

Is there (in)visibility of *chololas* on the border of Corumbá?

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SUMMARY

In Corumbá, Mato Grosso do Sul, on the border with Bolivia, Bolivian women known as *chololas* dress in traditional Quechua and Aymara clothing, maintaining their traditions, culture, and clothing for over 500 years. *Chololas* live in the city of Corumbá, working in commerce and street markets. This article was written based on a portion of my master's research, which was reviewed by the Human Ethics Committee. Our objectives in this work are to analyze whether Bolivian *chololas* are socially visible or invisible to the people of Corumbá. Working in the Pantanal on the Brazilian side, they are recognized by Brazilians, unknown, or made invisible. This study prioritizes the oral history research methodology, with semi-open and semi-structured interviews, and a bibliographic and descriptive review. Interviews were conducted with employees from various commercial sectors in Corumbá, who work in reception areas, to determine whether, when they see photos of *chololas*, they recognize the term, have friendships with them, and have information about their culture and origins. A total of 10 people working in Corumbá's commercial center, providing a variety of services and customer service, were interviewed. The results showed that people working in Corumbá's businesses see them working in the city, but are unaware of their culture and origins, and do not have any friendships.

KEYWORD: *Chololas*, border, (in)visibility, identity, culture.

ABSTRACT

Corumbá, located in Mato Grosso do Sul, on the border with Bolivia, there are Bolivian women who are called *chololas*, who dress in traditional Quechua and Aymara clothing and have maintained their traditions, culture and clothing for over 500 years. The *chololas* are in the city of Corumbá working in commerce and street markets. Based on a section of the master's research, which passed through the human ethics committee, we wrote the current article. Objectives In this work, we intend to analyze whether Bolivian *chololas* are visible or invisible to the people of Corumbá. If, when working in the Pantanal on the Brazilian side, they are recognized by Brazilians, unknown or are made invisible. This study prioritizes the oral report research methodology with semi-open and semi-structured interviews, bibliographic and descriptive review. Interviews were conducted with employees from various commercial segments in Corumbá who work at the reception desk to see if, when they see photos of *chololas*, they know the term, have friends with them, and have information about their culture and origins. A total of 10 people who work in the shopping center of Corumbá, providing a variety of services and customer service, were interviewed. The results showed that people who work in the stores in Corumbá see them working in the city, but are unaware of their culture or origins, and do not have any friendly relationships.

Keyword: *Chololas*, border, (in) visibility, identity, culture.

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SUMMARY

Corumbá, located in Mato Grosso do Sul, on the border with Bolivia, there are Bolivian women called *cholas*, who wear traditional Quechua and Aymara clothes and have maintained their traditions, culture and clothing for more than 500 years. The *cholas* are in the city of Corumbá working in commerce and street markets. Based on a section of mastery research, which was carried out by the human ethics committee, we wrote this article. Objectives In this work, we intend to analyze whether Bolivian *cholas* are visible or invisible to the people of Corumbá. If, when working in the Pantanal on the Brazilian side, they are recognized by Brazilians, unknown or invisible. This study prioritizes the methodology of investigating oral reports with semi-open and semi-structured interviews, bibliographic and descriptive reviews. They interviewed reception employees from different commercial sectors in Corumbá to determine whether, by seeing photos of *cholas*, they knew their term, had friendship with them and had information about their culture and origins. We interviewed a total of 10 people who work in the Corumbá shopping center, offering various services and customer attention. The results show that those who work in stores in Corumbá are working in the city, but they are unaware of their culture and origins, and do not have friendly relat

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1 INTRODUCTION

The *cholas* who live on the Brazil/Bolivia border are Bolivian women who have the same clothes since they were colonized by the Spanish. In addition to the clothes, they are marked by indigenous ethnic-racial characteristics, which highlight the presence of groups originating in the region.

In Corumbá, Mato Grosso do Sul, on the border with Bolivia, the *cholas* can be seen carrying out commercial activities on the Brazilian side, in open-air markets or own businesses. They can also be seen on the city streets, shopping, or carrying out common activities. a woman. What differentiates them are their full skirts (*polleras*) and two braids in their hair.

This research is an excerpt from a master's project that investigates the presence of *cholas* on the Brazilian side of the border, behavior, culture, and how they are viewed by Brazilian inhabitants. For this article, we interviewed people who work in Corumbá, asking what they know about the *cholas*, where they come from and have, or have had, ties affectionate and friendly relations with these Bolivian representatives. In a more subtle way, our The objective was to verify whether they are socially invisible in Corumbá-MS, even working daily in Brazilian fairs and businesses.

The research included bibliographic review methodologies and ten interviews semi-open with people who work with the public in the commerce of Corumbá of various labor segments.

We seek commercial sectors for neutrality regarding commercial competition. *cholas*, as they usually sell fruits, vegetables, and clothing. We look for

businesses that are free from a competitive market regarding them, which would demonstrate with more ownership of the search result.

The results showed that Brazilians buy their products, with the justification with lower prices, but few traders knew about the *Chola* culture (Bolivian indigenous people), and most avoid maintaining closer ties, they only demonstrate curiosities due to the full skirts (*polleras*). Despite the different outfits, they continue socially invisible because they are underemployed. They are seen only as street vendors and street vendors.

2. THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

2.1. SOCIAL INVISIBILITY

Modern society is increasingly indifferent to the conditions of others, making that many are invisible and ignored in social contexts. Social invisibility affects there are many groups that are excluded, devalued or marginalized in society, among them migrants and indigenous peoples. Society values consumption and social prestige, with this minority groups suffer devaluation because they do not have social political status economic and educational.

Social invisibility can be related to today's lifestyle. A society that values individuals by what they have, not by who they are. Thus, workers who perform essential tasks for the population can be seen as objects rather than as beings, since most people have not submitted themselves to the work they do. Neto (p.78, 2020)

Indigenous groups are often seen as non-existent because they do not possess or cultivate the consumption and large economies. Although with great cultural richness, they are often ignored by a dominant society and which is the result of years of colonization and oppression by a consumerist society that values Western models. Many indigenous people suffer prejudice due to difficulties in education, health and for not having citizenship with full rights.

Social invisibility can be symbolic violence as they are often in the same environment but are not socially recognized, having a lack of recognition that reinforces inferiority and exclusion. This is also the case for migrants who leave their countries looking for other opportunities in countries with a larger economy, urban resources and politicians.



We understand that social invisibility often means not interacting with others, being in the same place every day, doing the same job and only meeting the demands local.

2.2. THE BORDER: IN CORUMBÁ (BRAZIL) AND PUERTO QUIJARRO (BOLIVIA)

The Brazilian states that border Bolivia are Mato Grosso do Sul, Mato Grosso, Rondônia, and Acre. The municipality of Corumbá, Mato Grosso do Sul, shares a 385.7 km border with Bolivia and a 52.2 km border with Paraguay, totaling 537.9 km. From the center of Porto Quijarro, Bolivia, to the center of Corumbá (MS-BR), it is a 11.6 km drive (less than 20 minutes by car).

The border according to Raffestin (1993) is maintained by power relations and interactions of dominance and submission, as in these spaces there are political, legal, commercial and international agreements, so that everyone uses the same spaces.

The border is a space of encounter and confrontation, where different cultures, economies and policies intertwine and clash, creating complex dynamics of inclusion and exclusion.

For Glória Anzaldúa (2016), colonialism and racial discrimination influence immigration policies and in the lives of the immigrants themselves who end up resisting against the policies that are oppressive when fighting for survival and dignity within the border. The author discusses a mixed-race identity that emerges on the border where cultures meet and they become entrenched and, often, the immigrant is marginalized in a place that is in another country, the other side of the border.

You have to live on the border, and immigrants from the other side of your country, often, resist against oppressive policies to fight and survive with dignity, working, studying and treating health, creating a kind of strategy of how to live on one side of the border and how to behave on the other.

I am visible—look at this Indian face—but I am invisible. I blind them with my hooked nose and I am their blind spot. But I exist, we exist. They would like to think I melted in the pan. But not me, not us (Anzaldúa, 1987, p. 86, our translation).

It is in this international space that we find the Bolivian *cholas*, who work so hard in Brazilian territory (in stores and street markets) and in Bolivia. As can be seen on the side Brazilians know little about who these women are.

2.3 RACISM IN BOLIVIA AGAINST INDIGENOUS PEOPLES

Society, even before the birth of a child, imposes behaviors on the female and male gender, marked by stereotypes arising from beliefs and values generations after generations. It maintains a hierarchy that justifies man as a superior being and automatically women as inferior and unequal, including a naturalistic view that woman is more fragile and that a man is dominant because of his strength, intelligence and ability to lead.

The idea of gender and the social implementation of what it means to be a woman and what it means to be a man, which are the human groups and meanings of being feminine and masculine. Social construction is the established social relations that are not innate or natural, being a relational category. The history sustains inequality between women and men, through practices and behaviors that the feminine and the masculine present as if it were something natural, innate and not learned through cultural and social values.

The promotion, protection and reparation of women's rights portrays the reality of inequalities and violence in the full guarantee of women's rights. The history of inequality between women and men portrays the struggle for women's equality.

Bolivia, with an indigenous population that encompasses around 80% of its total population, also shares this history of Latin America for the last three years, years in which indigenous people have been struggling to modify the conditions of inequality, injustice and discrimination that affect them. (PÉREZ-RUIZ, 2000, p. 74)

In Bolivia there is marked racism, inequality and discrimination against women *chololas*. They are marginalized and suffer great negative impacts due to their way of behaving, as if it were a "lower caste", simply by maintaining a centuries-old culture and for not possessing the phenotypic traits of the colonizers. Prejudice and discrimination against *chololas* in Bolivia were maintained for many years by the political national, as it was forbidden for pollera women (*chololas*) to use some services public, as they were wearing their traditional clothing.

The pigmentocracy² and ethnocentrism³ of the colonizers remained in a discourse of prejudice, discrimination and stigma in the cultural stereotype of Bolivian *chololas* who live on the border. The ethnocentrism of the colonizers ends up making the

² Pigmentocracy or colorism: when racism is selected through the skin tones of groups and ethnicities.

³ Ethnocentrism: Judgment is based on customs, moral beliefs and laws that differ from those of others. (This can be from the perspective of the dominant party).

pigmentocracy, when a person suffers prejudice because of pigmentation similar to of the colonizers.

Indigenous or mixed-race *Chola* women were the ones who suffered the most from the colonizers, physical and psychological violence, prejudice and discrimination.

2.4 THE *CHOLA* IN CORUMBÁ IN THE PANTANAL

It's not easy being a woman in the Pantanal, much less a foreign woman. It's not easy being indigenous, and wearing clothes that confirm that she is not a Brazilian woman. Not only because traces of pigmentocracy, but with the clothes and symbols that their braids and *polleras* reveal.

Cholas live daily in shops and fairs, serving the population . Brazilian, but we hardly find them as consumers in restaurants, pharmacies, markets and commerce in Corumba. For Brazilians, regardless of education or power acquisitive, the *cholas* are only Bolivian women who wear national clothes.

Women are able to cross ethnic borders with greater ease that the men; the latter are rigidly fixed to tax categories that are expressed in mandatory dress codes, allowing to distinguish "indians" from "cholos", "mestizos" and

"caballeros", who see themselves –according to their social status– as obligated or exempt from making contributions to the state. (RIVERA,2015, p.84)

From what we investigated, cholas are socially invisible women who need recognition of a protagonism specific to their culture. In other words, we cross with them, we buy their products, but we know almost nothing about their culture, idiosyncrasy, maintenance of female resistance or why they wear Bolivian costumes traditional. The Brazilian perception is that they are traders, most often in vulnerable situations, such as saleswomen in street markets or having small businesses businesses. They make them bearers in the social imagination of Corumbaense (MS) underemployed, invisible, seen as impoverished and with social weaknesses.

Added to this is the institutionalized social reproduction in the formal labor market, marked by the reduction of social status, humiliation, invisibility, unhealthiness, low pay and precarious rights. (VERGÈS, 2019, p.6)

For Raffestin, power can make the other invisible, in the face of mainly mercantile relations. that establish dominance and power.

Power being co-extensive with any relationship, it makes it useless to distinguish between political, economic, cultural, etc. power. Since every relationship is a place of power, this means that power is very closely linked to the manipulation of the flows that

cross and disconnect the relationship, namely energy and information. (RAFFESTIN, 1993, p.53.)

Living in an international border region, the other is the other and does not seem to belong to the space of 'us.' This relationship creates subtle and sometimes clear subtexts that the Bolivian is a differentiated class, as for a long time, those who wielded purchasing power were Brazilians who crossed the border as local and tourist buyers.

Chola women are also stereotyped in their own country of origin due to their skin tone, facial features and also their clothing.

Thus, language and clothing, along with skin pigmentation and new occupations, became basic parameters of a social stratification that attempted to keep the republic of Spaniards and the republic of Indians separate. (GARCIA, 2010, p. 42).

These women work in commerce in Corumbá, in the Pantanal, mainly in fairs free, which requires physical resistance to set up the respective stalls and sell during the early morning hours of the fairs. At other times, it is necessary to be prepared for a work that starts early, and energy to expose yourself to the sun throughout the morning and early afternoon later. Ethnic, linguistic and cultural differences permeate this border relationship, influencing directly affect economic, political, formal and informal relations.

3 METHODOLOGICAL ASPECTS

The objective of the work is to identify whether Brazilian traders who work in different commercial segments in Corumbá, know the chola women who wear polleras (Bolivian indigenous people) who work daily in open-air markets and in Brazilian businesses.

The general objective is to understand whether *chol*as who wear *polleras* are socially invisible in Corumbá- MS, even working daily in Brazilian fairs and businesses.

While the specific objectives Identify If these women are stigmatized and excluded socially compared to other traders in the region.

This study prioritizes the oral report research methodology with semi-open interviews. and semi-structured, bibliographic and descriptive review, according to the following table, carried out with ten traders working in Corumbá, Brazil, in various commercial segments.

After showing the photos (on paper) of the chol

Table 1 – Scripts of semi-structured and open interviews with traders

QUESTIONS TO TRADERS BRAZILIANS	PHOTO SUBMITTED
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1. Who are these women?
2. Is there a name given to the women who wear these clothes?
3. Where do they live?
4. What do they work on?
5. What do you know about them?
6. Are you friends with any of them?
7. Do you know why they wear those clothes?

8. Where do you think they are from?

9. What do you hear about them?
10. Do these women visit your stores and consume your products?



Source: Research data (2024).

4 RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Interviews were conducted with employees of the Corumbá shopping center, involving a person who works in a stationery store, one from the candy store, one from the swimming pool, one from the butcher shop, a pharmacist, two cashiers from construction material stores, one supermarket cashier, a receptionist at a clinical analysis laboratory, a restaurant receptionist, a cashier at a coffee shop. A total of 10 people were interviewed people who work in the commercial center of Corumbá with a variety of services and public services.

Table 2 – Brazilian traders working in Corumbá (MS)

INTERVIEWEES	INTERVIEW EXCERPT
Interviewee 1 - man seller in a stationery store in downtown Corumbá	They are from the fair, and they live in the convent, I don't know who they are, or where they are from, they are vendors from Peru or another country, there is one who lives nearby, I don't know why they wear those clothes, I don't know their names.
Interviewee 2 Owner- Candy store - 63-year-old woman, college degree - grandmother Bolivian	"I've seen many of these women. They're Bolivian. They hide things and money in their skirts. They don't bathe. They don't smell good. They come and buy sweets to sell—candy, gum, candy—and they never come with children. They're Indigenous, from the Bolivian countryside. They work tirelessly, they're not lazy, and they say they're millionaires. My grandmother is from Bolivia and came to live in Brazil through Cárceres. My grandmother was a Bolivian from the highlands of Bolivia (Chola), Indigenous. They're invisible to their culture in Bolivia and to the minds of certain people. They have a lot of influence in bringing commerce here. I think they bring money from here to there. They're recognized at the fair."

Interviewee 3 Large construction material store - 51-year-old woman from Corumbá	"They sell garlic and things on the street. They're from here in Bolivia. I don't know anything about them. They sell and give things away. I don't know where in Bolivia they're from; I've never asked. They sell garlic at the airport. I'm not friends with them. I don't know why they dress like that. They've never been to the (building materials) store. People treat them from afar based on how they dress. They're like gypsies, they're suspicious. In Peru, they dress like that. They make these fabrics and weave them. I don't know anything else."
Interviewee 4 Construction material store - 61-year-old woman from Corumbá	"I've never seen these women dressed like that. I don't know where they're from. I ride cars and motorcycles and I don't see anything. I don't know. I can't answer and invent something I've never seen. I was born and raised in the Dom Bosco neighborhood (Corumbá), I know everything about it, and I've never seen these women in the photos."
Interviewee Butcher shop cashier - 41-year-old woman	"They're from Bolivia, from Santa Cruz. I saw a documentary. I don't know why they walk like that. It must be tradition. I've never made friends with them. There's one lady who comes here, only one lady comes here, no one else has ever come. They wear this clothing out of habit. There's no name for dressing like that."
Interviewee 6 Big box market 21-year-old man	"I've seen them downtown, they've never come to the cash register (at Mercado Grande), they're from Bolivia, they work as anonymous salespeople, they wear these clothes, they don't come to buy, they came from the depths of Bolivia, they sell products and are from the border and were born there, I've never had friends like that, I don't know if they have a name. They're visible because they wear these clothes, but I don't know anything about them."
Interviewee 7 Clinical analysis laboratory (large)- Man 33 years old	"They're street vendors. They're not Bolivian, they're from other places. I don't know what they wear these clothes for, but they must wear them that way because of their culture. They're from the border. They don't come to the lab for tests. I've been working here for six years."
Interviewee 8 Restaurant receptionist - the largest restaurant in Corumbá - male 35 years old (not born in Corumbá.)	"They come to lunch, they are Bolivians who live on the border, they have businesses, and they are invisible, in the eyes of Bolivians they are invisible, smaller. Here in Brazil they are visible, because they have money, they pay for everything in cash, and they come to eat quite often."
Interviewee 9 cashier of the largest coffee shop in Corumbá - woman 35 years old	"They don't come here, I've never seen them, I don't know where they live, it must be on the border, they are part of the illegal trade, I don't know anything about them, I'm not friends with them, I don't know where they're from, because they don't come here, they are visible because they wear these clothes and because they sell them cheaper."
Interviewee 10 41-year-old pharmacist from RJ and has lived in Corumbá for 8 years	"They are Bolivian and Peruvian, they make handicrafts, and they sell razors, toothpaste, electronics. They don't come to pharmacies. They're not from Bolivia. They're visible because they're on the street selling them, but I don't know their names. Human beings aren't interested in others, in what's different. They're not invisible, but people see them only as someone working; no one cares about them, and no one wants to be their friend." "

Source: Research data (2024).

1) Who are these women?

Answers:



22% Peruvian (Interviewees: 2, 3, 5, 6, 8)

11% Bolivian (Interviewees: 1, 10)

56% No knowledge (Respondents: 2, 3, 5, 6, 8)

Most of the interviewees, 56%, admit to having no knowledge. 22% of the interviewees attribute to other origins such as Peruvian but they realize that they are not Brazilian, that is, put traders working on the border in the place of migrants.

Only 11% of respondents reported that they are Bolivian.

2) Is there knowledge of the term chola?

Answers:

10% Knew he was chola (Interviewee: 2)

90% No knowledge (Respondents: 1, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10)

The interviewees were unfamiliar with the term chola with the exception of the interviewee who had a grandmother Bolivian. The lack of knowledge regarding the term chola, understanding that it is a historical and cultural identity of the Bolivian context, demonstrates that there is a lack of knowledge about indigenous tradition and identity suggesting a distancing from culture of these women.

3) Where do the Chola women live?

Answers:

30%No knowledge (Interviewees: 2, 3, 4)

60% On the border (Interviewees: 1, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9)

The interviewees suggest that these women live “on the border”, but point out that border is only limited to the Bolivian side without considering that on the Brazilian side it is also a border. They suggest that the cholas are segregated outside the Brazilian side even when work daily in Brazil they understand that they are on the side of the Border.

Having a speech of distancing from the Bolivian border with the daily recognition that these women present in local Brazilian commerce.

4) What is the occupation of the cholas in Brazil?

Answers:

10% No knowledge (Interviewee: 6)

90% Street vendors, market vendors, street vendors (Interviewees: 1, 2, 3, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10)

All interviewees identified that cholas work in street markets and

Brazilian businesses considered as “street vendors”, “street vendors” and “traders”.

This speech reflects labor visibility in commercial spaces in Corumbá, but it is

loaded with a perception of computerized work when the term street vendor is used

identifying and suggesting economic and social marginalization of chola women.

5) Is there knowledge or lack of knowledge about the Cholas?

What do you know about them?

Answers: 100% didn't know anything for sure about them. All respondents (1 to 10)

All interviewees, without exception, claimed to know nothing about the cholas, even the one possessed his Chola grandmother.

There is a barrier to recognition of the culture of women of indigenous peoples.

reflects that although they are visible in terms of daily work in Brazil, its historical identity and

traditions are not valued and there is a lack of knowledge about the culture.

6) Are there ties of friendship with the cholas and Brazilian merchants?

Answers: 100% said they had no friends. All respondents (1 to 10)

100% of those interviewed have no friendship with the cholas.

None of the interviewees have or have ever been friends with a pollera woman, they mentioned who had no interest in approaching them, highlighting that “they are very closed off”.

This speech mitigates the possibility of social segregation and distancing between Brazilians and these women.

7) Why do these women wear these clothes?

Answers:

30% did not know (Interviewee: 3,5,7)

70% Tradition and culture (Interviewees: 1, 2, 3, 5, 6, 7, 10)

The answers showed uncertainty and said it must be due to a culture or tradition.

without being able to explain the causes or reasons. What are the cultural and historical costumes of women of the original *Chola peoples*.

Public spaces are surrounded by people who pass through and work, but traders are unaware that chola clothing is a form of identity and history Bolivian.

8) When asked about the geographical origin, the answers were:

Answers:

30% Didn't know (Respondents: 1, 7, 9)

10% Peruvian (Interviewee: 7)

60% La Paz, Potosí, Santa Cruz (Interviewees: 2, 3, 5, 6, 8, 10)

The interviewees expressed uncertainty and mentioned that they could only be Peruvian Bolivian kinship identified that they were women from Potosí and La Paz. However, the interviewees did not know the origin of the *chol*as and the departments in which they were geographically moved within Bolivia.

9) Are the cholas customers of the Corumbá commerce?

Answers:

10% Frequents restaurants (Interviewee: 8)

70% Never came to the store (Interviewees: 1, 4, 6, 7, 9, 10)

20% Buy specific products (Respondents: 2, 8)

The interviewee, whose grandmother was a chola, reported that these women bought sweets for resell. The interviewee who worked at the restaurant mentioned that they usually have lunch on site.

All other interviewees reported that these women do not use the services provided in the commercial establishments in which they work, which we can suggest that the presence of cholas is limited and restricted when it comes to frequenting places of commerce and leisure consumption or other services. They only buy from places to resell products or food basic.

10) What are your impressions of the Cholas?



Answers:

They are street vendors, without friends, dirty, I don't know them, closed off, they are Peruvian, they are Bolivian, they are Brazilians, saleswomen Culture, I don't know, tradition, custom, worker, Bolivia, women poor, street vendors, nobody cares about them.

The only interviewee who had Bolivian ancestry reported negative stereotypes saying that they “don’t like bathing”, and they keep “things”, money “inside their skirts”. These comments are loaded with prejudice and minimize the context and trajectory historical-social for the preservation of Culture.

The other interviewees did not know that they also have housing on the border on the other side. Brazilian and have no interest in knowing about the culture and this community. The lack of knowledge maintains a cultural and social invisibility about who these women are who are working daily in the commerce of Corumbá.

5 FINAL CONSIDERATIONS

The survey was conducted with 10 employees from 10 commercial stores in the center of Corumbá with different services that reveal the following information:

The data confirms that cholos are culturally and socially invisible on the border of Corumbá Brazil. These women are recognized only as workers in commerce and are not seen as subjects full of cultures like local diversity. There is in the results lack of knowledge about the cultural origins and Chola identity, which implies a symbolic segregation that despite being visible in public space they remain

invisible in the face of social, cultural, political and especially historical recognition (for being indigenous Bolivian peoples).



Invisibility is demonstrated in the absence of social interactions and by the stereotypical form with prejudices that were reported in the interviews.

Field research shows that *cholas* working on the Brazilian side, in Corumbá, in the Pantanal, whether in open-air markets or commercial stores, serving the consumer Brazilian, they have no visibility.

The Corumba residents interviewed do not know the name *Chola*, they do not have any friends with them, they don't know their Bolivian origin. For them, it's only women who work in street markets and who may live on the border. They notice their clothes (*polleras*), but they don't they relate in a more interactive way, they only maintain the commercial consumer relationship.

The interviewees see them in stores, buy their products because they are cheaper, but they are made invisible because they are 'the other', and are not recognized as who they are, their culture or origin. *One of the interviewees said he was never interested in knowing anything about them, which makes them invisible. Another mentioned that they are poor women and that's why they sell products.*

Only 2 traders said that they consume in their establishments (the interviewees from the restaurant and the candy store, who buy candy to sell), which leads to the assumption that the *cholas* do their shopping and enjoy their leisure time in Bolivia.

We conclude that *cholas* are visible, as they work in Brazil, recognized in research as traders, merchants, street vendors, street vendors, traders illegal immigrants, poor women. Only two interviewees see them as rich for buying with "cash" money. But, the *cholas* are invisible as a subjective subject and as someone who the Corumbaense would like to form emotional and coexistence bonds, as none of the 10 interviewees have never made friends with a *chola*, or maintained relationship contact constant and deep. Socializing is limited to buying cheaper products, but keep their distance. Other interviewees said, *"No one cares about them."*

Social invisibility is being invisible as people as if you were invisible ... were not worthy of rights and some populations are bearers of this non-look as the indigenous women and the *Cholas*. These women need to be seen as protagonists, worthy, people don't greet them, don't know their names or are interested in their culture and collective memories. They are considered inferior, as workers who bring goods with better value for Brazil, but the Corumbaense does not care about to bring closer or initiate an emotional and close bond.

The concept of visibility is the cultural, social, political recognition of a certain group and these are not recognized by the interviewees who even in the face of

traditional clothing (polleras and braids), making them visible as subjects remain invisible in the face of their origins and especially in social contact with Brazilians who work with them daily. There is a lack of interest from Corumbaense has to develop a greater bond that makes them visible and minimizing the Bolivian culture and cultural identity.

It is possible to understand that there is economic cultural distance and that generates to a certain extent social exclusion revealing that cholos are not recognized in the trade for a cultural and historical identity (as is the case with indigenous people). They are seen solely as subsistence workers and unknown in their complex identity cultural in this border region.

It is understood that the social invisibility of cholos needs to be broken through promotions of social cultural integration that involve both countries and through policies that value the Cholo culture, so that there is recognition of the value of Culture within of the Border.

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