Loft and Kerry Swanson

ISBN 978-1-55238-788-7

If we are to survive as a species, there must be a paradigmatic shift in our approach to life itself, one that encompasses Indigenous modes of thought and experiential reality.

Performance artist, new media artist, filmmaker, writer, curator, and educator Archer Pechawis was born in Alert Bay, British Columbia, in 1963. He has been a practising artist since 1984, with particular interest in the intersection of Plains Cree culture and digital technology, often merging "traditional" objects such as hand drums with "forward engineered" devices such as Mac PowerBooks. His work has been exhibited across Canada and in Paris, France, and featured in publications such as *Fuse* Magazine and *Canadian Theatre Review*. Archer has been the recipient of many Canada Council and British Columbia Arts awards and won the Best New Media Award at the imagineNATIVE Film + Media Arts Festival in 2007 and Best Experimental Short at the imagineNATIVE Film + Media Arts Festival in 2009.

Archer also works extensively with Native youth as part of his art practice, teaching performance and digital media for the Indigenous Media Arts Group and in the public school system. Of Cree and European ancestry, he is a member of Mistawasis First Nation, Saskatchewan.

'"Horse", a digital drum performance by Archer Pechawis, Winnipeg Art Gallery April 14, 2011.' Videographer Scott Benesiinaabandan.

'"Memory_V2", a digital drum performance by Archer Pechawis, A Space Gallery Toronto, September 17, 2010.'
Photographer Wanda Nanibush.

'Archer Pechawis, with traditional Plains Cree hand tool. Note cross-cultural Haida markings by artist Corey Bulpitt.' Original photograph by Adam Steel, Photoshopped by Archer Pechawis.

'Poster image for "Our Beautiful Future", a performance by Archer Pechawis, Toronto Free Gallery July 2, 2012.' Image created in Photoshop by Archer Pechawis.

2 Indigenism: Aboriginal World View as Global Protocol

ARCHER PECHAWIS

PEYAK (ONE)

Imagine a gathering of our common African ancestors 400,000 years ago. This gathering has been occurring every evening for a number of days now, but the novelty is wearing off and interest is waning. The best and brightest of our venerated ancestors has made a claim that he will make fire, but so far he has failed.

But here is the moment: the dry grass he has collected this evening has ignited, a flame has leapt up. Everyone has a look of slack-jawed astonishment, save our intrepid proto-scientist, whose face is illuminated with joyous vindication.

Now freeze this moment in time, examine it carefully, and anchor your consciousness to it: this is precisely where we are in regards to post-millennial technology. Because we use Google and Facebook, we imagine ourselves the intellectual heirs of our Promethean relative. In reality, we are his astounded contemporaries, barely better able to grasp the implications of new technologies than our incredulous ancestors were half a million years ago.

My art practice hybridizes traditional First Nations culture and digital technology. In 2001, I wrote "Talking to My Horse, Whistling the Garry Owen" for a performance piece called *Horse*, in

which the Horse Nation comes heroically to the aid of the Chey-
enne on the morning of November 27, 1868, during an attack on
their encampment by Lieutenant Colonel George Armstrong Cus-
ter. Having rescued the people from massacre at great cost to his
nation, the leader of the Horses offers a prophetic warning to his
erstwhile master:

> See how it is today. We, the Horse People, have suffered greatly
> for you. Many are dead. Hear me now, and know this thing.
>
> Just as you are amazed by the events of this day, you will for-
> get. Despite the sacrifice we have made for you today, you will
> forget. And surely as the sun will rise the time will come when
> you abandon us, the Horse People, for machines of your own
> making. And just as you abandon us for these machines, you will
> abandon your own selves for them. You will come to believe that
> these machines are your relations, and you will alter yourselves
> to be like them, thinking this will make you stronger. You will
> change your own minds so you may speak with them and they
> to you. On this day you will forever lose your relation to us, and to
> all the animal people.
>
> Hear me now, and beware. Never will your machines show
> you loyalty, nor love. Never will they come to your aid in time of
> need as the Horse People have done today. I would like for you
> to remember these words, but you will forget. It is the nature of
> your kind.[1]

It is easy to slip into a dystopian funk when considering the far-
reaching effects of our development as a technological species.
But what if our anthropocentric myopia is supplanted by a spiritual
growth that catches up with and supersedes our technical prowess,
a future in which the best values of traditional societies come to the
fore, and a balance of spiritual and technological equality becomes
the dominant paradigm? Since writing *Horse* I have come to be-
lieve that it is not a warning against the adoption of technology per

se, but rather an admonition to First Nations to retain our tradition-al world view in the face of technological adaptation, so we may offer a solution to humanity. Ward Churchill states:

> [I]ndigenism offers an antidote, a vision of how things might be that is based in how things have been since time immemorial, and how things must be once again if the human species, and perhaps the planet itself, is to survive much longer. Predicated on a synthesis of the wisdom attained over thousands of years by indigenous, landbased peoples around the globe — the Fourth World or, as Winona LaDuke puts it, "The Host World upon which the first, second and third worlds all sit at the present time" — in-digenism stands in diametrical opposition to the totality of what might be termed "Eurocentric business as usual."[2]

NÎSO (TWO)

I'm learning Cree. Tuesday and Thursday evenings I fire up a Java program that creates an online virtual classroom and for two hours a lovely *kohkom*[3] named Margaret guides a disparate group of students through the gorgeous intricacies of our language and traditions. This scenario is one of the many I had hoped for when I first began to ponder computer technology and its implications for traditional culture back in the 1990s, but in the last decade I real-ized that a much more interesting question, with far more profound consequences, could be posed by asking instead, *What happens when we approach the visioning, creation, and application of mod-ern technology from an entirely Indigenist world view?*

I am not speaking of grafting Aboriginal protocols onto existing methodologies. I am looking to a future in which Indigenism *is* the protocol, an all-encompassing embrace of creation: the realms of earth, sky, water, plant, animal, human, spirit, and, most import-antly, a profound humility with regards to our position as humans within that constellation.

My own understanding of this world view is far from perfect: I was raised without the Cree language and the multiverse it unfolds and was not exposed to traditional concepts until the age of fourteen, when my mother first took me to a sweat lodge ceremony. Since that time, my life has been one of seeking a deeper understanding, not only of my place in the world as a Cree man but also as a person of Native and European descent, and how I may harmonize two wholly disparate cultures and world views, of which I am a product.

Given these parameters, it is logical that I began to make work examining the intersection of digital technology and traditional Plains Cree culture; as a younger man, I thought they were the most dissimilar aspects of my dual heritage. In 1994, I had a vision of a performance that would not only reconcile but also celebrate the "two solitudes" of my being. I would wire a traditional hand drum to a digital audio sampler, which would allow me to incorporate sound bites into powwow songs. Inspired equally by the corybantic fury of punk, the blunt race politics of hip hop and my own post-Oka[4] rage, I wanted to emulate the roaring-but-danceable audio collage polemics of Public Enemy, but do so in a way that was inimitably Aboriginal.

To create this artwork, I took tobacco to two elders in my community, Bill Lightbown and the now deceased Harriet Nahannee (1935—2007), and videotaped their responses to my questions concerning technology and traditional First Nations culture, spirituality, and philosophy. The insights and wisdom they shared with me have come to shape my understanding of traditional values as much as the time I have spent in the sweat lodge. Bill and Harriet taught me to embrace technology as a perfectly compatible aspect of an Indigenist world view. Harriet also taught me that my vision of the electronic drum might not have come from me at all.

> We are our ancestors. When you were born, you were born with your ancestors' soul. Traditional people listen to that ancestor . . .

> . . . you can ask your ancestor for guidance, and it just pops into your head, you're getting it from them! You may think, "Oh yeah, I have a great idea," but it isn't! You're receiving it from your ancestors.[5]

These interviews formed the basis of the performance *Memory* (1997), my first investigation into what "traditional" means in contemporary First Nations culture. The work featured a hand drum wired to a sampler via MIDI which enabled me to drop various audio samples into the mix while I sang neo-traditional songs of my own composition. The primary samples used were from audiocassettes of my deceased grandfather, Thomas John Pechawis, drumming and singing, and the interviews with Bill Lightbown and Harriet Nahanee speaking to the issue of "what is traditional." Other samples included Jimi Hendrix, Soundgarden, The O'Jays, and The Fugees.

> This performance investigates the notion of what constitutes "traditional" Native drumming and singing through the use of a hand drum into which I have incorporated trigger pads that activate a digital sampler when struck. Simply put, if I drop a Motorhead sample into a round dance tune, is it still traditional? Cum on, feel the noize, heya heya ho . . .[6]

But at the time I didn't understand what I had created. Despite what the elders had told me, I didn't think my creation was "a real drum." Contrary to my stated aim in making the work, I had an internalized divide between what I considered "traditional" and the technological processes that constituted so much of my everyday life and artmaking practice. In part, I did not understand these things because I had not sought out the teachings on the use of drums in ceremonial contexts. I had not sought this knowledge because I did not understand that my performance was, in fact, a ceremony.

The protocols that govern the ceremonial use of drums are as specific as the protocols that govern traffic on the Internet. Since that first performance, I've been taught a *drum is a direct line to the spirit world*. Before any cultural work is done, one must *sing in the spirits*, a literal process of inviting the spirits to participate. At the conclusion of the work, the spirits are then *sung out*, or invited to return to their realm. This exchange with the spirit world is not a metaphor, but rather a fundamental aspect of ceremonial practice.

This practical application of interdimensional communication takes on new meanings when paired with digital technologies in a secular, performative setting. After my first digital drum perform- ance, I realized that what I needed was a drum that played video samples to allow people to see the elders talking, not just hear them. While I was building this new device, Harriet passed away. After waiting an appropriate amount of time, I approached her family and asked for their permission to continue using her voice and image. With their blessing, I used her footage in a second ver- sion of the drum performance, *Memory_V2*, in 2010.

But something had changed. Because I was playing video sam- ples of a deceased person, I was now invoking Harriet from the spirit world with my drum. By replicating the metaphysical func- tionality of a traditional drum, I had built a device that enabled an audience to experience communication with another realm in the secular context of a performance. I had converted a spiritual medium into a digital one.[7] As Ahasiw Maskegon-Iskwew writes:

> Indigenous digital artists around the world are deeply engaged with, and provide important contributions to interdisciplinary and cross-community dialogues about cultural self-determination. Their works explore and bear witness to the contemporary rel- evance of the histories of Indigenous oral cultures and profound connections to their widely varying lands. They also reveal the creative drive that is at the heart of Indigenous survival. The cul- tures of animist peoples require a continual sensitivity to, and

negotiation with, the cultures of all of the beings and forces of their interconnected worlds. The ancient process of successfully adapting to their worlds' shifting threats and opportunities — innovating the application of best practices to suit complex and shifting flows — from a position of equality and autonomy within them, is the macro and micro cosmos of contemporary Indigenous cultures: a truly networked way of being.[8]

NISTO (THREE)

In my artistic/spiritual journey, I have had to find space for my belief in both the Western scientific method and the Cree world view. This has been easier than I thought it would be: by definition my Creator is omnipotent, which gives him a lot of flexibility. My Creator is an evolutionist who loves non-anthropocentric, non-terrestrial viewpoints. As my traditional spiritual grounding and technical fluency deepen, the space between these two disciplines diminishes. More and more they become dialects of the same mother tongue.

Dr. Leroy Little Bear, in his lecture "Native Science and Western Science: Possibilities for a Powerful Collaboration," tells a story about the Higgs boson, the so-called "God particle":

> We talked to an elder about it and explained it to him. It took him a while to understand what these physicists were trying to do. But once he had a good idea of it he came back and said, "That's easy. The Higgs particle is what we call spirit."[9]

It really is that simple.

The hypothetical Higgs boson particle is a cornerstone of the Standard Model of particle physics, which for decades has dominated our understanding of the cosmos and helped explain how three of the four fundamental forces of nature work. Theoretically responsible for converting mass to energy and vice versa,[10] the

Higgs boson inspired scientists with enough faith in its actuality to raise 7.5 billion Euros for the CERN Large Hadron Collider in Switzerland largely to prove, or disprove, its existence.[11] The Higgs boson was dubbed the "God particle," a term physicists loathe, in Leon Lederman and Dick Teresi's 1993 book *The God Particle: If the Universe Is the Answer, What Is the Question?*[12] Inaccurate or not, the urge to confer a spiritual dimension to a scientific quest seems to be in our DNA. This urge can be seen in the work of many Aboriginal new media art practitioners.

Another weakness of the Standard Model is that it cannot incorporate gravity as described by Einstein's theory of relativity. An attempt to harmonize general relativity led to the development of Superstring Theory, which postulates ten dimensions, or an extra six to the readily observable dimensions of length, width, depth, and duration. If we reconsider these six "extra" dimensions as potential realms of spirit, we begin to see the space of reconciliation put forth by Dr. Little Bear:

> If those physicists would learn Blackfoot, or Navajo, we would be able to talk. English, because of its structure, can't explain certain things, [and] therefore [has] a reliance on a foreign language, [math, which] does not happen in Navajo. In other words the language is rich enough that it can explain those seeming paradoxes. That's where I see the collaboration taking place, that's where I see partnerships occurring in science.[13]

These partnerships are already taking place. The locus of these ventures is a growing network of First Nations artists who are adapting the tools of the moment to their respective cultures to create new artworks in unexpected media. Artists have always been the vanguard of social change. In harnessing the power of science and technology in service of traditional culture, Aboriginal new media artists are blazing new trails of possibility.

NEWO **(FOUR)**

Our technological journey began nearly half a million years ago. Realigning humanity with spirit may take that long as well. A transition from the dominant paradigm will not be miraculously simple, or easy. But clearly, if we are to survive as a species, there must be a paradigmatic shift in our approach to life itself, one that encompasses Indigenous modes of thought and experiential reality: an earth-centred philosophy that brings technological advancement in line with human, animal, and ecological concerns and ethical parameters. Perhaps the near or total destruction of the human-habitable ecosphere is a necessary step in our development. Or perhaps what will save us from ourselves *is* ourselves through understanding the world in a different way.

> It will be for a new generation of non-Native peoples who sat as children, youth and young adults and heard and learned our languages along with their own, who remember and recite our ancestors' stories along with all the others, whose worldview is shaped by these things — these will be the ones who will be true allies and partners with our children in a real and resounding cultural renaissance.[14]

Seminal science fiction author and inventor Sir Arthur C. Clarke famously opined that "[a]ny sufficiently advanced technology is indistinguishable from magic."[15] A meme currently being promulgated on the Net posits that "Any Sufficiently Advanced Civilization is Indistinguishable from Nature."[16] This proposed solution to the Fermi paradox[17] reasons that we cannot locate extraterrestrial life because we are looking for the electromagnetic signature we assume an advanced civilization would produce. It goes on to theorize that advanced civilizations would create, live in, and be sustained by technologies that would be indistinguishable from the natural processes of their environment, at least to a species as primitive as our own.

Imagine our civilization in which the "sufficiently advanced technology" *is* magic: the "extra" dimensions postulated by Superstring Theory are acknowledged as alternate realms of spirit, and the technological basis of the culture is predicated not only on this acknowledgment but also in an ongoing communication with those domains and on the limitless power available to us from those dimensions, through our own ancestral relations.

A whole-hearted embrace of Indigenism would provide us with a stable platform to create a world of self-sustaining technologies, a made-yet-living topography whose existence we would currently miss from orbit, let alone through the lens or antennae of telescopes peering across interstellar space. Within this future dreaming, we can imagine bioscience granting us unlimited powers of transformation over our bodies, to trade corporeal physicality for re-embodiment within a planetary network, to share a planet-body with our fellow trans-humans.

> The old songs are loud, pounding and powerful again, heating the blood of the young — dancing fires across their dreams. Around them softly, in quiet pleasure, gray heads nod with embered remembrance — all circling together in time with the sun. Now our sneak-up dance is working, provoking the slow awakening of non-Native peoples to the richness, complexity and depth of our ways of seeing and shaping the world. The families of our allies are growing, their children are being taught, the feasting and sharing together with honour has begun — preparing for the renaissance when you will talk Indian to me.[18]

WORKS CITED

Churchill, Ward. "I Am Indigenist: Notes on the Ideology of the Fourth World." In *Acts of Rebellion: The Ward Churchill Reader*, 275–99. New York: Routledge, 2003.

Clarke, A. C. "Hazards of Prophecy: The Failure of Imagination." In *Profiles of the Future: An Enquiry into the Limits of the Possible*, rev. ed. New York: Harper & Row, 1973.

"The Fermi Paradox (Fermi's Paradox or Fermi-Paradox)." *Wikipedia*. http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Fermi_paradox (accessed March 2012).

"Large Hadron Collider." *Wikipedia*. http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/ Large_Hadron_Collider (accessed May 2, 2012).

Lederman, Leon, and Dick Teresi. *The God Particle: If the Universe Is the Answer, What Is the Question?* Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1993.

Little Bear, Leroy. "Native Science and Western Science: Possibilities for a Powerful Collaboration." Simon Ortiz and Labriola Center Lecture on Indigenous Land, Culture and Community. 2011. http://www.youtube.com/ watch?v=ycQtQZ9y3lc (accessed March 2012).

Maskegon-Iskwew, Ahasiw. "Drumbeats to Drumbytes: Globalizing Networked Aboriginal Art." In *Transference, Tradition, Technology: Native New Media Exploring Visual and Digital Culture*, edited by Dana Claxton and Steven Loft. Banff: Walter Phillips Gallery, 2005.

——. "Talk Indian to Me #1." *Ghostkeeper*. Grunt Magazine Archives (2005). ghostkeeper.gruntarchives.org/publication-mix-magazine-talk-indian-to-me-1.html (accessed May 4, 2012).

Pechawis, Archer. Conversation with Candice Hopkins, March 2012.

——. "Artist Statement." From *Memory*, performance art piece, 2007.

——. "Talking to My Horse, Whistling the Garry Owen," Text accompanying performance piece "Horse," 2001. http://apxo.net/writing/talking-to-my-horse.html (accessed May 4, 2012).

Tsibeotl, a.k.a. Harriet Nahannee. Interview by Archer Pechawis, December 1996.

NOTES

1 Archer Pechawis, "Talking to My Horse, Whistling the Garry Owen," text accompanying performance piece "Horse," 2001. http://apxo.net/writing/talking-to-my-horse.html (accessed May 4, 2012).

2 Ward Churchill, "I Am Indigenist: Notes on the Ideology of the Fourth World," in *Acts of Rebellion: The Ward Churchill Reader* (New York: Routledge, 2003), 275–99.

3 Kohkom means "grandmother" in informal Cree.

4 The Oka Crisis was a land dispute between a group of Mohawk people and the town of Oka, Quebec, Canada, that began on July 11, 1990, and lasted until September 26, 1990. One person died as a result. The dispute was the first well-publicized violent conflict between First Nations and the Canadian government in the late twentieth century.

5   Tsibeotl, aka Harriet Nahannee, interview by Archer Pechawis, December 1996.

6   Archer Pechawis, "Artist Statement," from "Memory," performance art piece, 2007.

7   Archer Pechawis, in conversation with Candice Hopkins, March 2012.

8   Ahasiw Maskegon-Iskwew, "Drumbeats to Drumbytes: Globalizing Networked Aboriginal Art," in *Transference, Tradition, Technology: Native New Media Exploring Visual and Digital Culture*, ed. Dana Claxton and Steven Loft (Banff: Walter Phillips Gallery, 2005), 3.

9   Leroy Little Bear, "Native Science and Western Science: Possibilities for a Powerful Collaboration," paper presented at The Simon Ortiz and Labriola Center Lecture on Indigenous Land, Culture and Community, Spring 2011, http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ycQtQZ9y3lc&feature=player_embedded (accessed March 2012).

10 Little Bear, "Native Science and Western Science."

11 "Large Hadron Collider," *Wikipedia*, http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Large_Hadron_Collider (accessed May 2, 2012).

12 Leon Lederman and Dick Teresi, *The God Particle: If the Universe Is the Answer, What Is the Question?* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1993).

13 Little Bear, "Native Science and Western Science."

14 Âhasiw Maskêgon-Iskwêw, "Talk Indian to Me #1," *Ghostkeeper*, Grunt Magazine Archives (2005), http://ghostkeeper.gruntarchives.org/publication-mix-magazine-talk-indian-to-me-1.html (accessed May 4, 2012).

15 Arthur C. Clarke, "Hazards of Prophecy: The Failure of Imagination," in *Profiles of the Future: An Enquiry into the Limits of the Possible*, rev. ed. (New York: Harper & Row, 1973), 21.

16 There is some controversy on the Internet as to whom the credit for this idea should go. See http://www.playananda.com/writing/exotic-civilizations-a-possible-answer-to-fermis-paradox/; http://www.nextnature.net/2012/02/any-sufficiently-advanced-civilization-is-indistinguishable-from-nature/; and http://www.kschroeder.com/weblog/archive/2011/11/30/the-deepening-paradox.

17 The Fermi paradox (Fermi's paradox or Fermi-paradox) is the apparent contradiction between high estimates of the probability of the existence of extraterrestrial civilizations and the lack of evidence for, or contact with, such civilizations. http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Fermi_paradox (accessed March 2012).

18 Maskêgon-Iskwêw, "Talk Indian to Me #1."

Indigenism

Indigenism can refer to several different ideologies associated with indigenous peoples, is used differently by various scholars and activists, and can be used purely descriptively or carry political connotations.[1]

Contents

Definition

In the Americas as well as in Australia, the question is rather straightforward, while it is less easy to answer in the case of South Africa.[2] The question of who is indigenous may be less than straightforward, depending on the region under consideration.

As international human rights movement

Anthropologist Ronald Niezen uses the term to describe "the international movement that aspires to promote and protect the rights of the world's 'first peoples'."[1]

Variation

New Zealander scholar Jeffrey Sissons has criticized what he calls "eco-indigenism" on the part of international forums such as the Working Group on Indigenous Peoples, which he claims enforces a link between indigenous peoples and traditional economies, and also confuses the issues faced by New World indigenous, who are mostly urban dwellers and live in states dominated by people descendant from their colonizers, and by ethnic minorities in Asia and Africa who are more likely to live "close to the land" and live in states where the colonizers have long since left (though they may still face persecution from the post-colonial successor state).[3]

As pan-indigenous political or cultural solidarity

As used by ethnic studies scholar Ward Churchill (b. 1947; author of *From a Native Son*) and Mexican scholar Guillermo Bonfil Batalla (1935-1991), the term refers to the common civilization of which, they argue, all New World indigenous peoples are a part, and to their common "spirit of resistance" to settler colonialism.[1]

As official policy in Latin American nation-states

In some places in Latin America the term *Indigenismo* might often be used "to describe the ways that colonial nation-states have formulated their vision of Indigenous social inclusion."[1] In other cases, *indigenismo* might refer to the research and work related to indigenous communities. In Brazil, an indigenist is a profession undertaken by government officials or civil society organizations who work directly with indigenous communities. Indigenismo would then be a definition for work dedicated to indigenous societies. In the case of this country, Funai (National Indian Foundation), is the official indigenist organ of the state, dedicated to develop and execute the indigenist policy according to the national constitution. Even though it originated from SPI (Service of Protection of Indians), which was a military organ of colonization, dedicated to clearing up areas for white settlers, sometimes with very condemnable work approaches, others more noble, such as envisioned by Marechal Cândido Rondon, the SPI started incorporating indigenous communities as labour-force, contacting every isolated group on the way, with the goal of occupying the "barren lands" of Brazil, building roads, telegraph lines, and infrastructure in general. The legislation in that time didn't consider indigenous people to be responsible enough to decide for themselves, therefore SPI would be the official stance to make the decisions for the Indians. Among the years it evolved, becoming Funai in the sixties during the military dictatorship, until Brazil became once again a democracy in the late 1980s. Since then, Funai has worked through a more respectful and humanitarian approach, being its institutional mission to protect indigenous lands from perpetrators, provide aid in cases needed, auxiliate in accessing public policies and several any other activities that are demanded from the government by indigenous people. It is a notably under-funded institution who despite being part of the government, is constantly attacked by sectors of society such as illegal loggers, farmers, businessmen in general interested in the indigenous lands and all the politicians who represent these people. The current president of Brazil, Jair Bolsonaro, is well known for maintaining hostile and racist opinions towards indigenous and indigenist personalities and leaders, indigenous policy and notably indigenous land demarcation, and even towards the Funai itself, having said priorly that when elected, he would "put the scythe on Funai's neck".

Besides Funai, there are several institutions dedicated to indigenism in Brazil, most of them being civil society organizations such as NGOs and OSCIPs. Most of them work executing the official indigenist policy, obtaining resources from different sources (government, donations, international funding, others) to develop sustainable activities with indigenous communities, being that some of them even work in partnership with the official indigenist organ Funai, sometimes backing up for the lack of resources (especially human resources) faced by the government institution.

Variation

Several scholars, notably Alcida Rita Ramos, use the term not only to refer to official policy, but to all social and political interactions between the state or mainstream society and indigenous peoples, whether initiated by the indigenous or by other parties. She, as an indigenist herself, advocates for a compromised and positive work, in which the interventions of the indigenist worker is qualified for positive results in obtaining social justice for societies under the violence of colonial states.[1]

As approach to scholarship

Eva Marie Garroutte uses "Radical Indigenism" to mean an attitude towards scholarship on indigenous peoples that does not treat their culture as a curiosity, or of interest solely in order to study the individuals who practise the culture; instead she argues that indigenous people possess entire philosophies of knowledge capable of generating new knowledge through different models of inquiry from those used in Western philosophy. She presents it as a logical next step to post-colonial theories which seek to question Western "ways of knowing" but have not yet proposed alternatives.[4]

As ethnic nationalism

Indigenism, native nationalism, or indigenous nationalism is a kind of ethnic nationalism emphasizing the group's indigeneity to their homeland. This may be embraced by post-colonial anarchism as well as in national mysticism building on historical or pseudohistorical claims of ethnic continuity.

While New World movements usually go by the name *indigenism* (notably in South America and in Mexico, "indigenismo" is a political force), the term autochthonism is encountered for Eastern European and Central Asian nationalisms.[5]

"Autochthonism" is an issue especially in those parts of Europe formerly under Ottoman control, i.e. the Balkans and Romania (see rise of nationalism under the Ottoman Empire). Originating in the 19th century, autochthonist nationalism affected the area throughout the 20th century. Writing in 1937, Nichifor Crainic celebrated *Gândirea'*s role in making nationalism and Orthodoxy priorities in Romania's intellectual and political life:

> The term 'ethnic' with its meaning of 'ethnic specificity' imprinted in all sorts of expressions of the people, as a mark of its original properties, has been spread for 16 years by the journal *Gândirea*. The same thing applies to the terms of autochthonism, traditionalism, Orthodoxy, spirituality and many more which became the shared values of our current nationalist language.
>
> — [6]

Variations

Indigenism involves the emphasis of certain aspects of history, for example the identification of one of multiple sources of ancestry for a "people". Examples are W. E. B. Du Bois's black nationalism, or nativist arguments in the United States that mestizo people are more indigenous to the United States land than European Americans.

The portrayal of the Christian wars against Al-Andalus as a *Reconquista*, or "reconquest" is an indigenist nationalist trope that evokes Iberia's pre-Muslim past. The Hutu Power ideology posited that the Hutu were the first, and therefore the legitimate, inhabitants of Rwanda, justifying the extermination of the Tutsi. The Arab–Israeli conflict involves competing claims to indigenity, with modern disputants to territory claiming a direct line of descent to its ancient inhabitant peoples such as the Philistines and the Canaanites.[7]

- Indigenist anarchism
  - Pan-Slavism: Mikhail Bakunin
  - Post-colonial anarchism: Anarchist People of Color, Black anarchism, Afrocentrism

- Anarchism in Africa: *Négritude*
- Indigenous American: Dylan Miner (Métis), Mujeres Creando (Bolivia), Milagro Sala (Argentina)
- *Tino rangatiratanga* in New Zealand
- "Continuity theories":
  - Assyrianism[8]
  - Croatian Illyrian movement
  - Dacianism, a national mysticism linking modern Romania to the ancient Dacians
  - English nationalist support for the theory that English is indigenous to Britain
  - Finnic settlement continuity theory: see Baltic Finns
  - Gaul-French continuity theory (France)
  - Germanic-German continuity theory (Rudolf Much, Otto Höfler)
  - Illyrian-Albanian continuity theory: see origin of the Albanians and Albanian nationalism
  - India:
    - Indigenous Aryans, a hypothesis that puts the deep historical origins of the Aryan people on the Indian subcontinent (Hindu nationalism)
  - continuity theories in Kurdish nationalism
  - Irish nationalism since 1900 has emphasised the Gaelic origin of most Irish people
  - Lusitanianism (Portuguese nationalism)
  - Macedonism (Macedonian Slavs)
  - Paleolithic Continuity Theory and Uralic Continuity Theory (Mario Alinei)
  - Sarmatian-Polish continuity theory: see Sarmatism
  - Slovenian Venetic theory
  - continuity theories in Syrian nationalism
  - Turkish Anatolianism

See also

- Colonial mentality
- Richard J. F. Day
- Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples
- Historiography and nationalism
- Identity politics
- Indianism (arts), Brazil
- Indigenization
- Irredentism
- Localism (politics)
- Multiethnic Indigenist Party of Nicaragua
- Nativism

References

1. de Costa, Ravi (2005). "Indigenism" (https://web.archive.org/web/20120415161513/http://www.globalautonomy.ca/global1/glossary_entry.jsp?id=CO.0027). *Globalization and Autonomy*

Online Compendium. Vancouver: UBC Press. Archived from the original (http://globalautono my.ca/global1/glossary_entry.jsp?id=CO.0027) on 2012-04-15. Retrieved 2014-02-03.

2. Lee (2006), p. 459: "As Murumbi (1994) has pointed out, the black peoples of Africa, whether hunter-gatherers, herders, farmers, or city dwellers, can all claim great antiquity on the continent. Thus any distinctions between indigenous and non-indigenous must necessarily be invidious ones. A case in point: the Government of Botswana, home of over half of all the San peoples of Africa, refused to participate in the 1993–2003 UN Decade of the Indigenous People, on the grounds that in their country everyone was indigenous (Mogwe, 1992). "

3. *First Peoples: Indigenous Cultures and Their Futures* (2005), pp 23-28

4. http://www.bc.edu/content/dam/files/schools/cas_sites/sociology/pdf/Brill-article.pdf.

5. Leon Volovici, Nationalist Ideology and Antisemitism: The Case of Romanian Intellectuals in the 1930s, Vidal Sassoon International Center for the Study of Antisemitism Pergamon Press, 1991, ISBN 978-0-08-041024-1, p. 80; Lucian Boia, History and Myth in Romanian Consciousness, Central European University Press, 2001, ISBN 978-963-9116-97-9, p. 240.; Karl Kaser, Elisabeth Katschnig-Fasch, Gender and Nation in South Eastern Europe: Anthropological Yearbook of European Cultures, Vol. 14, LIT Verlag Berlin-Hamburg-Münster, 2006, ISBN 978-3-8258-8802-2, p. 89.

6. Crainic, in Caraiani, note 23

7. Zerubavel, Eviatar (2004). *Time Maps: Collective Memory and the Social Shape of the Past*. University of Chicago Press. pp. 103–106.

8. Adam H. Becker, The Ancient Near East in the Late Antique Near East: Syriac Christian Appropriation of the Biblical East in Gregg Gardner, Kevin Lee Osterloh (eds.) Antiquity in antiquity: Jewish and Christian pasts in the Greco-Roman world, p. 396 (https://books.googl e.com/books?id=oD2vKMCu_JgC&pg=PA396), 2008, Mohr Siebeck, ISBN 978-3-16-149411-6

- Churchill, Ward (1996). *From a Native Son*. Boston: South End Press. ISBN 0-89608-553-8.
- Ronald Niezen, *The Origins of Indigenism - Human Rights and the Politics of Identity*, University of California Press (2003), ISBN 978-0-520-23554-0.
- Richard Borshay Lee, "Twenty-first century indigenism", *Anthropological Theory*, Vol. 6, No. 4, 455-479 (2006)

External links

- https://web.archive.org/web/20080515113302/http://indigenist.blogspot.com/ (South American "indigenism")
- Indigenism (https://web.archive.org/web/20070302173253/http://infoshop.org/wiki/index.php/ Indigenism) at the Infoshop OpenWiki