

# Beyond Rainforests: Urbanisation and Emigration among Lowland Indigenous Societies in Latin America

KENDRA McSWEENEY

*Department of Geography, Ohio State University,  
Columbus, USA*

BRAD JOKISCH

*Department of Geography, Ohio University, Athens, USA*

---

Indigenous societies across lowland Latin America have recently made impressive political and territorial gains by emphasising their stewardship of and attachment to particular rural landscapes. But surprising new censal and microdemographic evidence shows that these groups have simultaneously been developing a presence in domestic and foreign metropolises. Cities offer employment and advanced education opportunities as well as escape from rural conflicts. We suggest that the dynamics and outcomes of these migrations are distinct from those of other rural Latin Americans. By outlining specific areas in which migration, politics, and territory appear to be interlinked, we seek to stimulate research that engages with these processes and their implications for indigenous advocacy and migration theory.

Keywords: indigenous, urbanisation, transnational migration, conservation, territory.

‘Though thousands of indigenous people no longer live in the countryside but in towns and cities, they are a significant part of the story [of the struggle for territory]. Some urban groups are now spearheading calls for indigenous land rights; they may be better placed than rural people to take on governments, corporations, and lawyers...’ (Hughes, 2001: 56–57)

## Introduction

In their ongoing struggle for territorial rights, indigenous peoples across tropical lowland Latin America have strategically depicted their societies and identities as

fundamentally place-based. That is, their ancestral connections to particular landscapes, their ecological knowledge, and their historical status as imperiled survivors of twentieth-century genocides render them the rightful and most able managers of large areas of rainforest, savannah, and coastline. The narrative that links a place-based identity to territorial rights has been foundational to the indigenist political movement since at least the 1980s, and it was constructed in part with, and is reproduced by, international human rights advocates and by the conservation community (Conklin and Graham, 1995; Sawyer, 1997; England, 1998; Conklin, 2004). The narrative is also reified by efforts that prioritise territorial ratification as a critical step towards securing broader rights for indigenous peoples, including self-determination, citizenship, and effective access to basic social services (Chapin and Threlkeld, 2001; Herlihy and Knapp, 2003).

But even as a discourse of native place-boundedness persists, and as more lowland indigenous territories are demarcated and ratified, an intriguing and seemingly contradictory phenomenon has gone relatively unnoticed: a growing number of people from across the diverse lowland societies of Latin America are leaving their biodiverse territories – temporarily, cyclically, or permanently – for cities. Some are joining migrant networks that take them as far as New York and Madrid. The process is not necessarily new, and has been noted anecdotally among different societies since at least the 1980s. But the latest ‘2000 Round’ of national censuses and new corroborative qualitative sources suggest that among so-called ‘forest peoples’, urbanisation is increasingly widespread, and international migration is growing – to a degree that has surprised indigenous leaders and demographers alike.<sup>1</sup>

Of course, indigenous peoples have long been part of Latin America’s spectacular late twentieth-century urbanisation. But until recently, virtually all were members of large, highland-dwelling populations with many centuries of intense interaction with dominant Iberian cultures and economies – such as Aymara, Quechua, and highland Maya. Many of those moving city-ward had lived as land-constrained peasants for generations. In contrast, it is only recently that people from much smaller, more dispersed indigenous groups associated with more land-abundant rural lowlands – be they Guaymí, Tukano, Shuar, or Maká – have begun to live in large cities at home or abroad. Some come from communities that have been in sustained contact with national society for less than a generation, and have only recently recovered from demographic collapse. Further, most hail from societies that are currently involved in political movements designed, in part, to establish autonomous control over territories that have been only recently invaded by outsiders (Ramos, 2002). As we argue, the incipient urbanisation of these peoples deserves special attention because: (a) a number of indigenous leaders have identified the issue as a source of both concern and opportunity; (b) the processes and paths by which individuals from lowland populations are entering migrant streams seem different in several respects from those of other rural Latin Americans; (c) the distinct historical, political, and ecological contexts from which lowland indigenous

---

1 Based on our conversations with demographer Luis Rosero-Bixby in Costa Rica, August 2005, and on discussions with Shuar leaders in Ecuador, 2005. Their surprise is echoed in policy arenas by demographers (Anon., 2002).

migrants emerge has underexamined implications for – *inter alia* – their ongoing territorial struggles, resource management challenges, and livelihood options.

This review article is therefore intended to alert Latin Americanist scholars, policy makers, and the pan-hemispheric indigenist movement to the incipient urbanisation and emigration of members of a variety of lowland indigenous societies, and to the vein of critical inquiry and policy challenges that it opens up. We first review and evaluate the patchy but persuasive documentation of this trend, and show that it is expected to accelerate. We do not imply that either urbanisation or emigration are common,<sup>2</sup> nor happening equally within or across what are of course highly heterogeneous lowland societies. Rather, despite sharp differences in their political, cultural, and ecological experiences and thus in the motivations, dynamics, and outcomes of their residential mobility, we illustrate a discernible general pattern, whereby indigenous individuals from across the region are building livelihoods that are increasingly urban and in some cases transnational.<sup>3</sup>

We then outline how the processes of urbanisation and emigration are being understood by the few scholars and development practitioners who are discussing them. We suggest that these understandings could be deepened by greater attention to the ways in which lowland indigenous people's new forms of mobility can be tied to the very territorial struggles that, at first glance, appear to make the process so contradictory. By outlining specific areas in which migration, politics, and territory appear to be interlinked, we seek to stimulate a research agenda that seriously engages with these processes, as well as their implications for indigenous advocacy and migration theory.

We are particularly keen to head off the notion that urban living is necessarily a betrayal of the territorial goals that lowland indigenous peoples have set themselves, or that indigenous identity is becoming de-linked from land and territory (cf. Wilson and Peters, 2005). Rather, we seek to draw attention to evidence that processes of so-called 'de-territorialisation' (including urbanisation and international migration) can be intimately tied to those of re-territorialisation (the creation of autonomous indigenous territories (Perreault, 2003a, 2003b)), and that place-based identities can in fact be reinforced through the move from homelands to cities. Indeed, there is compelling evidence that the urban sphere now offers an important new space of livelihood and political action for many lowland indigenous peoples across Latin America.

## **Evidence of Urbanisation and Emigration among Lowland Indigenous Peoples**

### *Background*

Migration of indigenous peoples from rural peripheries to cities is not unusual. Worldwide, there are multi-generational urban populations of Maori, San, Saami, Ainu,

---

2 Nor do we imply that mobility is new or should be seen as unusual. Mobility and migration have long been integral to the livelihood patterns and political strategies of lowland peoples in Latin America (Picchi, 1998; Rubenstein, 2001).

3 We use the term transnational because it captures how many migrants live across national borders, maintaining dual households in both the origin country and the country of destination.

Navajo, Mohawk and Inuit – to name a few (Hughes, 2001). Although long-studied by social scientists, these populations have been virtually invisible in conventional demographic data (Andrade, 2005). New international efforts are slowly redressing this problem by improving censal practices towards indigenous populations, including those in cities (Banda, 2004; UNESCO, 2004).

In Latin America, indigenous peoples have been an integral part of the massive rural-urban shifts that have characterised the demographic landscape for more than a half-century.<sup>4</sup> Today, Quito, Lima, La Paz, Mexico City and Guatemala City have large populations of highland peoples (Oehmichen Bazán, 2003). Further, a growing number of indigenous peoples from Latin America (most notably Mexico and highland Ecuador) are a conspicuous part of the transnational migrant communities in cities throughout North America and Europe (Kyle, 2000; Jokisch and Pribilsky, 2002; Fox and Rivera-Salgado, 2004).

Until recently, however, indigenous populations from the Caribbean and Amazonian lowlands of Central and South America appeared to be conspicuously absent from this process. These 'lowland cultures' are geographically scattered and relatively small – rarely comprising more than two per cent of their countries' populations. They are usually considered to be bounded to the biodiverse, land-abundant spaces in which they have historically lived, or to which they withdrew after the demographically devastating effects of sustained contact.<sup>5</sup> In fact, lowland indigenous societies are typically depicted as spatially static, especially in contradistinction from the agricultural migrants encroaching upon their territories. Even as their populations and political visibility have mushroomed (Brysk, 2000; McSweeney and Arps, 2005; Yashar, 2005), lowland indigenous peoples are rarely associated with migration beyond their territorial cores. Indeed, throughout the 1980s and 1990s, political leaders among the Brazilian Kayapó, Ecuadorian Huaorani, and other groups often traded on the 'fish-out-of-water' novelty of their choreographed urban appearances to draw attention to their territorial causes (Garfield, 2001; Rabben, 2004).

At the end of the twentieth century, there was scarce evidence to refute this place-bound reputation. National censuses from the 1990s were remarkably poor at identifying indigenous persons – let alone tracing their movements or distinguishing the ethnic composition of cities (Peyser and Chackiel, 1994; UNESCO, 2004). Ethnographers, for their part, tended to 'count' only those portions of indigenous populations living within prescribed territories (e.g. Hern, 1994). The few groups that did appear to be dramatically de-territorialised – Miskito refugees fleeing the *contra*-Sandinista conflict, or the growing Garinagu communities in New York and Los Angeles (England, 1998) – seemed exceptional.

---

4 At the height of Latin American urbanisation, indigenous identity was examined in urban contexts by several researchers (Mangin, 1970; Gilbert, 2004).

5 Of course, this process also led to extinction or detribalisation. In the Amazon, for example, *ribereño* and *cobocolo* societies are understood to be largely descended from lowland cultures but no longer self-identify as 'indigenous' and are therefore not considered in this analysis.

This is no longer the case. Over the past five years or so, a body of evidence has developed that offers a better look at this phenomenon and its history. This includes the '2000-Round' of censuses, including several censuses specifically targeting indigenous populations, e.g. the *Censos Indígenas* of Venezuela and Panama. These are generally considered to be much improved from censuses conducted in the 1990s. This is largely because of greater inclusion of indigenous consultants in the design process, and because an increasing number of countries have included 'auto-identification' as a means for indigenous citizens to identify themselves, rather than relying on such problematic criteria as area of residence, language or skin colour/race (Solano, 2001; Barrios, 2005). Yet these censuses remain far from ideal. In many countries, the meaning of indigeneity remains highly contested, and for this and other reasons the design and coverage of censuses are often viewed with legitimate concern by indigenous populations (Layton and Patrinos, 2006). Given these shortcomings, it is significant that census data are being complemented by a growing number of detailed ethno-demographic studies that are providing new information on the dynamics of specific groups (e.g. Pagliaro, Azevedo and Ventura Santos, 2005). Combined with macro-level censal data, these micro-level sources suggest that indigenous people from across the lowlands have been moving to cities since at least the 1980s.

By 'urban', we do not refer to the emergence of rural centres that are primarily indigenous – so-called 'Indian towns'<sup>6</sup> – nor to the 'rainforest cities' that are associated with the consolidation of agricultural frontiers (Browder and Godfrey, 1997). Important as these are, we focus our inquiry instead on the residence of lowland indigenous individuals within large metropolitan areas – both national and international – where they form an extreme minority. We do so precisely because this phenomenon has gone relatively unnoticed and its implications have been little studied.

In the next section, we describe examples of the evidence we uncovered from an array of sources, including 'grey' literatures, health reports, ethnographies, our own research notes (from work in Honduras, Nicaragua, Ecuador, the USA, and Spain), as well as recent censuses.<sup>7</sup> We also refer to at least three indigenous federations' own attempts to quantify and understand their peoples' mobility (Azevedo, 2003; UNICEF, 2006). The survey is neither comprehensive nor systematic, and data coverage is geographically uneven; we also omitted evidence from Guatemala and Mexico, where distinctions between highland and lowland societies would be relatively meaningless even if data sources allowed such disaggregation.

## Evidence by Country

Table 1 summarises our main findings by country. For six countries (Honduras, Panama, Colombia, Venezuela, Ecuador, and Brazil), we also offer vignettes, which are intended

---

6 We are grateful to geographer Peter Herlihy for this term.

7 We rejected any census-derived data that did not allow for disaggregation by ethnicity or by home region. We also avoided inter-censal comparisons due to shifting definitions of indigenous and other factors that confound useful longitudinal analyses (Perz, Warren, Kennedy and Wood, 2005).

Table 1. Summary of Recent Evidence for Urbanisation and Emigration among Lowland Indigenous Societies in Select Latin American Countries

| Country    | National Census <sup>1</sup> | Total lowland indigenous population <sup>2</sup> | Share of national population <sup>2</sup> | Ethnic groups with evidence found of urbanisation/emigration | Principal urban destinations  | Reported catalysts for migration   | Additional sources   |
|------------|------------------------------|--|---|--|---|--|--|
| Honduras   | 2001                         | 104,366  | <2%                                       | Tawahka, Garinagu (sing. Garifuna)                           | Tawahka: Tegucigalpa; Garinagu: USA (New York City, Los Angeles, New Orleans) | Tawahka: NGO posts, education, employment; Garinagu: Land scarcity, employment   | Field obs. by KM; McSweeney (2005); England (1998)         |
| Nicaragua  | 1995                         | n.a.   | <2%                                       | Miskitu, Mayangna  | USA (Washington, DC, Texas, Louisiana)  | Contra-Sandinista fighting in 1980s-90s; NGO work and transnational, cyclical employment in Gulf Coast oil fields (1990s on) | Brysk (2000); Layton and Patrinos (2006); field obs. by KM |
| Costa Rica | 2000                         | 63,876   | 2%  | Huetar, Bribri, Cabécar, Guaymí                              | San José  | Poverty in homeland; employment in service industry, manufacturing   | Solano (2001)  |
| Panama     | 2000                         | 285,231  | -10%                                      | Kuna, Ngöbe, Emberá, Wounaan                                 | Panama City, peri-urban areas in Colón province                               | Employment, education; livelihoods constrained at home   | Government of Panama (2005); Chackiel (2005)               |
| Colombia   | 1993                         | n.a.   | <2%                                       | Wayuu  | Maracaibo (Venezuela)   | To flee paramilitary violence; urban education   | Chomsky (2005), Bodnar (2005)                              |

|           |      |                                    |       |   |   |  |  |
|-----------|------|------------------------------------|-------|---|---|--|--|
| Venezuela | 2001 | -500,000                           | 2.2%  | Wayuu, Añu  | Caracas, Barquisimeto, Maracaibo, San Francisco                           | Employment (esp. in petroleum industry), education, to avoid conflict in home territory          | Urrea Giraldo (1994); Regnault (2005)  |
| Ecuador   | 2001 | 162,912 (Amazonian provinces only) | 1.3%  | Shuar, Achuar   | Quito, Guayaquil, Cuenca, USA (metro New York, Los Angeles), Spain, Italy | Employment, education, political opportunities, land disputes (internal and external)            | Rubenstein (2001, 2004); field obs. by BJ, UNICEF (2006)   |
| Bolivia   | 2001 | n.a.                               | n.a.  | Mojeño, Chiquitano, Guaraní                             | La Paz, Santa Cruz  | n.a.   | National census: www.ine.gov.bo  |
| Brazil    | 2000 | -350,000                           | -0.5% | Bakairi, Tukano, Sateré Mawé, Baré, Baniwa, Ticuna      | São Paulo, Rio de Janeiro, Manaus   | Employment; education; small business (herbal, shamanic services); land disputes, rural violence | Picchi (2000); Azevedo (1994); Perz, Warren, Kennedy and Wood (2005); Mainbourg, Araujo and Cavalcante de Almeida (2002) |
| Paraguay  | 2002 | n.a.                               | 2%    | Maká, Maskoy, Guaraní Occidental, Enlhet Norte, Nivaclé | n.a.  | Urban educational opportunities  | Duarte, Filippi and Sosa de Servín (2003); Layton and Patrinos (2006)  |

<sup>1</sup>Most recent census data available as of late 2005. All national census datasets were accessed either directly (see web address in table), or through the REDATAM website of CELADE's División de Población (WWWW document), URL <http://www.eclac.org/redatam/>.

<sup>2</sup>Estimated number/share of indigenous persons self-identifying with groups historically associated with tropical lowlands; data may come from census or other sources. Note that most census data remain highly approximate given contested definitions of 'indigenous' and problems with enumeration and coverage.

to give a sense of the variety and quality of existing qualitative and quantitative data. Examples were chosen from countries where we have conducted fieldwork, and from countries that span the region and represent very different historical, social and political contexts for indigenous peoples' migration.

A comparison of two indigenous groups in Honduras, the Tawahka and Garinagu (singular: Garifuna), provides an instructive contrast regarding the multiple paths to urbanisation and international migration in Central America. The Tawahka are among Honduras' smallest ethnic groups, numbering approximately 1300 in 2002. In response to settler invasions of their ancestral homeland, Tawahka formed a Federation in 1986. Since then, a handful of the earliest leadership have lived semi-permanently in Tegucigalpa, where, in addition to holding administrative jobs and pursuing education, they have been well positioned to access state and NGO resources on behalf of their home communities (field observation). Later, a bilingual education initiative for students in Tegucigalpa initiated what has developed into cyclical residence of Tawahka students there. Several of these students and their family members have stayed on in cities to take advantage of employment opportunities (e.g. bagging groceries, domestic work); this pattern intensified once reserve-based income-earning opportunities declined following Hurricane Mitch.

Garinagu, who number in excess of 50,000, have a much older migration history, and their transnationalism is well established. As England (1998) shows, Garifuna migration developed in the 1930s when communities on Honduras' north coast faced land expropriation by *mestizo* squatters. In the 1940s, Garifuna men joined the Merchant Marines; since the 1960s, individuals have settled in New York City and later, Los Angeles. By the end of the twentieth century, half of all Garinagu were estimated to reside in the USA (England, 1998). Although Garifuna transnational identities are trifurcated by their language, culture and history (at times Hispanic, African-American and indigenous), they most commonly invoke their autochthony in ongoing struggles to regain territory and resolve land disputes with *mestizo* Hondurans. US-based Garinagu have frequently assumed leadership positions in such fights (England, 1998).

Panama, in contrast, grants virtual territorial autonomy to its indigenous peoples through the *comarca* system. According to the 2000 census, a surprising 47 per cent of the country's estimated 285,231 indigenous peoples lived outside of *comarcas*. Some 8152 were registered in Panama City; an estimated 45,000 (mainly Kuna) live in urban or peri-urban areas of Panama and Colón provinces; indigenous urbanisation is described as considerable and growing (Government of Panama, 2005). Indigenous city dwellers were found to be in better health and to have greater access to jobs and education than their rural coethnics (Chackiel, 2005; Government of Panama, 2005).

As the most numerous of Panama's indigenous urban migrants, Kuna mobility towards Panama's urban poles has been traced to their experience with menial work on US naval bases (Government of Panama, 2005). Their rapid urbanisation, however, does not appear to be eroding collective identity nor their responsibilities to their home *comarcas*:

A phenomenon of the last decade is the formation of Kuna *barrios* where they try to reproduce, within the urban environment, their own forms of



organisation...They also pay quotas to their [home] communities...even though they may no longer live there (Government of Panama, 2005: 7, trans.)

Neighbouring Colombia represents a situation in which up-to-date, reliable censal information has been scarce. Until a *Censo Indígena*, scheduled for 2006, is complete, the most recent available national data on ethnic populations dates from 1993 (Bodnar, 2005). This census considerably underestimated indigenous numbers, in part because of high levels of distrust among different ethnic groups towards this perceived tool of state domination (Andrade, 2005). Analysts predicted that the indigenous settlement patterns it (dubiously) documented would soon change, due to the land invasions and armed conflicts to which indigenous populations have been subjected (Bodnar, 2005). This prediction is, unfortunately, being borne out. For example, following the massacre of twelve Wayuu by paramilitaries in 2004, 300 Wayuu fled to the safety of Maracaibo in neighbouring Venezuela (Chomsky, 2005).

Censal data on the indigenous populations of Venezuela, in contrast, is considered relatively reliable. The 1992 *Censo Indígena* found that a total of 129,601 indigenous individuals – 42 per cent of the country's indigenous population – qualified as urban residents (OCEI, 1993); a contemporaneous ethnographic study confirmed that approximately 40,000 Wayuu (21 per cent of all Venezuelan Wayuu) were living semi-permanently in *barrios wayuu* in Maracaibo (Urrea Giraldo, 1994). That study found that urban Wayuu 'do not lose contact with kin in their ancestral territory; in fact, they send resources [there], contributing in an explicit way to the maintenance of traditional activities such as ranching' (Urrea Giraldo, 1994: 382, trans.). The 2001 national census and the *Censo Indígena* show that indigenous urbanisation has since increased. Of the country's now roughly half-million indigenous residents, 25 per cent live in large cities. Maracaibo and San Francisco, both in the very poor state of Zulia, hold 90 per cent of the country's urban indigenous; most are Wayuu (Regnault, 2005).

Data from Ecuador provide unusual insight into the links between territorial struggle and migration processes. Indigenous groups in Ecuador's Amazonian provinces (including Huaorani, Siona, Secoya, Quichua, Shuar, and Achuar) emerged into the international spotlight in the early 1990s, during their well-publicised political struggles for territorial autonomy in the face of colonist incursions and threats from oil companies (Sawyer, 1997; Perreault, 2003a; Yashar, 2005). Then, as now, most members of these Amazonian groups live in the countryside or in small rural towns. But data from the 2001 census point to incipient urbanisation and international migration. For example, of the 48,989 people who identified themselves as Shuar speakers on the census, nearly 700 live in urban parishes outside Amazonia, with the majority residing in Ecuador's largest cities: Guayaquil, Quito, and Cuenca (these three cities are also home to over 1000 Amazonia-born Quichua speakers). Most Shuar go to cities to find employment or pursue education (Rubenstein, 2001). Some Shuar leaders have recently expressed interest in keeping better track of this 'extra-territorial' population. Although they recognise the opportunities that cities present, they are concerned about cultural erosion, and, in the case of young women, vulnerability to prostitution.

Shuar and other Amazonian indigenous peoples have also migrated to the USA, Spain, and Italy (Rubenstein, 2004; UNICEF, 2006). Censal and survey data have barely captured this mobility. But recent fieldwork in Ecuador, New York, and Connecticut indicates that there are at least 250 Shuar living overseas, and possibly as many as 400 (see also Rubenstein, 2004). The number is relatively small (the total Shuar population is estimated in excess of 60,000), but those involved describe a growing overseas population. Most migrants work in construction or in the food service industry while maintaining dual households and strong connections to their communities in Ecuador. For example, several Shuar currently residing in metro New York mentioned that they are actively seeking ways to develop political relationships with North American indigenous groups, and are seeking 'allies' (universities, NGOs, humanitarian groups, and others) who might assist them with projects and initiatives to help their families and co-ethnics in Ecuador.

During the 1980s, as the general rate of urbanisation in Brazil slowed, anthropologists and demographers were noting that the pace at which indigenous people moved to cities was increasing, and characterised by the development of specific ethnic neighbourhoods (Azevedo, 1994). By the 1991 census, eight per cent of the country's almost 300,000 self-declared indigenous people lived in major cities, including five per cent in São Paulo, and about three per cent in Rio de Janeiro (Kennedy and Perz, 2000). By the 2000 census, both urban and rural indigenous populations had skyrocketed, but it is estimated that a remarkable 75 per cent of that increase was due to 'ethnic drift', whereby more people than before were willing to declare indigenous heritage and identity, thus complicating intercensal comparisons (Warren, 2001; Perz, Warren, Kennedy and Wood, 2005).

Ethnographic sources and small-scale surveys offer a less problematic window onto actual migration processes. For example, anthropologists have noted since the 1970s that members of the Sateré Mawé had been living semi-permanently in the city of Manaus in order to sell handicrafts. By 1991, 952 indigenous peoples of various ethnicities, particularly from the upper Rio Negro region, were estimated to live in Manaus (Mainbourg, Araújo and Cavalcante de Almeida, 2002). Migration-led growth of the city's indigenous population has since been rapid. A 2001 survey of 1300 indigenous households in the city found that 25 per cent had been established in the previous five years (Mainbourg, Araújo and Cavalcante de Almeida, 2002; see also Azevedo, 2003).

## **Emergent Patterns and Common Explanations**

The evidence presented in the previous section is incomplete and largely incomparable. After all, the sources in Table 1 share no common definition of 'urban', or, more critically, 'indigenous'. Further, synthetic analysis faces the inevitable difficulties of cross-cultural comparison and is hindered by the serious limitations – in design, coverage, and data aggregation – of most censal sources. Further, the evidence covers a remarkably diverse group of societies. In light of this heterogeneity, and because of the often exceptional political, social, and historical circumstances of specific groups, we were therefore surprised at the degree to which consistent patterns emerged; we note some of these commonalities below.

- For many lowland groups, city-ward and international moves were initiated in the 1980s, picked up pace in the 1990s, and are generally expected to accelerate;
- In many cases, rural-urban residential shifts did not follow the stereotypically gradual 'step-wise' process. Rather, we found repeated evidence of individuals moving directly from remote villages to the *barrios* of megacities, bypassing a residential phase in intermediate regional centres;
- Urbanisation appears particularly marked among large lowland groups – i.e. those numbering in the tens of thousands (e.g. Shuar, Wayuu, Kuna);
- Lowland indigenous urban migrants are forming ethnic neighbourhoods, often on the metropolitan fringe – be it in Manaus, Panama City, or Maracaibo. Many studies stress that – in common with urban indigenous peoples worldwide (UNICEF, 2003) – ethnic social and political organisation is retained in these urban enclaves (e.g. Duarte, Filippi and Sosa de Servín, 2003). Further, close ties to home regions are maintained through frequent visits and through financial and in-kind remittances (Urrea Giraldo, 1994);
- Several studies report that urban indigenous populations appear to be doing better than their rural counterparts with respect to educational attainment and income stability (Solano, 2001; Mainbourg, Araújo and Cavalcante de Almeida, 2002; Regnault, 2005), although the health impacts of city living remain unclear;
- Although emigration to North American and European cities by lowland indigenous persons still appears exceptional, these cosmopolitan pioneers are often members of intellectual and political elites.

In addition to these common patterns, there also appears to be a fairly consistent set of reported proximate causes that are driving city-ward and international migrations. Discussed by several authors in the context of particular societies or countries (e.g. Picchi, 2000; Gutiérrez Sánchez and Valencia Rojas, 2003; Government of Panama, 2005), these explanations seem more widely generalisable. Interestingly, many of the causes mentioned are similar to those that have historically catalysed indigenous societies' intra-territorial shifts in residence (Picchi, 1998). Four key factors stand out; as with most migration patterns, they are likely to be closely interrelated.

### *Education*

Just as mission schools were for many semi-nomadic peoples key poles of first permanent settlement (Lu, 1999; Rubenstein, 2001), for many indigenous societies today opportunities for higher education exist exclusively beyond their territories in urban centres. Such training confers not only trade and professional skills, but also an education in the dominant Iberian language and culture. In many societies, it is not uncommon for the first graduates of urban schools to become spokespeople and cultural brokers for their home communities. Among the Bakairí of Mato Grosso, for example:

A sense of Bakairí ethnicity is emerging most vigorously among the Bakairí who have spent long periods of time outside the reservation in schools or

working. They are fluent Portuguese speakers, educated in a formal European sense, knowledgeable about Western culture, well-travelled...and committed to furthering the cause of the Bakairí (Picchi, 2000: 180).

### *Employment and Cash Income Generation*

Opportunities to earn cash are limited in many indigenous territories, despite the increasing need for hard currency to cover daily needs. For unskilled and relatively uneducated indigenous urban migrants, the opportunities for women are typically restricted to domestic employment and to some degree factory work; for men, factory work or jobs in construction (Solano, 2001; Mainbourg, Araújo and Cavalcante de Almeida, 2002). Self-employment also appears to be common, with many urban indigenous peoples earning money from seasonal or semi-permanent participation in niche markets for handicrafts, herbal remedies, and shamanic services (Urrea Giraldo, 1994). Migrants with more formal education may take up semi-professional jobs with indigenous-advocacy NGOs, government ministries, or work within the health sector (Brysk, 2000; Picchi, 2000).

### *Reduced Land/Resource Availability and Access*

As indigenous territories are increasingly hemmed in by expanding agricultural or resource-extraction frontiers, subsistence options for residents are sharply constrained. Combined with the impressive internal growth of most lowland indigenous populations (McSweeney and Arps, 2005; Pagliaro, Azevedo and Ventura Santos, 2005), this has contributed in many areas to subsistence stress, such that many people head to cities to supplement their families' income (see above).

Another result of territorial circumscription is an increase in intra- and inter-community conflicts over land (Gutiérrez Sánchez and Valencia Rojas, 2003). Some individuals or families may therefore head for the city after failing to resolve land disputes at home (field observation), or temporarily to ease tensions in their home communities (Urrea Giraldo, 1994).

### *Forced Displacement*

The history of indigenous societies in Latin America, as globally, is one of painful genocide and, sometimes, forced displacement by colonising forces. In the contemporary context, indigenous societies have been forcibly removed – or forced to relocate – from their homelands by government-sponsored development projects, by civil war, by international conflicts, and by frontier violence associated with resource extraction (Hvalkof, 2000; Hemming, 2004; Chomsky, 2005). Some, like their displaced highland counterparts, flee to the relatively secure anonymity of large cities. In some cases, these exiled populations become centres of political resistance to the forces that led to their displacement.

## Are Lowland Indigenous Migrations Distinct in the Latin American Context?

These proximate explanations for urbanisation and international migration raise the question: are there any surprises here? Latin America's population is, after all, about 75 per cent urban, and it is a well-established sending region for international migrants (Brea, 2003). Thus, can the processes described above with regard to lowland indigenous peoples – in their dynamics, drivers, and effects – be considered substantially different from those that characterised the massive rural-urban migrations that transformed Latin America between the 1940s to the 1980s, or the international migration that has emerged in the decades since? In effect, are lowland indigenous peoples merely latecomers to a general pan-hemispheric process? Or, might there be something distinct and surprising in their recent mobility? These are challenging questions, and it would be impossible to do them justice here. But our analysis does offer clues that might orient future investigation of these issues.

On the one hand, there are obvious similarities with the waves of rural-to-urban migration that occurred during the 1940s–1980s, when large Latin American cities grew between three and five per cent annually (Gilbert, 2004). At that time, long-standing inequalities in rural landholdings, failed or partial land reforms, rapid population growth, cheap food policies, and the urban development biases that accompanied Import Substitution Industrialisation development models created incentives for *mestizo* and indigenous *campesinos* to move to cities, where most jobs were created. In addition, political unrest and armed conflicts associated with rural neglect provided further incentives to urbanise.

The political-economic conditions influencing lowland indigenous migrants' decisions to move to cities today seem in many ways comparable. Neoliberal development models have reduced support for smallholder agriculture and have increased competition from imports. Despite impressive gains in the demarcation and ratification of indigenous lands, internal population growth and decades of land invasion – often the ultimate results of internationally-backed adjustment programmes – are undermining subsistence security (Brysk, 2000). As resource-based conflicts play out increasingly on the forest frontier, lowland indigenous peoples, like highland *campesinos* in strife-torn areas before them, seek safety in urban numbers.

On the other hand, several aspects of lowland indigenous migrations strike us as distinct, particularly with regard to international migration. It is significant, for example, that lowland indigenous populations are beginning their migration experiences in a different historical context from their predecessors – a context in which the scale of what is possible for a migrant has become considerably larger. For example, indigenous migrants today benefit from established networks and migrant merchants (Kyle, 2000) that make international migration to the global North more available than ever before, regardless of one's experience of domestic migration (Basch, Shiller and Blanc, 1994; Guarnizo, 2003). This means, for example, that Shuar raised in the remote Trans-Kutukú region of Ecuador's Amazonia may migrate to Madrid without ever having spent time in Quito. This is significant, because while international migration

expands the scale at which livelihoods are constructed, it also has a much greater ability than domestic migration radically to change cultural ambitions, economic standing, and the basic composition of livelihoods (Colloredo-Mansfeld, 1999; Fletcher, 1999; Jokisch, 2002). In effect, lowland indigenous societies are experiencing – within one generation – all the adjustments and in some cases ‘shocks’ of domestic and international mobility at once.

Another notable difference is that the rise of urbanisation and international emigration by lowland indigenous peoples has been concurrent with their increasingly successful political and territorial struggles. In contrast, among highland indigenous groups and non-indigenous rural communities elsewhere in Latin America, it was, in part, the failure of land reforms and political inclusion that encouraged urbanisation. Among lowland societies, however, it appears that out-migration is occurring even as ratification of relatively land-abundant territories proceeds; furthermore, this simultaneous ‘de-territorialisation’ and ‘re-territorialisation’ appear in some ways synergistic.

For example, urban education and other city-based experiences have clearly been integral to the development of indigenous leaders, including politicians, health care workers and teachers. In turn, international allies in the indigenous movement – particularly human rights groups and conservationists – have in many cases enabled (perhaps unintentionally) the international mobility of indigenous leaders by organising speaking tours and participation in international meetings (Rogers, 1996). (These visits are facilitated in many countries by the issue of special multi-year diplomatic visas to indigenous leaders.) There are now numerous examples of how international lobbying by indigenous leaders has been critical to their political and territorial gains back home (Brysk, 2000).

Another apparently distinctive element of lowland indigenous migration, in our view, is that the difficulty of financing clandestine emigration appears to be creating a unique migrant selectivity. In most emigrant-sending regions of Latin America (including highland indigenous communities), migrants have been able to cover the high cost of clandestine migration by mortgaging or selling family landholdings. (In 2006, it cost approximately US\$12,500 to finance clandestine migration from Ecuador to the USA.) In lowland indigenous communities, members’ ability to sell or mortgage land or property to co-ethnics is limited by undeveloped land markets and by communal/usufruct landholding norms that often restrict or prohibit the sale of land to outsiders. This makes it particularly difficult to raise money for migration. Pioneer migrants in these societies must therefore use alternative strategies. They may mortgage homes purchased in *mestizo* towns or draw on family and business connections with *mestizos* to secure a loan. Some lowland leaders have been sponsored by international networks of human rights, conservation, or other groups.<sup>8</sup> Not surprisingly, those most able to avail themselves of these options are from a growing indigenous elite.

---

8 During fieldwork, we heard an indigenous federation described as ‘the biggest coyote’ (smuggler of people) for its members.

Based on our discussions with former indigenous leaders now living abroad, however, they are reluctant to describe their emigration as a product of their status or as an act of individual economic gain. Instead, they articulate a discourse of communal good, in which their temporary emigration is intended to help their co-ethnics by identifying international 'allies' that will help with development projects at home, thereby minimising the need for future migration of their people. But those at home may see it differently. Some argue that the transnationalism of erstwhile political leaders gives them tremendous economic advantages, exacerbating their 'elite' status and adding to emerging class differentiation (field observation; see also Hughes, 2001).

## **Future Research**

Clearly, the emergent pattern of urbanisation and international migration among lowland Central and South America's indigenous societies has critical implications for indigenous politics, resource management, identity, health, and so on. Below, we briefly outline a few interrelated and interdisciplinary questions that we suggest deserve closer scrutiny by scholars and development practitioners in collaboration with – and in response to the concerns of – indigenous societies themselves.

### *How Widespread are Urbanisation and Emigration among Lowland Groups?*

Given the uneven quality of censal sources, it is imperative that indigenous groups and researchers work together to derive complementary qualitative and small-sample estimates of who is moving city-ward, domestically or internationally. Indeed, several indigenous organisations are already conducting their own demographic surveys with support from researchers and NGOs (Pagliaro, Azevedo and Ventura Santos, 2005).

With such data in hand, several basic questions might be better answered. For example, it remains unclear why certain groups are urbanising or emigrating more than others and what processes – at multiple scales – are operating to create a pattern of migrant selection. What is the gender, age, or economic bias to the migration, and how might this change over time? Access to this information is critical if indigenous organisations are to effectively anticipate and plan for their futures, particularly with regard to how and where to invest in health care, education, and other social service provisioning.

Data also need to be interpreted in light of existing migration and development theory to understand why lowland indigenous peoples' mobility is increasing, and why now. Of particular concern is to explore the degree to which urbanisation and emigration are becoming a critical part of livelihood strategies in an age of neoliberalism, and in what ways (Bebbington, 2004). How do emigration and transnationalism represent an opportunity to promote group goals for autonomous development? Conversely, under what conditions might mobility simply be a part of 'getting by' – symptomatic of economic desperation, internal turmoil, and cultural fragmentation? Of equal importance is understanding how various members of the household (differentiated by gender or age) participate in and relate to these livelihood strategies (see, e.g. Lawson, 1998).



### *How is Migration Influencing Land and Resource Use at 'Home'?*

Research elsewhere in Latin America has shown that migration processes are associated with significant changes in the land-use/land-cover of sending regions, often with important implications for biodiversity conservation (Jokisch, 2002; Bates and Rudel, 2004). For example, rural out-migration may relieve pressure on resources such as biodiverse forests, with positive conservation outcomes (Aide and Grau, 2004). But when remittances are used to expand the agricultural frontier and/or to convert forest to pasture, conservation can be undermined (Jokisch and Lair, 2002).

To what degree might these processes be emerging in lowland indigenous landscapes, where the biodiversity 'stakes' are particularly high? Some suggest that as more indigenous peoples move out of forested landscapes, pressure on resources will decline. Others point out that urban migrants – domestic and international – create important markets for traditional remedies and other resources from 'home'. Not surprisingly, indigenous organisations have expressed concern to better understand the links between their constituents' mobility and homeland resource management (field observation).

### *What are the Implications of Mobility for Indigenous Politics?*

Some observers are likely to see in indigenous mobility a betrayal of the very place-bounded identity that for many defines authentic indigeneity, and with which so many political and territorial gains have been leveraged. Urban living may also be equated with cultural assimilation. In fact, migration commonly forces a renegotiation of identity with significant personal and political consequences for the migrants (Doughty, 1970; Colloredo-Mansfeld, 1999; Papastergiadis, 2000). For lowland indigenous groups, the political ramifications of this process are particularly acute. As Malkki (1992), cited by England (1998: 41), writes:

...the identity between people and place has been naturalised in nationalist discourses, making uprootedness and displacement from one's homeland seem pathological. This is especially true for indigenous peoples and tribes, who are seen as connected to the land so intimately that they are literally talked about as part of the flora and fauna...Outside of this space, this authenticity and often the rights that go along with it become questioned.

We have argued that in the case of Latin America's lowland indigenous societies, a much less essentialist reading of urbanisation and international mobility is possible. But our meta-analysis only scratches the surface. Further research is needed to explore more specifically how indigenous identities are shaped in urban and transnational spaces, and how they are articulated by and through social, economic, and political currents in rural homelands.

There is some urgency to such a research agenda. As out-migration from lowland indigenous landscapes increases (as it is generally predicted to do) there is the potential for outsiders – particularly the international NGOs that have been so critical to recent



indigenist movements (Ramos, 2002) – to misunderstand how ethnic identities continue to be produced and negotiated in new spaces. Such misunderstandings can have serious outcomes. A good illustration of this comes from indigenous people's ongoing experiences with the increasingly powerful international conservation community (Chapin, 2004). When indigenous-conservationist alliances go well – that is, when indigenous societies are perceived to be living up to their reputations as 'forest guardians' – the social and economic benefits for their communities can be substantial. But conservationists have proven quick to withhold such assistance – and even advocate for exclusionary policies – when they perceive cultural, economic, or political changes among indigenous societies to be 'maladaptive' and to therefore threaten biodiversity (Wilshusen, Brechin, Fortwangler and West, 2002; Holt, 2005; McSweeney, 2005). There is a strong potential, then, for conservationists to interpret urban residence and transnationalism in these terms – particularly because these processes can imply, at first glance, forest abandonment and abdication of the role of environmental caretaker. It is therefore incumbent on scholars and indigenous activists to be prepared to articulate alternative interpretations of identity, politics, and rights in the policy arenas where it matters.

### *How should the Links between Migration, Politics, and Environment be Conceptualised?*

In preceding sections we have pointed to some compelling reasons for linking urbanisation, emigration, and indigenist politics to territorial and environmental outcomes. Although several different literatures touch on each of these concerns, explicit conceptual linkages have yet to be developed. For example, theories that link environmental change to migration are not explicit in integrating the role of politicised urban migrants as critical catalysts of landscape governance back home (e.g. Curran, 2002; Carr, 2005).

Further, the vast literature that engages indigenist political mobilisations in Latin America says little about the possible ways in which those processes are intertwined with the increasing mobility of lowland societies. This literature has shown how indigenous movements are profoundly influenced by transnational discourses and by international networks of financial and ideological support (Brysk, 2000; Bebbington and Batterbury, 2001; Perreault, 2003b). But given evidence of widespread migration by lowland peoples, it now appears necessary to engage with the ways in which these migrants physically embody those networks, and with what outcomes.

## **Conclusion**

This article offers what we believe to be the most comprehensive – if partial – overview of a relatively new phenomenon that to date has received little critical attention. We draw from an array of recent censal and ethnographic sources to show that members of lowland indigenous societies across Latin America are increasingly moving to large cities and in some cases migrating internationally to cities in the global North, including Los Angeles, New York and Madrid. Even though their total numbers remain tiny,

the trend is expected to continue, if not accelerate, particularly given rapid population growth in sending territories. Further, even the small scale of current migration appears to be having measurable repercussions for the politics and economies of lowland societies.

We have reviewed the scant literature that discusses the processes contributing to this mobility, and we have pointed out some ways in which its dynamics appear to be different from the well-studied urbanisation and ongoing transnationalism of other rural Latin Americans. Most importantly, we have reviewed evidence suggesting that urbanisation and emigration are imbricated in complex ways with the same ethnopolitical struggles for territory that, ironically, have entrenched the widespread view that lowland indigenous societies are tied to their biodiverse homelands. We suggest instead that these processes are more likely to be complementary than conflictive.

Ultimately, our study draws attention to a new chapter in the ongoing demographic history of lowland peoples. From devastating population losses as recently as the late twentieth century, the majority of surviving societies have rebounded impressively. Now they appear to be on the move. The time is therefore ripe for indigenous organisations, activists, and scholars to begin to monitor this process, and to engage with its practical, theoretical, and political implications.

## Acknowledgements

The authors thank Steven Rubenstein, Margaret Pearce, Gregory Knapp, Peter Herlihy, William V. Davidson, Washington Tiwi, José Pozo, Luis Rosero-Bixby, and Rosana Posligua for their assistance and insights. Versions of this paper were presented at the Conference of Latin American Geographers (Morelia, Mexico, 2006) and the Annual Meeting of the Association of American Geographers (Chicago, 2006). Research support from the National Geographic Society (Grant #7857-05), the Latin American Studies Program at Ohio University, a Seed Grant from the Initiative for Population Research (Ohio State), and a Lawrence A. Brown Faculty Fellowship (Ohio State) are gratefully acknowledged.

## References

- Aide, T. and Grau, H. R. (2004) 'Globalisation, Migration, and Latin American Geosystems'. *Science* 305(5692): 1915–1916.
- Andrade, L. E. (2005) *Los sistemas de información sociodemográfica al servicio del 'Desarrollo con Identidad'* [WWW document]. Paper presented at Seminario Internacional, Pueblos indígenas y afrodescendientes de América Latina y el Caribe, CEPAL, Santiago de Chile. URL <http://www.cepal.cl> [accessed 30 May 2005].
- Anon. (2002) *Problems of Indigenous Peoples Living in Cities should be Addressed, Permanent Forum Told* [WWW document]. *On-line UN News Release*, United Nations, New York. URL <http://www.un.org/rights/indigenous/hr4600.doc.htm> [accessed 3 July 2005].
- Azevedo, M. M. (1994) 'Demografia dos povos indígenas do Alto Rio Negro'. *Revista Brasileira do Estudos Populacionais* 11(2): 235–244.

- Azevedo, M. M. (2003) *Demografia dos povos indígenas do Alto Rio Negro/AM: um estudo de caso de nupcialidade e reprodução*. Unpublished doctoral dissertation, Universidade Estadual de Campinas (UNICAMP), Brazil.
- Banda, J. P. (2004) *Data Collection Pertaining to Indigenous Peoples: Issues and Challenges* [WWW document]. Paper presented at the Workshop on Data Collection and Disaggregation for Indigenous Peoples, 19–21 January, Department of Economic and Social Affairs, United Nations, New York. URL <http://www.un.org> [accessed 4 August 2004].
- Barrios, O. S. (2005) *La experiencia paraguaya del censo Nacional Indígena 2002* [WWW document]. Paper presented at Seminario Internacional, Pueblos indígenas y afrodescendientes de América Latina y el Caribe, CEPAL, Santiago de Chile. URL <http://www.cepal.cl> [accessed 30 May 2005].
- Basch, L., Shiller, N. and Blanc, C. (1994) *Nations Unbound: Transnational Projects, Post-colonial Predicaments, and Deterritorialized Nation-States*. Gordon and Breach: Langhore.
- Bates, D. and Rudel, T. K. (2004) 'Climbing the Agricultural Ladder: Social Mobility and Motivations for Migration in an Ecuadorian Colonist Community'. *Rural Sociology* 69(1): 59–75.
- Bebbington, A. (2004) 'Livelihood Transitions, Place Transformations: Grounding Globalization and Modernity', in R. N. Gwynne and C. Kay (eds.) *Latin America Transformed: Globalization and Modernity*. Arnold: London, 173–192.
- Bebbington, A. J. and Batterbury, S. P. J. (2001) 'Transnational Livelihoods and Landscapes: Political Ecologies of Globalization'. *Ecumene* 8(4): 369–380.
- Bodnar, Y. (2005) *Colombia: Apuntes sobre la diversidad cultural y la información sociodemográfica disponible en los pueblos indígenas* [WWW document]. Paper presented at Seminario Internacional, Pueblos indígenas y afrodescendientes de América Latina y el Caribe, CEPAL, Santiago de Chile. URL <http://www.cepal.cl> [accessed 30 May 2005].
- Brea, J. A. (2003) 'Population Dynamics in Latin America'. *Population Bulletin of the Population Reference Bureau* 58(1): 1–38.
- Browder, J. O. and Godfrey, B. J. (1997) *Rainforest Cities: Urbanization, Development, and Globalization in the Brazilian Amazon*. Columbia University Press: New York.
- Brysk, A. (2000) *From Tribal Village to Global Village: Indian Rights and International Relations in Latin America*. Stanford University Press: Stanford.
- Carr, E. R. (2005) 'Placing the Environment in Migration: Environment, Economy, and Power in Ghana's Central Region'. *Environment and Planning A* 37: 925–946.
- Chackiel, J. (2005) *Métodos de estimaciones demográficas de pueblos indígenas a partir de censos de población: la fecundidad y la mortalidad* [WWW document]. Paper presented at Seminario Internacional, Pueblos indígenas y afrodescendientes de América Latina y el Caribe, CEPAL, Santiago de Chile. URL <http://www.cepal.cl> [accessed 30 May 2005].
- Chapin, M. (2004) 'A Challenge to Conservationists'. *World Watch*, November/December, 17–31.
- Chapin, M and Threlkeld, B. (2001) *Indigenous Landscapes: A Study in Ethnocartography*. Center for the Support of Native Lands: Arlington.
- Chomsky, A. (2005) 'It Seems Impossible to Believe: A Survivor Describes the Massacre that Destroyed her Wayuu Community'. *Cultural Survival Quarterly* 28(4): 41–43.
- Colloredo-Mansfeld, R. (1999) *The Native Leisure Class: Consumption and Cultural Creativity in the Andes*. University of Chicago Press: Chicago.
- Conklin, B. A. (2004) 'Shamans versus Pirates in the Amazonian Treasure Chest'. *American Anthropologist* 104(4): 1050–1062.
- Conklin, B. A. and Graham, L. R. (1995) 'The Shifting Middle Ground: Amazonian Indians and Eco-politics'. *American Anthropologist* 97(4): 695–710.

- Curran, S. (2002) 'Migration, Social Capital, and the Environment: Considering Migration Selectivity and Networks in Relation to Coastal Ecosystems', in W. Lutz, A. Prskawetz and W. Sanderson (eds.) *Population and Environment: Methods of Analysis*. Population Council: New York, 89–125.
- Doughty, P. L. (1970) 'Behind the Back of the City: Provincial Life in Lima, Peru', in W. Mangin (ed.) *Peasants in Cities: Readings in the Anthropology of Urbanization*. Houghton-Mifflin: Boston, 30–46.
- Duarte, N., Filippi, C. L. and Sosa de Servín, Z. C. (2003) *II Censo Nacional Indígena de Población y Viviendas 2002* [WWW document]. DGEEC, Asunción. URL [http://www.dgeec.gov.py/Publicaciones/Biblioteca/censo\\_indigena/censo\\_indigena.htm](http://www.dgeec.gov.py/Publicaciones/Biblioteca/censo_indigena/censo_indigena.htm) [accessed 22 June 2005].
- England, S. (1998) 'Negotiating Race and Place in the Garifuna Diaspora: Identity Formation and Transnational Grassroots Politics in New York City and Honduras'. *Identities: Global Studies in Culture and Power* 6(1): 5–53.
- Fletcher, P. (1999) *La casa de mis sueños: Dreams of Home in a Transnational Community*. Westview Press: Boulder.
- Fox, J. and Rivera-Salgado, G. (eds.) (2004) *Indigenous Mexican Migrants in the United States*. UCSD: La Jolla.
- Garfield, S. (2001) *Indigenous Struggle at the Heart of Brazil*. Duke University Press: Durham.
- Gilbert, A. (2004) 'The Urban Revolution', in R. N. Gwynne and C. Kay (eds.) *Latin America Transformed: Globalization and Modernity*. Arnold: London, 93–116.
- Government of Panama. (2005) *Documento Preliminar: Los pueblos indígenas de Panamá: Población de alta prioridad para el desarrollo humano del país*. Unpublished on-line report, Panama City. [WWW document]. URL <http://www.revistadesarrollohumano.org/Biblioteca/0077.pdf> [accessed 25 May 2005].
- Guarnizo, L. E. (2003) 'The Economics of Transnational Living'. *International Migration Review* 37(3): 666–699.
- Gutiérrez Sánchez, J. and Valencia Rojas, A. (2003) 'Los procesos migratorios en las regiones indígenas de Chiapas: la construcción de nuevos espacios', in F. Lartigue and A. Quesnel (eds.) *Las dinámicas de la población indígena: cuestiones y debates actuales en México*. CIESAS and IRD: Mexico City, 283–309.
- Hemming, J. (2004) *Die if You Must: Brazilian Indians in the Twentieth Century*. Pan Books: London.
- Herlihy, P. H. and Knapp, G. (2003) 'Maps of, by, and for the Peoples of Latin America'. *Human Organization* 62(4): 303–314.
- Hern, W. M. (1994) 'Health and Demography of Native Amazonians: Historical Perspective and Current Status', in A. Roosevelt (ed.) *Amazonian Indians from Prehistory to the Present*. The University of Arizona Press: Tucson, 123–150.
- Holt, F. L. (2005) 'The Catch-22 of Conservation: Indigenous Peoples, Biologists, and Cultural Change'. *Human Ecology* 33(2): 199–215.
- Hughes, L. (2001) *The No-Nonsense Guide to Indigenous Peoples*. Between The Lines Press: Toronto.
- Hvalkof, S. (2000) 'Outrage in Rubber and Oil: Extractivism, Indigenous Peoples, and Justice in the Upper Amazon', in C. Zerner (ed.) *People, Plants, and Justice: The Politics of Nature Conservation*. Columbia University Press: New York, 83–116.
- Jokisch, B. D. (2002) 'Migration and Agricultural Change: The Case of Smallholder Agriculture in Highland Ecuador'. *Human Ecology* 30(4): 523–550.
- Jokisch, B. D. and Lair, B. M. (2002) 'One last Stand? Forests and Change on Ecuador's Eastern Cordillera'. *The Geographical Review* 92(2): 235–256.
- Jokisch, B. D. and Pribilsky, J. (2002) 'The Panic to Leave: Geographic Dimensions of Recent Ecuadorian Emigration'. *International Migration* 40(3): 75–101.
- Kennedy, D. P. and Perz, S. G. (2000) 'Who are Brazil's Indígenas? Contributions of Census Data Analysis to Anthropological Demography of Indigenous Populations'. *Human Organization* 59(3): 311–324.

- Kyle, D. (2000) *Transnational Peasants: Migrations, Networks, and Ethnicity in Andean Ecuador*. The Johns Hopkins Press: Baltimore and London.
- Lawson, V. (1998) 'Hierarchical Households and Gendered Migration in Latin America: Feminist Extensions to Migration Research'. *Progress in Human Geography* 22(1): 39–53.
- Layton, H. M. and Patrinos, H.A. (2006) 'Estimating the Number of Indigenous Peoples in Latin America', in G. Hall and H. A. Patrinos (eds.) *Indigenous Peoples, Poverty and Human Development in Latin America*. Palgrave Macmillan: New York, 25–39.
- Lu, F. E. (1999) *Changes in Subsistence Patterns and Resource Use of the Huaorani Indians in the Ecuadorian Amazon*. Unpublished doctoral dissertation, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, Chapel Hill.
- Mainbourg, E. M. T., Araújo, M. I. and Cavalcante de Almeida, I. (2002) *Populações indígenas de cidade de Manaus inserção na cidade e ligação com a cultura* [WWW document]. On-line version of paper presented at the XIII Encontro Nacional de Estudos Populacionais, Ouro Preto, Associação Brasileira de Estudos Populacionais (ABEP). URL <http://www.abep.org.br> [accessed 15 February 2003].
- Malkki, L. (1992) 'National Geographic: The Rooting of Peoples and the Territorialization of National Identities among Scholars and Exiles'. *Cultural Anthropology* 7(1): 24–44.
- Mangin, W. (1970) *Peasants in Cities: Readings in the Anthropology of Urbanization*. Houghton-Mifflin: Boston.
- McSweeney, K. (2005) 'Indigenous Population Growth in the Lowland Neotropics: Social Science Insights for Biodiversity Conservation'. *Conservation Biology* 19(5): 1375–1384.
- McSweeney, K. and Arps, S. (2005) 'A Demographic Turnaround: The Rapid Growth of Indigenous Populations in Lowland Latin America'. *Latin American Research Review* 40(1): 3–29.
- OCEI. (1993) *Censo indígena de Venezuela, 1992*. República de Venezuela, Oficina Central de Estadística e Informática: Caracas.
- Oehmichen Bazán, C. (2003) 'Procesos de integración y segregación en el espacio urbano: indígenas en la ciudad de México', in F. Lartigue and A. Quesnel (eds.) *Las dinámicas de la población indígena: cuestiones y debates actuales en México*. CIESAS and IRD: Mexico City, 265–282.
- Pagliaro, H., Azevedo, M. M. and Ventura Santos, R. (eds.) (2005) *Demografia dos Povos Indígenas no Brasil*. Editora Fiocruz and Associação Brasileira de Estudos Populacionais (ABEP): Rio de Janeiro and Campinas.
- Papastergiadis, N. (2000) *The Turbulence of Migration: Globalization, Deterritorialization, and Hybridity*. Blackwell: Malden.
- Perreault, T. (2003a) 'Changing Places: Transnational Networks, Ethnic Politics, and Community Development in the Ecuadorian Amazon'. *Political Geography* 22(1): 61–88.
- Perreault, T. (2003b) 'A People with Our Own Identity: Towards a Cultural Politics of Development in Ecuadorian Amazonia'. *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space* 21(5): 583–606.
- Perz, S. G., Warren, J., Kennedy, D. P. and Wood, C. H. (2005) 'Brazil's Indigenous Population Resurgence: Contributions of Demographic Processes and Ethnic Politics'. *Unpublished working paper*, Department of Sociology, University of Florida, Gainesville, FL.
- Peysner, A. and Chackiel, J. (1994) 'La población indígena en los censos de América Latina', in CELADE (ed.) *Estudios sociodemográficos de pueblos indígenas*. Centro Latinoamericano de Demografía (CELADE): Santiago, 27–48.
- Picchi, D. (1998) 'Unsettled Communities: Changing Perspectives on South American Indigenous Settlements'. *South American Indian Studies* 5: 1–7.
- Picchi, D. (2000) *The Bakairí Indians of Brazil*. Waveland Press: Prospect Heights.
- Rabben, L. (2004) *Brazil's Indians and the Onslaught of Civilization: The Yanomami and the Kayapó*. University of Washington Press: Seattle.

- Ramos, A. R. (2002) 'Cutting through State and Class: Sources and Strategies of Self-Representation in Latin America', in K. B. Warren and J. E. Jackson (eds.) *Indigenous Movements, Self-Representation, and the State in Latin America*. University of Texas Press: Austin, 251–279.
- Regnault, B. (2005) *La población indígena y afrodescendiente de Venezuela y el aporte del censo indígena en el estudio de la asistencia escolar* [WWW document]. Paper presented at Seminario Internacional, Pueblos indígenas y afrodescendientes de América Latina y el Caribe, CEPAL, Santiago de Chile. URL <http://www.cepal.cl> [accessed 30 May 2005].
- Rogers, M. (1996) 'Beyond Authenticity: Conservation, Tourism, and the Politics of Representation in the Ecuadorian Amazon'. *Identities: Global Studies in Culture and Power* 3(1–2): 73–125.
- Rubenstein, S. (2001) 'Colonialism, the Shuar Federation, and the Ecuadorian State'. *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space* 19: 263–293.
- Rubenstein, S. (2004) 'Shuar Migrants and Shrunken Heads Face to Face in a New York Museum'. *Anthropology Today* 20(3): 15–18.
- Sawyer, S. (1997) 'The 1992 Indian Mobilization in Lowland Ecuador'. *Latin American Perspectives* 24(3): 65–82.
- Solano, E. (2001) *La población indígena en Costa Rica según el censo 2000* [WWW document]. Instituto Nacional de Estadística y Censos, San José. URL <http://www.ccp.ucr.ac.cr/noticias/simposio/pdf/solano.pdf> [accessed 20 July 2003].
- UNESCO (2004) *Report of the Workshop on Data Collection and Disaggregation for Indigenous Peoples* [WWW document]. United Nations Permanent Forum on Indigenous Issues, New York. URL [http://www.un.org/esa/socdev/unpfi/news/news\\_workshop\\_doc.htm](http://www.un.org/esa/socdev/unpfi/news/news_workshop_doc.htm) [accessed 20 September 2004].
- UNICEF (2003) *Ensuring the Rights of Indigenous Children*. Innocenti Digest No. 11, UNICEF Innocenti Research Centre, Florence.
- UNICEF (2006) *Report on the Results of the Diagnóstico de la situación de salud y de los servicios de salud de las nacionalidades Shuar y Achuar FICSH-FIPSE-FINAE*. Unpublished report prepared by B. Jokisch, K. McSweeney, J. Pozo, W. Tiwi and R. Posligua, UNICEF-Ecuador, Quito, Ecuador.
- Urrea Giraldo, F. (1994) 'Pobladores urbanos redescubiertos: presencia indígena en ciudades colombianas', in CELADE (ed.) *Estudios sociodemográficos de pueblos indígenas*. Centro Latinoamericano de Demografía (CELADE): Santiago, 365–390.
- Warren, J. W. (2001) *Racial Revolutions: Antiracism and Indian Resurgence in Brazil*. Duke University Press: Durham.
- Wilshusen, P. R., Brechin, S. R., Fortwangler, C. L. and West, P. C. (2002) 'Reinventing the Square Wheel: Critique of a Resurgent "Protection Paradigm" in International Biodiversity Conservation'. *Society and Natural Resources* 15(1): 17–40.
- Wilson, K. and Peters, E.J. (2005) '“You Can Make a Place for It”: Remapping Urban First Nations' Spaces of Identity'. *Environment and Planning* 23: 395–413.
- Yashar, D. J. (2005) *Contesting Citizenship in Latin America: The Rise of Indigenous Movements and the Postliberal Challenge*. Cambridge University Press: Cambridge.