

Guallatire: Negotiating Aymara Indigeneity and Rights of Ownership in the Lauca Biosphere Reserve, Northern Chile

by

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Abstract

My dissertation explores a multilayered landscape of contestation at the Aymara borderlands of Guallatire. Based on ethnographic fieldwork with *guallatireños* in this Andean locality, I focus on how both the history of border institutionalization and the creation of the Lauca Biosphere Reserve impacted ethnicity processes and indigenous ownership in the highlands. I examine the politics of indigeneity as a mobile social formation and transnational field of governance, subjectivities and knowledges, along with notions of heritage shaped by the materiality of property. While struggling for cultural recognition and economic redistribution, *guallatireños* have been confronted with a neoliberal state apparatus and violent mechanisms of government, including contradictory legislation which consequently has fragmented traditional native territories and communities, privatized land and water rights, and ultimately invisibilized Indigenous Peoples. However, the free market model has also shaped contested terrains between public and private sectors in the Lauca, paradoxically weakening the role of the state and causing friction among the various stakeholders involved in the Biosphere Reserve. By studying a series of state-driven ‘participatory meetings’ for indigenous and touristic development, I conclude that participatory governance in the Lauca territory has challenged democratic practices and created spaces for indigenous recognition and political representation. Different strategies of resistance are continually performed by the Aymara to negotiate their ethnic identities and cultural boundaries in Northern Chile.

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List of Acronyms

ADI	<i>Área de Desarrollo Indígena</i> Indigenous Development Area
AGPRA	<i>Asociación Gremial de Propietarios Andinos</i> Association of Andean Landowners
BID	<i>Banco Inter-Americano del Desarrollo</i> Inter-American Development Bank (IDB)
BIDEMA	<i>Brigada de Delitos Medioambientales</i> Environmental Crime Squad
CADMA	<i>Cordinadora Aymara de Defensa de los Recursos Naturales</i> Aymara Coordination Group in Defense of the Natural Resources
CAMN	<i>Comisión Asesora de Monumentos Nacionales</i> National Monuments Assessment Commission
CBR	<i>Conservador de Bienes Raíces</i> Real Estate Registry
CEPI	<i>Comisión Especial de Pueblos Indígenas</i> Special Commission of Indigenous Peoples
CMN	<i>Consejo de Monumentos Nacionales</i> National Monuments Council
CNA	<i>Consejo Nacional Aymara</i> Aymara National Council
CNAD	<i>Comisión Nacional de Desminado</i>

	National Commission of Demining
CONADI	<i>Corporación Nacional de Desarrollo Indígena</i>
	National Indigenous Development Agency
CONAF	<i>Corporación Nacional Forestal</i>
	National Forestry Agency
CONAMA	<i>Comisión Nacional de Medio Ambiente</i>
	National Environmental Commission
CORFO	<i>Corporación Nacional de Fomento a la Producción</i>
	National Development Agency
DGA	<i>Dirección General de Aguas</i>
	General Directory of Waters
ENAMI	<i>Empresa Nacional de Minería</i>
	National Mining Company
FONDART	<i>Fondo Nacional de Desarrollo Cultural y las Artes</i>
	Art and Cultural Development National Fund
IGM	<i>Instituto Geográfico Militar</i>
	Military Geographic Institute
INDAP	<i>Instituto Nacional de Desarrollo Agropecuario</i>
	National Institute for Agricultural Development
INE	<i>Instituto Nacional de Estadísticas</i>
	National Institute of Statistics
JAA	<i>Junta de Adelanto de Arica</i>
	Arica Improvement Council

MAB	Man and Biosphere Program <i>Programa Hombre y Biósfera</i>
MAIA	<i>Modelo Ambiental Intercultural Andino</i> Andean Intercultural Environmental Model
MBN	<i>Ministerio de Bienes Nacionales</i> Ministry of National Resources
MIDEPLAN	<i>Ministerio de Planificación y Cooperación</i> Ministry of Planification and Cooperation
MINAGRI	<i>Ministerio de Agricultura</i> Ministry of Agriculture
MINEDUC	<i>Ministerio de Educación</i> Ministry of Education
MINSAL	<i>Ministerio de Salud</i> Ministry of Health
MOP	<i>Ministerio de Obras Públicas</i> Ministry of Public Works
OAS	Organization of American States <i>Organización de Estados Americanos (OEA)</i>
OIT	<i>Organización Internacionald el Trabajo</i> International Labor Organization (ILO)
PESPI	<i>Programa Especial de Pueblos Indígenas</i> Special Program for Indigenous Peoples
PDI	<i>Policía de Investigaciones</i>

	Police of Investigations
PROMEL	<i>Empresa Procesadora de Metales Ltda.</i>
	Metal Processing Company
PTI	<i>Programa Territorial Integral</i>
	Integral Territorial Development
REDMA	<i>Red por la Defensa del Medio Ambiente de Arica y Parinacota</i>
	Network in Defense for the Environmental of Arica and Parinacota
SEIA	<i>Sistema de Estudios de Impacto Ambiental</i>
	Environmental Impact Assessment System
SNASPE	<i>Sistema Nacional de Áreas Silvestres Protegidas por el Estado</i>
	National System of Protected Wilderness Areas by the State
SERNAGEOMIN	
	<i>Servicio Nacional de Geología y Minería</i>
	National Service of Geology and Mining
SERNAPESCA	
	<i>Servicio Nacional de Pesca</i>
	National Fishing Service
SERNATUR	<i>Servicio Nacional de Turismo</i>
	National Service of Tourism
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization
	<i>Organización de Naciones Unidas para Educación, Ciencia y Cultura</i>

A note on Aymara language and pronunciation

Mä jach'a mama
Mä jach'a tata
Nayarux muspa chuymampi saxiriwa
Mä aruki yatixttan
Uka aruki yatichañaniwa
Mä waranqa arunaka yatiqttan
Ukhamaraki mä waranqa
Arunaka yatichañaniwa
Taqikullakanakaru jilatanakaru
Yatichaña piniwa
Ukhamat jiwasanarux jakaskaniwa

A grandfather
A grandmother
Told me with lots of heart
If we learn a single word in Aymara
We teach that single word
If we learn a thousand words
A thousand words we will teach
To all the sisters and brothers
We will always teach
Teaching our tongue
Will keep it alive

Achachilanaka
National Aymara Language Academy, Arica 2009

Aymara words in this work were transcribed using the rules of the *grafemario* or grapheme alphabet (Callo 2007) and translated with an Aymara dictionary written by a native speaker from Guallatire (Mamani 2002a, 2002b). The pronunciation guide presented here has been adapted from Arnold and Yapita (1998) and Hardman et al. (1988): Vowels *a*, *i*, *u*, are pronounced like in Spanish, except for *ä*, *ï*, *ü* where their sound is elongated. If vocals follow consonants like *q*, *y*, *x*, they are pronounced more open. Consonants *j*, *l*, *ll*, *m*, *n*, *ñ*, *r*, *s*, *w*, *y* are pronounced like in Spanish; however, *p*, *t*, *ch*, *k*, *q*, can be pronounced in three ways: simple, identically as in Spanish; aspirated *ph*, *th*, *chh*, *kh*, *qh* with no Spanish equivalent; or glottalized *p'*, *t'*, *ch'*, *k'*, *q'* with no Spanish equivalent. The consonant *x* is pronounced in the back of the throat like in the German *acht*.

Glossary

Achachi; Achachila, Achachilanaka: grandfather; (our) ancestors
Allchi: grandson
Anchanchu: a polymorphous evil being
Anima; animita: soul or spirit, a sacralized place of death
Anta: herding circuit of pastoral practice
Apacheta: artificial mound or landmark next to in pathways, cross-roads and high peaks
Apu: a tutelary mountain, also *mallku*
Awayu: woven shawl, usually used for wrapping and carrying things
Awti Pacha: dry season
Ayllu: kinship-based Andean communities
Bofedal: highland pasture
Chachacoma: medicinal herb
Chachawarmi: unity of man and woman
Cacique, Curaca; Cacicazgo, Curacazgo: Caribbean term used to refer to Chief; Chiefdom
Chaku: rope used to lasso, also hunting technique of driving animals into an enclosure
Ch'alla: a religious rite in which an offering is made by sprinkling with liquids like alcohol or water; also confetti
Charque: jerkey
Chicha: fermented drink usually made out of maize but also grape or apple
Chujlla uta: herding shacks made out of *queñoa*
Chullpa: funerary monument from a precedent age of the *chullpa* people
Chullumpi: bird, guardian of the *julsuri* or *juturi*
Chuño: freeze-dried potatoes, an ancient technique of conservation
Collqa: food deposit or storage
Españarrí: mythological being representing the Spanish Crown
Floreo: Marking ritual with wool pompons (female) and collars (male) after the *k'illpa*
Gentiles: ancient people and ruins dating from that time
Inkarrí: mythological being representing the dismembered body of the Inka
Iru ichu: wild grass used for hatching
Jaatha, Haatha: lineage or sacred seed
Jallu Pacha: wet season
Jaqi Aru: Aymara people
J'acha: Big, high
Juturi, Julsuri: deep hollow and fertile place of animal creation, often associated to water and guarded by the *chullumpi* (bird)
Kay Pacha: terrestrial world, between *arax pacha* (upper) and *manq'a pacha* (under)
K'illpa; K'illpaña: ear-cut mark for animal flocks; live-stock marking ritual before *floreo*
Llamayupacha: harvest season
Lliclla: small woven cloth, usually used for rituals
Machaq Mara: Winter solstice, Aymara New Years
Mamacocha: fresh water or sea mother
Mallku; Mallki: male; hierarchical term used for chief or lord, condor, mountain or *apu*
Maray: Quechua word for grinding stone
Mesa: ritual mesa

Mita; mit'a: colonial tributary labour system; based on the Inca system of *corveé* labour
Paccarina: place of origin
Pachakuti: turning or changing of time
Pachamama; Pachatata: Earthmother; Earthfather
Pampa: fallow land or field left to grow wild
Paskana: stall, associated to a road
Pawa: ceremonial offering
Phisara: traditional meal with quinoa and broad beans
Poyo: kitchen bench
Pukara: high fortress
Q'oa: plant used as incense
Queñoa: highland tree
Q'ulliri: medicinal practitioner, specialized in using medicinal herbs
Q'uta: lagoon
Qhapaq Ñan: Royal Inca road
Qhipu, Khipu: woolen knots
Quero, Kero: cup made out of wood or metal
Ruinas: ruins
Satapacha: sowing season
Sayas: *ayllu* halves such as *hatun* (big) and *j'iska* (small), or *aran* (upper) and *urin* (lower)
Saywa: road markers or landmarks associated to the Inca trail
Supay, Supaya, Saxra: ambivalent spirits associated to the devil and the underworld
T'alla: female
Tambo: lodge or inn next to a road
Tatala: mythological being from the time of the *chullpa* people
Tawantinsuyu: Inca empire formed by four parts, starting from Cusco (centre): Antisuyu (east), Chincasuyu (north), Cuntisuyu (west), Collasuyu (south)
Tío, Huahuari: guardian of the mines
Tika: rope used to lasso
Tinku: encounter, a fight, a dance, act of sex
Tola: medicinal herb
Trapicha, Trapiche: stone grinder or ore crusher
Tunupa: mythical being, founder of the Andean landscape
Umasuyu: wet lowlands
Urcosuyu: dry highlands
Uywiri: mountain protector of animal flocks
Waca, Huaca: sacred place
Wallmapu: Mapuche territory, also known as *Araucanía*
Wayra: foundry used in precontact times
Wayñu, Huayno: traditional Andean music genre associated to pastoralism
Wiracocha, Viracocha: mythological being, world creator
Yanacona: Quechua word for servant
Yareta: highland plant used for wood
Yatiri; yatichiri: medicinal practitioner specialized in spiritual healing; teacher

Chapter 1

Problematizing Aymara indigeneity in Andean Chile

1.1 Introduction to research and research trajectory

The absence of people is the most striking aspect of the way Andean Chile¹ is represented for touristic purposes; landscapes are portrayed as pristine and captured with panoramic views of wild animals moving through the highlands. This representation of “uninhabited wilderness” (Cronon 1995:79) from the Lauca Biosphere Reserve can be easily bought as a postcard in any post office (Figure 1.1). Such ‘natural’ beauty, however, raises questions about the prevalence of indigenous population in Northern Chile, where people have lived for over ten thousand years (Moreno et al. 2009) and extensively interacted with the environment to generate “cultural landscapes” (Mujica 2002). The idea of pristine wilderness contrasts with local perceptions of Aymara people that live in the Arica and Parinacota Region, who have recently celebrated the eve of the year 5,522.² Considering the Lauca as an intensely occupied traditional native territory, how can it possibly be represented as ‘naturally’ uninhabited?

This question guided me during my initial fieldwork, as I began to explore the intertwined relationship between indigeneity³ and landscape⁴ among the Aymara people in the highland locality⁵ of Guallatire. I chose Guallatire as my field site because it was strategically placed in a Biosphere Reserve at the borderlands of Chile’s northernmost frontier, formerly known as the *frontera norte* (Wormald 1968). My interest in borderlands, also known as the “frontier effect”⁶ that attracts scholars to borders (Donnan and Wilson 2010), led me to study the relational concept of ‘nation’⁷ within the historical landscape of Chilean’s northernmost frontier. Other

than being an understudied area of research in anthropology, with the exception of recent scholarship (Aguilera 2010; Barraza 2003; Careño 2013; Chamorro 2013; Choque 2008; Eisenberg 2013), the indigenous population there is an unrepresented minority. Hence, I leaned towards understanding the relationship built by the Chilean state with the Aymara communities within this border landscape. This was mainly because in Chile it is often argued that ethnicity processes, such as ethnogenesis and ethnification, have been mostly triggered by democratic institutions and development policies (Gundermann 2000, 2013), particularly during 1993 through 2008, with the establishment of the national Indigenous Law and the ratification of the international Indigenous and Tribal Peoples Convention 169 (ILO 1989). As I discuss throughout my work, the Chilean state's legal apparatus has played a key role in the formation and disavowal of the *etnias originarias* (aboriginal ethnic groups),⁸ who are still struggling for indigenous recognition (Richards and Gardner 2013).

My research included a multi-sited ethnographic fieldwork that took place during various periods dating from 2007 through 2010, and with annual visits until 2014, in the regional capital of Arica and in the highlands of Parinacota. During this span of time, I gathered a variety of documentary sources, including first hand field notes, observations, interviews, notes from meetings, and maps, along with secondary sources such as news, internet media, scholarship, institutional reports and historical chronicles. Together, this data helped me to work through the complexity of Aymara indigeneity and rights of ownership in the Lauca, within the indigenous community of Guallatire.



Figure 1.1 A postcard portraying the Chilean Andes with images from the Lauca area

To understand the multilayered landscape of contestation at the Aymara borderlands, my work initially focuses on the history of border institutionalization as a ‘national’ project. I problematize the ways in which the borderlands, which I define as ‘transitional territories’—meaning territorial regimes encompassing more than one nation that are translated into frontier identities—which have been institutionalized through different mechanisms of government. Thereby, these territories result in contested boundaries and territorial conflicts that appear to be marginal, but are in fact central to the current body politic. In this light I discuss the *chilenización* (1884-1929), a nation-building campaign launched after the War of the Pacific to occupy territories disputed between Peru and Chile. I examine the emergence of an ethnic “historical consciousness” (Rappaport 1990), along with a series of resistance strategies for

indigenous recognition and political representation, such as the ‘dual legitimacy’ performed by Antonio Mollo. Mollo was an Aymara leader who opposed to the *chilenización* in the highlands of Putre during the time, in order to secure collective land tenure and indigenous rights of ownership.

I also studied the politics of Aymara indigeneity in discourse and in practice, particularly by ‘grounding’ data discussed by different groups within the community of Guallatire who are divided into two familial groups. I contrast the accounts from both groups to gauge similarities and differences between these accounts, focusing on how they reinterpret the transformation of the highlands of the Lauca and address the impacts of these changes on indigenous rights of ownership within the protected areas. In this way, through local narratives, indigenous voices account for the conflicts existing at the heart of the main town. The way in which these accounts retroactively narrate their past as a “regressive history” (Wachtel 2001) exposes social tensions that emerge from negotiating place, race, class, gender, nation, religion and identity.

Similarly, other accounts coming from the community on an individual basis focus on the embedded connections between landscape and memory. Focusing on the materiality of memory, I explore the local understandings and the production of indigenous heritage, retracing colonial mining and how it is imbricated in ideas of modernity in the highlands. I highlight the “afterlife” (Benjamin 1968) of material ruins as shaped by local memories that establish an intimate connection with property⁹ and heritage.¹⁰ This materiality becomes apparent in the stories I present about the Choquelimpe mine and the Trapiche site, which are linked to local practices such as herding and mining. My material shows that in Guallatire, the notion of *mestizaje*¹¹ also relates to a racialized form of property ownership that is shaped by market values.¹²

The transition of land into property is part of broader commodification processes affecting the Andes; hence, assessing property legislation is key in addressing the local impacts of property ownership as well as its global centrality in Latin America. Although indigenous relations with the Chilean state have changed over the years, I argue that some political strategies such as ‘dual participation’ and ‘no dialogue,’ which are often misinterpreted as a miscommunication, have been used historically by Aymara leaders and continue to be used by them as counterhegemonic tactics.¹³ Now, as much as before, indigenous strategies for recognition and representation challenge colonial and neoliberal practices to maintain access to native resources threatened by development and environment conservation programs, as much as by transnational projects within the Lauca Biosphere Reserve.

Using data gathered from various ‘participatory’ meetings for touristic development, I examine the fragmentation of the territory and privatization of land and water rights in the Lauca, a process that has contributed to the invisibility of Indigenous Peoples in the Biosphere Reserve. I show the complex ways in which the state is tied to the market in both public and private terrains, and how the government uses the idea of indigenous governance to legitimate market reforms and capitalist dynamics between state management and transnational investors. My argument is that the state-driven model of participatory government in the Lauca challenges our modern conceptions of democracy, and reminds us that it is actually constituted by an array of institutions and power relations (Paley 2008). In this scenario, the Aymara have been constantly negotiating spaces of contestation by performing resistance strategies for political representation and indigenous recognition, a process by which their re-ethnification continues to unfold.

To open up the initial question about the Lauca being an uninhabited territory, I now turn to my field site in Guallatire. As a “paradoxical place” (Rose 1993; Desbiens 1999) in Andean Chile,

this site has historically been produced in tension and in contradiction with other localities and boundaries, existing in a constant ‘state of frontier.’

1.2 Encountering Guallatire

It was June, *awti pacha*¹⁴, the dry season, in Guallatire. My breath was freezing, as it usually does once the sun hides behind the mountains in this area. Moments prior, sunlight had woven its way through the adobe houses in the heart of the town, gracefully stretching and narrowing their shadows while at the same time turning the mud walls to bluish purple, perfectly camouflaging them into the landscape. The rooftops, both traditional ones made with *iru ichu* or *paja brava* (wild grass) and new ones made out of *calamina* (metal roofing), shimmered gold and silver. That evening, as I walked back to the cabin that was my temporary home, a sheep crossed my path in front of the local church, the *Iglesia de la Inmaculada Concepción* (Figure 1.2), and turned towards a lighted house.

The town was ghostly quiet, other than the four policemen and the park guard who were staying at the cabin; for the last three days I had not seen anybody else around. Running into a sheep made the town suddenly feel more alive, less abandoned. Following her path lead me to a lighted house: ¡*Aló!* (Hello!) I called, and a voice replied: ¡*Pase!* (Come in!). As I opened the wood door and let myself inside, an old man with prominent cheeks and cataract eyes stared at me. “Are you Don Reinaldo?” I asked. He looked surprised and nodded, then asked me to join him next to the wood stove fire to warm up. Night fell.¹⁵



Figure 1.2 General view of the church and main plaza of Guallatire. Photo by the author (2007)

I had been told that Don Reinaldo, known as ‘the veteran’ by the local community, was the oldest man in town, and actually the only resident permanently living up there. Although information from the last Chilean census¹⁶ stated that there were 37 households in Guallatire (INE 2002), he was the first local that I encountered in the field. Later on I would understand that the whole district was formed by twenty-eight main hamlets, including the town of Guallatire itself, and various herding camps (see Table 3.1 in Chapter 3), some of which were less than or equal to a day away by walking distance. At least two thirds of the hamlets were permanently occupied. That night, as I warmed up next to the fire at Don Reinaldo’s place, I briefly explained

to him that I worked with people from the community and staying at the *guardería* (cabin or lodge) of the National Forestry Agency (CONAF) (Figure 1.3). The park guards had told me that the cabin had been built in agreement with the community back in 1988, but the presence of the *guardería* in the heart of the town was part of a land tenure debate within Guallatire itself.

Currently, the property of the town was contested in terms of rights of ownership between two familial groups, a contestation causing conflicts within the community at large. The symptoms of this conflict had included, but was not limited to, violent outbursts. These violent acts required the intervention of police forces and local authorities, who had been present within headquarters in the area since 1940. The violence served to justify the constant presence of a *carabiniero* (policeman) at the Neighbour's Council meetings that were monthly held at the headquarters or *sede social* of Guallatire.

Don Reinaldo and I started a conversation in his kitchen¹⁷ and he asked me to sit inside on what he called a *poyo*, which is an adobe wall extension of about 50 cm high used as a bench, usually painted with layers of whitewash later blackened with soot. He remained sitting on a wooden bench next to the fire (Figure 1.4). Staring at me while I talked, he would raise his hand up to his ear and slightly recline himself towards me, keeping a motionless gesture indicating that he was listening very carefully. I would reciprocate by nodding and signaling with my body to show that I was paying attention to what he was saying. This was a clear example of mutual misperception or a kind of miscommunication, something that an agronomy engineer who was working with Aymara in the area had warned me about before I went into the field. He said that I would not understand what people would say to me as much as they would not understand what I would say to them. Due to my basic knowledge of the Aymara language at the time, I was mostly speaking Spanish, catching on to just a few Aymara phrases. I anticipated that there would be some kind

of language miscommunication in the field, and my first interaction with Don Reinaldo made me aware of this fact.



Figure 1.3 General view of the cabin of CONAF next to the church of Guallatire. Photo by the author (2007)

That night I had brought Don Reinaldo bad news. While I was in the field with the park guard, I had heard that an old woman from the nearby town of Parcohaylla had been found dead on her way to Tignamar. Somehow she had lost her footing and fallen; her dogs had kept her company until her body was found, weeks later. The story horrified him, and he asked me several times where it happened, a question I could not answer as I was unfamiliar with the area at the time. He remained worriedly perplexed, immersed in his own thoughts and fears over the highlands,

feelings that now surfaced with the bad news of the woman's body left alone in the field or *pampa*.¹⁸

After I purposefully changed the subject, my interest was caught by his story of the old town of Guallatire. He said that the first town used to be located in what is now called Puquios,¹⁹ often recalled by local people as the 'old town,' next to a water course that lies on a property divide that is *al pie del volcán* (at the foot of the volcano), in contrast to the 'new town' which is said to be *al pie de la iglesia* (at the foot of the church). When I asked him for directions in order to visit Puquios, Don Reinaldo told me to get there by following the main road. As I listened, I mentally drew a map to myself so I could remember the route in my mind and later ask the park guard to take me there for a visit:

“When heading to Ancuta from Guallatire, there is a *pampa* (open field or fallow land) where you can see *Vilacollo*, a red hill, and right on the opposite side, there are two hills next to each other. The dark one is *Ch'iara q'ullu* and the other one with trees is *Queñoa q'ullu*. In Puquios, there is a water course and pastures where my animals usually graze, behind those hills. There are also ruins of the old town with a church, and of a mining camp that looks like the *trapicha* (ore crusher or mineral grinder).”

“What were they grinding?” I asked. “Mineral from Choquelimpe,” Don Reinaldo replied. Now it was late; the story-telling would have to continue another day, because it was dinnertime and Don Reinaldo needed to excuse himself to cook. He chopped an onion and peeled a couple of potatoes, adding them to a pot that was already steaming over the fire. *Es que soy solito, Señorita* (“It's just that I am on my own, Miss”), he said in a humble manner, to which I quickly replied: *No se preocupe, yo soy solita también* (“Don't worry; I'm also on my own”).



Figure 1.4 Interior of an Aymara kitchen similar to Don Reinaldo's kitchen. Photo by the author (2009)

That cold night, despite potential miscommunication due to mutual misperception and, although I was in the field and he was at home, it felt as if Don Reinaldo and I were in the same place, at the borderlands. I left into the dark night heading towards my cabin, thinking about the *pampa* that separated us from Puquios, the old town of Guallatire, laying beyond the warmth of his wood stove fire.

1.3 Research problem

I introduced the highlands of Guallatire by using this ethnographic vignette, mainly because I want to problematize the questions that eventually emerged from my first visit to the field: Why are Indigenous Peoples not recognized but misrecognized as ethnic minorities in Chile, despite existing national and international legislation that is not constitutionally enforced in practice? What is the nature of recognition or misrecognition of Indigenous Peoples in Chile, or *vis-à-vis* the Chilean State? What are the impacts of indigenous recognition and multicultural policies on current processes experienced by the Aymara communities? How does it affect indigeneity at the borderlands? My research responds to these questions by focusing on a twofold relationship regarding how the Aymara people from Guallatire experience the borderlands, on the one hand at the community level throughout their everyday livelihoods, and how they negotiate indigeneity at the state level on the other.

My ethnography developed in the midst of a national controversy regarding the ratification of Convention 169 on Indigenous and Tribal Peoples (ILO 1989) in September 2008. The Convention was modified by the National Indigenous Development Agency (CONADI) for the process of indigenous consultation (Decree 124), thus questioning the legitimacy of its use to achieve effective participation. This Decree basically changed the specific regulations regarding the process of consultation established by article 34 of the Chilean Indigenous Law, hence validating the process as one that was to take place provisionally (by e-mail), rather than as the expected full consultation (face to face). These changes were considered by indigenous representatives as misrepresenting the Convention 169 by ignoring legal international standards for informed consultation, therefore being detrimental to indigenous rights in Chile.

At the local level, consultation is intended to be used as a standard procedure for informed consent on the approval, or disapproval, of resource-oriented developing projects, which are mostly made up of extractive industries like mining, forestry, fishing, and energy-based (hydroelectric, thermal, geothermal) industries. Technological changes within the state apparatus also bring into question forms of virtual communication via cyberspace versus non-virtual communication, and the significant impact that such changes can eventually have in terms of accessibility and reliability, particularly in the context of a complex relationship like that between the Chilean State and Indigenous Peoples. Decree 124 was abolished soon after this controversy, but its brief inception brought up questions that have remained unanswered until present day as well as new modes of aboriginal distinction or ethnic discrimination that have emerged in the place of meaningful recognition. However, such *ciudadanía diferenciada* (differential citizenship) (Gundermann 2003) has operated negatively for Indigenous Peoples in the context of Chilean legislation, despite its current aims for multiculturalism, further affecting an ambiguous understanding of citizenship and ownership when it comes to the Aymara in the Lauca Biosphere Reserve.

To address my research problem, I present a brief historical interlude, to better understand the politics of indigeneity in the Chilean context. The National Commission of Truth and Reconciliation was formed in 2001 to address human rights violations during Pinochet's dictatorship (1973-1988). Aylwin, former President of Chile, chaired the *Comisión de Verdad Histórica y Nuevo Trato* (Commission of Historical Truth and New Treatment) and, in 2003, handed eight volumes that were produced by the Commission to Lagos, who was the President of Chile at the time (Yáñez and Aylwin 2007). The first volume resulted in *La Memoria Olvidada: Historia de los Pueblos Indígenas de Chile* (The Forgotten Memory: History of the Indigenous

Peoples of Chile), a compilation of indigenous working groups—including the Aymara—that aimed for vindication in order to start a *nuevo trato* (new treatment). The main researcher was an anthropologist, who argued that the purpose of *La Memoria Olvidada* was for an “intercultural history” to engage both indigenous and nonindigenous perspectives (Bengoa 2004:4). The so-called ‘new treatment’ marked a step towards indigenous recognition that had not been taken since the days of Allende’s socialist government, which was overthrown in 1973. Allende legislated on indigenous property in 1972, created the *Instituto de Desarrollo Indígena* (Indigenous Development Institute), and addressed the unseizability of indigenous lands, shares and rights.²⁰ The Law 17,729 allowed for the recovery of indigenous lands usurped by the state—at least 100,000 hectares belonging to the Mapuche had been transferred to nonindigenous individuals—by applying the Agrarian Reform of 1967 for restitution or expropriation.

Despite the efforts of the Special Commission of Indigenous Peoples (CEPI), created with the return of democracy in 1990, neither of the left-wing governments of the Democratic Coalition in power aimed to intercede in favor of them. Only in June 2011 did Piñera, acting as the first right-wing elected President since the military dictatorship, acknowledge the existence of a *deuda histórica* (historical debt) pending with Indigenous Peoples.²¹ Acknowledging the historical debt mainly entails recognizing human rights violations that have resulted in the dispossession of the majority of indigenous lands in Chile.²² The privatization of native territories by the Military *Junta* was achieved by eliminating communal and collective properties and assigning individual private properties that alienated indigenous rights formerly protected by the state, ‘liberating’ them to transnational corporations. The legal disappearance of the category of ‘indigenous property’ meant that any ‘occupant’ of these territories had equal rights of access

by Chilean Law. According to the Inter-American Institute of Human Rights, under this political agenda, the massive dispossession of indigenous lands would delineate a process of ‘ethnocide.’

Economic transformations in Chile since 1973 have had an impact on marginalized communities and racialized populations that commonly occupy territories that are conceived of as borderlands.²³ Leftist hopes were dashed with the end of the democratically elected government of Allende and the *Unidad Popular* political coalition (1971-1973), a moment in time known as *la vía chilena al socialismo* (the Chilean way to socialism) or *el experimento chileno* (the Chilean experiment), which was replaced by 16 years of military dictatorship led by Pinochet (1973-1989) (Mires 2001:332; Taberna 1973). From a historical viewpoint, the political chaos unleashed in 1973 created a state of terror. Citizens were constantly reminded of the *coup d’etat* through violent mechanisms during the military regime with a consequent institutionalization of state oppression that became embedded as part of Chilean society. This process of institutionalized oppression included dispossession, displacement, fragmentation, privatization of rights and the bureaucratic imposition of a neoliberal economic model by the so-called ‘Chicago Boys,’ a group of economists that introduced free market ideas into the core of the Chilean constitution (Frazier 2002, 2007; Quay Hutchison 2001; Paley 2001, 2008; Schild 1991, 2000, 2012; Valdés 1995). As will be discussed in my research, property legislation in Chile—as established in the Water and Mining Codes of 1981 and 1983—divided the land rights from the water rights and allowed for a systematic disappearance of indigenous property, which has been further subordinated to other laws (see Table 5.1 in Chapter 5).

Regardless of indigenous and other mobilizations against the democratic governments in power, the neoliberal agenda has been imposed for the last three decades and marketed as consensual

democracy. The main problem with indigenous rights in Chile relies on the fact that no structural changes have been made to the Constitution of 1980 despite the establishment of new environmental and indigenous legislation during the political transition, which has led to what I refer to as ‘contradictory legislation’. For instance, Paley (2001) has argued that contradictions within this transition became public in 1998, during the government of Frei, with the arrest of former General Pinochet in London, UK (Stern 2006), and the petition to repatriate him for a fair trial in Chile, a trial that never happened: “The spectacle of an elected president defending the ex-dictator in the name of democracy compels us to inquire into the nature of Chilean democracy itself” (Paley 2001:1).

The political conjuncture that led a democratic transition also consolidated a neoliberal market economy that altered the basis of what was believed to be a fair democratic process. This is why democracy continues to be challenged as a political practice that has institutionalized nondemocratic mechanisms at the heart of its customary law, particularly affecting indigenous rights. I am concerned with the ‘historical debt’ that hovers between the Nation State and Indigenous Peoples in this New Treatment, particularly how it interplays between the Chilean state and the Aymara people in practice because, in discourse, such debt has been mostly concerned about the relationship between the Chilean state and the Mapuche.

In contrast to the process of the privatization that has systematically affected the Aymara after initially registering their land rights in 1901-1906, the Mapuche have experienced dispossession and seizure of their traditional native territories since 1907.²⁴ Historical similarities between the campaigns of *chilenización* of Tarapacá and the *pacificación* of Araucanía can be retraced to the late 1800s (Jofré 2007). The relationship between the state and the Mapuche in Chile has been

overtly confrontational since 1990 when the *Consejo de Todas las Tierras* (All Lands Council) was formed in order to symbolically occupy ancestral lands. In 2007, the government's response resulted in 141 Mapuche being condemned by anti-terrorism trials through application of the Terrorist Conduct and Penalties, along with the Internal State Security Law.²⁵ To date, the Mapuche struggle has been labeled as 'terrorism' and criminalized by state-owned and privately-owned media, ignoring indigenous demands for self-government and self-determination, as well as justice regarding human rights (Human Rights Watch 2004; Richards 2010; Richards and Gardner 2013; Wallmapuche 2008). The conflict persists; while publicly described as "terrorist" by Chilean mainstream media, it has been labelled as "racist" by ethnic media such as *Azkintuwe*, the main Mapuche newspaper that is available online (Azkintuwe 2012).

The Mapuche, also known as *Araucanos* from the *Araucanía* or *Wallmapu*, have been racialized by Chilean society in contradictory ways. On the one hand they are represented as 'national' Indians who heroically fought against the Spanish Crown, while on the other, as barbarian savages that were an obstacle to development and modernization (Earle 2007; Mires 2001). With Spanish and Mapuche roots, the *raza chilena* (Chilean race) was conceived of as a superior mixture by the influential work of Nicolás Palacios in 1904, a Chilean medical doctor. In Chile, the indigenous cultural frontier "might have an important effect on the way in which the nation, as a racialized form, emerges historically" (Mallon 2011:325). Although the Indian was fundamental to, and even constitutive of, the very process of nation-making (Holt 2003:3), their invisibility within the Chilean national imaginary has played out negatively for the Aymara and other native groups from the Andes, such as the Quechua, Atacameño, Colla, and Diaguita. National discourses have legitimized a prejudicial discrimination against Andean populations in order to justify the appropriation of their territories by using racial, ethnic, regional, national,

gendered, and sexualized categories. Furthermore, this appropriation has essentialized indigenous populations according to the Chilean regional administration, forcing people to register only under one indigenous group. As an example, in the Arica and Parinacota Region, the indigenous population can only register themselves officially as Aymara, excluding the Quechua and Mapuche roots of people living in the area.

In this context, the Lauca makes a perfect case for ethnographically analyzing why peopleless landscapes of wilderness are imagined and represented instead of the Aymara people who really do live in the Chilean Andes, themselves. According to my fieldwork in Arica and Parinacota, mainly from 2007 to 2010, policy-making and the role played by various stakeholders involved in the planning process of the Lauca Biosphere Reserve have impacted traditional notions of ownership and citizenship, further affecting Aymara property rights in terms of their capacity to access critical resources such as land and water as well as cultural property and material heritage.

1.4 Research setting

Guallatire²⁶ is an Aymara indigenous community located in the highlands of the XV Region of Arica and Parinacota, Province of Parinacota and Comuna of Putre, Northern Chile (Figure 1.5). This locality is part of the Lauca, a highland watershed shared between Chile and Bolivia, which has become a Biosphere Reserve strategically placed at the border. Originally from the Andean highlands between Lake Titicaca and the Uyuni Salt Lake, the Aymara are now divided by three national borders; a large population lives in southern Peru and western Bolivia, while a reduced population remains in northern Chile (Thomson 2002:13).²⁷ The area is connected regionally by the main highway, Ruta 11-Ch, which joins the seaport and regional capital city of Arica with the

provincial capital of Putre, and reaches over to the Chile-Bolivia border next to Lake Chungara. This highway is an “altitudinal transect” (Eisenberg 2013:5) that interconnects the western slope of the Andes stretching from sea level to over 4,000 meters above sea level through the Pacific coast and lowland valleys to the highland *sierra* valleys up to the Andean plateau or *altiplano*. Guallatire is about an hour south of the Lake Chungara border complex via the A-235 road.

The Lauca territory was initially registered as a Forestry Reserve in 1965 to protect the queñoa trees (*Polylepis tarapacana*) that grew there.²⁸ Lauca became a National Park in 1970 and has been administered by the National Forestry Agency (CONAF hereafter) since 1973. Under new legislation, it became a Biosphere Reserve in 1981. The Lauca National Park (137.883 hectares) merged with the Las Vicuñas National Reserve (209.131 hectares), and the Surire Salt Lake Natural Monument (11.298 hectares), comprising a total of 358.312 hectares, which is twenty-one percent of the total surface of the Arica and Parinacota Region (16,898 hectares).

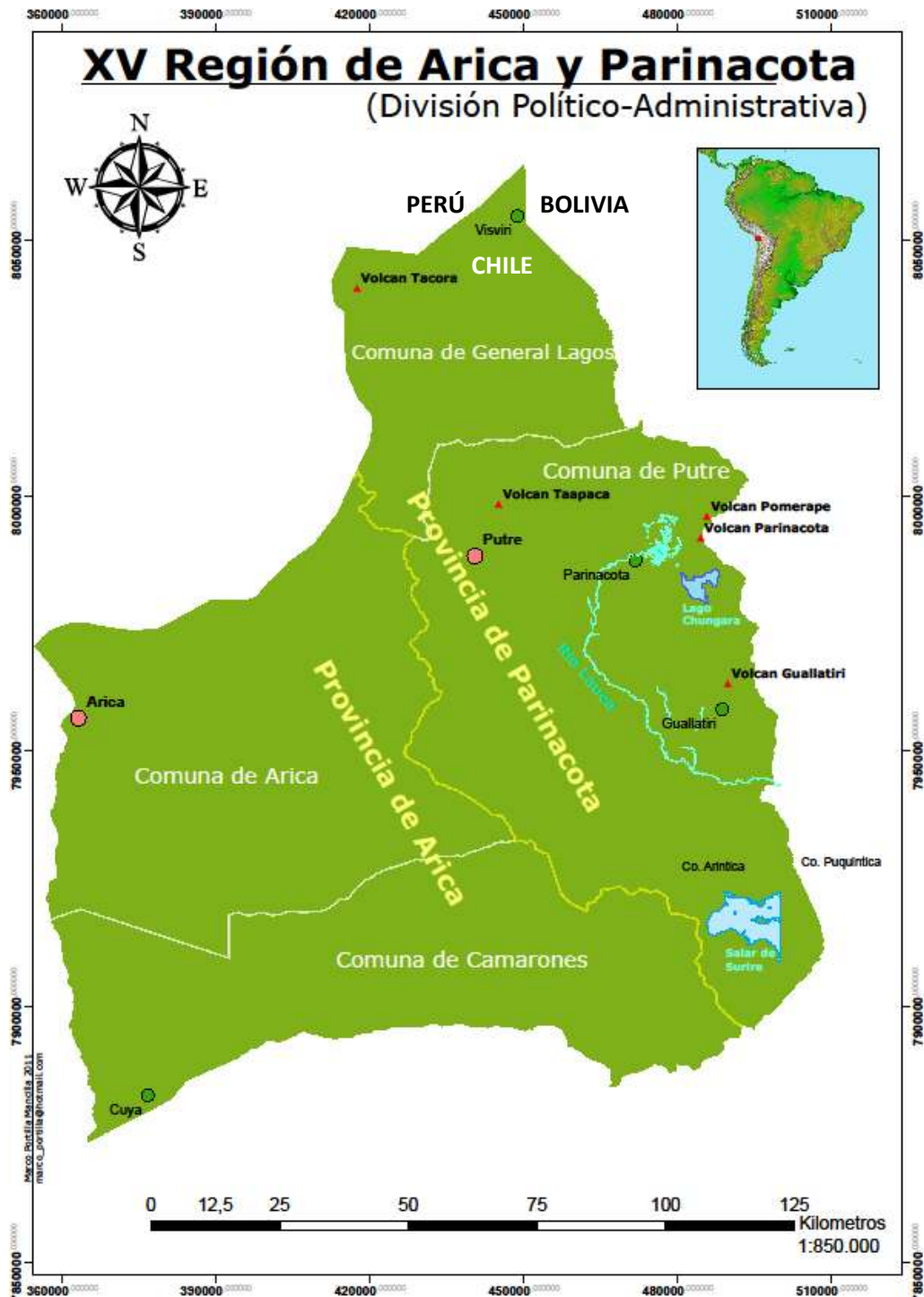


Figure 1.5 Geopolitical boundaries of the Arica and Parinacota Region, Northern Chile, with regional and provincial capitals, as well as the highland localities of Parinacota and Gualatire. The district of Gualatire embraces the Lauca River watershed and beyond, between Lake Chungara and the Surire Salt Lake.

Lauca was part of a first generation of biosphere reserves registered in the 1980s within the Man and the Biosphere (MAB) Program,²⁹ and is required to update its original file in UNESCO to match current biosphere reserve standards. This process validates its existence as a protected wilderness area that was historically imposed on a traditional native territory itself, although the land tenure has been registered as privately-owned land in the CBR, *Conservador de Bienes Raíces* (Real Estate Registry) in Arica since at least 1906. According to CONAF, less than two percent of the Biosphere Reserve is registered as state-owned land within the Ministry of National Resources (MBN), while the remaining ninety-eight percent is Aymara territory. However, due to its distinct indigenous status, the Lauca watershed is not legally considered private property unless registered through the state. Land and water rights have, therefore, remained contested. Most members of the community (about sixty percent) are either in possession of ownership titles or can claim historical occupancy that resulted in a form of land title for private property that has been further privatized by the state who tenders out the rights to transnational corporations. Since 2003, however, some *guallatireños* have joined the AGPRA, *Asociación Gremial de Propietarios Andinos* (Trade Association of Andean Owners) to reclaim their property rights within the Lauca and formalize a lawsuit against the Chilean state.

Nevertheless, governmental representatives and institutional officers in charge of the Reserve have ignored indigenous demands and launched ‘participatory’ meetings to market the Lauca as a ‘business’ suited for *turismo de intereses especiales* (special interests tourism). Although the Region of Arica and Parinacota has received funds to develop tourism since 2007 from the Inter-American Development Bank (IDB), the neoliberal agenda of the democratic governments in power since 1990 are also simultaneously promoting exploration and exploitation in extractive industries. Promising properties are tendered out to national and transnational corporations such

as Codelco Chile, Anglo American, BHP Billiton, Southern Copper Corporation and Río Tinto, among others. The whole picture is much more crowded than the uninhabited landscape of wilderness depicted in the Andean postcard. Such multilayered landscape that deeply contrasts with the Lauca being represented and marketed as a ‘peopleless’ park and ‘pristine’ wilderness protected area, ignoring at least ten thousand years of human occupation.

In regards to the Aymara specifically, in the 2002 Chilean census, 48,501 Aymara were originally counted based on questions of belonging to ‘ethnic aboriginal groups’ recognized by the Indigenous Law of 1993 (*Ley Indígena* 19,253), and later by using questions of ethnic self-identification as used in the 1992 census (Gundermann et al. 2005; González and Gundermann 2009).³⁰ The Aymara represent about seven percent of the total indigenous population in Chile (INE 2002), concentrated in the northern regions of Arica and Parinacota and Tarapacá (84,4%), while the rest are spread in the regions of Antofagasta (5%), Metropolitan (5%) and the rest of the country (4,6%) (MOP 2012). As of 2007, the XV Region has geographically encompassed the two provinces of Arica and Parinacota; both of the latter are divided into two *comunas* (municipal districts), Arica and Camarones in Arica, and Putre and General Lagos in Parinacota (Figure 1.5). The regional population estimated for 2006 shows that from a total of 189,600 inhabitants, 98 percent of the total regional population lives in the Arica Province, while the remaining two percent lives in the Parinacota Province (INE 2002). The rural Aymara are proportionally fewer (21.5%) than the urban Aymara (78.5%). According to the Ministry of Health (MINSAL), General Lagos is one of the ten most vulnerable *comunas* of Chile, with ten percent of the population living below the poverty line (MINSAL 2009). The high percentage of illiteracy within Indigenous Peoples is also present within the Aymara, within whom there is also a gender divide, where 71.9% of women are illiterate versus 28.1% of men (INE 2002:70-71).

Two newly-formed regions, XV Region of Arica and Parinacota and XIV Region of Los Ríos, were promulgated in 2007 during Michelle Bachelet's government.³¹ Before the passing of this legislation there were only thirteen regions in Chile, according to the regionalization program developed by the military regime in 1974 and the process of municipalization during the 1980s. All of these are legally supported by the Political Constitution of 1980, which came into force during dictatorship and has been democratically recognized since 1990 until present day. Although not officially acknowledged, the creation of these regions implicitly tackled local demands for indigenous governance within traditionally native territories belonging to the Aymara and the Mapuche. However, government centralization in the capital city of Santiago and indigenous representation at the regional level, which leads to it being underrepresented and segregated of higher levels of state administration, have continued to place indigeneity as a site of political struggle.

Since 1997 onwards, ten Indigenous Development Areas (ADI) have been defined throughout the country, following the Indigenous Law (Supreme Decree 224, article 26), and enforced by the National Indigenous Development Agency (CONADI hereafter). For instance, in Arica and Parinacota the *Área de Desarrollo Indígena Alto Andino* (Andean Highland Indigenous Development Area) was created in 2004, comprising 2.5% of the regional population in the Parinacota Province, 4,766 people of a total of 189,692 inhabitants (CONADI 2005). *Programa Origenes*, a national development program specifically focused on indigenous groups which has also been funded by the Inter-American Development Bank (BID hereafter), supported the Andean Highland ADI since 2007. This date coincided with the initial stage of my pilot research in the area, allowing me to analyze how newly-developed programs have affected the former institutionalization of the Aymara highlands.

1.5 Research methodology

I chose Guallatire as my field site to continue my research in Andean America, where I have worked since 2001. I did fieldwork for my undergraduate thesis in the *sierra* valleys of Belén, a peasant community that is kindred to the herder community of Guallatire in the *altiplano* highlands of Arica and Parinacota (Jofré 2003). Most highland families can retrace Aymara kinship ties across the Peruvian border, stretching north towards Tacna and Puno, and east across the Bolivian border, towards La Paz and Oruro. Their Aymara relatives are mainly lineages of Lupaqas, Pacajes, and Carangas from the southern Lake Titicaca, as well as Urus or Chipayas—who are not Aymara—from the Coipasa Salt Lake.

My first impression of Guallatire when I visited the highlands during my pilot research in June 2007 was of a bare landscape with a ‘private property’ sign that greeted me as I entered the area (Figure 1.6). Later on, a wired fence around the main town was added to the sign.³² However, within this initial bare image of Guallatire, I started to visualize people’s translocal mobility and their relationship to the land. Dwelling practices are both localized and relatively dispersed in the highlands. People mostly live in hamlets or *caseríos* within herding circuits, with camps called *antas* or *majadas* and temporary shacks called *chujlla uta*. There, the daily rhythm spans from dusk till dawn, a constant movement of flocks of llamas, alpacas, sheep, and goats, humans and nonhumans following the seasons though the highlands.³³ Local movements span the town of Guallatire and its hamlets, camps, and shacks, always with the help of herding dogs that move the flocks around, from their *corrales* (corrals) to the *bofedales* (pastures). The herding cycle is religiously determined every day by various ways of feeding, and being fed.



Figure 1.6 'Private property' sign placed at the entrance of Guallatire. Photo by the author (2008)

The highland pace became more familiar to me when I worked as an associate researcher with CONAF. From November 2008 to March 2009, I stayed in various occasions at their *guardería* (cabin or lodge) in Guallatire. The cabin was nicely taken care of by the park guards, and it had three comfortable bedrooms, as well as access to a bathroom, kitchen, and common room. There were usually two park guards on duty during the week in an area they would call *Andino Norte* (North Andean), an area comprising from the Chungara Lake, Cotacotani lagoons, Lauca River and the Surire Salt Lake. Due to the creation of the Region of Arica and Parinacota in 2007, this area was separated from *Andino Sur* (South Andean), and therefore the Isluga National Park protected area was now administered by CONAF's office in the Region of Tarapaca. Other than

park guards, the town of Guallatire also has a *retén de carabineros* or police control with five officers on rotating duties. State officials often get a frontier bonus to compensate for working in isolation. The *retén* has the only emergency phone available in the whole Guallatire area, except for one at the Choquelimpe mine and another one at the Quiborax mine in Surire. At the time, I contributed to CONAF by working on a cultural heritage project that allowed me to access the protected areas while helping to update the management plan for the Lauca Biosphere Reserve.

Every morning, the park guard on duty and I would plan a daily routine after which we drove an average of ten to twenty kilometres a day, finally reaching almost all of the 28 hamlets that formed the jurisdiction of Guallatire. My role as a research associate in the cultural heritage project titled *Catastro Patrimonial de Áreas Silvestres Protegidas* (Protected Wilderness Areas Heritage Registry) (CONAF 2009), was to update information for the Las Vicuñas National Reserve. The cultural heritage project was initiated by CONAF but it was also partnered by the National Monuments Assessment Commission (CAMN), the regional agency of the National Monuments Council (CMN) based in the Santiago capital. Las Vicuñas comprises 209.131 hectares, which is about fifty-eight percent of the total Lauca Biosphere Reserve. Lauca itself is about a third of the regional surface, hence this was the largest highland protected wilderness area of the National System of Protected Wilderness Areas (SNASPE) in Arica and Parinacota.

The project assignment helped me to undertake an initial heritage mapping project in Guallatire alongside various community members during my first fieldwork stage, from November 2008 to March 2009. While collaborating with this institutional initiative, my work engaged with the indigenous community in terms of the traditional uses and meanings of their native territories, and local movements for herding and gathering. In order to explore local landscape perception I

used semi-structured interviews when visited the hamlets of Guallatire. This research collaboration also allowed me to do participant observation with local park guards and policemen. I noticed that the park guards regularly performed conservation tasks such as keeping updated census or cadasters to systematically record wildlife population and the reproduction by counting species such as the *vicuña* or wild lama (*Vicugna Vicugna* or *Lama sp.*), *parina* or flamingo (*Phoenicopterus andinus*, *jamesi*, and *chilensis*), and *suri* or rhea (*Rhea pennata garleppi* or *tarapacensis*). While in the field, I also learned that the daily routine for the heritage initiative was also meant to achieve other institutional goals, such as surveilling the border. This became apparent when I participated in a patrol checking for *cazadores furtivos* (poachers), a task that required the park guards to wear bullet-proof jackets while tracking down camp sites close to the border. The liminality of the borderlands is made still more evident in the highlands. Andean mountain pathways are often used for illegal border-crossing and drug-smuggling between Bolivia and Chile (the Peruvian border is farther north). Police officers or even special intelligence forces from the Environmental Crime Squad (BIDEMA) from the National Bureau of Investigation (PDI) often asked for information about our everyday quests close to the frontier, and once I joined them for a visit in the field.

A second fieldwork stage was conducted from April to August 2009, a timeframe that allowed me to go back and forth in order to further develop semi-structured interviews and life histories with people from the community that had expressed a genuine interest in the project. This stage was dedicated to ten key informants in both Arica and Guallatire. Although my expectation was to have a longer residency for participant observation in Guallatire, my main informants mostly lived or commuted to Arica, with the exception of one family that mostly resided in Putre. I commuted with them, going back and forth to follow my informants from and to Andean

highlands and coastal lowlands. During this stage, my fieldwork mainly took place in Arica. With a population of 200,000, Arica is the northernmost regional capital city, and therefore it concentrates the indigenous population of Northern Chile.

I decided to follow the busy schedule of my main informants such as Don Juan, who was the president of the Indigenous Community of Guallatire and also a former member of the Neighbours' Council. He was a community representative for the Lauca Biosphere Reserve and participated in the meetings organized by CONADI and CONAF. Don Juan was also an active member of the Aymara Coalition in Defense of the Environment (CADMA), which was part of the Network in Defense of the Environment of Arica and Parinacota (REDMA). Don Juan participated in several meetings weekly, even over the weekends, and sometimes in multiple localities. At 75 years of age, including 40 spent in active leadership as a *dirigente indígena* (indigenous leader), it was hard to keep up with Don Juan's schedule.

Born in Lliza and raised in Churiguaylla—both hamlets belonging to Guallatire—today he mostly lived in Arica, although he was constantly moving back and forth between the city and the rural highlands where his wife, Doña Celeste, keep the family estate. As such, he was considered to be both part of the community of origin and part of the community of succession. When I met him in 2007, he had been re-elected as President of the *Comunidad Indígena Hijos de Guallatire* (Indigenous Community Sons and Daughters of Guallatire), which was formed in 1995, and continued to be voted into that position for two further consecutive periods. Several times we drove up to the highlands together, where I would get a better sense of what the territorial planning process for the Lauca was all about.

Similarly, Doña Celia, another of my main informants, was a *lideraza indígena* (indigenous leader) who sat on various committees as an active member of the Indigenous Community of Guallatire. For many years she was also the secretary of the Neighbours' Council, and was part of the Legal Committee in defense of the town of Guallatire, and openly spoke about the land conflict at the heart of the main town because she wanted to take it to the Inter-American Court of Human Rights. Doña Celia was also one of the members that formed CADMA in 1998, one of various organizations participating with REDMA since August 2010. At over 50 years of age, she also ran a handcrafted weavings business and took care of her family estate. Only once did I find her at home in Putre, the provincial capital city where she now resided. After all these years of work, her schedule was as busy as Don Juan's.

When I left the field, Guallatire remained in a precarious condition as an isolated rural town. Its hamlets had no sewerage, drinking water, electrical system (except for some solar panels or the power generator in town), internet connectivity, public washrooms, paved roads or public transportation, despite all the work done by Doña Celia or Don Juan. New questions emerged as I started to write the dissertation: Why has their indigenous leadership, in terms of labour and networking, not changed the local economy and entitled them to improved living conditions in the Lauca area? Does this relate to the fact that the Lauca territory falls under a category of indigenous property that has to remain underdeveloped? How does the indigenous land status interplay with other sorts of ownership within the Reserve? And how can we address issues about indigenous invisibility and racialization at the borderlands? The answers to these questions follow up on my initial ones, as will become apparent in the following pages.

Finally, on a third and final research stage, from September 2009 to March 2010, I reviewed my field notes and developed various follow-up sessions with my main informants in different settings, specifically in Guallatire, Arica, Putre, and Parinacota. I started the process of thesis-writing when I returned to Toronto in May 2010, and continued to go back and forth from there to Arica until 2014, in accordance with the nature of the multi-sited information gathered during my fieldwork. After eighteen months in the field, and many more in the thesis-writing process, I could never have imagined that my initial impression of Guallatire would have germinated into such a multilayered landscape.

1.6 Dissertation layout

To problematize my dissertation research, in Chapter 1 I locate Guallatire within the borderlands of the Lauca Biosphere Reserve, followed by my ethnographic setting and approach to fieldwork. I highlight the current state of affairs of indigeneity in Chile while laying out the trajectory of my conceptual framework. In Chapter 2, I expand on my approach to the borderlands by exploring the concept of ‘nation’ within the institutionalization of the historical landscape of Northern Chile. By looking into the history of this locality, questions of Aymara sovereignty emerge, along with counterhegemonic practices and resistance strategies that echo into the present day.

Chapter 3 moves from a state-oriented perspective to a community-based discussion regarding the commonalty of property as a way of marking difference within and outside the community. Here I use group interviews to address the land conflict that carries on in the heart of the main town. Following a similar line, but on an individual basis, Chapter 4 explores the dynamics of

story-telling within the indigenous community to lay out the commodification of the highlands as a source of mining production. The appearance of racialized notions of cultural heritage within multiple narratives sets a key stone in retracing local understandings of the past into the present.

While the first chapters were mostly based on interviews and participant observation, Chapter 5 examines the challenges of indigenous governance at a series of ‘participatory’ meetings for territorial management, drawing on this material to discuss the conflated interests of the state and the ways in which ‘contradictory legislation’ operates to weaken the role that the state has traditionally held. The planning process of the Lauca Biosphere Reserve presents an interesting case in terms of analyzing the impact of national and international policy-making upon indigenous rights of ownership. Finally, Chapter 6 weaves through all the chapters to conclude with a discussion about indigeneity and ownership in Guallatire, as well as of the ethnographic and conceptual approach I have taken in coming to understand the Aymara borderlands. In the conclusions I discuss how these local and ethnographic stories speak to the limits and the challenges around *etnias originarias* (aboriginal ethnic groups) in what is considered today the Chilean ‘multicultural’ society and in turn how they articulate inclusions and exclusions in the border landscape of the Lauca.

Chapter 2

Chilenización and nation-building in the Aymara borderlands

Chile is internationally regarded as a model nation-state in both economic and political terms, making it an ideal place to research questions of nation-state formation (Frazier 2007:1)

Chile's northernmost frontier, today known as Arica and Parinacota, has played a significant role in the formation of the Chilean state (Frazier 2002:96). Scholarly fascination with borders has drawn ethnographers like me into the kinds of borderlands or frontier zones of which the Arica and Parinacota Region is representative. This 'frontier effect' attracts scholars towards frontier zones because, according to Donnan and Wilson (2010:9-10), whatever the fit or mismatch between nations and states, borders are probably the best example of continuities and discontinuities between the two, and within local and wider levels of integration that inspire contested regimes. My interest in borderlands led me to study the northernmost frontier, formerly known as the *frontera norte* (Wormald 1968), to better understand the construction of these regimes within the historical landscape of Northern Chile, at the Aymara borderlands, where my main field site is located.

In this chapter, through the perspective of borderlands, I explore 'nation,' keying into it as a symbol with multiple meanings and as the basis of international classification between nation-states. (Verdery 2012)³⁴ Secondly, I engage with the field of state-subject relation. This relation can operate through the terms of citizenship, which I take to refer to as a form of collective sovereignty based on common political participation, or ethnicity, comprising all those of supposedly shared language, history, or broader cultural identity (Hobsbawm 1990:18-20). My contribution in coming to understand the state-subject relation as a political project that is two-

fold, opening up, on the one hand, the kinds of relations that emerge between states (which can be understood as forms of nationalism), and on the other, those that occur in everyday life of subjects (which can be understood as forms of nationness). Each of these relations are integrated differently with local, regional and national processes.³⁵ It is through this dual lens of seeing nation as constituted by relations between states and between subjects that I attempt to apprehend the local and wider impacts of *chilenización* (1883-1929), a nation-building campaign spearheaded for the Chilean occupation of the disputed territory in the current northernmost frontier.³⁶

My analytical starting point is the ‘locality’ of Guallatire. If power relations are practiced, challenged and reconfigured through sites of struggle, simultaneously shaping contending understandings of place, locality is bound to place (Frazier 2002:92). Local actors engage with and negotiate dominant boundaries of place and, in this process, create what Rose (1993) has referred to as ‘paradoxical places.’ Following the analytical angle of feeling out the tension between nationalism and nationness, I discuss the ways in which Guallatire, as an Aymara locality, has interplayed with the international border as a form of territorial boundary-making. Moreover, I query aspects of indigeneity, sovereignty, territory, national identity and multiculturalism in order to understand the intricacies of borders and borderlands as liminal spaces of contention and negotiation between subjects, nations and states.

2.1 *Fiestas Patrias* in Guallatire

To explore the underlying tensions in nation-building processes and borderlands, I open with a vignette from the celebration of *fiestas patrias*³⁷ Guallatire. The Chilean day of independence is

commemorated as a two-day holiday along with the *glorias del ejército* or glories of the army, which are celebrated every September 18th and 19th. I was intrigued to observe how this commemoration would be performed in Guallatire because borderlands, often perceived as ‘margins,’ generate their own discourses about national identity, which may or may not engage with other notions of indianhood or nationhood emanating from the ‘centre’ (Canessa 2005a:6). Guallatire³⁸ is a highland town in Arica and Parinacota. The town is located next to the volcano that shares the town’s name, about 15 km away from the border with Bolivia and 235 km from Arica, the regional capital. The locality consists of 37 households (INE 2002) surrounded by 28 hamlets, including the town of Guallatire itself. Although my main field site was Guallatire, I adopted a multisited approach (Marcus 1995) so that I could follow the movement of people through highlands and lowlands.³⁹

On that particular day, the recently elected *Junta de Vecinos* (Neighbours’ Council) was in charge of organizing the festivities for the holiday.⁴⁰ Less than an hour’s drive separates Guallatire from the hamlet of Churiguaylla, where I had stayed overnight with Don Juan and Doña Celeste. We were running late that morning because the jeep’s petrol had frozen overnight, even though we had covered the engine and left it pointing east so that the sun would help to warm it when it rose. Once we had managed to start the engine, Don Juan was anxious to arrive because he had recently stepped down and the new Neighbours’ Council was hosting *fiestas patrias* for the first time. “They have no experience organizing,” he told me in a worried tone as we arrived, having left Doña Celeste behind to continue herding her animals. I had never seen Guallatire so lively. People were gathering in the central plaza. We rushed over to the plaza, which was not really in the center, but was located towards the northeast of the town (Figure 2.1).

The plaza is a square with an earthen floor surrounded by short, white adobe walls. It is located next to the community lodge that is now managed by one of the local families. Don Luciano, the newly elected Secretary of the *Junta de Vecinos* (Neighbours' Council) approached Don Juan as we arrived and asked him to be the Master of Ceremony. Don Juan immediately accepted (although he later said that he did not like to improvise and preferred to follow a protocol). I joined the rest of the audience at the plaza, all of us facing north towards the Guallatire Volcano, while Don Juan initiated the event.



Figure 2.1. Guallatire's central plaza highlighted in red. Google Earth satellite image (2004)

After Don Juan finished his welcome speech, a formal protocol followed. A man and a woman from the community raised a Chilean flag while the audience intoned the national anthem in a solemn tone with no music, *a capella*. The woman held the flag while the man raised it up the

flagpole.⁴¹ The anthem starts with the line *Puro Chile es tu cielo azulado, puras brisas te cruzan también* (Pure Chile your sky is blue, pure breezes cross you as well). This line is followed by *Y tu campo de flores bordado es la copia feliz del edén* (Your field of embroidered flowers is a happy copy of Eden). The second strophe continues, *Majestuosa es la blanca montaña que te dio por baluarte el Señor* (Majestic is the white mountain that the Lord gave you as a stronghold). The strophe ends with *Y ese mar que tranquilo te baña, te promete future esplendor* (The sea that quietly bathes you promises future splendor). The last two lines are repeated twice, during which time the Chilean flag usually reaches the top of its mast and is tied into place. The last part of the anthem is the chorus, which begins *Dulce Patria recibe los votos con que Chile sus aras juró* (Sweet Homeland accept the vows with which Chile swore at your altars). The final line, *Que o la tumba será de los libres o el asilo contra la opresión* (The tomb will either be freedom or asylum against oppression), is repeated three times.

The anthem thus invokes features of the landscape, such as the sky, fields, mountains and sea, along with patriotic sentiments that symbolize the nation and highlight nature in terms of productive resources and geopolitical boundaries. In the context of these lyrics, geography is bound to the nation, which itself is blessed by God. Chile's anthem weaves together natural resources, sacred features and feelings of belonging to produce and reproduce ideas about nation and identity through national symbolization. All of these elements, however, although connected through verses, appear to be far from the interpretations of people in the local community.

That same day a *mesa*, an Andean ritual table,⁴² was placed next to the pole and covered with an *awayu* or ceremonial textile (Figure 2.2).



Figure 2.2 Commemoration of the Chilean national day in Guallatire; note the Guallatire volcano in the background. Photo by the author (2008)

According to Tudela (1992), an anthropologist who also conducted fieldwork in this area, the *mesa* traditionally includes alcohol, food, vegetables, minerals, animals and other sacred objects such as coca leaves and incense as offerings left on the ceremonial textile. These objects symbolize all of the surrounding energies, entities and spirits (Tudela 1992:150). However, this particular *mesa* only had the *awayu*, on top of which the *chachawarmi* couple's hats rested. That same day, as part of the national commemoration, an elderly woman from Guallatire and a younger man, the new Neighbours' Council Secretary from Arica, had performed as the *chachawarmi* couple. *Chachawarmi* symbolically represents the unity of man and woman, an Andean gender ideology representing their different but complementary roles (Burman 2011;

Blumritt 2013; Harris 2000; MacLean 2013). The *chachawarmi* couple usually officiate ceremonies, taking turns to perform this role. They represent local authority because both of them have to have actually been recognized as authorities, i.e. have had to pass through several hierarchical positions within the community to attain the status of *pasiri*.⁴³

The *fiestas patrias* in Chile are celebrated with guitar-based folkloric music called *cueca*, which is usually danced in three continuous pieces or *pies*. The celebration also includes traditional food and drink such as *empanadas* (meat patties) and *chicha* (young wine) that were here offered by the municipal staff to honor the national holiday. There was no music or instruments to play *cueca* on this day, however, something that Don Juan had feared would happen, blaming it on the inexperience of the newly elected Council members. However, Don Luciano asked everybody to double-clap their hands in order to create the basic rhythm for *cueca* while three couples danced along, including the new municipal candidate (Figure 2.3).

After the *cueca* dance, Doña Estela, a herder and weaver, volunteered to perform on her own a traditional musical genre from the Andes known as *huayno*⁴⁴ and passionately sang *Huerfanita Soy*⁴⁵ (I am an orphan). Later, when I approached her, she told me that she identified with the song as she was an orphan, the only child of her late mother, a local mid-wife accused of hexing by part of the community. The national imaginary of the orphan in Chile is deeply rooted with the *huacharaje*⁴⁶ or ‘illegitimate’ offspring said to be raised by poor native women. These categories go back to colonial times and have long reproduced racial, class and gender identities within Chilean society, including the birth of the *mestizaje* and the *machismo*. Both hegemonic discourses are associated with gendered stereotypes that interplay with family and morality.

Mestizaje, in particular, is a racial category implicit in Chilean society and reinforced by notions of purity that shape it as an inferior class of hybrid (Montecino 1991; Salazar 1990).



Figure 2.3 Local celebration of *fiestas patrias* in Guallatire, with a couple dancing the *cueca* and people from the Municipality of Putre serving *empanadas* and *chicha*. Photo by the author (2008)

Once the formality of the event was over, the community and the rest of the public, formed by policemen, park guards, paramedics, truck drivers and others including myself, were invited to attend *la sede*, the local office, which is a block west of the central plaza (Figure 2.4). The municipality of Putre had organized another event there. The authorities present that day included the *Alcalde* (Mayor) of Putre, Francisco Humire, as well as Lorena Ventura, a new candidate who was launching a political campaign for the elections of 2008. Both of these people

were kin to the highlanders of Putre. Don Juan told me later that the Mayor's father had sold his own father the land property of Churiguaylla where he now lived with Doña Celeste. Once gathered in the office, the officials gave speeches to the assembled audience. These formal speeches were tied to political discourses recounting the municipality's achievements initiated by the Mayor, thus promoting their work as part of an elected party still in power. The national commemoration overall was an excuse to gain potential voters, and the audience listened unsurprised to their speechifying; they knew what to expect from such an event. Later that afternoon, after a few hours of socializing went by, the members of the community returned to their homes in the hamlets of Guallatire or the outskirts of Arica. The town emptied as we left, waiting for the commemoration of another event.

The *fiestas patrias* in Guallatire are performed following certain norms of commonality such as singing the national anthem and raising the Chilean flag, while simultaneously marking indigenous difference by including a *mesa* and having *chachawarmi* officiating the event. Such a paradoxical act of belonging and difference bears sociopolitical significances that speak to historical processes of nation-building that have produced particular political forms of engaging with the nation at the borderlands. The solemn public display of cultural symbols, with their heterogeneous genealogies, shows how intertwined these elements are and how they are articulated in identity and performance. However, tensions within the community were also present, as had been apparent during the gathering at the local office, although I failed to come to grips with these tensions at the time.



Figure 2.4 People of Guallatire and guests in attendance, posing for a picture. Photo by the author (2008)

The *fiestas patrias* in Guallatire are performed following certain norms of commonality such as singing the national anthem and raising the Chilean flag, while simultaneously marking indigenous difference by including a *mesa* and having *chachawarmi* officiating the event. Such a paradoxical act of belonging and difference bears sociopolitical significances that speak to historical processes of nation-building that have produced particular political forms of engaging with the nation at the borderlands. The solemn public display of cultural symbols, with their heterogeneous genealogies, shows how intertwined these elements are and how they are articulated in identity and performance. However, tensions within the community were also

present, as had been apparent during the gathering at the local office, although I failed to come to grips with these tensions at the time.

While there, the presence of two policemen caught my attention. At first, I had thought that they had simply been invited to *la sede* like the rest of us in attendance that day. It was only later on, while I was participating in another Neighbours' Council meeting in Guallatire, that I found out that armed policemen were now attending every meeting held in town, to avoid "physical violence."⁴⁷ We had departed from Arica for this meeting the night before, around two am to arrive at dawn, on a bus that was regularly driven by Don Flavio up the highlands. As a singer and musician, Don Flavio kept us awake along the ride with playing music and singing traditional *huayno* songs. It was around 7 am when the meeting started; coffee and tea were served by the community members. Don Juan was chairing the session and about forty people were in attendance. That day's agenda was packed because the meetings are suspended during the months of January and February due to the rain and usually resume in March.

The chief policeman on duty was present all throughout the meeting and stepped out for a moment to bring back bad news as we were finishing the meeting: one of the community members, Don Demetrio, had had an accident that cost him his life. His partner had already given notice to the police and to his children that were already on their way from Arica. Immediately women started crying over the loss of this *guallatireño*, while some of the men asked: How did it happen? And where? "*Se cayó en la puerta de su casa*" (He fell at the door of his house), the chief policeman replied. Like others recently deceased, his body would be taken back to Arica for legal formalities and religious ceremonies before being brought back to Guallatire for burial at the local cemetery. While driving back through the unexpected rain, Don

Flavio's bus ran into the taxi that Don Demetrio's son was driving on his way to Guallatire. Don Flavio gave Don Demetrio's son his condolences and asked where the visitation would take place, so he could visit the rest of the family in Arica.

When I asked Don Juan why the policemen were once again present at the meeting, he said *para evitar la falta de respeto* (to avoid disrespect). Physical violence had taken place between the families of Guallatire belonging to different familial groups.⁴⁸ During one of the former meetings, a man married to a local woman had hit an elderly woman from another family. This was not an isolated event, and had been conducted in response to another violent incident occurring at a meeting of the former elected board of the Neighbours' Council in Arica, which was filed in the *juzgado de policia local* or local police court. The Treasurer, a pregnant woman and daughter of the man that had hit the elderly woman, had accused the President, an older man, of discriminating against and attacking her. She complained of being left out of a meeting; in response, he had pushed her away and asked her to leave. What could be the cause of such conflicts between these neighbors? Was an old rivalry between families capable of generating these kinds of violent outbreaks at the local meetings? Had property titles divided some families at the Lauca? Or was it, perhaps, the politics involved in the upcoming elections?

As I learned later, differential rights for accessing property due to the regularization of land and water tenure left several families out of the process, leading to conflict between certain members of the community. Local residents and their descendants were taking part in a legal conflict that dated back to 1906, during the times of the initial *chilenización* of the Lauca territory, in the Aymara highlands. Such conflict had escalated since being first brought up at the citizen participatory meetings organized by the National Forestry Agency for the planning of the

Biosphere Reserve. So-called *chilenización* is a Chilean state formation process that stretched from 1883 to 1929. It was a nation-building campaign spearheaded for the purposes of occupation of the disputed *frontera norte* (Wormald 1968). At the time, the sovereignty of the former Peruvian territory of Tacna and Arica was challenged through various mechanisms of governmentality such as schooling, secularization and militarization, among others. After years of civil and military violence, the expulsion of the Peruvian population and imposition of the Chilean state into the area was achieved as of 1930 (Bengoa 2004; Díaz and Ruz 2009; Frazier 2007; González 2004; Tudela 1992). But the complexities underlying the historical landscape of Northern Chile at the Aymara borderlands are still present less than three generations later, as became apparent in 2008 during my fieldwork.

2.2. *Chilenización* in the highlands

Ever since he raised the Peruvian flag outside his house in the provincial capital of Putre in 1901, the name of Antonio Mollo has been synonymous with revolt (González 2004:140). He was well-known in Putre as a *Principal* or *Jilacata*, a male leadership role that granted him status within the local community, referring specifically to his role as being in charge of the *Juventud Putrense* (Putre's Youth Club) (Inostroza 2011). He had kinship ties and lands in the highlands and lowlands, as well as a thorough knowledge of the territory, which he gained while working as an *arriero*, or muleteer. As one of the few literate people in the area, he had the means to help illiterate community members register for land titles during the Chilean occupation of the highlands. Such a position did not come without trouble. Mollo was expelled from Putre in 1922, accused of instigating a series of revolts and confrontations with local authorities (he returned

from Bolivia in 1926). In 1914, he was said to have boycotted the religious commemoration of the *Virgen del Carmen*, a Chilean national icon⁴⁹ (Figure 2.5), by selling liquors next to the chapel of Chañopalca, a hamlet belonging to Caquena where his wife, Gregoria Cáceres, came from and owned land (Díaz et al. 2013:485; Tudela 1992:62). Mollo opposed the local ceremony in his role of *Fabriquero* (church guardian) and *Mayordomo* (church patron) in Putre. The first role meant he was responsible for holding the keys of the church, religious silverware, and holy attire, while the second one required him to host the main religious ceremonies. He was later accused by the new authorities of stealing the keys and the religious goods (Díaz et al. 2013). According to Tudela (1994), tensions had emerged between Peruvians and Chileans in the disputed territory because of the imposition of a political system that undermined and ignored the significance of local authorities in the context of religious traditions.

All Catholic churches were closed in 1907 and Peruvian priests expelled in 1910 as a mandate for the second, and more aggressive, stage of *chilenización* (Bengoa 2004:111). To settle loose ends remaining after the end of the War of the Pacific (1879-1883) and decide the fate over contested territories of Arica and Tacna, including Putre and Tarapaca, the Treaty of Ancón (1883) was signed, pending a plebiscite between Peru and Chile that was to take place 10 years later but never did. Regardless, the fate of the *provincias cautivas* (captive provinces) remained undecided for almost fifty years as, although the highland population supported a plebiscite, and 68% of the population in Putre would have voted for joining Peru (Díaz et al. 2013:487). During this time, violence escalated among armed civilian groups known as *ligas patrióticas* (patriotic leagues) (González 2004). In 1929, following US arbitration, Arica was separated from Tacna,⁵⁰ which is today known in Peru as the *ciudad histórica* (historical city).



Figure 2.5 *Virgen del Carmen* and the Chilean army of Independence (www.virgendelcarmen.cl)

According to Bengoa (2004:111), the first stage of *chilenización* (1884-1910) was spearheaded by the civil authorities; the second stage (1911-1929), on the other hand, was initiated by the political authorities. The military vicariate was founded near the beginning of the latter period, in 1911. From the beginning of the last century, schooling played a major role in *chilenización*, transforming native populations into voting citizens. Most people spoke the Aymara or Quechua language, but were illiterate in Spanish. Not risking the possibility of losing the plebiscite, the

Chilean state pushed the active implementation of the Mandatory Elementary School Law of 1860 and, after much debate about the funding of public education between 1915 and 1917, new investments were made to place schools in every rural town. These initiatives were reinforced by the Mandatory Primary Instruction Law of 1920. The first Chilean school started in Putre in 1905, at the insistence of Antonio Mollo (Bengoa 2004:113; Díaz et al. 2013:482). At the time, public education was demanded by the local population as a civil right because there were no schools and the police forces were constantly disciplining the natives:

[...] en aquellos sectores del interior poblados por indios sin la más rudimentarias nociones de civilización, los carabineros, tanto como con la palabra como por el ejemplo, están constantemente introduciendo en dicha gente hábitos de higiene y de cultura en general [...]

[...] in those rural places inhabited by Indians without a rudimentary notion of civilization, the policemen, by word and example, are constantly inculcating in those people habits of hygiene and of general culture [...] (González 1997:94, my translation)

Tudela (1992, 1994) argues that secularism played a central role in *chilenización* because of the intricate role that religious traditions had played within the community up until that period, especially for local authorities such as Mollo. This mechanism of *chilenización* is also known as a ‘resocialization’ (Bengoa 2004:113). The military vicariate was undertaking surveillance by means of their chaplains, until the installation of the military service in 1900. With the implementation of Law N° 1,362, Chile became the first Latin American country to introduce mandatory military service (González 1997). A close bond between religious and military institutions was evident during the times of the *chilenización*. Ramírez (1927:178 cited in Tudela 1992), a military chaplain and church parson of the nearby district of Belén, after visiting Guallatire in 1925, said:

La obra más duradera nuestra ha sido llegar al convencimiento del indígena, clavarles la idea, por medio de la repetición, martillando una y mil veces en la dura cabeza: ¡Alcohol, veneno! ¡Coca, veneno!

The most enduring work has been to convince the indigenous peoples, nailing the idea, through repetition, hammering one and a thousand times in their hard head: Alcohol, poison! Coca, poison! (Tudela 1992:64, my translation).

We have seen how *chilenización*, although it was initiated by the state, was a political process reinforced by religious authorities. Racist and xenophobic acts were performed by ultra-nationalist and Chilean paramilitary from 1910 onwards (González 2004). In *La Memoria Olvidada* (Forgotten Memory), the document that resulted in 2004 from the Commission of Historical Truth and New Treatment, recounted violations of human rights in the disputed territories of Tacna and Arica were by Aymara descendants. Specifically, the Aymara Working Group describes that time as a moment of *desaymarización* (de-Aymarization), conducted by means of violence, intolerance, intimidation, the imposition of foreign customs and the prohibition to speak their native language (Bengoa 2004:110-111). *Chilenización* left traces that resonate profoundly in collective memories of the Aymara highlands. Like in other Latin American borderlands, state violence paradoxically became a means of integration in frontier communities (Baretta and Markoff 2006:57-58), thus recreating imperial interrelations formed earlier, in the context of Spanish colonialism and Catholic imposition (Mignolo 2000, 2005).

Mollo became a symbol of 'anti-Chilean' resistance, his actions followed by other opponents of this nation-building campaign. As an Aymara and Peruvian indigenous leader, his position allowed him 'dual legitimacy' vis-à-vis the community of Putre and the Chilean state. In this sense, his 'dual participation' was legitimate to both the Chilean authorities and the indigenous leaders, making up a performative praxis of resistance. While he was firmly against state policies

imposed upon local authorities, he also demanded civic rights for the community as a whole. Thus his resistance carried along a ‘hidden transcript’ (*sensu* Scott 1990) of political discourse. Other than performing as *Principal*, *Fabriquero* and *Mayordomo* for the community, he was also appointed by the state as *Comisario de Aguas* (Water Commissioner) and *Miembro del Comité de Exámenes* (Exams Commissioner) for the Mixed School in Putre. Using the new citizen rights promoted by the Chilean state, Mollo organized the muleteers to request services such as better and more secure roads for their trade, arguing that they were deserving of such services inasmuch as they contributed to the state as taxpayers (Díaz et al. 2013:482). Since 1897, he also registered land properties to cultivate and use as pastures following the new system of land regularization that had been put into place. In 1910, along with twenty-three other *Putreños*, he registered a piece of property in the highlands of Putre that was to belong collectively to the community of Putre (Díaz et al. 2013:480). Today, the descendants of the *Comunidad Juan de Dios Aranda y Otros* maintain rights to access this communal land tenure (Ruz and Díaz 2011).

Along with Pedro Humire from Socoroma, Mollo confronted the Sub Delegation regarding the keys of the church, which were now under Chilean administration (Tudela 1992:68). In 1906, due to the problems caused by Mollo, his wife Gregoria, and other opponents to the Chilean regime, the Sub Delegate declared that they would have to ‘finish with the head rather than attacking the arms of such a troublesome situation.’ (Díaz et al 2013:484). Upon returning with fifteen other rebels to Putre in 1926 after having been exiled to Bolivia with his family, Mollo was officially named head of the *Comisión de Propaganda Peruana* (Peruvian Propaganda Commission) in preparation for the plebiscite that was to decide the sovereignty of Arica and Tacna in 1926.

As noted above, the plebiscite never happened. Due to violent outbursts and coercion of potential Peruvian voters by Chilean opponents, U.S. arbitrators Frank Kellogg and Wade Ellis decided that the plebiscite should not be held. The Treaty of Lima made this decision official in 1929, after which Tacna became part of Peru, and Arica became part of Chile. The 7th article of the Treaty recognizes that historical property legally acquired would be kept by its original owners. This official recognition in the Treaty has not been followed by the Chilean state in practice, thus leaving previous land claims obsolete (Aguilera 2010; Díaz et al. 2013; Ruz and Díaz 2011; Yañez 2007).

In 1926, tensions arose. The Chilean delegate had notified the chief policeman that he “would victimize Mollo before allowing him to return to Putre” (Díaz et al. 2013:473), meaning that he would rather see him killed than back in town. Many others were murdered or disappeared for the Peruvian cause between 1925 and 1926, after the indigenous uprising of Challaviento in the Caplina valley of Tacna. In November 1925, three Chilean policemen were killed in the area and the police outpost was burned down in revenge for the rape of an Aymara woman, the wife of a community member, and the killing of another member (González 2004:141). Likewise, the death of Antonio Mollo in Putre, Chile, occurred under violent circumstances involving a confrontation with police forces in April 1926. Mollo was arrested, tortured and brutally beaten; he died days afterwards (Díaz et al. 2004; 2013). News about Mollo’s death spread via *La Voz del Sur*, a Peruvian newspaper of the time:

Ha muerto en Putre don Antonio Mollo, ciudadano peruano, que fue perseguido tenazmente por nuestros adversarios. Sus vinculaciones en Putre, su posición económica y su patriotismo acendrado era algo que los chilenos no podían tolerar.

Don Antonio Mollo, Peruvian citizen tenaciously persecuted by our adversaries, has died in Putre. His connections in Putre, his economic position and his unalloyed patriotism was something that Chileans would not tolerate (Diaz et al. 2013:473, my translation).

In Guallatire, the memory of Antonio Mollo was blurred and merged with that of one Esteban Mollo, a Peruvian who requested that the old church to be moved to its current location, as is often mentioned when locals recount the current land conflict that has affected the main town. The Peruvian are remembered as resisting the Chilean occupation before the annexation of the territory and its peoples. The most evident consequence of *chilenización* was the loss of the local native language because the Aymara language was prohibited, and its use was subject to public punishment by the police. This repression of language is the reason why Don Juan does not speak Aymara, saying that he struggles with pronunciation, even though he can understand the language when it is spoken to him. As a young boy growing up in the highlands about 70 years ago, he used to hang out with the police squad from the local headquarters. More than once he saw people being disciplined by the local policemen for speaking Aymara, which was also prohibited at school.

Schooling, secularization and militarization together worked to discipline Indian men and women, transforming their native language and the way they experienced the world. Thanks to kinship ties between the local families and herders who were constantly moving around, the Aymara language was not totally lost, and has more recently been revitalized.⁵¹ Another loss, however, was the *ayllu* or traditional kinship-based structure of community, which was based on rotating and hierarchical positions of authority. In 1927, Ramírez claimed that in Guallatire there was still an Aymara male leader or traditional local authority known as *Principal* or *Jilacata* (Tudela 1992:16), sometimes also equated with *Mallku* that is always paired with a *T'alla*, the

equivalent, but female, role (Mamani 1999). Not long after, this role and other public roles within the community such as the *Fabriquero* and *Mayordomo* disappeared. Despite the struggles for public schools and better roads that Antonio Mollo and others had fought for in the highlands, Guallatire now remains quite isolated from the international highway, except for the mining and touristic activities in the area. No rural schools are functioning and the main public services are concentrated in Putre, the provincial capital. Evangelical Christians have maintained their temples since the introduction of this religion between 1964 and 1982,⁵² but the Catholics have locked down the church and its doors are occasionally opened, in order to protect it from potential threats to its integrity.⁵³ Only police headquarters and custom officials, along with the park guards, are currently active at the border. But this was not the case in earlier times, as a review of Guallatire's history shows.

2.3 Guallatire under the rule of the *supay* (devil)

Guallatire has an obscure past. It has often been conceived of as occupying a liminal space at the borderlands, where Indians exist in a wild and uncivilized state, a 'state of nature' (Das and Poole 2004:8). During colonial times, the area was part of major routes interconnecting coastal and highland centers, such as the sea port of Arica and the silver mine of Potosí. It is strategically located in the water divide between the Eastern and Western slopes of the Andes, thereby providing access to the ecological zones of both the *altiplano* and the *sierra*.⁵⁴

The historical landscape of Guallatire has been described by Urzúa (1964) as a place under the rule of the *supay*. *Supay* is usually considered as a kind of evil spirit or devil, synonymous with the *saxra* or *wak'a* (Martínez 2001:7-8). The devil's spirits are a dominant nonhuman presence

in the area, and often central to certain practices and memories that embody labour contradictions (Gordillo 2004). According to Gordillo (2004:8-9), the behavior, features and type of interaction of these spirits with humans is deeply contingent on their location, similar to the *payák* or devils of the Toba people of the Argentinian Chaco. Another example coming from Oruro in Bolivia, is the mountain spirit of *huahuari*, sometimes identified as the *tío* or devil of the tin mines.

Taussig (2010) argues that the connection between devil beliefs and commodity formation is a common presence in Latin American mines and plantations, “As understood within the old use-value system, the devil is the mediator of the clash between these two very different systems of production and exchange.” (Taussig 2010:37). As a form of reciprocity, several rituals were often performed in mining communities that venerate beings related to the mines such as the *tío*, *huahuari*, *supay*, *anchanchu* and *iquiqu* during both the dry and the rainy seasons (Fernández Juárez 1995, 2004, 2008; Fernández Juárez and Pedrosa 2008). Taussig (2010:150-152) argues that such rituals are strikingly similar to llama sacrifices performed for *Pachamama* or Earthmother, considered the spirit owner of animals.

But it is not only contradictions of labour practices that become as embodied in the figure of the devil, such as those resulting from the shift from herding and mining in a regional scale to industrial capitalism and the dominance of its commodity form; religious transformations have also produced spatial contradictions in the highland landscape with the introduction of the Catholic doctrine by the missionaries and, later, of Evangelical Protestants. In Guallatire, it is said that devils inhabit certain places, usually rocks or caves that are locally referred to as *mal paraje*. When passing by, they can make you have *susto*, a sudden intense fear that can result in

the loss of one's soul or *ánimo* (Gordillo 2004:193-195). Don Juan said that the only way to heal this fear and recover courage is by going to the place where it all started to lure the evil spirit and call back the person's name with some of his or her clothes. Other dreaded places are tombs and burial sites, where whirlwinds or *wayra* can trigger *mal de chullpa*, a type of evil eye cast by malevolent ancestors, that can only be cured by medical healers (Ayala 2011:111). These evil spirits are experienced and embodied through suffering a change of behavior, symptoms of which can be translated as madness, nakedness and other means of describing transformation from existing in a physical place to existing only in a metaphysical state of being (Gordillo 2004).

However, as occurred with the *chilenización* in the Aymara borderlands, the landscape could have been 'demonized' in response to a particular memory attached to a particular place. It is worthwhile, then, to explore the cultural history of this locality and of the borders that were laid out during colonial times but which were transformed into national boundaries less than a century ago. These borders were reinscribed through *chilenización*, coming into contradiction with communities and practices both historically speaking as well as in terms of their persistence today. Guallatire, as an Aymara locality in Chilean territory, has interplayed with liminality in various forms, creating transitional spaces where cultural practices are constantly producing a state of frontier.

Guallatire has long occupied territorial boundaries that get translated into frontier identities. The archaeological record in the nearby area of Caquena can be traced back over ten thousand years (Moreno et al. 2009), as well as interactions between highland and coastal populations of the time. Guallatire itself was first documented in 1739 (Hasche 1997). It was known as *Nuestra*

Señora de la Concepción de Guallatire, part of the former *Corregimiento* of Arica, in the southernmost frontier of the Viceroyalty of Peru. Ecclesiastically, it belonged to the Doctrine of Codpa, originally created in 1668, later becoming the Doctrine of Belén in 1777 (Hasche 1997:63-64). Since its origins, Guallatire has been associated with mining due to its strategic location next to the mine of Choquelimpe. The Archbishopric of Arequipa mentioned in 1739 the *ingenios mineros* (mining mills) as the place “where the jurisdiction of Guallatire comes to an end” (Hasche 1997, my translation). That same year, Guallatire registered 78 inhabitants; its population, however, was constantly fluctuating. According to data gathered by Demetrio Egan, Mayor of Arequipa, the population of what he called the *aillo Guallatiri* decreased to 50 in 1750, then increased to 97 in 1772-73. Egan blamed a decay of minerals and harsh weather that resulted in only a small tribute received from the Chief of Codpa at that time (Hidalgo et al. 2004:108, 116, 201). A new Mayor, Antonio Álvarez Jiménez, revisited the area in 1793, documenting a population decrease in the mining centers that occurred parallel to a decline in metal production and the tributary system of *mita* (Barriga 1948).⁵⁵ However, between these two visits of 1772-73 and 1793, the movement of people would have also declined due to the indigenous insurrections led by Tupac Amaru and Tupac Katari from 1780-1782 (Mires 1992; Thomson 2002, 2003, 2011). During this rebellion, Diego Felipe Cañipa, the last Chief Governor of indigenous ancestry in Codpa, was skinned and hung in the main plaza by indigenous insurgents, because he maintained loyalty to the Spanish Crown and thus refused to join the uprising (Hidalgo 1986:199; Hidalgo et al. 2004:109).⁵⁶ In a visit during 1772-73, Egan had stressed the need to improve defenses within the division, anticipating what would happen a decade after (Hidalgo et al. 2004:109).

In *Arica: Puerta Nueva. Historia y Folklore* (Arica: New Gate. History and Folklore), Urzúa labeled his first and probably last visit to Guallatire as having taken place *bajo el domino del supaya*⁵⁷ (under the devil's rule) (Urzúa 1964:161). Urzúa, an adventure writer, tells us that the local population requested the visit of a priest from the San Marcos de Arica Cathedral in Arica to bless children between the ages of 10 and 17 years old who had been suffering from frantic hallucinations. At least two of them had seen apparitions of the devil in the Guallatire volcano. Another had seen 50 soldiers riding 50 grey horses, heading to war. The soldiers were calling on him to join, he told Urzúa, and he would frantically call out loud the names of each soldier (Urzúa 1964:165). The same year, in response to these phenomena, the local community requested the presence of religious authorities from Arica in a petition written by Eusebio Jiménez Sánchez:

La comunidad del pueblo de Guallatire viene a solicitar a esa santa parroquia, si lo tiene a bien, enviar a un Ministro de la santa Iglesia para que venga al pueblo de Guallatire, para aprovechar de echar la bendición al pueblo, ya que los niños de este lugar se están volviendo todos trastornados y dicen ver al Malo, ya han ocurrido cinco casos seguidos. Por lo que venimos a solicitar se haga posible darle presencia a esta solicitud, por afectar a todos los comuneros de este pueblo...

The community of the town of Guallatire requires of this holy parish, if considered proper, to send a Minister of the holy Church to come to the town of Guallatire to bring a blessing to the town, because the children of this place are suffering from hallucinations and they claim to see the Evil, there have already been five successive cases. For this reason, we request taking into account this request to make it possible, as it affects all of the community... (Urzúa 1964:161, my translation)

When I asked the people of Guallatire about these events⁵⁸, they explained to me that sulfur fumes coming from the volcano were toxic and had particularly affected the children of the time. The community back then had a strong connection with the Guallatire volcano, also known as

Tomás Capurata, an *Apu Mallku* or ambivalent tutelary that can sometimes be benevolent and sometimes violently punitive.⁵⁹ Even today the volcano is considered an ambivalent tutelary guardian that can look over, while at the same time punish, the community. As an *Apu Mallku*, the volcano is recognized as a male leader and can grant leadership to local male members. It has taken on this role for Guallatire as well as for other communities like Macaya, Julo and Sacabaya in Bolivia, just across the border.

For the residents of Guallatire, the volcano is a clear identity marker that also symbolizes their ancestry and indigeneity within the Lauca territory, as well as a contested borderland. The volcano embodies the devilish nature of this ‘state of frontier,’ allowing for the transition and translation of cultural tensions as marked by difference and contradiction. These ‘frontier identities’ have permeated themselves beyond the historical institutionalization of the border, and continue to revitalize the frontier experience by embodying it as a transitional state. As for the residents in Arica, who have named an indigenous organization *Volcán de Guallatire*, the volcano embodies their particular ethnicity, which is performed along with traditional music and dance under its name.⁶⁰

Located next to the Lauca watershed, the Guallatire Volcano is a frontier identity marker that has long been shared by border Aymara communities from both Chile and Bolivia. Today, even though the volcano remains in Chilean territory, it is still a main feature of the Bolivian landscape. When I visited the Bolivian town of Macaya in June 2007, just a few kilometers away from Guallatire, I was surprised when Don Florencio told me that his community forecast the weather by constantly looking over at the fumarole of the Guallatire Volcano (Figure 2.6). Its white peak reaches up to 6,060 meters above sea level and the yellowish fumes are a permanent

sign of volcanic activity. The sulphuric smoke columns emanate from the eastern slope of the volcano, closer to the border. Don Florencio said that if the fumaroles go east there will be wind with few clouds; if they go west or south there are chances of rain and stormy weather, but it will be warmer; and if they are still, there will be sunshine and lower temperatures.



Figure 2.6. Image of the Guallatire Volcano from the town of Guallatire. Photo by the author (2009)

Similarly, anthropological research in Bolivia, where the Lauca River meets the Coipasa Salt Lake, has shown the cultural significance that this river has among the Chipaya people, including its veneration during seasonal ritual practices (Wachtel 1990:202-209). The Lauca watershed is an Andean ecological divide that continues to demarcate land tenure between the *sierra* and the

altiplano. People of Guallatire see this highland watershed as shared between Chile and Bolivia, which would mean a shared ancestry and sense of belonging to the same kinship. However, the commodification of water rights to access this resource has changed the symbolic relationship that Andean communities traditionally have with water sources and how this relationship has been transformed with the instauration of neoliberal practices in the highlands (Laurie et al. 2009; Yáñez 2007; Yáñez and Gentes 2005; Yáñez and Molina 2011), as well as the issues of sovereignty surrounding the use of water (Tomasek 1967).

2.4 Living at the border and border-crossing

Although changes have affected the border landscapes of Chile and Bolivia, border-crossing continues to be a frequent practice. If not crossing through the main customs checkpoint, there are a few *portezuelos*, or mountain passages, that were not laid with landmines between 1974 and 1976 during Pinochet's military regime, such as Japu and Macaya. These pathways are conveniently used as trafficking routes and for undocumented travel through the Andes.

People from the hamlet of Japu laughed when I told them of the first time I tried to make my way there in 2008, because I got lost. Located just east from Guallatire, Japu is the hamlet that is closest to the Chile-Bolivia border. Don Francisco had agreed to meet me there that day. The main road had no signage, which is why I kept on driving around the edge of the Guallatire volcano. At some point, the road tracks I had followed began to disappear, and the area around me looked totally abandoned, so I decided to retrace my way back to Guallatire. When I finally made it to Japu, driving with the park guard on patrol a week later, I humorously told Don Francisco that "I thought I was in Bolivia but then realized that I was next to the snow of the

volcano.”⁶¹ Don Francisco laughed, his hardened face lightening up briefly. The idea of me being lost by the edge of the volcano seemed tragically comic considering the minefields with landmines that have been placed at the border.⁶² Born and raised in Japu, he took care of a big flock of llamas and alpacas. That day, with his family visiting from Arica, they were marking their stock, following the traditional pastoral practice of *k’illpaña* (Figure 2.7).

K’illpa literally means to cut the ears and mark animal flocks. This practice is traditionally done around the rainy season at the *Anata* or Carnival for llamas and alpacas, and close to the dry season during the solstice celebration of San Juan (June 24th) for sheep and goats (Dransart 2002). The Aymara believe that performing this ritual assures animal fertility (van den Berg 1985:105), and is used with all flocks of animals to mark and distinguish each of them because they are all herded together. There is another ritual known as *floreo* that is performed after the *k’illpa*. Pompoms or wool marks are attached to the llama or alpaca’s ears or tied around and behind the neck, depending on whether the animal is female or male. This tradition marks their sexuality and is associated with fertility songs related to certain Andean birds (Arnold and Yapita 1998:132). Each piece of wool is given a certain twist, knot, color arrangement, and placed in a different spot in order to identify its owner (Bastien 2012:86). In Japu, marking the flocks was an arduous task in which all family members participated. Although Don Francisco’s daughter said that while it was not a common practice for this time of the year, that day they were also castrating young adult males to avoid fights and make it easier to divide the flocks while in the pastures.



Figure 2.7 *K'illpaña* pastoral practice for marking animal flocks in Japu. Photo by the author (2009)

After a pause, Don Francisco replied, *no estabas lejos del hito que marca la frontera allá, a unos 500 metros de donde está el campo minado* (you were not far away from the landmark that demarcates the border there, about 500 meters from where the mining camp is). He pointed out towards the horizon, showing the top of the hilly slopes that can be seen east beyond the *bofedal* (pasture) of Japu, where his flocks of alpacas and llamas usually graze. Don Francisco's house is just along the main dirt road, on a parallel road to the one on which I got lost before deciding to return to town. He was literally living at the border. Nonetheless, although some locals would take the risk, border-crossing was neither safe nor legal for Don Francisco. To do so safely, one

had to take the road back north and drive for over an hour towards the Chungara Tambo Quemado Customs Complex. The place looked quite different from how it used to be, according to Don Francisco, who told me that *Japu era lugar conocido de arrieros que venían de todos lados, pasaban antes de seguir su camino* (Japu was a well-known place for muleteers who came from all over and stopped by before they continued on their way). Taking a break from marking, Don Francisco walked me around Japu, through the adobe houses that have fallen apart, with their collapsed walls and roofs. Most of the hamlet, in fact, including the chapel and the commercial stores of *Tiendas Cáceres*, now lies in ruins.

Tiendas Cáceres, however, are still up and running commercial stores in downtown Arica. The current owners are daughters of Don Benedict, Barbara and Sofía, “an entrepreneur of his time,” as they said when I talked to them in 2012. According to his offspring, Don Benedict was born in Chiapa in 1925, in the hinterland of Iquique. He arrived at Arica in 1959, and in 1968 bought an orange truck that he used to transport and sell products from the sea port up the highlands. His business did well and he donated one of the metal bells that can still be heard from the tower of Guallatire’s church. Both of his daughters remembered their time living in Japu.⁶³ Their family used to *challar* (offer libations) to *Pachamama* at a big rock in front of the chapel, just across the main road towards the *bofedal* (pasture). Sometimes described as a blue rock that attracts lightning, this rock was used as a *mesa* (ritual table) for libations, for the most part during the rainy season in the months of January and February. In Guallatire and its surrounding hamlets, each hamlet had a *mesa* that was thought to be a sacred place. It was a common practice to protect it, circling it by smaller rocks, and to do ritual offerings during certain times of the year (Urzúa 1964). The daughters of Don Benedict said that after the offerings were made to the

mesa, nobody could stay there and the place had to be left alone, implying that the sacredness of space and ritual was respected by the community.

A neighbor of Don Francisco, Don Zacarías, told me that he used to work as a watchman at the *Tiendas Cáceres*. Don Zacarías moved to Botijane, the next hamlet from Japu towards Guallatire. But before he married a woman from Guallatire, he had decided to cross from Bolivia and try his luck working in Chile. Once he started working at the *Tiendas Cáceres*, during his night shift, the stores were robbed while he was asleep. He recalled what happened in Japu, *Yo estaba dormido ahí mismo pero no oí nada, perdí el trabajo, y eso fue hace tiempo atrás* (I was asleep right there, but did not hear a thing, I lost the job, and that was long ago). However, Don Benedict's daughters did not remember the commercial stores being robbed at all, and they have not gone back to the highlands of Japu since the business closed in the mid-1970s.

Tiendas Cáceres was a profitable and successful business until 1974, when the international border was closed by the military and landmines were placed all along the Andes, blocking mountain passages that were long used to connect border communities, thus transforming local mobility. That same year, the military dictators Augusto Pinochet and Hugo Banzer agreed that Chile and Bolivia should have diplomatic relations and met close to the so-called *Hito Trifinio* (trinational landmark) placed between Chile, Peru and Bolivia, at the border city of Charaña in Bolivia. The newspapers at the time called it the *abrazo de Charaña* (embrace of Charaña), an event that my own grandfather recalled when I first told him about my work in the area. Despite the fraternal *abrazo* between both dictators, from 1974 to 1976, Chile placed eight minefields in the Parinacota Province with about 5,197 underground landmines at the border with Bolivia, representing 6.6% of the regional total of 78,454 that were also placed at the border with Peru

(CNAD 2010). Nevertheless, after a short truce, Chile and Bolivia once again ended diplomatic relations in 1978.

Another neighbor, Don Amador, who was also from Japu, now lives in Ungallire.⁶⁴ He told me that the hilly slopes where the *hito* or border landmark and the *campos minados* or minefields that are placed at the border form part of the Kimsachata,⁶⁵ a mountain composed by three peaks. One of them is referred to as María Elena, which is the *t'alla* (female partner) of Tomás or Pedro Capurata, another name given to the Guallatire Volcano or the *mallku* (male partner). A third peak, Acotango, lies between the other two and is referred to as their offspring. The three mountains are kindred and named after each other, a common naming practice in Arica and Parinacota. Over thirty years ago, the *achachi* or mountain ancestors were part of a performance that represented them as an elder couple that came to celebrate Carnival in Guallatire. Two men would impersonate the grandparents, wearing old clothes and playfully trying to seduce the youngsters that were closely guarded by the *allchi* or grandson, who was a child from the community.⁶⁶ In nearby areas, it is common for local traditions to invoke mountain ancestors, *achachi* or *mallki*, in worship and ritual. Like present-day patron saints, *mallki* are remembered as territorial markers of mythical origin in *paccarinas*, places like caves or springs, that root humans and non-humans in a particular territory, making them flower into new generations (Arnold and Hastorf 2008:154). However, the community of Guallatire does not gather in town to celebrate ceremonies as they used to because the community of origin has been displaced and the residents reduced, while the community of succession has increased as descendants have multiplied in Arica.

Knowing the diverse ways in which the border was experienced in Guallatire, historically, symbolically, religiously, politically, economically, made me realize how different it was to what I had observed from the other side, in Bolivia. I crossed the border in 2007, during the winter season, for the *feria quincenal*. This open market takes place every other Tuesday close to the town of Macaya. People from Guallatire cross the border using the main dirt road that connects the two countries through the *Portezuelo Macaya*, a mountain passage that is only officially authorized for use by policemen, and only to go and return the same day. On the Bolivian side of the Lauca, the market place is laid out on a windy pebbled riverbank, next to the water course. Looking at the shallow shore, it is hard to imagine that its flow can turn into a flooding torrent during the wet season. I was told that when this happens, it cannot be crossed from the Chilean side, and that the market has to be rescheduled.

That morning at the fair, clusters of stones marked where vendors would settle down with their stalls and goods, some of them protected by plastic wind shields. Chilean vendors were in the minority at the fair, stocking mostly fruits from the coastal valleys, which are valuable commodities in the highlands. Seasonal grapes, pears, quinces and apples colorfully decorated the wooden boxes showing on the back of the few trucks coming over from Guallatire and Putre. Bolivian vendors were clearly in the majority, coming from nearby towns such as Macaya, Julo, Sacabaya, Sajama, Lagunas, and Tambo Quemado. They might even have come from further away, from the bigger towns of Turco, Curahuara or Sabaya to which the former towns are connected as part of the broader *Jach'a Carangas* Ayllu Confederation. From these towns, trucks and other vehicles arrived with loads of people and livestock. The Bolivian military came in trucks too; many uniformed men from nearby regiments, all standing in the back of a truck.

The militarization of this border landscape became apparent with the military surveillance rounds that were constantly performed in both Chilean and Bolivian frontier zones.

Most items sold there were animal by-products such as skin, leather, wool, and meat, as well as sundry household products such as sodas or toilet paper, products that were much cheaper in Bolivia than in Chile. Several women used improvised rock hearths and firewood as open kitchens where people gathered in circles of stone or parapets used as windshields. They sat down to eat traditional dishes sold at the market. The most popular ones were the *phisara*, a quinoa-based dish accompanied by fava beans, or the traditional *charque*, llama jerky served with white corn, *papa chuño* (freeze-dried potato), and a hard-boiled egg; followed by colourful *jalea* (jello) with cream for dessert. The market runs from early morning to early afternoon, when the increasing winds dictate that it is time to head back.

When I asked about this particular market tradition, to host the market in this place and in that way, Don Juan told me that it used to take place further south, in Chilcaya, near Surire, but was moved as a consequence of the militarization of the border that resulted in the blocking of the Chilcaya passage. Nevertheless, for the Aymara families living in the area, exchange, bargaining, commerce, and trade continue to be essential,⁶⁷ and the Macaya open market fair is just one example of how traditional livelihoods are kept regardless of the dangers that have cropped up due to militarization and the establishment of minefields in Tambo Quemado, Chungara, Japu, Macaya, Chilcaya, Cerro Capitán, Surire, and Chapiquiña. After years of co-existing between at least eight minefields, the Macaya fair opened in the 1990s because of its suitable location in a natural mountain passage.

Crossing the border to go to the Macaya every other Tuesday is a common practice for the people of Guallatire, which is why the passage is constantly kept under surveillance by armed forces from both sides of the border. They patrol to control illegal commerce and undocumented trespassing. Don Juan recalled once that in 1986 he was in charge of initiating another *feria bipartita* (bipartisan fair) that takes place with the participation of villagers from both Chile and Bolivia twice a month in the five-kilometer no-man's land that is located between Lake Chungara and Tambo Quemado. In his view this market and others have been reestablished to promote trade after the military regime had enforced the international border around 1975. Don Juan also talked about another border fair further north that takes place among residents of Chile, Peru, and Bolivia. Known as the *feria tripartita* (tripartisan fair), it takes place at the same *hito trifinio*, a landmark at a point where the border divides all three countries.

The popularity of the market exchange, where barter is still fairly common, shows now the Aymara maintain traditional livelihood and kinship at the border, despite the military presence that has institutionalized repression using authoritarian means. People merged together recent history related to the *dictadura militar* (military dictatorship) with the *campana de chilenización* (chilenization campaign) because both moments in time left memory sedimented at the same place: the border. As occurred in other Latin American countries, state violence has forged the international border (Baretta and Markoff 2006; Coronil and Skurski). The white peak of the Guallatire volcano remains as a silent witness, shifting its fumaroles from time to time while the people of Macaya, on the Bolivian side, observantly keep track.

2.5 The Aymara borderlands

During my fieldwork in Arica and Parinacota, I noticed that the idea of the Aymara as a ‘nation across borders’ or a ‘cross-border nation’ was brought up regularly. This idea questioned notions of national identity versus indigenous identity or simple discussions of sovereignty at the border, particularly when thinking about the idea of ‘a nation within a nation.’ For instance, at the beginning of the 2013 documentary about Aymara birth practices called *Yuriña: Nacer en Pecado* (Born in Sin), a man appears on screen offering coca leaves to a burning fire, while enunciating in the background:

La cultura Aymara es muy antigua, es milenaria, de tiempos remotos. Dominamos desde la cordillera a la costa. Tratamos de levantar nuestra identidad. Nos sentimos muy orgullosos de ser de esta tierra... Los Aymara no tenemos fronteras.

The Aymara culture is antique, millenary, from ancient times. We dominate from the mountains to the coast. We try to construct our identity and feel proud of being from this territory. The Aymara have no frontiers.⁶⁸

The man is a *yatiri*, an Aymara medical practitioner and community healer well-known in the Arica and Parinacota Region for his medicinal treatments and *coca* leaf divination. In August 22, 2010, he predicted that the 33 Chilean miners trapped in the San José Mine were alive and that they would be rescued imminently. He was also interviewed in 2012 for leading a ceremony to welcome a delegation of the Yakama Nation coming from the United States and Canada to perform a dance parade during the *Inti Ch'amampi Carnaval del Sol*, a carnival that annually takes place annually in Arica.⁶⁹ The *yatiri* described the meeting with the delegation as an unforgettable moment in his life because of the reciprocal connection and mutual recognition as aboriginal peoples that was immediately apparent between him and the delegation, even though they did not share the same language. For him, they brought together the sacred spirits of Eagle

and Condor, from the North and from the South, respectively, as an old prophecy had foretold both to him and the Yakama people. He also argued that:

Los originarios no tenemos fronteras. El tema del idioma y los límites impuestos por la modernidad y los estados, cuando estamos conectados con la tierra tenemos el don de reconocernos y comunicarnos.

Antiguamente no existían fronteras en el área andina; éramos todos aymara, quechua, entre otros; sin embargo, nuestros abuelos se reconocían como una cultura en común, no por una cédula de identidad.

Aboriginal people have no frontiers. The language issue and the limits imposed by modern states, when we are connected to the land we have the gift of recognizing and communicating with each other. Long ago there were no frontiers in the Andean area; we were all Aymara, Quechua, and others; however, our grandparents recognized themselves as a common culture, not by means of an identification document.⁷⁰

This statement highlights that Aymara people manifest a sense of shared identity which is known as transnational indigeneity (Forte 2010; Nieze 2003), shared by other transnational subjects within the Americas. The *yatiri* recognizes the cosmopolitan aspect of indigeneity as part of a globalized discourse of indigenous rights that resonates with new forms of indigenous citizenship (Canessa 2012; García 2005; Kymlicka 1995; Postero 2007; Stavenhagen 2002, 2009; Yashar 2005). According to García (2005:165), “cultural difference is no longer a criterion for exclusion, but one of inclusion in a multicultural political community.” This revalorization of indigeneity, however, operates at different levels, and the language used by the state to express its political aims or political indigeneity at international conferences varies from the concerns of marginalized communities facing poverty and racism (Canessa 2012:214-215).

Multiculturalism in Chile has led to the institutionalization of a sense of commonality, causing cultural differences to be subordinated to a hegemonic sense of national identity. It could be argued that,

By instituting homogeneity or commonality as normative, state-building renders difference socio-politically significant – that is, it creates the significance of differences such as ethnicity, gender, locality, and race, each of them defined as particular kinds of differencing with respect to the state’s homogenizing project.” (Verdery 2012:231)

According to Harvey (2008), the creation of national subjects has varied across Latin America. In contrast to Peru and Mexico where ancient vernacular identity has been used as a rhetorical grounding for national identities, in Argentina, Chile and Uruguay, there has been no political will to recognise the indigeneity of surviving native populations (Harvey 2008:199). Thus, the experiences of nation-building differ depending on the particularities of local historical processes and within locally varied understandings (Anderson 2012; Verdery 2012:231).

The Aymara stronghold consists of the Andean highlands of the Titicaca Basin; the people there could be Bolivian, Peruvian, Chilean or Argentinian by citizenship, while residing in any one or more of the latter four countries, because they are usually immigrants seeking new opportunities. According to Hardman (2001:2), “Although the Aymara community is politically divided by the border between Peru and Bolivia that divides Lake Titicaca between the two countries and the borders with Chile, the community itself is one in language and culture.” Similarly to other aboriginal peoples whose presence predates national frontiers, the Aymara have faced various forms of state violence. Under Pinochet’s military rule, the militarization of the border worked to script violence onto the landscape, shifting the meanings and social relations of power and thus shaping ‘paradoxical places’ (Desbiens 1999; Frazier 2002; Rose 1993), at the frontier.

Based on my data, it could be argued that the migrant condition of the Aymara shapes both indigeneities and nationalities differently.⁷¹ In Bolivia, for instance, the natives are a massive population that thrives in the vicinities of La Paz. As an ethnic majority, the Aymara have institutionalized their cultural differences as a “plurinational state” (Albó 2000) through a

constituent assembly, once Evo Morales assumed power as the first indigenous president of the Americas in 2006. In Peru, the Aymara are an ethnic minority compared to the Quechua people, who make up a third of Peru's population (Hardman 2001:1). There they are mostly localized around Lima and the southern highlands. A thriving community in Argentina, Aymara immigrants have settled in Buenos Aires since 1985 after a series of neoliberal reforms in Bolivia triggered their departure. As an ethnic minority, they have their own urban identity, although they continue to maintain ties with their communities of origin (Mardones 2012). Today, the Aymara in Chile are an ethnic minority of about 48,501 people, as opposed to the Mapuche people who represent an indigenous majority of 604,349 people (INE 2002).⁷² They mostly concentrate within the cities of Arica, Iquique, Antofagasta and Calama, although some of them have also migrated to Santiago. In the northernmost frontier of Chile, Aymara city-dwellers are a growing community that *van y vienen* (go back and forth), that is, are constantly moving between domiciles. It is common for them to move from highlands to lowlands, from the *altiplano* and *sierra* to the coastal valleys, between *caseríos* (hamlets) and *poblaciones* (urbanizations), as well as across national frontiers. Current population patterns are partly a product of historical migration. Many Aymara initially migrated from rural areas to mining camps in the *pampa salitrera* or saltpeter desert of Tarapaca from 1890 to 1930 (Frazier 2007:91), as well as to the *azufreras* or sulfur and gold mines in the highlands of Arica and Tacna between 1887 and 1950 (Tudela 1992:8).

Considering the current state of affairs, the emigrational flow increased when the Peruvian Aymara fled the area that was occupied by Chile during the 1900-1930 territorial dispute of Tarapaca (Tudela 1992:17), while in the meantime, Bolivian Aymara crossed the border into Chile to work the fields and herd the animals left behind. Seeking monetary wages and land to

work, these Aymara immigrants have remained in Chile up to the present day (Eisenberg 2013:33). The Arica-La Paz railroad inauguration in 1913 and the main international highway, *Ruta 11-Ch*, which was opened in 1957, have also contributed to migration. A few Aymara have remained, in isolated pockets of the highlands. Considering the current state of affairs of the Aymara people in the northern Chilean frontier of the current Arica and Parinacota Region, rethinking their indigeneity at the borderlands challenges our understanding of the relations between the nation and its subjects as indigenous citizens, as well as between bordering states and the frontier identities that emerge, helping us to better understand the mechanisms operating under the regimes of national boundaries and international borders.

Regardless of their common colonial origins, borderlands are always places of contestation overlapping multiple struggles of sovereignty (Alonso 2008:232). Borderlands hence symbolize foundational places where tensions materialize and institutionalize as processes of state-making at the margins, where ideas of the nation intersect with social operators such as class, gender, place and race (Alonso 2008; Benavides 2004; Canessa 2012; Das and Poole 2004; Das 2006; de la Cadena 2000; Desmond and Goldstein 2010; Donnan and Wilson 2010; Earle 2007; Frazier 2002, 2007; Gotkowitz 2011; Nelson 1999; Poole 2008; Rappaport 1990; Verdery 2012).

Borderlands, such as the Lauca region, are often conceived of as margins that have to be secured and made legitimate by the state. They are inhabited by intimate routines of domesticity and markets, as well as public events and violent clashes. Das and Poole (2004) have argued that margins are simultaneously sites of lawlessness and wilderness imagined to reside outside the state. In their view, “marginal populations are formed of ‘indigenous’ or ‘natural’ subjects, who are at once considered to be foundational to particular national identities and excluded from these same identities by the sorts of disciplinary knowledge that mark them as racially and

civilizationally ‘other.’” (Das and Poole 2004:9). The ‘margins’ entail different understandings of national identity; they generate their own discourses about national identity that may engage strongly with those emanating from the ‘center,’ but equally may provide different understandings of who is Indian or national (Canessa 2005a:6).

In the Andes, marginalized peoples can be viewed as not really marginal, but rather as crucial to statecraft in its constant negotiation of political legitimation (Benavides 2004, 2009; Canessa 2005a, 2012; Das and Poole 2004; Desmond and Goldstein 2010; Goldstein 2004, 2012; Krupa 2009, 2010, 2013; Richards and Gardner 2013). In this sense, I have argued that Antonio Mollo gives us a clear example of ‘dual legitimacy’ because he was participating and negotiating indigenous identity along with citizenship rights, and managed to use the policies implemented by the Chilean state to register land collectively in Putre, a legacy that remains until the present day. Transnational issues around indigeneity and autonomy appear to be much more complex in practice than the ideas of national identity and sovereignty presented in state discourse.

Traditionally, state borders have been conceived as markers of the limits of the ‘national’; according to Donnan and Wilson (2010:2), “Borders were the structures of state and national security: if they were penetrated so too was the body politic of the nation. In the rhetoric and practice of such statecraft, borders were not considered to be negotiable or flexible.” However, globalization has called into question some of the commonly held conceptions of the nation, in particular the ability of nation states to guarantee the security of the land, labour and capital, and to protect their people (Donnan and Wilson 2010). Regional entities and minorities of all sorts are now demanding autonomy and public recognition of their rights, thus challenging the

nation-state both as the main organizing principle of governance and as a conceptual tool for social analysis (Goodale and Postero 2013).

Nevertheless, Verdery (2012:232) argues that it is not the end of the nation; on the contrary, “It seems more likely that nation is once again changing its referent (as well as its articulation of capital), a sign of this change being the novel grounds for which it is now being proposed, such as the Arab Nation or Queer Nation.” This particular dual relation of nation-state and state-subject emerges in Guallatire, a place that articulates borderlands as ‘transitional territories’ between nations that translate into frontier identities. As a socially constructed symbol, the meaning of the nation is ambiguous. As a national sentiment, it is often used in the discourse and political activity of nation-building. Nationalism is hence the political utilization of the symbol of the nation through discourse and political activity, as well as the sentiment that draws people into responding to this symbol’s use (Verdery 2012:227). National symbolization includes the processes by which groups within a society are rendered visible or invisible. In this sense, when rethinking the Chilean state from the Aymara borderlands, I ask questions such as: How has the national institutionalization of the border affected local memories? And how does the idea of the nation and the border intersect class, gender, place and race? These are the type of questions that I will address in the following chapters.

Chapter 3

Mapping territories of difference in Guallatire

Anthropological studies of place have focused on spatiality and temporality;⁷³ however, here I examine the ‘territories of difference’ (Escobar 2008), or the politics of difference that emerge when considering the relationships between place-based ethnicities, environmental and social movements in the context of neoliberal globalization. In this chapter, I examine the two-fold phenomenological and genealogical relationship of belonging and being that is constructed when people identify with a territory. I also use the analytical prism of landscape to foreground the ways in which perspective shapes place to address questions such as; how do notions of belonging to and being from Guallatire interplay with local memory? What kinds of contradictions emerge through stories of belonging to and being from this place?

My analytical starting point is the ‘locality’ of Guallatire, which is bound up with place. While locality indicates forms of collective subjectivities involving a shared sense of a particular place, place is always a contested and elastic terrain; a site of struggle (Frazier 2002:104). According to Gordillo (2004:4), the departure point for place-making is memory: “every memory is, in a fundamental way, the memory of a place.” It can be argued then that local actors engage with and negotiate dominant boundaries of place and, through this process, create ‘paradoxical places’ (Rose 1993), with tension and in contradiction to other localities. Examples are highlands versus lowlands, rural versus urban, protected areas versus developing areas. Through the perspective that landscape gives, as an analytical tool to review processes projected through time and space, we can make sense of how social contradictions embedded in places and of the conflicting memories that emerge are reinscribed in various forms of narrative. I use the term narrative here

as an analogue to an account or a story and follow de Certeau's notion of narrative as spatial trajectories: "every story is a travel story—a spatial practice" (1984:115). It has been argued that native histories differ from narratives in their own structure (Rappaport 1990); some are not even chronological, sequential or linear, which is why they should not be properly considered narratives, although they might serve the same function. A common trait among aboriginal peoples is using contradictory versions of the past based on alternative and traditional ways of passing on knowledge, while introducing Western-style discourse for keeping a historical and chronological record, something resulting in "chronicles of the impossible" (Rappaport 1990; Salomon 1982). The predominant aspects of historical knowledge contained in these narratives are space and ritual, and they are used practically in contexts of land disputes, political agreements or disagreements, and arguments over inheritance (Rappaport 1990:10-11).

In the particular case of the Aymara territory, we have seen that the people living in the Lauca watershed embrace kinship ties across national boundaries and international borders, as well as cultural frontiers and territories of difference. The people of Guallatire are thus constantly negotiating inclusion and exclusion within and without the community by using notions of belonging that work as 'place-based identities.' (Escobar 1992, 2008) I have argued that frontier identities—what constitutes being from Guallatire as opposed to Arica, for example—operate as transitional grounds and are more flexible in demarcating the boundaries between people and place than other cultural differences, like religious belonging, for instance, which tend to be more marked. Gendered landscapes and gendered identities also emerge in this process of negotiation and contention, due to the emergence of contrasting differences at the borderlands. The commonality of property is, on the one hand, used to mark differences within their own territory by legitimating legal or historical rights of ownership that entitle individual access to

land tenure. However, on the other, what used to be unclaimed land has now been taken as state-owned land, therefore causing the disappearance of collective forms of tenure that used to operate with regards to land held communally, including land devoted to the Church.

Over the course of this dissertation, I argue that indigenous governance clashes with the right of property at the state level in the Lauca territory; in this chapter, I discuss what happens at the community level. According to Escobar (2008), a “territory” entails conceptions of privileged collective rights to resources (including subsoil) and of a degree of self-government. In his research with Black communities from the Colombian rainforest, he speaks about ‘place-based identities’ enacted to confront and resist structures of domination associated with neoliberal globalization.

Rather than focusing on the role of place-based identity in confrontation with structures of neoliberalism, here I focus on how locality and identity are mediated by shifting notions of property within the changing social contexts generated by neoliberalization. The community is divided between residents who can claim rights, whether as property owners, through historical occupancy, or through both. There are also those who can claim neither to own property nor to having occupied the area permanently, and are thus marginalized on both counts.

The concept of ‘property’ can be itself considered an ethnographic field of study (Humphrey and Verdery 2004:2). In view of its common use and expanding dimensions worldwide, it is worthwhile to question certain assumptions granted to property as a dominant ‘narrative’ as well as its global trajectories. Humphrey and Verdery (2004:20) have argued that, “Property can be seen variously as sets of relations, as a powerful political symbol, as processes of appropriation and perhaps most importantly as a historically contingent Western ‘native category’ that has strong effects in the world.” The notion of ‘private property’ as we know it today, is based on a

relationship of ownership in which exclusive rights entitle an individual or a group of individuals to access a territory by excluding others. Consequently, the privatization of property has not meant wealth-enhancing individual entitlements but actually a loss of an entire way of life for Indigenous Peoples (Rose 1994:288). In the last few decades new dimensions of property have extended to include new aspects such as information and even body parts, and this shift from public to private property has led to new rounds of questioning about the concept. The unpacking of ‘property’ gives us a particular lens through which to examine relations within different cultures. My purpose here is to study the ways in which different understandings of property work, how they inflect negotiations over notions of belonging and rights of ownership, and in turn the role of these negotiations in creating the particular landscape of Guallatire.

3.1 Mapping contested boundaries

While researching the history of ownership and property rights in Guallatire, I was given a report at the National Forestry Agency (CONAF) entitled *Propiedad Particular en la Reserva Nacional Las Vicuñas*. It dated to 1998, the last year in which the Management Plan of Las Vicuñas National Reserve was updated. The document was kept confidential as it extensively covered information about land tenure, family history, property boundaries, as well as conflicts with other properties. The information came from cadasters that were initially undertaken by CONAF but had derived in 1993, with the establishment of the Indigenous Law, to the National Indigenous Development Agency (CONADI) that launched an official *Fondo de Tierras y Aguas Indígenas* (Indigenous Water and Land Fund) in 1994. Every time that a new project was launched in the protected area, the inventory task was tendered to *empresas consultoras* (consulting companies) that were hired by governmental agencies and overseen by state-appointed officials. In this way,

indigenous development initiatives and funded programs such as *Programa Origenes* and *Sendero de Chile* were implemented. After fifteen years, people from Guallatire felt disappointed at the results. As Don Juan said, *Nos están manipulando Señorita y creen que no nos damos ni cuenta* (They are manipulating us Miss, and they think we do not even notice).⁷⁴ The general feeling among the community of Guallatire is that they have been used by the state to receive funding for development projects with no tangible results.

For this reason, I was hesitant to ask about registered land tenure and water rights unless this information was given to me spontaneously, particularly because indigenous ownership had landmarked a division within the community, between those members who were considered and considered themselves to be *propietarios* versus those who did not have access to property, referred to as *no propietarios*. Instead of talking to people individually, I decided to take a collective approach to address my ethical concerns about offending any community members by asking questions regarding such a sensitive matter. In the end, it was actually Don Juan who suggested that we should have a group interview at his house in order to better understand the historicity behind the spatial layout of Guallatire within the Lauca area (Figure 3.1), and map out the boundaries of this locality, which was referred by them as a ‘capital town.’⁷⁵

The meeting took place over a weekend at Don Juan’s house in Arica. In his neighborhood, known as *Población Chapiquiña*, all the houses look alike. They are made with red bricks, flat *calamina* or corrugated iron roofs, with black fences surrounding small front yards. They are all arranged in a rectangular pattern along very narrow streets called *pasajes*. Don Juan had told me that he was actively involved in the construction of this neighborhood around the 1960s, when many Andean people from the highlands migrated to the city of Arica and received housing

subsidies from the *Junta de Adelanto de Arica*, the Arica Improvement Council (JAA). At that time, the area north of the San José River was unused and was considered to be the outskirts of town, close to the *matadero* (slaughterhouse).



Figure 3.1 View of Guallatire looking west towards the mountain range of Belén. Photo by the author (2007).

Today, however, this area is integrated into the boundaries of the city, now surrounded by many growing neighborhoods that have sprung up due to urban sprawl towards the north.⁷⁶ Many *guallatireños* live in or near this neighborhood, which is why some of the community meetings that took place in Arica were held at the *Población Chapiquiña* in particular. Other than the Neighbour's Council of Guallatire, which legally represents the community as a whole, the

Comunidad Indígena Hijos de Guallatire (Indigenous Community Sons and Daughters of Guallatire), formed by other families from Guallatire, also used the venue to host meetings. Every time a quorum was needed from the Indigenous Community, a minimum of about fifty members had to come together. For smaller gatherings of up to twenty people like the meeting we organized with Don Juan, he would offer his own house, located a few blocks from *la sede*.

We gathered together for the group interview on a cold Saturday afternoon of June 2009. As soon as I walked into Don Juan's house, I saw that everything remained as I remembered it. The living and dining room area had walls decorated with various calendars from past years which exuded a melancholic feeling of good old times. The rectangular dinner table was covered with piles of paper files. A humming noise came from a big old light blue refrigerator sitting next to a typewriter that was often used by Don Juan to write official letters and citations. He smiled and greeted me as I walked in, then introduced me to the eight people in attendance, some of whom I had met briefly before. I welcomed everybody and thanked them for being there that day.

After writing names down and asking permission to record the session, I started the interview by posing two questions: *¿Qué comprende el territorio de Guallatire? ¿Cómo se vincula la comunidad de Arica a este territorio?* What does Guallatire's territory encompass? And how does it relate to the community in Arica? Don Teodoro immediately replied to the first question: "where one lives, the place, the town...the jurisdiction".⁷⁷ I had brought with me three cartographic maps of the area in a scale of 1:50 from the *Instituto Geográfico Militar*, the Military Geographic Institute (IGM), because I thought it would make it easier to point out the local boundaries. As soon as we started laying them out I realized that the maps did not adequately show the local names and toponymy; they were all misspelled and some were

actually missing.⁷⁸ I decided to set the military maps aside as they were alien to spatial representations of how the territory was conceptualized locally.

After taking some time to debate amongst themselves, all of the participants agreed that the jurisdiction of Guallatire started north at Cerro Sarnacollo.⁷⁹ This mountain stretches west towards the mine of Choquelimpe and east towards Lake Chungara, both of which belong to Parinacota, another highland locality. Note that although the territory belonging to Guallatire encompasses the Lauca watershed, it does not include its source, located at the Cotacotani lagoons.

I remembered Cerro Sarnacollo from a visit to the field with Don Juan that had taken place over a year before this meeting. We had driven from Arica to Guallatire together; once we had passed the steep zig-zag of the A-201 road, Don Juan pointed to a mountaintop: “That antenna on top of Cerro Chapiquiña marks the border between the districts of Belén in the *sierra* (highland valleys) and of Parinacota in the *altiplano* (highland plateau).”⁸⁰ We paused for a moment and he showed me Cerro Sarnacollo, a “breast-looking mountain with a pointy nipple-shaped top” mirroring the shape of Cerro Chapiquiña. An imaginary line between these two mountains marks the divide of the highland landscape between the districts of Parinacota to the north and of Guallatire to the south. When we passed the bridge over the Lauca River, Don Juan said *Aquí empieza Guallatire* (“Guallatire begins here”).⁸¹ Today, the mountain divide also separates the Lauca National Park from the Las Vicuñas National Reserve. Only a ‘welcome’ sign recently placed by CONAF indicated the entrance to the protected area. The landscape features that Don Juan pointed out showed some of the former ecological boundaries (between *sierra* and *altiplano*) as well as historical frontiers (between Parinacota and Guallatire) that crisscross the highlands.

The group assembled at Don Juan's house agreed that the western boundary is a mountain range known as *Cordón Belén* that runs north to south, reaching up to 5,000 meters above sea level, and framing the highland plateau (Figure 3.1). This mountain range runs parallel to the towns of Murmuntani, Chapiquiña, Belén, and Tignamar in the *sierra*. Going west, all along the mountain range, *apachetas*⁸² can be found. These stone mounds were built by travellers to mark and honour the places they went through while following Andean pathways. Each *apacheta* had a name and some of their names are still remembered by the local elders, such as *Apacheta Chapiquiña*, *Apacheta Belén*, among others. They would stop by one of them to make an offering or *pawa* of food or liquid when crossing the mountain pathways.

During my visit with Don Juan, we stopped at the *Apacheta Portezuelo* that marked the road between Chapiquiña and Guallatire (Figure 3.2). Don Juan knew the area well because he used to live in the town of Portezuelo, which was built during the construction of the Lauca Canal for the Hydroelectric Plant of Chapiquiña and the agricultural irrigation of the Azapa valley (Platt 1975). This time is often recalled as the 'golden years' of Arica, a moment in which ideas of 'modernity' and 'progress' reached the highlands. The Arica Improvement Group (JAA) left a strong footprint because of the investments in infrastructure for regional development that it made from 1958 through 1976. Don Juan said that the old *camino tropero* (drover road) was used about 500 meters from this *apacheta*, which was a newer version of an older one that was laid at the mountain slope of Cerro Chapiquiña.⁸³ We looked around and could see offerings such as beer cans and pieces of glass and plastic bottles, probably modern versions of the offerings that *apachetas* have traditionally been honored with.⁸⁴



Figure 3.2 *Apacheta Portezuelo* next to the road from Chapiquiña to Guallatire. Photo by the author (2008)

Territorial boundaries are inhabited and described differently by the people who live there. The narratives of place are collectively repeated as spatial trajectories that weave the common thread of memory. For instance, the highland plateau formed by the Lauca watershed is separated from the Surire Salt Lake by the mountains of Cerro Arintica and Cerro Puquintica. According to the group I interviewed at Don Juan's house, these mountains are always fighting with each other. Long ago, one of them threw stones; the other one replied with cacti. They threw stones and cacti until they had covered themselves up; thus, it is now hard to tell the two mountains apart.⁸⁵ West

of Surire, the mountain of Urcotunco marks the start of the district of Codpa; and south of Surire, the mountain of Cerro Capitan divides the Arica and Parinacota Region from the Tarapaca Region. The high mountain peaks are a natural water divide officially used to demarcate the physical border between Chile and Bolivia. From a total of 96 *hitos* or landmarks, Guallatire borders with five. Each landmark is made out of cement, painted white and numbered: *Hito 77* (Cerro Puquintica), *Hito 78* (Macaya), *Hito 79* (Cerro Chiliri), *Hito 80* (Japu), and *Hito 81* (Quimsachata). *Apachetas* have been renamed with numbers, erasing the pathways they marked and the stories they told. The *Hito 80* is next to the hamlet Japu, where Don Francisco told me that a big minefield was dug around 1974.

Within these boundaries, “Guallatire would be like a capital town,” said Don Teodoro. Don Juan added that it is not just a town: “I do not know how many hectares, I have it on a map but I do not know where... but if this is Guallatire, the town would be in the middle, like this,” and he drew an imaginary square and a central point with his fingers on the table. Guallatire used to be its own jurisdiction, but it was encompassed by the jurisdiction of Putre with the Municipal Reform undertaken from 1974 onwards, which later, in 1979-1980, also included changes to the administration of revenues, education and health. Originally, the administration had changed in 1927, when the Municipality was nominally created in Putre, but the shift to Putre as a new center of local governance in the highlands was not immediate (Gundermann 2007:162, 165). This latter date coincides with the disappearance of the *Principal* or *Jilacata* as the main authority in Guallatire (Tudela 1992:16) and the consolidation of the Chilean authorities in Putre a year after the death of Antonio Mollo.

The former vision of Guallatire as a ‘capital town’ within this highland territory as articulated at the meeting was not shared by all families that form this locality. In particular, this was not the view held by the family which formed the *Asociación Indígena Círculo Social y Cultural Volcán de Guallatire* (Indigenous Association Cultural and Social Circle Guallatire Volcano). This extended single family group was registered separately as an Indigenous Association at the National Development Agency (CONADI) and often competes with the Indigenous Community for project funding as well as in dance and music performances organized in Arica, such as the during the Andean Carnival known as *Inti Ch’amampi* or *Carnaval del Sol* (Figure 3.3).⁸⁶



Figure. 3.3. Public performance of the Indigenous Association *Volcán de Guallatire* in Arica. Photo by the author (2009)

The differences between the two groups became apparent after I conducted another group interview, this one with Guallatire's Indigenous Association, a group interview which also focused on the spatial boundaries of this highland locality.

3.2 *Somos propietarios* (We are property owners): negotiating rights of ownership

I was running late for the first Guallatire Neighbours' Council meeting I got invited to.⁸⁷ I had asked the Council to include me on their agenda so I could introduce myself and my research. The meetings were part of a monthly routine for the *guallatireños* living in Arica that used the Council for local representation and governance. I had anticipated that this would be a good initial way to approach community members and pass my contact information to people interested in continuing a conversation with me afterwards. The meeting was held at the *Junta de Vecinos N°26*, the local neighbours' office of the *Población Chapiquiña*. *La sede*, as everybody called it, was a medium-sized room with washroom facilities next to a small park with a fenced courtyard. This venue was often used by the Neighbour's Council of Guallatire, legally constituted since the 1980s as the *Junta de Vecinos N°8* of the Municipality of Putre.

That Saturday evening, once the meeting ended, a man approached me as I left. He was middle-aged, slim and pale, with deep dark eyes that made him look even paler. The man was Don Raúl, son of a well-known member of Guallatire. Their family hosted meetings separately from the rest of the community because they claimed that they faced discrimination from other members. Although he and other family members actively participated at the Neighbours' Council, they had also formed an Indigenous Association called the *Volcán Guallatire* (Guallatire Volcano).

That night, Don Raúl said he wanted to talk more about my research and that he would contact me to schedule a separate meeting with him and his family members.

Don Raúl contacted me soon afterwards. We met at the main office of the *Junta de Regantes de Lluta* (Lluta Water Council), where he worked part-time when he was not teaching. Once there, he welcomed and introduced me to Don Armando, a relative of his who later joined the meeting. Don Raúl told me that his late grandfather, Don Nicanor, voiced his dying wish to all of his five children that “he wanted his property to be well-taken care of.” As one of the eldest grandsons, he was now speaking to me “on behalf of his whole family.” His family held documentation for a land property of 5,018 hectares in Surasurane (see Table 3.1, below). The land title originally dated to 1916 but was later updated in 1995 by the CBR (Real Estate Registry) through the Indigenous Water and Land Fund of CONADI (National Indigenous Development Agency). I was not surprised by the date on the land title, nor by the size of the property ownership that now belonged to Don Nicanor’s children and grandchildren. Rather, I was concerned about where Don Raúl said that their family property was located; it seemed that they owned the land where the town of Guallatire was actually located today. *Somos propietarios* (“We are property owners”), he said, a phrase that was often repeated at the meetings and to which Don Armando silently nodded.⁸⁸ Thinking about the Aymara highlands as a traditional native territory where communal land properties coexist with individual shares, such as occurs in the community of Putre, how was it possible that this one family owned the town of Guallatire itself?

After an awkward silence, Don Raúl suggested that I should formally ask for permission to work in the area, addressing a letter about my research to his whole family. I agreed to send him a letter to inform his family about my research and to request a group interview. He continued to

say that they wanted to review that my work was conducted accurately and to make sure that ‘their version’ of Guallatire was included as the ‘official one,’ thus ignoring other versions.

Nosotros tenemos documentos (“We have documents”), he insisted, using paperwork as a form of entitlement over the land property, and in the context of our conversation, to stake a claim on the official version of what constituted Guallatire. The materiality of property rights was used to differentiate themselves (*propietarios*) from other community members who did not have such documentation or credentials (*no propietarios*).

When confronted by Don Raúl, I replied that as an anthropologist, I could not dismiss versions given to me about Guallatire because they were not supported by official documentation. This situation made me realize the ethical intricacies of working within the two groups because I was conflating different roles in the field. Everything that was confided to me was research material and therefore, I replied by saying, *nadie puede ser juez y parte* (“No one can be judge and jury”). I argued that my work was to make sense of different stories and I could not let it be biased by a single source of information. “As an example,” I continued, “there are at least three versions of the War of the Pacific: Chilean, Peruvian, and Bolivian; the same happens with the town of Guallatire. I cannot recount what happened at the *Morro*⁸⁹ in a single version as much as I cannot address Guallatire with only one story.”⁹⁰ Don Raúl and Don Armando then agreed that we should discuss this at the group interview with the rest of the family members. Despite the challenging moment, that day was crucial for better understanding indigenous land tenure and rights of ownership in Guallatire, including my own positionality within this conundrum.

Territorial issues are a common item of dispute in Arica and Parinacota. The Chilean occupation of this territory after the War of the Pacific was marked by the militarization of the border before

1929, and then again after 1973 (CNAD 2010). As elsewhere in Latin America (Hetherington 2012), land titles have become symbols of the struggle against nationalization and the privatization of peasants' rights. In the case of Guallatire, similar processes have resonated in the contexts of the imposition of the Chilean state and a neoliberal economic agenda that has sought to overcome former practices of Peruvian ownership and Aymara structures. Contested property issues between the families of Guallatire was probably the most challenging issue to deal with during my fieldwork because asking about it brought groups of people into conflict with one another and my research became inevitably drawn towards one side of the conflict or the other. This situation challenged the ethics of my research to a point that made me feel uncomfortable, so I decided to leave this conversation aside until it was made clear that my aim was trying to understand the conflict and not take sides by validating certain accounts over others.

After a long negotiation over the meeting date, we finally set up a group interview at Doña Petronila's house in the *Población Chile*. This neighborhood is also located across the San José River, but further from downtown and closer to the military regiments that guard what used to be the northern outskirts of Arica. Doña Petronila is the youngest of Don Nicanor's five siblings, and an active member within the local community. I met her and her husband, Don Jacinto, in Guallatire during one of my stays. She was short and had small eyes and a pronounced chin that made her smile curve downwards, a gesture that she complemented with a low voice. Doña Petronila had once told me that because her family is the only one that remains Catholic in Guallatire, they hold the keys of the church, as the *Fabriquero* used to do. It was because the rest of the community did not share their religion, she argued, that they had been accused of locking up the cemetery and of charging a fee of \$300,000 CHP (500 USD) for burying the recently

deceased in it. “Imagine what other kinds of atrocities they say about us,” she told me that time.⁹¹ For her, their faith is the main reason that they are discriminated against.

When I arrived at Doña Petronila’s house, I could not see it from outside because of a high wooden fence that covered the entrance. Once inside, about ten family members were gathered outside on the patio; four more arrived after my arrival. The winter afternoon was cold, and the sun was close to dusk when Doña Petronila’s two daughters served cookies and tea to warm us all up while sitting around an improvised table. That day, the family brought together their elders: four of the five siblings in charge of Don Nicanor’s estate were present, as well as the widow representing their deceased brother. As I sat among the people at the long table I realized that they had set up a video camera at one corner to record the session. As a participant observer, I was also being observed and recorded during this session. Once the recording was underway, the conversation about the territorial boundaries of Guallatire got started.⁹²

As I understood it, Guallatire was the main town of its highland district, something like a ‘capital town.’ I thought it tied together all of the thirty surrounding hamlets because most families belonging to these *caseríos* (hamlets) would follow the herding cycle by moving through their permanent residencies in *antas* or *majadas* (herding camps) to the temporal occupation of the *chujlla uta* (shacks) during the wet and dry seasons (Figure 3.4). However, they would also own a house in the main town of Guallatire where they used to gather to celebrate local festivities according to the season.



Figure 3.4. *Chujlla uta* or herding shack in Puquios. Photo by the author (2009)

However, for Don Raúl's family, the town of Guallatire is not a capital but just another hamlet, which might well be only as big as the hamlet of Ungallire, which is where the roots of this family came from. For them, the district's boundaries were demarcated between west and east by the main ecological divide of the *altiplano* highlands, the Lauca River. East of the river, the land belongs to Guallatire while on the west the land is mostly owned by Tignamar (CONAF 1998). Cerro Sariñaya⁹³ marks the divide between the towns of Tignamar and Belén, both belonging to the same district in the *sierra* valleys. Tignamar⁹⁴ is about a day away by foot and landowners from the town rent their land to herders who mostly come from Bolivia. The herders either rent the land for their own animals or establish a system of *mediería* in which the new breed of the

landowner's animals is divided in half to pay the herder for his labour.⁹⁵ Most of the land properties from the highlands were legally constituted in Belén, where the Registry Office for that district used to be located. Many landowners had never had a chance to visit their properties, which have now shifted to being administered in Arica.

There were differences between this group and the first group I interviewed regarding not only what constituted the main boundaries of the community, but also the extension of these boundaries. According to the family group, the district's limits are marked by the Guallatire Volcano, and not Cerro Sarnacollo; thus, the mine of Choquelimpe and the hamlet of Churiguaylla, where Doña Celia and Don Juan live, would not belong to the district of Guallatire but to that of Parinacota.⁹⁶ The whole district would include the hamlet of Paquisa that borders with the Surire Salt Lake, although it is located southeast of the Lauca River and next to Cerro Arintica and Cerro Puquintica. In this interpretation, the hamlets of Surire do not belong to Guallatire, but the Municipality of Putre has nonetheless brought them together with Guallatire and made them participate in the same Neighbours' Council.

We can see how territorial administration has changed the way the people relate to the land in a territory that has been systematically fragmented into pieces. State mapping has affected the geographical conceptions of the Aymara territory, and governmental management has altered the traditional ways in which Arica and Parinacota is structured, now divided into public and private sectors (see Chapter 5). However, at the same time, the whole process has empowered some of the local family groups over other families that have been gradually dispossessed and eventually lost access to property rights. This has caused a division in the community that emerged in the conversations that I had with both groups. Some of the contradictions interplaying notions of

belonging and difference with regards to spatial boundaries became apparent when I asked about the temporal confines and origins of Guallatire.

3.3 Narrating notions of belonging

Although hesitant to ask about the history of Guallatire because I knew that there were tensions regarding the ownership of the land on which the town sat, our conversation gradually moved towards the origins of the town. Everybody went quiet and looked at Don Alberto, the middle son of Nicanor, who was sitting next to his older brother, Don Patricio. Don Alberto began to tell the story, which I transcribed and translated, as follows:

The 'doctor' that laid the first stone was Esteban Mollo with Rafael Sánchez from our family. Long ago, the Spaniards wandered around the mines of Choquelimpe, and in Puquios there was a mining camp and *una capilla* (a chapel) for making *el santo* (the saint). I mean that gold from Choquelimpe was used to make the figure [of the saint] to cover the gold, and that saint was from the United States; they brought it from there and they sent back virgins [figures of], so they could smuggle the mineral in this manner. That is why in Puquios, in that mining camp, there is a church [or chapel]. But everything went wrong, people got sick and died, so they moved to live where the current cemetery is, and they built a big church to make saints in the same way, for that they did a mining town there. That is what the *veterano* (veteran) Reinaldo said, that it was the town of the miners that came...⁹⁷

In his story, Don Alberto fuses the mining activities at Choquelimpe and Puquios with the economic interests of Spain and the United States. The narratives of certain places like the mining camps shed light on how these were produced and how they are reproduced in oral memories. Conflicted colonial and neoliberal mining practices are linked to industrial production and smuggling of gold and religious imagery. This 'regressive history' that merges together

history and memory is woven through the social fabric of the community and then it materializes in the remains left with communities and by such communities. Puquios, the old town of Guallatire, as well as the mine of Choquelimpe, bring together experiential dimensions of place and political economy as accounted by Aymara like Don Alberto and his family.

Guallatire has always been linked to mining. In fact, the mine of Choquelimpe has a long history of use that was probably initiated during pre-Columbian times, before the arrival of the Spaniards in 1532. Following the colonial administration of the Spanish Viceroyalty that exploited Choquelimpe's silver in 1643 (Urzúa 1964), various mining camps were abandoned after a plague swept through the area, becoming ruins. This moment correlates to a time recorded by Arzans de Orsua y Vela who writes about "the great plague" that swept the mining centers of the Audience of Charcas in the highlands in 1719, including the city of Potosí and its surroundings (Bolton 2006:52). By 1772, although the population increased in Guallatire and remained the same in Parinacota, it decreased in Choquelimpe and other mining settlements of the area, as documented by Demetrio Egan, the *Corregidor* (Magistrate) of Arequipa (Hidalgo et al. 2004:108). This fact was corroborated in 1793 by Antonio Álvarez Jiménez, the *Intendente* (Intendant) of Arequipa, who also documented a decline in mineral production, noting that the high costs of the tributary system of the time did not help. According to Doña Celia, whose family owns the land where the Choquelimpe mine is located, the British occupation and industrialization of the mine apparently dates to before the War of the Pacific, around the 1850s. The mining production in Choquelimpe would have resumed after the War of the Pacific was settled around 1909 (Stevens 1911), and has continued sporadically until today.

But what most draws my attention in Don Alberto's account is Puquios (Figure 3.5), also known as the *pueblo viejo* (old town), which is considered by some community members as an originary place or 'place of origin,'⁹⁸ a concept which in Aymara is conveyed by the term *paccarina*. In Guallatire, the foundational story is recounted following a spatial trajectory that interweaves memory and place. Some key points in Don Alberto's account validate Don Reinaldo's account (part of which is quoted in Chapter 1), basically regarding Puquios and the movement of the town and the church. The late Don Reinaldo was often referred to as *veterano* (veteran), because he was the oldest man in town, born during times of war which in this area would have happened between 1879 and 1929.

In Don Reinaldo's account, Choquelimpe and Puquios are related to the origins of Guallatire. Puquios literally means water springs.⁹⁹ Its land tenure has been a matter of dispute between the families of Don Nicanor and Don Reinaldo, and Don Nicanor did not relate to this place in the same way that Don Reinaldo did. These differences make their accounts unique to them and their family members. Conversely to Don Alberto, Don Reinaldo and his offspring consider Puquios a place of origin for their own familial legacy. They often recall the mountain passage on the southwest slope called *pasaje tienda*, by which they used to go to get to a rock known as the ritual *mesa* (altar) of the volcano, visited and honoured with offerings for *Carnavales* (Carnival). There are nice pastures that grow up there, "where my donkey used to eat when I was a kid," Doña Estela recalled.¹⁰⁰ Today, none of the people of Guallatire go up there anymore, and the tourists that visit to reach the summit of the Guallatire volcano use the northeast slope, following the path built to access the *azufreras* or sulfur mines that were exploited by the *Compañía Azufrera e Industrial Arica* between 1887 and 1950 (Urizar 1970; Tudela 1992:8).

Once during fieldwork, Doña Estela, Don Juan and I visited Puquios. The place was in ruins. Except for the dry stone wall close to the stream, the rectangular houses had fallen apart, their thatched roofs lying on the ground; the corrals had crumbled into circular mounds. It looked like the place had been abandoned many years ago, with no modern garbage on the surface. Just across from the stream, a rectangular base sitting on its own could be seen facing east. “And that used to be the church,” Don Juan said when we crossed over to look at it more closely, pointing out a rectangular structure whose only visible remains were its foundations (Figure 3.5).¹⁰¹

According to Don Alberto, Guallatire was moved from Puquios to its current location because people needed fresh water to build another mining camp:

After that, they moved from Guallatire further down following the river where they built another *trapiche* (orecrusher or mineral grinder) but the miners did not make it there either. Finally, there was the *cristiano* (Christian) Esteban Mollo and Rafael Sánchez that officially established the name of the town of Guallatire. They were authorized to build the town in this flat land, and there it is up to today. Nobody moved it because the owner was Mollo and not Sánchez [because Mollo requested the church to be moved there]. At that time the boundary was *al pie de la iglesia* (at the foot of the church), I am saying that they placed it there. They had a meeting and few people came because ‘it was the time of war’. Before the meeting, Rafael and Esteban built the church. ‘I will commit and be responsible for my part’, Rafael said. ‘I will make space in this *pampa* (open field or fallow land) for this town in the property of Antacollo’, and this is the terrain for the town, the land we have [...]¹⁰²

Don Patricio, who passed away months after this meeting, briefly interrupted to reassure me of the accuracy of his younger brother’s account, “From the town, where there is a red hill called Vilacollo,¹⁰³ in front of it, there is a place where the community used to leave its flocks during the fiesta. How to explain it... that is Antacollo.”¹⁰⁴ After the interruption, Don Alberto continued:



Figure 3.5 Doña Estela and Don Juan overlooking Puquios. Photo by the author (2008)

[...] that is what Rafael Sánchez gave to the people for them to take *a discreción* (at will). He was a Peruvian of the time, and he came from Vizcachani. And he gave that piece of land to the town, and Mollo said that the rest was his. Therefore the community [of Guallatire] has no right to be up there, ‘no property right.’ They could have it back but only if they claimed the town and now they have not claimed it, before they used to come to the festivities with their animals, and take them to the pastures of Antacollo. That is why that property came to be ours in the town. In that time the boundary was ‘at the foot of the church’ between Mollo and Sánchez, and then what happened is that *el viejito* (old man) Rafael, the old man died and his daughter married a Bolivian man called Mariano Mamani. At the time, the [Chilean] government was demanding that the people register the land or they would be shot. That was the law.¹⁰⁵

Don Alberto relates his family to Vizcachani,¹⁰⁶ and the fact that his ancestor founded the town *al pie de la iglesia* (at the foot of the church) in explanation for why the property of Guallatire belongs to his family. While listening to Don Alberto's account, I remembered another version of this story that Don Reinaldo told me when we first met (see Chapter 1). He said that before there had been a *pueblo viejo* (old town) of Guallatire, "where the people of Guallatire came from."¹⁰⁷ This is what Don Marcelo and Doña Raquel, a son and daughter of Don Reinaldo, had told me; that their family had originally come from Puquios. I asked him if he could tell me where that place was located and how to get there, because some people had told me that such a place did not exist, referring to it as an Aymara 'myth' or a 'legend' as if a *paccarina* (place of origin) could not exist in the territory of Guallatire. "Puquios", Don Reinaldo assured me, "is located between two hills that are *al pie del Volcán* (at the foot of the volcano); the black one is *Ch'iara q'ullu*¹⁰⁸ and the one with trees is *Queñoa q'ullu*."¹⁰⁹ Both hills marked the place where Puquios was located.

As discussed (see Chapter 2), the relationship with the Guallatire Volcano as an *apu* or *mallku* is very significant because it is thought to embody a powerful ancestor that grants male leadership within the Aymara community. In a similar way, the Catholic Church represents a patriarchal heritage for the religious community. These two accounts hence legitimate family rivalries through different forms of ownership by rooting narratives of place to a particular gendered landscape: the first one 'at the foot of the church' and the second one 'at the foot of the volcano.'

The old town was protected from the winds and was next to a fresh water source. Don Reinaldo said that the ruins of what used to be the chapel could be found there. Once, during mass he told me, a yellow *vizcacha* (wild rodent) had appeared at the altar in front of everyone. This was

considered a very bad omen, and eventually the whole town moved to the place where the cemetery lies today, next to the Guallatire River. But that was not a good place either. Esteban Mollo, whom Don Reinaldo referred to as *primer difunto* (first deceased), who was a Peruvian of the time (meaning that it was before the Chilean occupation of this territory), wrote a letter to the Archbishop of Arequipa requesting that the church be moved and built in the place “where it stands today.”¹¹⁰

“Don Reinaldo, was Puquios used for grinding minerals like other *trapiches*?” I asked. He nodded and said that there were many mining camps along the river, “they tried to make another Potosí.” “But, what were they grinding?” I asked again, and he replied “mineral from Choquelimpe.” That seemed quite far; it would take over a day to travel there on foot, although troops of animals would help with carrying the weight of the mineral. “Why would they carry it all the way there?” I pursued, to which Don Reinaldo responded, “they did not have enough water.” As far as the late Don Reinaldo could recall, the *trapiches* were already *ruinas* (ruins) when he was a child, and Choquelimpe was still active as a mining camp.¹¹¹ These ruins are testimonies of colonial mining which have become part of the everyday local landscape. The ways in which the community of Guallatire relates to this colonial past, however, differs to the ways in which other stakeholders at the Lauca Biosphere Reserve perceive this materiality.

I contrasted information gathered from both Don Reinaldo’s and Don Alberto’s accounts, now mostly focusing on what they had in common. As mentioned before, land property in Guallatire started to be registered around 1901-1910, during the historical process of *chilenización* that took place in the provinces of Tacna and Arica. At the time, the Chilean state demanded that former Peruvian citizens register all land property “or they would be shot,” in Don Alberto’s words. The

construction of the church would have to have occurred earlier because it was said that Esteban Mollo, *el primer difunto* (the first deceased) was responsible for this task.

Mollo appeared registered in Guallatire at age 30, in the 1866 census (Ruz et al. 2008), and the *Iglesia de la Concepción de Guallatire* is documented as having been built in 1873, according to the archbishop of Arequipa (Hasche 1997). These dates actually match his request to rebuild it “where it stands today,” in Don Reinaldo’s words. The church construction thus occurred around the time of the War of the Pacific, from 1879 to 1883 and, once again, Don Alberto’s account corresponds to this moment in time when there were few people in town because “it was a time of war.” The fact that Don Alberto quoted Don Reinaldo’s account about the town being moved by the miners would indicate that this occurred before 1873, probably even before the Peruvian census of 1866. In 1793, when the Mayor of Arequipa, Antonio Álvarez Jiménez, visited the area, he documented a decrease in the local population because of a decline of the mining in the area. People had abandoned the former mining camps between 1739 and 1772, just before the formation of the Belén Doctrine in 1777 and the indigenous revolts in the highlands of 1780-1781, leaving them in ruins, which was how Don Reinaldo remembered seeing them as a child.

“People got sick and died,” Don Alberto said, probably echoing memories of the plague of 1719 that swept the highlands (Bolton 2006), and Don Reinaldo added that they moved because “they did not have enough water”. Therefore, an account of Guallatire’s origins based on oral memories of people today can retroactively narrate their past as a ‘regressive history’ (*sensu* Wachtel 2001). Stretching from generation to generation, based on written records and oral testimonies, the local origins of Guallatire reach back almost three hundred years.

Guallatire's local history thus sediments locality and memory, engaging and negotiating boundaries and identities, creating 'paradoxical places' and 'territories of difference' within this northernmost frontier. In this process, notions of belonging that are common to one family while distinct from other families, recreate kinship ties to the land that, through these accounts, interconnect memories with the particular circumstances in which they have been produced. As Rappaport has argued for the Colombian highlands, native narratives figure space and ritual as predominant aspects of historical knowledge that are used in the contexts of land disputes, political agreements, and arguments over inheritance (Rappaport 1990:10-11). The politics of memory in Guallatire therefore legitimate connections to territory by re-narrating their spatial and ritual origins to the rest of the community. However, underlying tensions between the community, mostly among resident families with property rights and those claiming historical occupancy in Guallatire, as well as with their descendants in Arica, have turned some of these places and memories into territories of contestation.

3.4 Territories of contestation within and outside the community

For the last decade, territorial conflicts have increased, not only within the rural population in Guallatire but also among the urban population that lives for the most part in Arica. To the 37 households officially registered in Guallatire (INE 2002), there is a broader population in Arica, considered to be a succession community of extended family, which has been estimated to be around 500 people.¹¹² Much like other indigenous communities that have migrated from highlands to lowlands in northern Chile, the *comunidad de origen* (originary community) which originally reside in the area and can either have property rights or claim historical occupancy or

both, is linked as well to extended families that are considered to be a *comunidad sucesorial* (succession community) (CONAF 2009:69). The regional displacement of people is a consequence of years of isolation and unemployment (Eisenberg 2013:33), along with the privatization of the land and the coexistence of conflicting property regimes in a territory that is now contested both from within and outside the territorial outlines of the community.

According to my material, the succession community and the originary community do not agree upon property divides and territorial boundaries. Consequently, some local families are now contesting privately-owned land in Guallatire as much as the state-owned land in the Lauca Biosphere Reserve. While some community members argue that the town itself was communal land, like Don Patricio, thus making claims based on their historical occupancy within the town, others disagree and claim that it is private property, and make claims based on property rights. In Don Alberro's words, "...the community has no right to be up there, no property right." There are also members living in Guallatire with no property rights who have been excluded from the whole process of land and water regularization undertaken in the area, and thus dispossessed of their rights. I will explain these divisions further to understand how they operate in terms of property conflicts and religious tensions among those within the town and how these radiate from there to further generate conflict between communities of origin and succession communities.

The community of Guallatire is mainly composed of *guallatireños* born and raised there. They can either be members of the community or community leaders. These people coexist with nonmembers, such as herders, and workers from the government such as policemen and park guards. The members often take turns participating as leaders in the *Junta de Vecinos*

(Neighbours Council). This organizational structure had been created as early as 1927 in the Municipality of Putre, but was only adopted much later, in the 1980s, to constitute the local government (Gundermann 2007). The community of Guallatire used to have traditional hierarchical positions within the former *ayllu*, a kinship-based territorial group that was the basis of the Aymara society.¹¹³ One of these roles, the *principal* or *jilacata*, was last registered by Ramírez in 1927 (Tudela 1992:16). The loss of the traditional Aymara hierarchies coincided with the consolidation of the Chilean authorities in 1929. Today, at the local level, community leaders often hold parallel power positions in numerous bodies of local government; these leaders will be a member, for instance, of the Neighbours' Council as well as being part of the Indigenous Community, Indigenous Association, Elders Council, and Sports Club, among other political and organizational bodies. However, the majority of these social groups represent community sections formed after the Neighbours' Council, understood today to be the main form of community representation.

The community of origin, locally represented by the Neighbours' Council since 1986, is mostly formed by residents who routinely commute from Guallatire to the regional and communal capitals of Arica and Putre.¹¹⁴ This mobility is commonly referred to as *voy y vengo* (going back and forth). Additionally, there are non-community members such as *pastores* (herders) working on a seasonal basis that also move back and forth, in this case to Bolivia, usually to Curahuara de Carangas or Pueblo de Turco, to pay visits to their relatives. The herders work for landowners that do not permanently reside in the area and occasionally own half the animal herds using the system of *mediería* (sharecropping). Most of the herders come from Bolivia at a young age, some of them as children brought by their parents in search of better living conditions.

The latter was the case of two herders whom I interviewed, Don Javier and Don Andrés.¹¹⁵ Both brothers were born in Bolivia and came to Chile when they were 10 and 12 years old, respectively. They did not hold residency status but managed to obtain citizenship through their partners, who were from Guallatire. Their children are Chilean and now reside in Arica.

Although not entitled to property rights by birth, both of them could access property because they were both married to women from the community. Don Javier used to work in one of the hamlets and ended up marrying an older woman. According to rumor, she asked him to do some paperwork in Arica, and he took the opportunity while doing so to register the land under his name. When she passed away, he married a younger woman from another hamlet.¹¹⁶ In the case of Don Andrés, he had also married twice, and for over twenty years now has rented land and built a house within a hamlet with his second wife, wanting to buy the land from his landowners who are from Livilcar, a place in the lowland valleys.

Don Andrés was well known because he used to preach in Aymara for the *Nazareno* Church, founded in Guallatire during the 1970s. He even travelled throughout the highlands during the 1980s (Tudela 1992:215). Around the same time, in 1978, the *Evangélico Pentecostal* Church was founded in Ungallire, with Don Martín in charge. This church derived from the *Metodista Pentecostal* Church that also used to be present in Guallatire in the 1970s (Tudela 1992:211).

Don Alberto said that during that time “the community changed its religion,” and destroyed a series of chapels in the hamlets of Japu, Ancuta, Vislubio, Ungallire, Lliza; only the chapels of Vizcachani and Churygualla survived.¹¹⁷ According to Tudela (1992:213, my translation), the Catholic temples were burned by the *Pentecostal*, who would justify themselves by saying, *el Espíritu lo habrá querido* (The Spirit would have wanted it). Don Alberto blamed Don Andrés as

much as Don Martín, explaining that he had once told him off, *Huevón, que es palabra chilena, por dónde viniste, ándate por ahí mismo!* (Jerk, which is a Chilean word, from where you came, leave that same way you came!).¹¹⁸ Don Alberto also mentioned that they had asked him about renting land in *comodato* (loan) for the *Pentecostal* Church, but he did not say anything about the *Nazareno* Church. Although some members remain actively engaged in these churches, their presence is not as strong as it was during the 1980s.

Don Alberto's is one of the few families that remain Catholic in Guallatire. According to Tudela (1992:207) only a third of the population of Guallatire is Catholic; the remaining two thirds are *Pentecostal* and *Nazareno* believers. These new churches were considered 'anti-Catholic' because they reacted aggressively against the former dominant religious order. For example, during one Sunday worship, the *Nazareno* attacked and defamed the Catholic Church as being a "thief, abusive and a liar," and constituting "the devil himself." (Tudela 1992:23, my translation)

Many of the stories related to the abandonment of the Catholic Church and the destruction of the chapels in each hamlet are also linked to witchcraft. The struggle over the symbolic occurs not only in the juridical spaces and the interstices of nations, but also in the realm of the sacred and evil spirits. This was particularly true in Ungallire, where the *Pentecostal* Church had been introduced in the 1970s. Don Alberto said that around that time, during the celebration of San Felipe that took place every first of May, people from the community became angry at each other. People started to die from unexpected causes; at least two women and a man died and they had to call for a *yatiri*, a medical practitioner and community healer, because they supposedly had been *brujeados* (bewitched) by Don Ernesto.¹¹⁹ Don Ernesto was a relative of Doña Estela, and her family is blamed to this day for the deaths of the people of Ungallire. Doña Estela's

mother, the late Doña Adriana, was a midwife who self-assisted in giving birth, and was also blamed for bewitching the community. According to Doña Estela, they were both very much alike because for the Aymara, “you gain the personality of who delivered you.”¹²⁰ Doña Adriana was one of the first converted devotees of the *Pentecostal* Church in the late 1970s and is said to have settled in Ungallire. She did not have a partner, and Doña Estela did not know who her father was. As a single mother, she took her as a child to herd animals to the hamlet of Catanave where they had relatives, a place where she remembered being left alone in the *pampa* (fallow land). The relatives were elders who passed away around 1978, and the hamlet has been abandoned ever since.

When I asked Doña Estela about her current situation in Guallatire, she said that “Brothers and sisters, instead of bringing me into the corral, they tossed me out. If I am a lost sheep, they did not help me, they only help themselves.”¹²¹ She is one of the active community members that has been left without property rights to access land as she has been unable to prove historical occupancy and has no land title. Regardless, she keeps her animals in Visaya Chullpa, a hamlet that she claims had been abandoned before her mother and uncle came to use it. Both of them have since passed away. Although she goes back and forth between Arica and Guallatire quite often, she has lost her family ties and has become an outcast from the local church groups, thus being subject of a ‘double exclusion.’ On several occasions, Don Alberto has claimed that Visaya Chullpa belongs to his family and not Doña Estela’s family because it is part of the land property of Surasurane (Table 3.1).

However, it is not only Doña Estela who has been discriminated against by the rest of the community. Doña Petronila also said that her family was discriminated against for being

Catholic; *estamos muy discriminados* (we are much discriminated).¹²² By openly stating their religious beliefs as distinct from the rest of the community, and legitimating themselves as the main Catholic family in town, they have managed to exclude their family from other families. At the same time, this act entitles them to access exclusive cultural resources like keeping the keys to the church, access to the cemetery (Figure 3.6), the lodging business next to the main plaza and even claiming that the land that the town was built on itself constitutes their property.

In Doña Petronila's view, "times have changed." During old times, when people had problems with each other, these problems came out during the festivities of September 22nd or when Carnival was celebrated; "In those occasions," Doña Petronila relayed to me, "people would gather in town to drink, dance and argue until they got to an agreement, and everybody was at peace again."¹²³ Within an annual cycle marked by ritual, certain festivities would thus create cathartic spaces to resolve community conflicts. With the introduction of new religions, however, community dynamics were changed because traditional gatherings and local festivities came to be prohibited as acts of heresy by the Evangelical Church (Tudela 1992:213).

While we talked about the history of Guallatire at Don Juan's house, Don Teodoro told me that, "before, we believed in a single religion; not now, there are different religions in this time, it has changed a lot." He remembered how the festivities used to be celebrated,

When I was in the fiesta of Guallatire, imagine, we used to bring up the priests, and I was a good Catholic at the time. We brought the priests to the *Mayordomo* (church patron) in charge of the fiesta and he would come out of the church on the 22nd [of September]. We would go out in the street and I was seven, eight or nine years old; *chiquitito* (tiny, young), and we would lay shawls on the floor. The priest was treated like a king; he did not step on the floor. He was as if lifted on an altar, much like they would take the virgin [...]¹²⁴



Figure 3.6 Entrance to the cemetery of Guallatire. Photo by the author (2008)

Don Marcelo said that people would come with horses, mules and donkeys from the town of Belén and they would stay over at their house, to make room for their guests, Don Marcelo and his family would sleep in the *bodega* (storage). Don Teodoro continued,

It was a common thing to do, people would visit; I remember that they used to celebrate all the time, in Choquelimpe, in Parinacota, the towns alternated. The community used to be organized in three groups or ‘missions’: adults, youngsters, and children. Each one had a little bag and shared with the *finaditos* (deceased), they were sharing all day at home, and then at the cemetery; all day sharing.¹²⁵

The festivity of *Todos Santos* was celebrated every first of November. The children would ring the tower bells while the adults mourned the dead or *difuntos*, also referred to as *achachi*, meaning grandparents or ancestors. These traditions do not exist anymore; they have been abandoned. The last time a traditional festivity was collectively celebrated was in 1977.¹²⁶ Doña Camila remembers the last fiesta celebrated in Guallatire: “it was about 32 years ago; I was pregnant with my daughter and we danced *huayno*. A few people were there and there was a big fiesta for Carnival, September 22nd, *Todos Santos*, and all of that...” Doña Estela added, “On July 25th there was also a big fiesta.” She basically agreed with Doña Camila but corrected her by adding, “But let’s start, from the beginning, after San Santiago on July 25th comes September 22nd, if I remember things right; that was the big fiesta after which came *Rosario* in October, and *Las Peñas* in December.”¹²⁷

Don Patricio recounted similar memories about the religious festivities, “there were four main fiestas: *San Santiago*, *Santisímo*, *Rosario*, and *Las Peñas*. There was also another fiesta that took place on September 22nd for eight days when the priest came after celebrating San Juan in Choquelimpe and San Santiago in Parinacota.” Don Alberto added that the priest used to come on December 8th for *Las Peñas* to commemorate the *Virgen de la Inmaculada Concepción*, who is the patron saint of Guallatire, but this was during the rainy season and lightning once killed a priest. It was after this that the date of the fiesta was changed to September 22nd.¹²⁸

All members recalled that these festivities were celebrated in town, except for Christmas, which was celebrated in Ungallire. Don Javier argued that, other than its location, the Christmas celebration was unique in the highlands and within the rest of the celebrations throughout the year: “Ungallire was surrounded by arches, at least three of them, all of them covered with clothes of *Castilla* where people would hang their silverware: spoons, forks, trays, dishes...” Doña Estela

added, “they brought the first fruit crops from the lowland valleys: pears, quinces and grapes.” Christmas celebrations also marked summer solstice, which is at the beginning of the rainy season, and which thus marks renewal and fertility in the Andes.¹²⁹

Don Alberto recalled,

At Christmas, the town was united. We were young and organized. We used to be the first community [to do things in the highlands] during the times of the *Junta de Adelanto de Arica* [Arica Improvement Council]; we were the first one having *la sede* (neighbours’ headquarters) in Guallatire, not even Putre had one! We were committed, and it was like that back then. Now we have to be very clear, if we give them [other families of Guallatire] the town, we have to put in the work, yes, we have to remake the property, the document for the town, send a topographer, the title, these kinds of errands; we have to do this by ourselves but nobody contributes and it would not be possible to do this by themselves [the rest of the community].¹³⁰

His memories project a sense of what used to be the community, ‘young and organized’ and ‘committed’ in contrast to the way in which the community is divided now; ‘nobody contributes.’ Reflecting upon the land conflict, his words oppose a time of progress when the highlands were thriving with people and economically supported by the Arica Improvement Council (JAA). Such notions of modernity appear in other accounts about the 1950s, like those regarding the Lauca Canal in Chapiquiña or the *Tiendas Cáceres* in Japu, because of the huge infrastructure development of the time. These places have been abandoned and destroyed and gradually fallen into ruin, transforming the ideas of progress that they hosted into an afterlife of scattered traces, signaling instead ‘what had to be here.’ (Gordillo 2013) In other words, “These accounts are images *of* the past and not *from* the past [...] Instead of documenting ‘what really occurred’ they bring up images of ‘what should have happened’” (Morphy and Morphy 1985:462; original emphasis).

As opposed to a thriving highland community, today the town remains almost abandoned. All of the activities that used to take place in Guallatire are now hosted in Arica. Other than the roles performed by the *Mayordomo* (church patron), *Fabriquero* (church keeper), and *Principal* or *Jilacata* (community leader), also known as *Mallku* and *T'alla* (male and female leaders), there also used to be an *Inspector* (Inspector) and a *Celador* (Watchman). They would take care of the traditional Aymara structure of the *ayllu* and make people respect the ‘Aymara Law,’ as Don Marcelo called it. Before, he said, “family was one, not like now that families have grown and are dispersed. People used to respect the traditions, there was no Western law and local authorities, [the traditions] would immediately take care of the conflict. It was not necessary to go to the *Carabineros* (Police) or to the *Juzgado* (Court).”¹³¹ Local authorities have disappeared with the traditions and are now institutionalized, making it difficult to resolve conflicts as they used to, by customary law. This vacuum of conflict resolution processes available exists at a time of multiplied conflict, as contradictory notions of property ownership leave increasing marks on the landscape of the community.

Taking into consideration community mapping that contrasted with the data gathered by the National Forestry Agency (CONAF) and the territorial boundaries discussed during the group interviews with the family narratives presented in this chapter, above, I have included Table 3.1 to help make sense of the complexity of property ownership in the Guallatire area. As can be seen, the scope of each form of land tenure varies dramatically among the hamlets and many are not registered because of conflicts existing between different types of ownership. The land holdings historically used to be part of former concessions from Chungara in the *altiplano* highlands or Belén, Saxamar and Tignamar in the *sierra* valleys, making the history of changes in land tenure in the Lauca area difficult to track. The table synthesizes the current state of property ownership

for Guallatire. Each of the *caseríos* (hamlets) and *antas* or *majadas* (herding camps) are registered as *propiedad privada* (privately-owned) or *propiedad fiscal* (state-owned) (CONAF 1998).

Other than the hamlet of Ungallire, where the *bofedal* (wetland pasture) is used collectively, there appears to be no communal land registered as such in Guallatire. However, the collective use of pastures was mentioned by some community members, such as Don Patricio, in descriptions of the collective uses of pastures surrounding the main town, next to Antacollo; “there is a place where the community used to leave the flocks during the fiesta.”¹³² This account might indicate that the current land conflict in Guallatire is a dispute over communal land that has been taken over by the Catholic family as they consider themselves to be the ‘church guardians,’ therefore entitling themselves as *propietarios* of this communal pastures, leaving out the Evangelico families. Hence, the emergence of difference within the community, through the means of religion, had contributed to current property conflicts and divisions within the local families. The materiality of property was not only embodied by the land titles of familial group members but also in religious practices, further affecting rights of access to the ones considered *no propietarios*.

Table 3. 1 Type of land tenure and property ownership within Guallatire (based on CONAF 1998)

#	Hamlets	Herding camps	Property	Hectares
1	Misitune	Lauca River, conflicts with Quiñuta in Parinacota	Private	?
2	Quilvire	Ajayani, conflicts with Chivatambo	Private	8,864
3	Chivatambo	Tambocollo, conflicts with Quiñuta in Parinacota, Ancuta, Quilvire; part of Chungara	Private	9,865
4	Churiguaylla	Challauta, conflicts with Fundición, Negramane; part of Chungara	Private	10,750
5	Fundición	Conflicts with Churiguaylla, Negramane; part of Chungara	Private	2,695
6	Negramane	Conflicts with Churiguaylla, Fundición; part of Chungara	Private	2,630
7	Choquelimpe	Part of Chungara; mining concession	Private	?
8	Ancuta	Acusuma, Churake, Caliente, Bajo Misitune, Carbonire, Mulara, Vilacota, and Amparmalla, conflicts with Chivatambo and Vilacollo	Private	9,970
9	Lliza	Conflicts with Lauca Cruzani and Chuwa	State	?
10	Chuwa	Untuma, Chaño, conflicts with Lliza; part of Saxamar or Ticnamar?	Private	?
11	Lauca Cruzani	Vichuta, conflicts with Vilacollo and Lliza	Private	2,751
12	Lauca	Part of Chuwa	State	?
13	Lauca Ancalle	Ancalle, Tacata, Ullullane	State	1,526.88
14	Lauca Vilaque	Part of Vislubio	Private	?
15	Vislubio	Ancovinto, Achoco, Tumanta, Canchuyo, and Chulluncane; next to Trapicha	Private	240
16	Guaramalla	Gentilar, Guaramalla, and Calasipita, conflicts with Vilacollo	State	90
17	Ungallire	Tomaya, Colca, Olloco, Chullumpire, Tigrata- Alto Cruzani, Utalacata, Pujune, Charcollo-Saitoco, Suricollo-Vilayo, Surane-Macaya, Wata, Suricollo-Viluyo; conflicts with Japu and Paquisa. Pastures used as communal land	Private, Communal	18,351.5
18	Chullpa-Visalla	Conflicts with Japu and Ancoñocone; part of Surasurane?	State, Private	2,120
19	Pisarata	Payalcollo, Portire, Tacata-Cucho, Chilipe-Challere, and Kiulani, conflicts with Surasurane and Puquios; next to the Trapicha site	State	494.75
20	Japu	Botijane, Sayavinto-Vilacollo, and Vacullani, conflicts with Ungallire and Chullpa-Visalla	State	8,922.5
21	Surasurane	Conflicts with Ancoñocone, Puquios and Pisarata; part of Chullpa-Visalla?	Private	5,018
22	Ancoñocone	Ancoñocone-Pampa and Tumaya, conflicts with Chullpa-Visalla, Surasurane and Pisarata	State	2,195
23	Vilacollo	Conflicts with Guaramalla, Puquios, Lauca Cruzani and Ancuta; part of Surasurane?	Private	2,978.13
24	Puquios	Conflicts with Vilacollo, Surasurane and Pisarata; part of Surasurane?	Private	887.5
25	Vizcachani	Part of Vilacollo?	Private	?
26	Catanave	Part of Tignamar; mining concession	State, Private	?
27	Paquisa	Vichuta, Queñoahuara, Almuyo, Condorire, Uyuni and Chullumpire, conflicts with Ungallire	State	28,235
28	Guallatire	Capital town; pastures used to be communal? (Antacollo)	Private, Communal	?

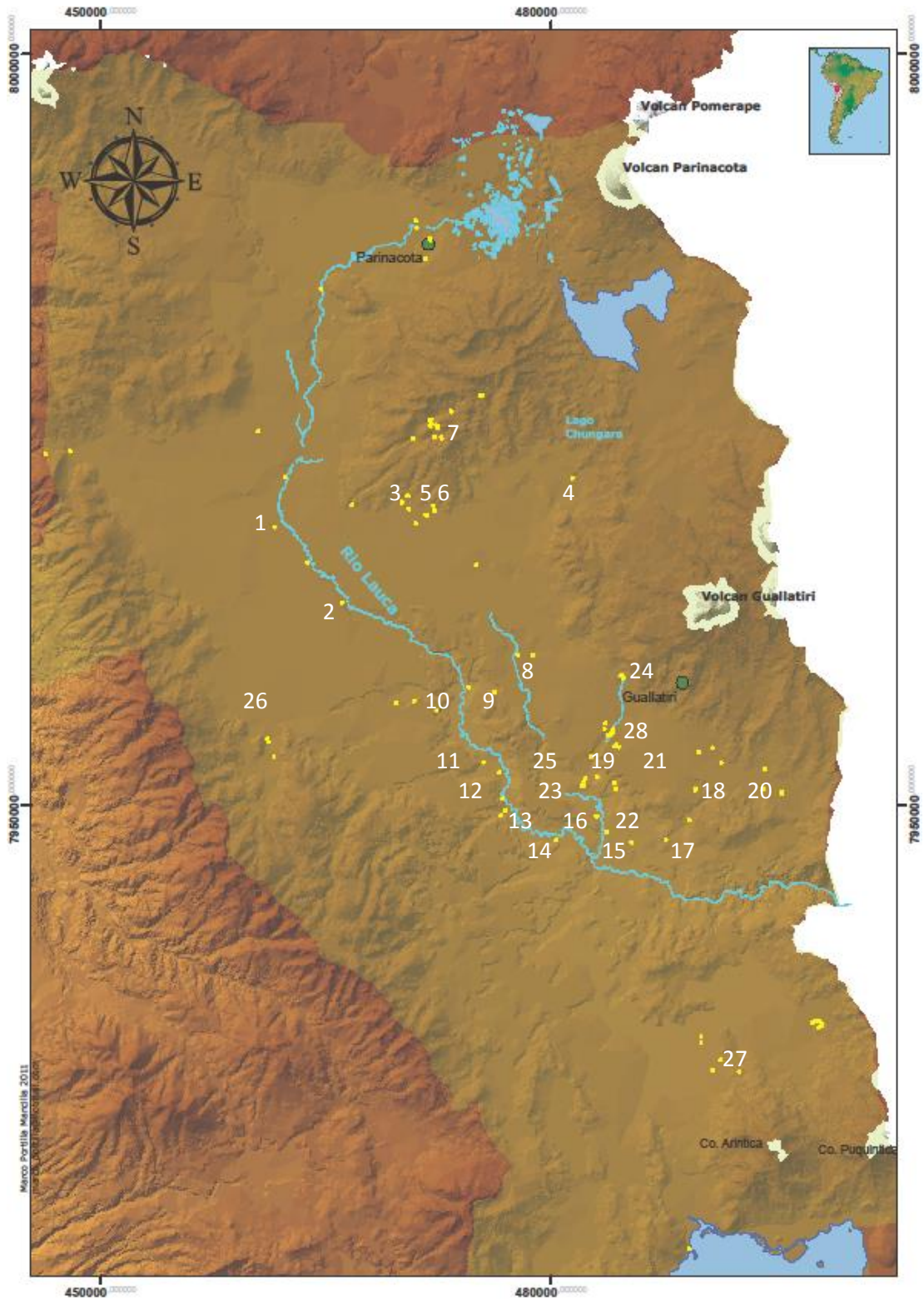


Figure 3.7 GIS map of the Lauca watershed; each yellow dot is a site mapped during fieldwork, and the numbers correlate with the ones on Table 3.1

Based on the information above, more than two thirds (68%) of the Lauca territory is privately-owned land, around 75,000 hectares, while state-owned land represents less than a third (32%), amounting to approximately 43,500 hectares. As Table 3.1 and Figure 3.7 show, most properties in Guallatire have conflicts between them, showing that the process of privatization of land and water known as the ‘regularization process’ left traces of conflicts on the overall map of land tenure. Some of these disputes have remained unresolved up to today, such as the dispute in the heart of Guallatire town itself. However, both registered and unregistered land are currently contested by various members of the community, creating a constant struggle for indigenous ownership in the Lauca.

3.5 Private property and heritage: a contested relationship

As in other cases in Chile, state-owned and privately-owned land in traditional native territories has been the consequence of the imposition of state policies without the consultation of Indigenous Peoples. In the case of Arica and Parinacota, the fact that all unclaimed properties became public under Chilean Law (Aguilera 2010:34; Bernhardson 1986:315; Eisenberg 2013; Yáñez and Aylwin 2007), neglected ancestral and historical rights of ownership, thus promoting structural violence upon Indigenous Peoples. While I researched into the recent history of Guallatire, the internal conflict between the two main familial groups surfaced, particularly regarding the territorial boundaries of the town. These two familial groups are represented by two different organizations: the Indigenous Community *Hijos de Guallatire* (Sons and Daughters of Guallatire) and the Indigenous Association *Volcán de Guallatire* (Guallatire Volcano). It became clear during fieldwork that there was a struggle between the members of the community

who were *propietarios* (property owners), some of whom were able to claim historical dwelling, others who could not. A different situation occurred when people did not own any registered property because it became really hard to access rights of ownership, as had occurred in Doña Estela's case. As stated earlier, this process of exclusion started with the indigenous land and water regularization process launched by CONADI in 1992. Up to 40 percent of the people of Guallatire were left out of the process.¹³³

Although not a strict rule, the Indigenous Community members mostly correlate with members of the *Nazareno* Church, with a few belonging to the *Pentecostal* Church, while the Indigenous Association is made up mostly of Catholic members. There seemed to be multiple factors enacting the relationship between both groups: history, property, religion, family, heritage, etc. But it was hard to grasp the multiplicity of layers that formed this community divide. Could what I originally thought to be a problem of public and private property ownership and indigenous land claims also be a problem of familial heritage and religious practices?

At the local level, the town of Guallatire is in the midst of an ongoing dispute affecting the adjacent properties of Surasurane, Puquios and Vilacollo, which are contested by the two main familial groups of Guallatire. On the one hand, there are the *propietarios* (property owners) of Guallatire who claim property rights over the main town. They have formed themselves into an Indigenous Association and continue to exclude others from accessing property in the heart of Guallatire, while legitimating themselves as Catholic. On the other side, the rest of the community has included *propietarios* (property owners) with historical occupancy as well as those considered *no propietarios* (without property). They are represented by the Indigenous

Community and known to be Evangelico believers, either Nazareno or Pentecostal, some more orthodox or heterodox, although some do not profess any religion at all.

According to Don Marcelo, in Guallatire “there have always been two families, and we are related.”¹³⁴ As one of the youngest siblings of the late Don Reinaldo, *el veterano* (the veteran), he argued that the old territorial boundaries of Guallatire encompass the adjacent hamlets of Vilacollo, Puquios, and Surasurane. Conversely, Don Alberto argued that the land property was originally registered in 1910 by Mariano Mamani but “the documentation got lost because it was sent to the capital of Santiago in a ship and the ship sank.”¹³⁵ This is an example of the various conflicting accounts and versions about the town that coexist between these families.

Another version given by Don Marcelo said that one of the relatives of Mariano Mamani, Basilio Mamani, sold Puquios in 1955 to David Pagsi, a landowner from Belén, and in 1986, Don Reinaldo bought the land he used to rent from the Pagsi family.¹³⁶ Yet another account, from Don Raúl, says that Mateo Pagsi bought Surasurane in 1916 and David Pagsi, his son, sold it in 1955 to his grandfather, Don Nicanor, often referred to as *el finado* (the deceased).¹³⁷ Although the rest of the original property from 1910 was divided and sold, only Vilacollo remained a legacy of the Mamani family from Vizcachani. Today both families prefer to remain silent about the conflict, at least when I was around, as they had stopped communicating with each other by that time.

Don Marcelo’s account supports his family’s side of the story. His grandmother came from the Mamani family in Vizcachani, and she used to rent a house in Surasurane. A cousin of the other family lived in Surasurane, and when she died, Don Nicanor came from Japu to take care of the animals that she left behind. Everything was fine until Don Nicanor registered the property in the

land registry of CONADI and later, in 1995, sold it to his five siblings. In his view, all of the family members knew that they were acquiring a property beyond its original boundaries because the boundaries were misplaced by the Pagsi family from Belén.¹³⁸

The conflict between the familial groups has escalated since 2008. Letters from the community have been made public by institutions in Arica, such as the Universidad de Tarapacá, as well as private companies such as the Quiborax mine of Surire, where some community members work. Between 2009 and 2010, various articles appeared in the media, such as the regional newspaper *La Estrella de Arica*, the online national magazines *Punto Final* and *El Clarín* as well as on indigenous media websites *Ukhamawa* and *Azkintuwe*.¹³⁹ (Figure 3.8) This territorial conflict explained the presence of the ‘private property’ signs that were placed in Guallatire just outside the town that had caught my attention when I visited the town in 2007 and 2008. Currently, a wire fence has been built around the town of Guallatire, making a concrete and visible statement of contested property rights within the otherwise bare highland landscape.

In general, the non-Catholic families agreed upon the fact that the land was taken over by the Catholic families who have manipulated legal information available at the time of the land title acquisition: *Se creen dueños del Pueblo* (“They believe they own the town”).¹⁴⁰ The Catholic family argued, on the other hand, that they have been discriminated against by the rest of the community. Although the non-native Pagsi family should be blamed for not checking the boundaries of the land property they sold, according to the opposing families, the responsibility fell to Don Nicanor because he was a Guallatire native and registered land tenure as his property that did not belong to the original division.

In terms of identity, Don Nicanor is considered to be Bolivian, rather than Peruvian. Peruvian ancestry is a sign of prestige and status, because old families have this heritage, while being Bolivian is an identity marker of Aymara-speaking newcomers. Being Peruvian is recognized as indicating the ‘indigenous resistance’ that fought against the Chilean occupation. Esteban Mollo, known as the “doctor that laid the first stone”¹⁴¹ would thus be related to Antonio Mollo, the indigenous revolutionary who was killed in Putre in 1926, as discussed in Chapter 2.



Figure 3.8 The sign reads: “The town of Guallatire is everyone’s!” (From *La Estrella de Arica*, 2010)

It is also important to note that the community was actually taking responsibility for the land themselves, instead of blaming the Indigenous Development Agency (CONADI), which has been officially in charge of registering indigenous land and water tenure as of 1994, or any other state institution that would have affected the division of property. The territorial conflict in

Guallatire emerged because territorial boundaries dating back to the original foundation of the last church at the end of the Peruvian occupation were misinterpreted through confusion relating to other boundaries placed in 1910 and 1995 by the land regularization processes promoted by the Chilean state.

The Evangelical and nonreligious families formed the Legal Committee in Defense of the Town of Guallatire and have been looking to take their case to the Inter-American Court of Human Rights in Washington D.C. In contrast, the main Catholic family of Guallatire has continued to argue that they are in possession of all required documentation legitimating their territorial claim, are therefore entitled to the land, and that they will maintain their unity as a family clan. One of the family members, Doña Olivia, told me that two lawsuits pursued by the Legal Committee had already taken place and that they fell through. The first lawsuit addressed the current land divide, further west, and the second tried to change the territorial divide. Neither met with success, leaving the boundaries as they remain today. Don Alberto said that their family had already heard the voice of the community; while his father, Don Nicanor announced that he would donate the town to the community, Reinaldo's son, Don Marcelo, humiliated him in front of everyone when he shouted: "Hey Nicanor, you do not have any property, what property are you going to donate to us?!"¹⁴² Don Alberto argued that they would have measured and fixed the boundaries, and that his father went to Arica and waited for two days at the Zapata Notary in order to legalize everything, but nobody came to meet him. Now they have lost their opportunity, because he was giving the town voluntarily, as a 'gift,' but nobody wanted to receive it. "This point really upsets me," Don Alberto added.¹⁴³

The fact that nobody from the community was willing to accept the ‘gift,’ the gift meaning the town of Guallatire, might indicate that the community did not acknowledge, and actually denied, their position as ‘gift-givers,’ thereby rejecting conditional subordination to the giver because of the impossibility of reciprocating its value. This resistance to be embedded in a certain form of gift economy might signal shifting understandings of value and regimes of practice. In this sense, if “to deny reciprocity is to invoke war and the wrath of the gods,” (Taussig 2010:197), then the reciprocity criteria could be used to analyse power dynamics within this Aymara community, despite ‘reciprocity’ constantly having been abused or denied in the Andes (Wachtel 1977:115). Another possibility for such an act of ‘un-reciprocity’ could be that the gift is actually invaluable, and thus that the town of Guallatire would fall under the category of “things that are not given or sold, but kept” (Godelier 2000). The latter would seem to make the most sense in the case of the town of Guallatire as narrated in the oral accounts, because it was conceived as a communal and ritual space where people would gather seasonally to commemorate working cycles and resolve conflicts that had emerged in intervening periods. Hence, if Guallatire belongs to a valuable and inalienable property category, then why is it being disputed within the community as a form of private property? What notions of ownership and entitlement are at stake when doing so?

We have seen how social contradictions embedded in places and the conflicting memories that emerge from them are reinscribed through narratives, especially regarding the territorial boundaries and the origins of Guallatire. The commonality of property is used to mark differences within the community and legitimate certain rights of ownership (*propietarios* and *sin propiedad*), highlighting tensions between traditional and newer forms of land tenure (state-owned or privately-owned), land use (historical or not), and the type of land registered (individual versus collective). By looking into collective subjectivities involving particular

places and their memories as contested terrains in the territory of Guallatire, we have seen how social differences, marked by preferential relationships with the church or the state, emerge and create boundaries through sites of struggle where power relations are practiced, challenged and reconfigured.

Chapter 4

Mining landscapes and mining communities in ruins

Current ethnicity processes in the Andes—such as the emergence of ethnic groups as social formations demanding autonomous citizenship (ethnogenesis) and the revitalization of ethnic historical consciousness (re-ethnification)—have sparked questions regarding indigenous identities and how Indigenous Peoples relate to the materiality of ethnic communities of the past in the present. Such materiality has been shaped by colonial legacies rooted in disciplines such as anthropology, archaeology and history, consequently pushing us as researchers to reflect on the contradictions that emerge in discourse as much as in practice.¹⁴⁴ In this contradictory process, archaeology-based identities have been appropriated and widely used by both indigenous and national imaginaries, circulating powerful narratives even before the germination of the republics or the social sciences. However, in Latin America, monumental sites and archaeological objects have been widely used in national hegemonic discourse to legitimate the emergence of sovereign entities and the construction of nation-states. In this sense, it can be argued that, “archaeological knowledge, as instituted in public sites or narrated in official textbooks, informs a national past in ways that are congruent with the modern representation of the nation-state” (Benavides 2009:190).

Considering the above, in this chapter, I examine how people from Guallatire relate to mining landscapes and places in ruins, such as the Choquelimpe mine and the Trapiche mining camp, and how these sites speak to the dynamics of working and living in settlements structured around a single commodity (Knapp 1998:4). In so doing, I explore the landscape of social contradictions embedded in memories of mining and coloniality in the Lauca area, as opposed to reminiscences of modernity and regional development during the ‘golden years’ of the Arica Improvement

Council (JAA), which also appear in local narratives of the past. Places such as mines and other ruins that have been abandoned speak to Andean and European legacies beyond colonial boundaries and interplay with the Aymara borderlands in various contested terrains. The “social and affective reconfigurations created by traces of destruction” (Gordillo 2013:324) create an interesting angle for examining the materiality of the past and how indigenous understandings of modernity and colonialism are interrelated; “there is no modernity without coloniality” (Mignolo 2000:43). This ‘modern versus colonial’ tension is always present within archaeological narratives, and acknowledging it can be useful in articulating alternative accounts of the past, collaborating in the emergence of new forms of heritage, and challenging hegemonic readings of the past (González-Ruibal 2013).

Here I explore modern and colonial tensions through the notion of ‘indigenous heritage,’ and by this I mean establishing a historical connection or cultural continuity with local communities, while comparing local narratives and institutional discourses that resonate with other accounts of domination and resistance from the Andean highlands. The ruins become entangled with multiple places and historical contradictions, thus turning into “broken material forms haunted by absences that affect the living and generate affects, habits and memories.” (Gordillo 2013:324) Abandoned places and their material ruination are actually indexes of an ‘afterlife’ (*sensu* Benjamin 1968) that carries on even centuries after their destruction. To the untrained eye, these ‘traces of destruction’ can look like ‘dead’ places. But they are very much ‘alive’ and contested, underscoring the complexities that exist around mining, the movement of capital, regional mobility, kinship ties and indigenous heritage. A close relationship between place and memory is articulated through human and nonhuman relations, carving Aymara identity into the particular highland landscape of Guallatire. The emergence of parallel regimes of indigenous

heritage and identity can thus be seen to shape the materiality of the past, which itself can be understood as a ‘living memory’ (Nora 1992).

4.1 Doña Celia: traveling without moving

Since its origins, Guallatire has always been associated with mining. Clear evidence for this association includes strong local memories and family histories bound to landscapes bearing persistent evidence of past processes of mineral extraction and metal production. The materiality of mining and metallurgy has a strong presence in the highlands, inscribing the expansion of capital along with its technological processes into this border landscape. The shift to industrial production is embedded in the memories of the *guallatireños*, who appropriate these mining legacies into their everyday lives.

In early 2009, I visited the hamlets next to the Choquelimpe mine. I needed permission from the family that owned the land to visit the area because the mine is privately owned. I had already contacted Doña Celia in advance and arranged a meeting at Chivatambo; one of the parks guards drove me over from Guallatire. Once acquiring her permission, it was easy to gain access to the legendary mine, which has stopped production and is awaiting reopening. The mine is currently guarded by three workers.

Doña Celia is the eldest of four siblings, with two sisters and two brothers. All of them are members of the family that inherited land next to the Choquelimpe mine, in the hamlets of Chivatambo and Tambocollo. They established a system of annual turns to take care of the family estate. The estate today consists of what Doña Celia and her brother, Don Teodoro, called the *anta* or *majada* (hamlet), which include corrals and *bofedales* (pastures). The herders move

the animal flocks of llamas and alpacas during the day to pasture before returning them to the corrals at night. Don Teodoro explained that *anta* is an old word that comes from *antar*, an Aymara word referring to the movement of animal flocks. “In January and February,” he said, “it rains and pastures grow; during the rest of the year we live in the same place, but on February first it rains, and in March and April the pastures are ready and we go to the *anta* for two to three months and then we go back to the main house; that is our yearly routine.”¹⁴⁵

In 2009, it was Doña Celia’s sister’s turn to take care of the familial property of over 9,000 hectares (see Table 4.1 in Chapter 4), and she brought her 15 year old son to help her with *pastorear* (herding). When I met them, I came from Guallatire in a pick-up truck with Antonio, one of the park guards who regularly worked at the Las Vicuñas National Reserve. As we stopped on the road that goes to Tambocollo, I saw both of them walking quickly in the middle of the field. The first thing that caught my attention at the time was the many ropes that Doña Marcela was carrying around her shoulder and torso. It looked like she was all wrapped up by *tikas* and *chakus*, which are different kinds of *sogas* (ropes) made into *lazos* (lassos). All of them looked different: black and white, with patterns, plain, thick, thin, etc. The second thing I noticed was that her teenage son was carrying a radio hanging from a cable around his neck in front of his chest. I was concerned at the time because I remembered what people had told me about this being a common practice and how the radio could attract a lightning strike, a recurrent phenomenon in these highlands.

Both of them carried backpacks for the day and wore wool sweaters with leather boots, as well as a hat or cap. I asked them about Doña Celia; her sister replied that she should be on her way and would be arriving soon. She told me to wait for her at the house and continued by telling me that

she was worried about their animal herds because a *puma* (mountain lion) had been hunting for food in the vicinity of the house. She also said that it had killed a llama a few days ago, and that they were now raising her newborn, which was about six weeks old. “*Donde mis ojos te vean, como decía mi mamá*” (where my eyes can see you, like my mother used to say).¹⁴⁶ With this phrase, she justified why she preferred to spend all day with the flocks in the field, along with her son. The llamas and alpacas are acknowledged and valued as family members. If an animal were to get lost, they would look for it unceasingly, as if it were a lost child.¹⁴⁷ When I asked her if her son was missing school by being there with her, she replied firmly that “he must learn to be a man now and support me; I cannot do it all by myself.”

Doña Celia arrived later at the house with Ernesto, another park guard, who was coming from the city of Putre where the provincial office of CONAF is located. Although she lived for the most part in Putre at this time, Doña Celia was born in Chivatambo.¹⁴⁸ She told me that the name refers to a group of ruins that are nearby and were used as a stopover place for the people who would pass by the *camino tropero* (drover road) connecting Potosí with the Choquelimpe mine.¹⁴⁹ In 1965, Don Alcides, her father, registered some of the property that he inherited under the name of Chivatambo and kept it for his own family, while at the same time he divided the land to create new properties that were later sold as Chungara, Churiguaylla, Fundición, and Negramaya (or Negramane). The land was originally owned by his father’s grandmother, the first one known to register property from this area at the office of the *Conservador de Bienes Raíces* (Real Estate Registrar) in Arica, as early as 1906 (CONAF 1998).

Although Don Alcides was not formally recognized by his father, a well-known *Gobernador* (Governor) of the time, he was raised by his father’s family in Belén, where he had two siblings

(a stepbrother and stepsister). There, he studied to be a teacher and taught in the mining camps of Choquelimpe where he met Doña Celia's mother, Doña Diana. But it was not in the camps that Doña Celia was raised. Her aunt, who was also her godmother, lived in the cities of Belén and then Arica, and took responsibility for her teaching. Her uncle wanted to repeat the model with her older brother, she said, but passed away without being able to accomplish this goal.

Doña Celia took a moment to look up and remember how she spent months in Belén and then in Arica. *Me mandaban retobadita a Arica* ("They sent me well prepared to Arica"), she recalled.¹⁵⁰ The local mobility of people throughout the Andean highlands and lowlands was a common practice in her childhood. Such a journey would take about *una quincena* (fifteen days), back and forth. In her experience, a mule caravan would take about a week to go from the highlands of Choquelimpe and Guallatire, passing through the *sierra* valleys of Chapiquiña and Belén towards the lowlands of the Lluta and Azapa valleys, to finally arrive at the coast of Arica. Sometimes her family used an alternative route, taking the train that used to connect Arica with La Paz, in Bolivia. They would disembark at Estación Alcérreca, which was the closest railway station to the Choquelimpe Mine. From there, another mule caravan would come and pick them up before they returned home, loaded with goods from the city. "It was quite a journey," she remembered.

These narratives of the past give us a flavour of the multiple relations weaving together kinship and place, landscape and memory, and through human and nonhuman relations. Thinking about her life, Doña Celia told me that she has achieved her father's wish. As the oldest sibling and now over 50 years old, today she takes care of the familial legacy as he wanted, despite the fact that she has had no children and divorced¹⁵¹ a few years ago after thirteen years of marriage to a

Bolivian man from Curahuara de Carangas. Now they maintain ‘good relations,’ because they still work together sometimes. In Putre, the capital city of the Parinacota Province, she runs a small business selling handcrafted textiles made out of lama and alpaca wool. Doña Celia is also an indigenous leader, community representative and active member of Guallatire’s Indigenous Community and the Neighbours’ Council, of which she was the Secretary for many years. She is also part of the legal committee in defense of the town of Guallatire, and a member of the Aymara Coalition in Defense of the Environment (CADMA), which is one of the groups formed in 2010 as part of the anti-mining network (REDMA). Only once did I ever find her at home when I was in Putre; Doña Celia always managed to keep herself busy, very much like other indigenous leaders and community representatives that I met during fieldwork.

Her family moved to the hamlet of Tambocollo¹⁵² in 1975-1978 when one of her cousins moved to Chivatambo. Tambocollo, like other hamlets, is made up of houses placed in a U shape with an open courtyard in the middle. Bedrooms are placed on both sides of each house, while the kitchen is in a separate building at the centre. In contrast to other hamlets, here everything looks fairly new and modern. For example, there are solar panels powering electricity and a washroom with running water. There are henhouses close to the main house, while the llama and alpaca corrals are a bit further off. When I visited, I helped Doña Celia feed the baby llama with a milk bottle. Until then she had fed it with powdered milk, but was now in the process of teaching it how to eat wild grass. She put a handful inside the llama’s mouth, grabbing the jaw firmly and then forcing it to chew it down. “Otherwise,” Doña Celia said, “she will soon die.”¹⁵³

Once the baby llama was fed, we also ate, and then went to walk around the *anta*. We started walking from Tambocollo to Chivatambo. Doña Celia explained to me that the ruins of the

tambo are located at a main drover road junction; one road comes from the northeast, passing Lake Chungara, and gets bifurcated west towards Belén and Chapiquiña, and southwest towards Tignamar. There is another road that connects with the highlands of Parinacota, going through Cerro Choquelimpe, which rises over 5,000 meters above sea level by a place called *Rosariuni Apacheta*. An *apacheta* (landmark) is a mound of stones used to mark pathways, cross-roads and high peaks (van den Berg 1985:26). These landmarks commemorated places that were named and remembered, functioning as mnemonic devices that tracked the movement of people through the Andean highlands.



Figure 4.1 Doña Celia looking southeast, towards the Guallatire volcano. Photo by the author (2008)

When I asked her about the extent of the current property, while standing on the hilly slope of Chivatambo, she pointed westwards towards a group of rocks, telling me the property boundaries as if she had learned them by heart. From Chancapampa east to Queñoacollo and Acusama in Ancuta, then east towards Capurata in Guallatire and Cerro Quisiquisiñe at the border. From there to Cerro Espiritu and Cerro Altarane, where Apacheta Rosariuni is, and finally to Queñoa Uta and Río Lauca. The river turns east near the hamlet of Misitune, which we could almost see on the horizon from the hilly slope where we stood that day. Doña Celia sighed before looking back at me (Figure 4.1); we had just travelled across the landscape without moving...

But Doña Celia could not always travel freely in such a way through the highlands. In fact, on January 3rd, 2007, she was put in jail for 12 days. When I asked her how she got to the Acha detention centre in Arica, she told me about how a *carabinero* (policeman) from the nearby town of Caquena was shot and killed while alone close to her hamlet, on the road that connects the frontier with Guallatire. Doña Celia explained that the fact that the policeman was alone raised suspicions about something that went wrong because they are not supposed to patrol alone, but with a partner. Rumours of drug-smuggling are always present when close to the Chile-Bolivia border. It is well known that there are many corridors all throughout the Andes. Doña Celia believed that he was involved in some kind of illegal transaction. After the shooting, the policemen needed to find a scapegoat and searched all the nearby hamlets for suspects or fugitives. When they searched her house, they found that she had ‘illegal specimens’ from endangered species that are now protected within the Biosphere Reserve. What they found were items that Doña Celia’s had inherited, various artifacts that she said were *tradicionalmente andino* (traditionally Andean) such as a *quirquincho* (armadillo) shell, *titi* (wild cat) and *puma* (mountain lion) hides, *suri* (rhea) eggs, among other items. All of these had been a part of her

family inheritance; however, to possess this ‘traditionally Andean’ legacy was considered illegal and was the reason for her incarceration. To date, the case remains unresolved. Doña Celia sighs, “It was a hard experience,” she says, but clarifies that she lived through it *con dignidad* (with dignity).¹⁵⁴ A physical landmark was placed where the policeman was shot to death. When someone dies on the road, a common practice is to build an *animita* or road shrine, like a miniature house for the soul of the deceased to reside away from home. This one was built like a grotto with the *Virgen del Carmen*, saint patron of the Chilean army, and next to the *Virgen de la Inmaculada Concepción*, the local saint patron of Guallatire (Figure 4.2). The contradictions of sanctifying this place of potential illegal trafficking as a police shrine become less absurd when considering the long history of institutionalization and militarization of the Aymara borderlands.



Figure 4.2 Shrine built for a policeman shot dead close to the border in 2007. Photo by the author (2008)

4.2 Choquelimpe: sleeping in a golden cradle

Doña Celia told me that in Choquelimpe stands *Ancocollo*,¹⁵⁵ a mountain named after her family name. It is located in the middle of the mining area, delimited to the north by Cerro Proa and Cerro Altarane, and to the south by Cerro Sarnacollo and Quebrada Ancoaque. Within Choquelimpe, various mining camps had been installed and abandoned during different phases of production, such as a place called *piedra grande* (big rock) which has *marays* (mineral mills) that denote archaeological remains, or the Grant mining camp, that could indicate a British heritage such as the brand of scotch whiskey, with a boiler that is a rusty witness of the process of industrialization and metal production in the area (Figure 4.3).

The ‘life history’ of the mine is hard to visualize due to the constant overlapping of mining pits and camps, used and abandoned. Some of them are said to be from colonial times, the pits so narrow that only children would have been able to descend into them. There are also various places where some pits have collapsed, like in *el socavón*, where a whole crew of miners was buried alive, echoing a long history of entrapment of labourers in mines. Other areas have been buried by the accumulation of *tortas* or piles of mining waste, which have slid next to the village and are the reason for the cemetery being moved. Today, despite the efforts of her family, the town is gone and the cemetery is falling apart; even the entrance portal has been rusted out and torn down, along with parts of the fence. Only dark wood and rusting metal crosses are visible from outside. Plaques that once shone are opaque and the names they bear are unreadable; the paper flowers have all faded into white. Except for Doña Celia’s family tombs, everything else is

gone. Doña Celia said that they buried her mother in January 15th, 2006, and her father next to her, buried over a decade ago.

*Choquelimpe*¹⁵⁶ is the native word for red cinnabar or vermilion, which is mercury in a natural state (Álvarez 1998:386). This old mining camp is located at 4,860 meters above sea level and was built next to the mine. It is surrounded by mountains with high colorful peaks dyed in minerals such as gold, silver, mercury and cinnabar, which is the ore of mercury found in a crystalized formation. Although it might have been exploited earlier, Choquelimpe initially appeared as an active mining camp or settlement in 1643 (Urzúa 1964) and again in 1668, when the Doctrine of Codpa was formed (Hasche 1997). At the time, it was home to a local labour force, and later, to the working population of the highlands during colonial times. Choquelimpe was part of the *Ruta de la Plata* (Silver Route), which was in use roughly between 1570 and 1750,¹⁵⁷ when silver was transported from the mines of Potosí in Alto Peru, modern Bolivia, to the sea port of Arica (Dagnino 1909; Keller 1946). The local source of mercury from the mine of Choquelimpe could have been used as an alternative to the *Ruta del Azogue* (Mercury Route) that used to connect Huancavélica, Peru, and Arica between 1564 and 1657.

In the past, mercury was used for processing silver. To produce liquid mercury (quicksilver), crushed cinnabar ore was roasted in rotary furnaces, and pure mercury separated by evaporation from sulfur in the process. A condensing column was used to collect the liquid metal that was later used for purification of the silver (Robins 2011). In its natural state, mercury is known as red cinnabar and used for smelting. It has been supposedly brought from the mines of Huancavelica through the highlands from Cusco to Oruro or by sea from Chincha to Arica. However, a local source of extraction could have been the Choquelimpe mine (Álvarez

1998:386). If this was the case, it would explain the recurrence of mining camps near the watercourses around Guallatire, and change the current conceptualization of regional history where this area is depicted as isolated and marginal to the development of the Arica and Parinacota Region.



Figure 4.3 Part of Choquelimpe covered by mining waste. Photo by the author (2009)

As I mentioned earlier, Doña Celia's family used to own the hamlets of Chungara, Fundición, Churiguaylla, and Negramaya (or Negramane); in 1965, they were divided and sold as individual properties. She told me that other than Chivatambo and Tambocollo, her family used to stay at another hamlet within Choquelimpe. Located on the slopes of Cerro Sarnacollo, it used to be

occupied by her sister, in the same place where the Domínguez Brothers used to have a *pulpería* (grocery shop) during the British occupation of the mine in the late 1800s and early 1900s, which would correlate with the time of British investments in the northernmost province (Frazier 2007). Local people recall that the mine owner of the time was named either Mr. Barber or Mr. Hammer.¹⁵⁸ Once, I walked through the abandoned houses that used to be their family hamlet; the floor scattered with shreds of white and blue housewares, glass, tin, and metal. Because Doña Celia's family hold tenure to this land, they control the access to the mine and have received royalties since 1986. The mine has been used by different companies such as the National Mining Company (ENAMI), a Metal Processing Company (PROMEL) that polluted the area,¹⁵⁹ and most recently by the mining corporations of Vilacollo and Cancan, owned by the Angelini Group. Recently, the National Health and Environment Division of the Medical School found high quantities of arsenic, iron and manganese in the watercourse of Milluni¹⁶⁰, which runs next to the mine, levels that do not occur naturally (Duarte 2013).

Regardless of the pollution that the mine entails, when I asked her about the history of the mine, Doña Celia told me what her father once told her about the origins of Choquelimpe: "It was the Spanish Viceroy who gave this land as a gift to my great-great-grandfather." He was a mestizo who saved the life of the Viceroy from an indigenous revolt. The Indians would have killed him if her great-great-grandfather had not warned him about the uprising. As the son of a *mestizo* and, in recognition for saving the life of the Viceroy, he was granted ownership of the land, which had a hidden treasure: Choquelimpe. The mineral deposit is located at the very heart of the mining property that is now being taken care of by Doña Celia.

This narrative could be mythically evoking the time of the indigenous uprisings in the highlands around 1780;¹⁶¹ however, a document inscribing Choquelimpe as a mining property in Arica dates to 1750, which would predate the time of the rebellion. The story actually references the fact that some of the local Aymara chiefs did not support the revolts and allied with the Spanish, the same as they did against the Inca. The narrative could also be echoing an earlier time, during the times of colonization, when the Aymara were politically divided between those who were loyal to the Inca elite and those who were in support of the Spanish Crown; that is why the Potosí mine was originally kept secret and the Porco mine was given away. The secrecy suggests that the Spaniards worked their way through to access highland resources by building political alliances against the Incas (Platt and Quisbert 2010). But what matters more in this account is that the local *mestizo*, embodying a mixed race cast and heritage, appears as a new subjectivity that rejects the indigenous Aymara structure based on the Inca system and takes sides with the Spaniards, thus allying into a triad of power dynamics. For doing so, the *mestizo* in Doña Celia's account, gets rewarded with the land title for the Choquelimpe mine. The account shows the existence of political tensions that resonate with various other colonial narratives in the Andes, rooting the mine to a logic of reciprocity, of a gift economy, while at the same time articulating the emergence of property ownership, of a new commodity that has become part of the local heritage.

But what was happening in the highlands around the time Choquelimpe was inscribed? In 1739, the Bishop of Arequipa, for the first time, mentioned the population in what were considered the highlands of the *Corregimiento de Arica*. The inhabitants in the area were: 72 in Choquelimpe, 78 in Guallatire, and 149 in Parinacota. These settlements belonged to the Doctrine of Codpa, originally created in 1668, which later became the Doctrine of Belén in 1777 (Hasche 1997:63-

64). Between 1750 and 1772, the local population decreased by half in Choquelimpe, while doubling in Guallatire and remaining the same in Patrinacota, as indicated by Demetrio Egan, the Corregidor of Arequipa (Hidalgo et al. 2004:108). In 1777, all of the highland settlements became part of the new Doctrine of Belén. An impoverishment of the mining camps occurred, most likely due to the decline of the minerals and the high tributes demanded by the system of *mita*, as later noted by Antonio Álvarez Jiménez in 1793. The author specifically mentioned Choquelimpe due to the low tributes of only *veinte reales* that were made by the local chief. As discussed in Chapter 3, the population reduction could also be a consequence of the 1780 indigenous Quechua and Aymara revolts sparked by Tupac Amaru and Tupac Katari in the highlands, which were not supported by some local chiefs in Arica and Parinacota, like Diego Felipe Cañipa in Codpa, who was publically skinned and hung for not joining in the uprising (Hidalgo 1986:199; Hidalgo et al. 2004:109).

According to the 1793 census published by José Hipólito Unánue, the Aymara *puros* (pure) numbered 372,397 while the Aymara *mestizos* (mixed) numbered 188,237 in the former Corregimiento of Arica. In the same year, the Provinces of Arica and Tacna, including seven Doctrines, one city, and 22 towns, counted a total population of 18,776 inhabitants, which was divided following the Spanish system of castes: there were 44 Clerics, 21 *Religiosos* or Religious, 1,585 Spaniards, 12,870 Indians, 1,977 *Mestizos*, 985 Free *Pardos* or *Mulatos*, and 1,294 Slaves or *Negros* (Wormald 1966:41-42). The amount of Indians is higher than any other caste, implying that they were the main labour force for the mines, followed by the *Mestizos*, who were probably gaining in presence at the time.

Later, after the Independence of Peru (1821), the Peruvian census of 1866 indicated that Guallatire included most of the highland population, with a total of 108 inhabitants (Ruz et al. 2008:34). Guallatire continued to include a high proportion of the highland population until at least the time at least of the War of the Pacific (1879-1883). Mining activities in Choquelimpe resumed after the war. Production peaked around 1920, when the Arica Mining Company mechanized and started vein extraction (Gröpper et. al 1989). When this Andean territory definitively became Chilean around 1929, the first national company that invested in it was the National Mining Company (ENAMI). Between 1960 and 1976, various projects were planned to treat the old sulfide dumps by flotation to recover their considerable silver value, but none came to fruition (Gröpper et. al 1989). Then, between 1979 and 1988, during which time Doña Celia's family started receiving royalty cheques, Choquelimpe was used by PROMEL, a metal-processing company based in Arica. In 1988, the mine was bought by Vilacollo, whose shareholders were then Shell Chile, Westfield Minera, and Citibank. The mining rights are still owned by Vilacollo, which has now merged into the Angelini Group, a Chilean-based industrial holding which, since 2011, has changed its legal name to Can Can, a subsidiary of Copec that is also owned by Angelini. New explorations have developed in July 2011 with the goal of the reopening of the mine by 2012, however it remains closed today due to environmental concerns at the Lauca Biosphere Reserve.

The detailed history of the mine and its surroundings tells us much about the highland dynamics, in terms of indigenous politics and neocolonial economics that have led to its current state. While I visited Choquelimpe in 2009, one of the workers said that the mine would not reopen until a transnational corporation agrees to invest in it again; "we are sitting on the gold mine," he said. In the meantime, the mining corporation has to pay Doña Celia's family a royalty for land use, as

it has done since 1986. Another mining project nearby, in the area of Catanave, has conducted explorations from 1995 onwards; in 2010, the project was seeking environmental approval through the Environmental Impact Assessment System (SEIA).



Figure 4.4 Church of Choquelimpe, with collapsed roof. Photo by the author (2009)

Later, when discussing with Doña Celia the politics of indigenous heritage in Arica, she referred to the urban Aymara, saying that “If they [politicians] say you can live there and work towards *rescatar* (recovery of) your heritage, then “why don’t they do it? They just make up a discourse from here [Arica] where they have the technology, and they do not even take their children up there [Guallatire].”¹⁶² When asking her what she thought about the reopening of Choquelimpe,

Doña Celia was hesitant: “Mining is a complex issue to talk about and the local community is divided.”¹⁶³ While some of the community members work in mining activities, others including Doña Celia, have formed environmental networks against it (CADMA and REDMA) with the goal of protecting the fragile ecosystem and its highland water reserves that feed all the cities in the northern desert of Arica.

At the end of the day, as Doña Celia and I walked back to our starting point in Chivatambo, she proudly noted that she was born in a *cuna de oro* (golden cradle). Towards the end of our walk she told me about a recurrent dream that she has: “I dream I am in front of the gate that takes me to the heart of the mine. I am the only one that has the key but when I open the gate there is an earthquake, and I fly and go back to the church where my father is waiting for me, but a water pipe is broken inside, and the water floods the church.” (Figure 4.4) When we get back to the house she offers me a gift: a piece of the Choquelimpe mineral! I cradle the piece of cinnabar in my palm while staring at it. It is a bright orange mineral stone with hexagonal cleavages that beautifully refract light.

4.3 Heritage as property

Might there be an escape from what Marilyn Strathern (1999:134) sees as the inevitable link, at least in the modern context, between issues of identity and matters of property? (Brown 2004:50)

The mining landscape in which we have pondered has shown the process of commodification of the highlands and the transformation of exchange and reciprocity into market economies, a

process that has left little material evidence in the mining centers due to the global movement of capital. Mining communities themselves have fluctuated and moved around mining centers; because of the heterogeneity of character and diversity of origin, these are communities ‘without fixed loci’ (Knapp et al. 1998:4-5), drawn together by the need to work. However, local narratives have reconfigured the landscape of mines and ruins, making their stories tangible and bringing them ‘back to life.’

The idea of heritage emerges from this materiality in cultural and natural forms, but its complex dynamics require us to take a step back to discuss different understandings of heritage. The term ‘heritage,’ is increasingly used to encompass native cultures as well as the biological species and geographical locations to which they are ineluctably bound (Daes 1998 cited in Brown 2004:49). In Spanish, however, the term mostly used for cultural heritage is not *herencia*, which would generally mean an inherited legacy from an ancestor, but *patrimonio* or patrimony. The Latin roots of *patrimonium*, meaning paternal inheritance or property, shape a gendered and ideological relation to the land and to material possessions such as objects and monuments. The term transpires masculinity into familial landscapes and institutional properties belonging to the Church or the State. Hence, heritage is not a given, but the result of a historical and social process of selection (Bortolotto 2007). In Latin America as elsewhere, gender is historically located and emergent in social practices that are not fixed in structures or patterns (Hurtig et al. 2002:4). Much like feminist critique, Indigenous Peoples have challenged fixations of cultural heritage and cultural property as ‘inalienable possessions’ (Weiner 1992). For instance, the Apache leaders declared at the Inter-Apache Summit on Repatriation in 1995 that, “Cultural property includes all cultural items and all images, text, ceremonies, music, songs, stories,

symbols, beliefs, customs, ideas, and other physical and spiritual objects and concepts inalienably linked to the history and culture of one or more Apache tribes.” (Brown 2004:51)

In the Aymara case, underlying tensions emerge when equating terms like heritage, patrimony and property, mostly because the language used by government agencies within the protected areas use ‘patrimony’ as a key word for indigenous participation in tourism and development, while signaling different elements of archaeological remains, property of the Church, and even of the Aymara people. For instance, one of the environmental companies that worked in the Lauca, EuroChile, had a website describing the characteristics for it to qualify as a Biosphere Reserve, included such criteria as the Andean landscape, biodiversity, cultural heritage, and opportunities to develop tourism:

Chungara Lake, high altitude flowers, the Polloquere thermal springs, and three different species of flamingoes are just some of the attractions of the Lauca Biosphere Reserve. The cultural patrimony of the area is marked by the remains of the pre-Hispanic occupation with Tiwanaku and Inka influence that evidence ten thousand years of human presence, its colonial churches, and Aymara population, transform the Biosphere Reserve into a potential destination for tourists with special interests.¹⁶⁴ (EuroChile website, my emphasis)

The terminology of heritage can be very confusing in Andean Chile. Despite the fact that there are now patrimonial regimes in place that set the terms for these discourses and relations at both international and state levels, local understandings contest these. For this reason, my methodology was to approach community members and ask them about material heritage in their own terms, instead of assuming what they would identify as heritage—especially those that would seem most obvious in archaeological terms. The main goal behind this was to acknowledge local understandings and engagements with heritage. My study took a critical stance in unveiling multiple positions towards understanding whether these material remains were best thought of as

public or private, as they signaled parallel and conflicting understandings of private and public property. Considering the use of property to address heritage (Brown 2004:62-63; Verdery and Humphrey 2004); could it be possible that treating knowledge as property is perhaps the best and only way for Indigenous Peoples to champion their current demands?

While working as a research collaborator with CONAF in 2008 to help develop the cultural heritage mapping project that would categorize local resources as different kinds of ‘patrimony,’ I faced another ethnographic challenge: translating from Spanish to Aymara, and vice versa. Along with mapping boundaries (see Chapter 3), coming to grips with ways of ‘naming’ heritage clearly became crucial for understanding the ambivalent meanings of the landscape in the area. As I discussed in Chapter 1, I initially anticipated potential miscommunication due to the underlying linguistic tensions between the Aymara language and *Castellano*, or Chilean Spanish. There are many examples of these tensions, but perhaps the most evident is how toponyms and native words are appropriated by changing their indigenous pronunciation, such as marking the final syllable of Chungará or Tarapacá, a rule that does not exist in Aymara but which is common in Spanish.¹⁶⁵ Such a powerful linguistic practice is also projected onto the landscape; the Chungara Lake demarcates the entrance to Chile, for instance, at the border with Bolivia and the former Tarapaca Region alludes to the former mythical origins of the Andean highlands (Bouysse-Cassagne 1997; Chacama 2003; Chacama and Espinosa 1997; González 2002; Ponce Sanjinés 1982; Rodríguez 2007).

My Aymara language *yatichiri* (teacher), Don Segundo, was the first person to make me take notice of the importance of the existence of a native language for the continuation of indigenous identity, and especially for the recent ethnification processes that people of Arica and Parinacota

have experienced. In 2008, I travelled from Arica to Tacna to study Aymara with him at the *Instituto de Investigación Tecnológica Indígena* (INTI). Don Segundo was originally from the city of Puno, next to Lake Titicaca and the border of Bolivia and Peru, but had long lived in Tacna, which is about an hour away from Arica, in Peru. He told me that the Aymara from Chile have mostly lost their mother tongue, unlike their neighbours in Peru and Bolivia. Although Aymara language is not a single indicator of ethnicity, it is considered to be a predominant one (Albó 2000). Recent studies of the Aymara in Chile show that the language is mostly spoken in the highlands (Gundermann et al. 2007:3), even though it was prohibited during the military dictatorship. Aymara speakers in Chile recognize three main dialects that can be geographically identified in the highlands, of people living between Visviri and Caquena, Parinacota and Surire, and Surire and Cancosa. In 1996, the *grafemario* (grapheme alphabet) was established by all of the Aymara speaking countries in order to make literacy more accessible for native and nonnative speakers. By 2009, the *Academia Nacional de Lengua Aymara* (National Aymara Language Academy) was established in Arica, supported by the Indigenous Development Agency (CONADI).¹⁶⁶

My role as a research associate in the *Catastro Patrimonial de Áreas Silvestres Protegidas* (Wilderness Protected Areas Heritage Cadaster) was to help update the cultural heritage registry that the National Forestry Agency (CONAF) had for Las Vicuñas National Reserve. As with any state-led property regime, bureaucratized heritage regimes like this one also impose a framework, and are underwritten by politics that are deeply consequential to the control of resources in the region. Undertaken between late 2008 and early 2009, the project was a good opportunity to explore the Guallatire area for the purposes of community mapping and get the insights on what the *guallatireños* thought about these kinds of state initiatives.¹⁶⁷ The resulting database generated a map of the National Reserve. Ninety-nine new registries out of 151 consisted predominantly of

historical sites (60%), making up to over half of the total database (CONAF 2009:4) (Figure 4.5).¹⁶⁸

While I collaborated with the project, I had the opportunity to engage with local perceptions of landscape. The indigenous community of Guallatire introduced me to traditional practices and land uses in the highlands. For instance, I learned that *bofedales* (pastures) are irrigated by artificial canals for herding the flocks of animals and that *queñoales* (highland forests) are seasonally visited for gathering firewood and for making a cough medicine with its bark. I also learned that some of the local names repeat themselves and are associated with certain meanings, such as *mal paraje* (evil passage) *tambo* (lodge), *gentilar* (ruins), or *apacheta* (landmark), often marking their way through local mobility routes. Many accounts related to the long history of mining in the area, even predating colonial times to that of Inca rule and the Aymara migration from the highlands. It was in this context that I first learned about the existence of the *Trapicha de Guallatire*.

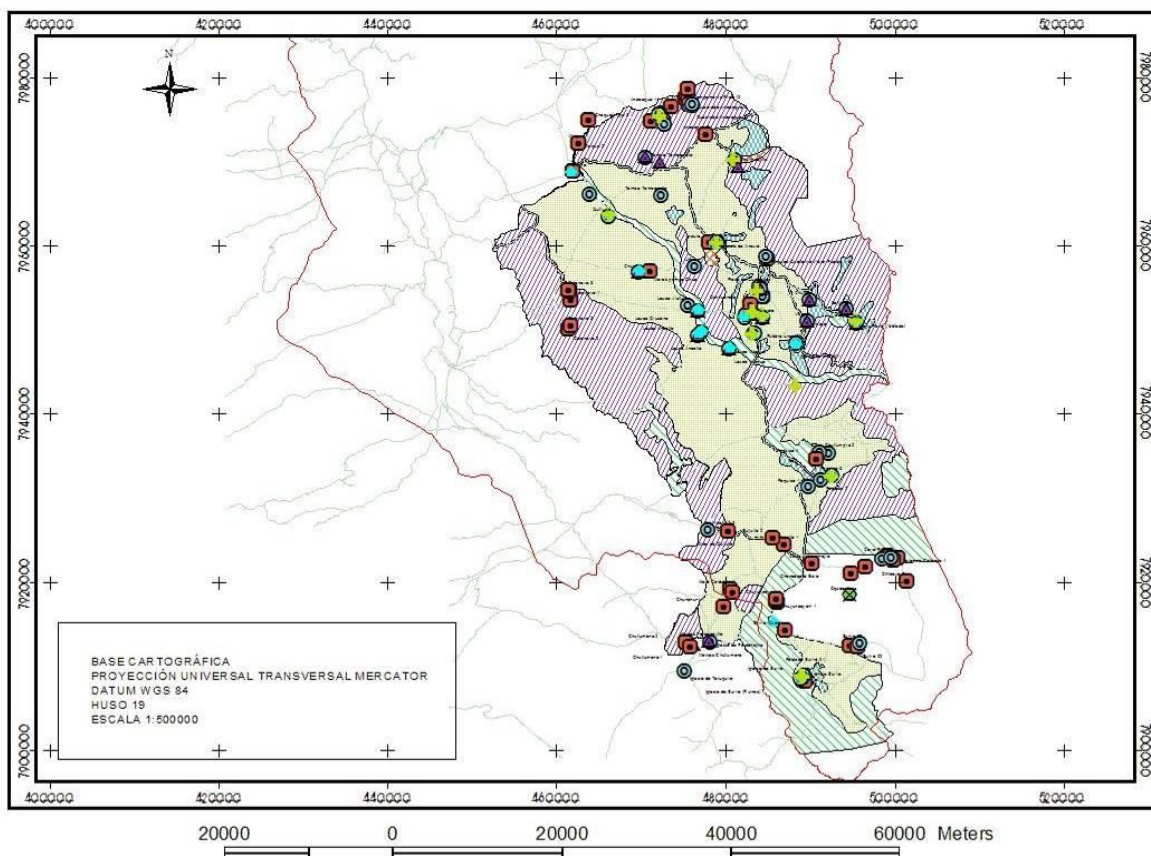
Previous institutional efforts to undertake community mapping for development projects had tried to set up common language through participatory meetings that would allow collaborative work with indigenous communities in the Lauca area. Despite these efforts, while in the field, I encountered many issues with translation. For instance, when I would ask about *patrimonio*, people pointed out ‘religious’ patrimony such as the *iglesia* (church) of Guallatire or the local *capillas* (chapels) that were partially destroyed and mostly abandoned. Most of the chapels had collapsed hay roofs and walls, while others were used for storage. The memories of places included the first chapel in Puquios, the old town of Guallatire, which has been eroded down to its foundations, as well as the church in the mining area of Choquelimpe, and other hamlet chapels. The fact that these places were abandoned or in ruins did not mean that they had lost

their significance; quite the contrary, they were all embedded in the landscape and remembered in detail. If patrimony was conceived as religious property, what would then be considered indigenous heritage? In order to translate these kinds of questions in the field, and lacking a better terminology in Aymara, my work integrated local denominations that shared indigenous and nonindigenous roots for places such as *gentiles* and *ruinas* when referring to ancient people and ruins; *apacheta* or *tambo*, which are associated with pathways; as well as *pukara* and *chullpa*, used when addressing ancient fortresses and burials. Most of these sites were locally conceived of as ancient because they were remembered as ruins now belonging to the *achachilanaka* (ancestors). Some of these ruins could also date to pre-Hispanic times and be considered archaeological but they were not necessarily considered indigenous heritage by the *guallatireños*. The construction of heritage was a complex production that engaged more than just a divide between neoliberal versus indigenous perspectives. In this context, the Trapiche of Guallatire presented an ideal scenario to observe the relationship that the community had with these mining ruins and their knowledge of the past.

4.4 The *Trapicha* of Guallatire: a mining mill

The first time I heard about the *trapicha* of Guallatire was thanks to the late Don Reinaldo, the so-called ‘veteran’ and oldest man in town, when he was talking to me about Puquios and another mining camp that is next to the cemetery. The *trapicha* is located about four kilometres downriver from the main town (Figure 4.6), at the property divide between Pizarata and Vislubio. As far as he recalls, all of these sites were already in ruins when he was a child.

CATASTRO DEL PATRIMONIO CULTURAL
 RESERVA NACIONAL LAS VICUÑAS Y MONUMENTO NATURAL SALAR DE SURIRE



<p>ESTUDIO REALIZADO POR: DANIELLA JOFRÉ ARQUEÓLOGA</p> <p>CARTOGRAFÍA ELABORADA POR: JIMENA SAAVEDRA M. PROFESIONAL DE APOYO DAPMA CORPORACIÓN NACIONAL FORESTAL PROVINCIA DE PARINACOTA</p>	<p>Catastro cultural RN las Vicunas y MN Salar de Surire</p>		
	<p>Patrimoniocultural.shp</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Arqueológico Histórico Etnográfico Paisaje cultural 	<p>Zonificación_rnlv_1998.shp</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Manejo de habitat de la vicuña Manejo mixto Manejo productivo Preservación de vida silvestre y paisaje natural Uso Especial 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Uso histórico - cultural Provincia.shp Caseríos rnlv.shp Camino.shp Iglesias_rnlv_wgs84.shp Hidro_wgs84.shp

Figure 4.5 GIS Map depicting the cultural heritage project; the dots reflect the four types of categories used, the shaded areas the type of land management, and the lines are administrative boundaries (CONAF 2009)

The word *trapiche* in Spanish means a mining mill or ore crusher; the place called *trapicha* is thus named after what went on there. When reminiscing about local mining and metallurgy, he called the site a *trapicha* instead of *trapiche*. I noticed that Aymara elders who spoke Spanish as a second language changed the gender of some words, from masculine to feminine or vice versa.¹⁶⁹ For example, a map was referred to as *la mapa*, not *el mapa*. Don Juan also referred to the site as *trapicha*, which would indicate a feminine form for the mineral grinder. Considering the linguistic tensions mentioned above, here I have chosen to use the Aymara version of the Spanish word *trapiche*.

“Don Reinaldo,” I said, “what were they grinding?” Without hesitation, he replied, “Mineral of/from Choquelimpe” and added, “The mine is far, about a day’s journey.” I asked him, “Have you been to Choquelimpe?” Don Reinaldo nodded and started to narrate the first time he went to the mine as a child with his father. They went to the grocery shop near the mine in order to exchange goods, Don Reinaldo helping to herd the flock of animals. The place was busy, full of people. His memory drifted to what the miners used to wear: a special type of boot made out of the soft skin around the llama’s neck. He explained that the leather piece was cut from the neck as a long stripe, then tanned, and sewn together to make a piece of boot-shaped footwear that can be tied up to the knee. When I asked about the *trapicha*, he said, “*quisieron hacer otro Potosí*” (they wanted to make another Potosí), thus referring to the famous silver colonial mines.

The mines of Porco and Potosí are located in the highlands of Bolivia, and were rediscovered by the Spaniards between 1538 and 1545, although initially it was secretly protected by the local Aymara who at the time were politically torn between loyalty to the Inca elite and the Spanish Crown (Platt and Quisbert 2010). The *Ruta de la Plata* (Silver Route) connected the port of

Arica, founded in 1541, with the mines of Porco and Potosí. In 1643, the Choquelimpe mine became part of the Silver Route (Urzúa 1964), although it may have been already in use, and played a role in the extraction of silver, gold, and mercury (*azogue*). As mentioned earlier, the *azogue* was used for the smelting process until later displaced by technological innovations and industrial metallurgy in the early 1800s. Its traffic is historically documented to have taken place in the region from 1564 to 1657 (Rivera 1995-1996:102), brought by *arrieros* (muleteers) through the *Ruta del Azogue* (Mercury Route) from the Huancavelica mines to Chíncha and Arica. The social history of the highlands has shaped the local identities of the people, but retracing their roots has proved to be a hard task when dealing with questions of indigeneity and identity politics at the borderlands.

The boundaries of Guallatire have been historically demarcated by a series of *ingenios mineros* (mining mills), which are locally referred to as *trapiches*. In 1739, archival documentation from the Archbishopric of Arequipa, Peru, mentioned that these mills were the place where the jurisdiction of Guallatire came to an end (Hasche 1997). In the Guallatire area, multiple grinders and furnaces are located about four kilometers apart, indicating a system based on colonial divisions into *leguas* or leagues, which means they were built about a league apart, and indicating a contemporary or subsequent occupation of these sites. The distribution also indicates community cooperation with regards to mining and metalworking, producing fuel, building infrastructure, and maintaining equipment (Knapp 1998:6). The ruins are a testimony to local metallurgy linked to the Choquelimpe mine that became part of the Silver Route in 1643, and was officially registered in 1750, in the city of Arica.¹⁷⁰ Its local use, however, may predate colonial times as all major silver mines in the area were known by the natives and secretly kept from the Spaniards (Platt and Quisbert 2010).



Figure 4.6 Inside of the *Trapicha*, with grinding stones, and the Guallatire Volcano in the background. Photo by the author (2008)

When the Spanish Demetrio Egan visited the area in 1772, he noted an increase in the population of Guallatire, while at the same time a decrease of the population in Choquelimpe. The latter was accompanied by a decline in mining activities, providing us of a general idea of the population movement in the highlands and the circumstances associated with the consequent abandonment of the mining camps and mills.

As noted in 1793 by Álvarez Jiménez, the mining camps were already abandoned and in ruins when he visited the area:

The mineral kingdom observed on the river bank of Parinacota, Choquelimpe and Guallatire, pursued in antiquity more than regular mining work because they built *trapiches* that today look demolished and almost all ruined, abandoned and covered with water. According to tradition, the minerals from there were strong because the metals were of a considerable quality, and improved with fire. (Barriga 1948, my translation)

When in use, the *trapiches* probably used both Andean and European technologies to conduct mining work (Berthelot 1986; Salazar-Soler 1997, 2006; Vaughn and Tripcevich 2013). Colonial mining brought together populations from around the highlands as a labour force to pay the *mita*, a tributary system that followed a previously existing Inca system of *corvée* or statute labour (Taussig 2010:196). In the Andes, metalworking technology was known about long before Andean-European contact, as documented by cold-hammered native gold artifacts found in the Southwestern Lake Titicaca area (2155-1936 BC) (Aldenderfer et al. 2008). However, it was only under Inca rule that the Andean mines were intensively exploited; the largest and the most productive sources were reserved for the Inca, while the smaller ones were given to local communities and scattered around the empire (Berthelot 1986:72). According to Berthelot (1986:81), different extraction techniques (i. e. for washing, excavating the minerals) used between community mines or royal mines have been documented as coexisting, which might indicate technologies that predated Incan methods.

The quantities of precious metal accumulated by the sovereign Inca elites obviously did not play the same role as they do in modern societies based on a market economy (Berthelot 1986:69). Over 23,000 tons of silver and 2,700 tons of gold were extracted worldwide in 2011. Mexico and Peru are among the world's top producers of silver, along with Bolivia, where silver has been mined since at least 1546. Peru is also a major producer of gold, while today Chile is the top

copper producing country in the world. Contemporary free market ideas have commoditized mineral extraction and metal production. Despite the massive operations of the mining projects, Andean mines are still considered sacred and respected by local populations, thus engaging both indigenous and nonindigenous heritage (Berthelot 1986; de la Cadena 2010; Nash 1979; Salazar-Soler 1997; Taussig 2010). In this sense, the locality of Guallatire illustrates the tensions of these different forms of conceiving, and experiencing the landscapes as ‘living memories’ that shape the local history of the highlands.

Metals had both ornamental and ceremonial values for pre-Columbian cultures (Cañedo-Argüelles 1993:47). The Incas valued silver and gold not as currency or as a repository of wealth for capital accumulation, but because metals were conceived to be divine gifts and were used for ornamentation (Phelan 1967). In terms of ritual and gender, the mine space is considered female while mining activities are associated with male production (Sillar 1996; Salazar-Soler 1997, 2006). According to Bastien (1978:190-191), mountains are conceived of as human bodies, fed with ritual gifts to give them life and wholeness.¹⁷¹ Each mine had its own idol, known as the *mama* or mineral mother, which was venerated as a sacred *huaca* to ensure the fertility of its mineral source (Salazar-Soler 1997:278-9).¹⁷² The Spanish priest Cristóbal de Albornoz, around 1580, described the *mama* as the most beautiful rocks, worshipped in gold, silver, and mercury (cinnabar) mines (Berthelot 1986:82). Another priest, Bartolomé Álvarez (1998:105), noted that Indians preferred food over precious metals, because the latter cannot be eaten as food. Berthelot (1986:80) argued that in Incan mythological origins, the chosen valley of Cusco was marked with a golden stake. Manco Capac, its founding ancestor, built the Coricancha temple there and dedicated it to the sun deity. Believed to possess sacred powers, precious metals were commonly

used in the ancient Andes as offerings to the gods, in divination and magical practices, for therapeutic and medicinal purposes (Dejo 2008).

According to the early 1600 description of the Virrey Mendoza and Marqués de Montesclaros (Dagnino 1909:82), the *trapiche* (orecrusher) was an *ingenio minero* (mining mill), which he described as a wood machine with stone wheels that were powered by water to lift weights and crush ore, which is mineral in its natural form. The resulting dust was put into boxes with *azogue* (mercury) to separate gold, silver, and other metals by exposing it directly to heat or placed under the sun, before being washed and hammered for smelting. This particular technology for processing minerals was very specific and would involve a specialized labour force working for mineral extraction as well as for processing and producing metal.

Mines are permeated with mythological significance in the Andes. The metals belonged to the Gods and had sacred status, which is why miners worshipped the mountain above, the minerals below, and the mines themselves (Taussig 2010:200). While miners sustained the mountain, the mountain sustained their lives. They are vital parts of an exchange economy; to paraphrase Nash's work (1979), "We eat the mines and the mines eat us." Several rituals are performed in mining communities that venerate the *Tío*, a devil or *supay* from the tin mines, especially in the month of August during the dry season (Fernández Juárez 2008; Fernández Juárez and Pedrosa 2008), and during Carnival or the rainy season. Such rituals are strikingly similar to animal sacrifices performed by the communities of Oruro for *Pachamama* or Earthmother (Taussig 2010:150-152). For instance, the mountain spirit in Oruro, also known as *Huahuari*, and identified with the *Tío*, tries to seduce peasants to abandon their fields and enter the mines. However, when inside, monsters attack them, but they are miraculously saved by lightning sent

by an Inca princess identified as the Virgin of the Mineshaft (Taussig 2010:151). Within this animated and gendered Andean cosmology, mining production has been conceived as a male preserve (Sillar 1996), intimately linked to high peaks and mountain slopes, all places where this activity is practiced and continues to take place (Steele and Allen 2004:24).

During my fieldwork in the Lauca Biosphere Reserve, in November 2008, the *Trapicha* was damaged by road maintenance on the road A-235 being undertaken by the Quiborax mining company, alerting the park guards and the people of Guallatire, none of whom had been informed that this maintenance was to take place beforehand.¹⁷³ An excavator from the Quiborax mining company was seen by one of the park guards removing material from the site. Although the work conducted was a regular road maintenance task, on this occasion it destroyed part of the canal connecting the foundry to the river course. The National Forestry Agency (CONAF) notified the National Monuments Assessment Commission (CAMN), and I came along to visit the site with the indigenous community and assess the scope of the damage. This situation gave me the opportunity to work with the various stakeholders who became engaged in rescuing this mining site.

The *trapicha* had about eight architectural compounds that included a residential area, a storage area, at least two foundries, a metal-processing area, a water canal, and a courtyard. Most of the structures were made out of stone, with white mortar and gable roofs. No adobe was used to build the place, which would indicate a foreign construction that looks alike to other *trapiches* found elsewhere in the Andes, such as in the Atacama and LÍpez areas (Bolton 2006; Cruz and Joinville 2008). The main building has a vault on top of which there were still two grinding stones that were probably used for crushing metal, as described by Montesclaros (Dagnino

1909). From the traces of processing mineral present we can infer its occupation to have been from around 1650 through to 1750.

Regardless of the site's interpretative potential for local history, as discussed above, its long term abandonment has contributed to its deterioration. Multiple walls were collapsed and reused as animal corrals, and even the interior of the main foundry was being used as improvised toilets. After debating cultural mitigation and protection for the site with the government agencies and mining company, it was agreed that a damage report would be submitted with a topographic map that would be created by Quiborax to avoid further destruction of the site by road maintenance (Figure 4.7 and 4.8). This report would also serve to develop a heritage conservation proposal that was sent to the Municipality of Putre in March 2009.

Interestingly, the *trapicha* is located in an unclaimed property between Guaramalla, Vilacollo, Pisarata and Vislubio. An elderly woman that occupied the area had passed away and her family now lived in Arica. The community representatives from the Neighbours Council did not agree on who owned the property now, and the institutional representatives argued that by the National Monuments Law (*Ley 17.288*), "any archaeological site belongs to the state." At the meeting, participants narrated stories of when they used to play there or when they stopped over while shepherding. They could only remember the ruins in ruin. Therefore, they were considerably interested in knowing more about the site; what it was used for, and how, by whom, and when.

Once the visit to the site was over, the community representatives from the Neighbours' Council agreed that Guallatire wanted to preserve and restore the site and a joint proposal was submitted to the government agencies in early 2009. Despite the local community's interest in developing a *puesta en valor* or valorization project that would rescue the ruins from their decay and allow the

local representatives to work collaboratively in the initiative, the project failed to receive funding from either public or private sectors. Elsewhere I have discussed the possibilities for ‘social archaeology’ with indigenous communities as a type of collaborative research initiative that could be further developed in the Lauca (Jofré 2012). Different ideas of ‘development’ and ‘heritage,’ however, along with the nature of the decision-making process to secure funding among the various stakeholders that constantly interplay within the Biosphere Reserve, have not yet aligned towards this end.

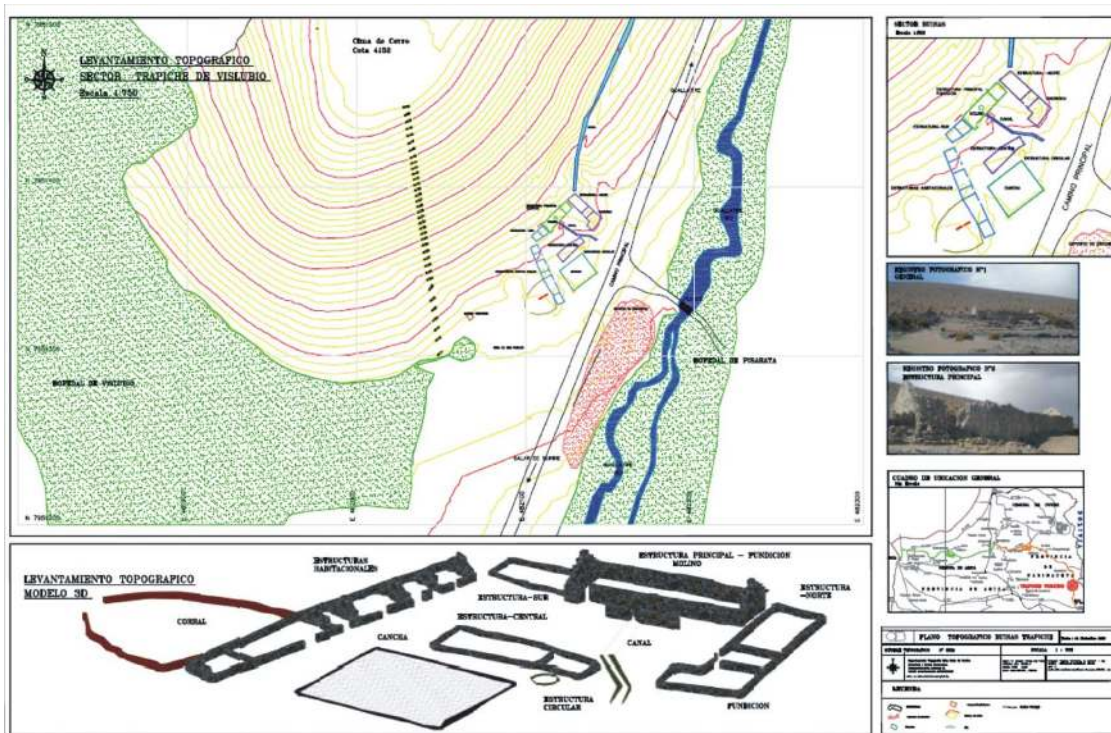


Figure 4.7 Topographic map detailing the *Trapicha* of Guallatire; courtesy of Quiborax and CONAF.

The *Trapicha* is an interesting case study because it considered part of Guallatire, but as related to former boundaries before the expansion of the Chilean state and the capitalist industrialization process. The ruins are testimonies of the mining landscape and of the mining communities in the

area. Because the place has been abandoned for centuries, it sparked genuine interest on the part of community members who wanted to know more about the site itself, its origins, the people who lived and worked there and the technologies used. Whatever stories that the *trapicha* entailed are open to reinterpretation, which means that this mining legacy can contribute towards exploring local perceptions of heritage and identity, instead of assuming what they are in advance. For my research, the relationship to this materiality of mining presented a unique opportunity for working through local understandings of the past while revitalizing present knowledges, thereby constructing indigenous heritage by working with processes of ethnicity that are currently experienced by the indigenous communities in Arica and Parinacota.



Figure 4.8 Meeting between the indigenous community, CONAF, CAMN and Quiborax. Photo by the author (2008)

4.5 Retracing indigenous heritage

Doña Celia and Don Reinaldo's narratives of mining and livelihood in Choquelimpe, along with herding and dwelling in Guallatire and its vicinity, compelled me to think about the complexities of landscape and locality, practice and gender, heritage and identity. The contradictions between past and present, as much as those between colonial versus modern, are projected as Aymara subjectivities into the highland landscape, deeply entrenched in ways of experiencing the land through local practices, such as herding and mining.

Local practices linked to the cultural and natural aspects of heritage often appeared in indigenous discourse,¹⁷⁴ as observed in many of the participatory meetings that I attended. The hegemonic discourse about a peopleless and museified landscape in the highlands reproduced by the Chilean authorities was often contested by indigenous leaders and community members. They challenged the appropriation of traditional native territories and argued against their transformation into commercial forms of land use, including archaeological heritage, as is reviewed below.

For instance, in late 2009, when attending an environmental session about mining explorations held around Catanave, an Aymara woman stood and directed a statement at the audience who were crammed into a small room. Part of it read: "We are 5,517 years old, but the *Chinchorro* mummies have more rights than we do. We are Aymara peoples and our race does not need anything from you."¹⁷⁵ The reference to archaeological relics such as the mortuary tradition of coastal Chinchorro is not arbitrary, but a clear example of institutional versus local interests around the politics of heritage in Arica and Parinacota. The ancestrality of the highland Aymara people versus the coastal Chinchorro people, known for their 6,000-year-old mortuary tradition of mummification, also heralded old rivalries and citizenship rights that racialized and

essentialized the “Indian” population of the highlands as opposed to the “Chilean” population concentrated in the lowlands. At the same time, her statement echoed other critiques that I had heard about the government prioritizing what was conceived of as an archaeological heritage of the ‘dead’, instead of an indigenous heritage of the ‘living.’ Institutional efforts to promote cultural heritage in the Arica and Parinacota Region have focused their attention on the mummies of *Chinchorro* to be given world heritage status. That instituted process was directly expressed in the words of people like Doña Celia, when she told me: “*Quieren momificar el altiplano*” (They want to mummify the highlands).¹⁷⁶ It would be interesting to further analyze institutional perceptions and local understandings of heritage and how they articulate discourses of national identity and indigenous identity around six-thousand-year-old bodies.

The metaphor of drying up or mummifying dramatically contrasts with another metaphor about water that expressed the opposition of an Aymara leader to the mining explorations at Catanave; he argued: “...in those places, the water flows as if it were our own veins.”¹⁷⁷ The above statements address what Bastien (1985, 2004) and de la Cadena (2010) have argued regarding the close relation between Andean body politics and perceptions of the environment. If water ever stopped flowing, then the highlands would eventually dry out, along with the animals and the blood of the Aymara people. This idea of mummifying can be related to the notion of ‘drying up’ or *secar*, which in the Andes correlates to losing vital fluids such as water, blood or fat, and therefore can be equated to death itself (Taussig 2010:235; Sillar 1996; Weismantel 2001). In Arica and Parinacota, fluids are vital for human and nonhuman types of bodies and local perceptions embody water politics through the image of the mummy.

At another participatory meeting for the planning of the Lauca Biosphere Reserve,¹⁷⁸ Don Juan strongly argued: “*El estado no puede comprar a la maleta, la carretera internacional es un bien público en terreno privado y no se paga un peso... pero la cultura Aymara está viva no muerta!*” (The state cannot buy abusively, the international highway is a public resource in private property and not a cent was paid... but the Aymara culture is alive and not dead!). As I have argued in this chapter, for the Aymara, the notion of *patrimonio* or patrimony does not relate to the notion of heritage as with *herencia* or legacy and is mostly seen as something dead, such as a fossil landscape or a human mummy, which would belong to a museum and is not part of a living culture. Therefore, it could be argued that *patrimonio* is an imposed notion relating to the former organization of the Church or the State, signaling an alterity that does not fit into the same indigenous perception of Andean legacy or *herencia andina*. There is a disconnection between both concepts and this clearly affects their demands for cultural heritage because they do not match the ones promoted by the state. It also manifests conflicting notions between private and public terrains that have caused frictions between the Aymara communities and the Chilean state.

To give an example about these frictions, at a separate meeting organized at the University of Tarapaca,¹⁷⁹ regional migration from Parinacota to Arica was discussed as a result of the decrease in the population of Parinacota, which now totals just two percent of the regional population. An insightful statement was made by Doña Carla, a community representative from Putre, against CONAF who was the visible face of the state in administering protected areas. In the Parinacota Province, she said, there are 800,000 hectares out of which 350,000 are protected. This state policy followed the North American model of the 1900s where national parks were established on “peopleless” land, without considering aboriginal people and the fact that the land belonged to them. Doña Carla argued that the Chilean National Parks followed an American model because of

the similarities with the Yellowstone National Park. Primarily located in Wyoming, parts of Idaho and Montana, Yellowstone was established in 1872 and is considered to be the first national park worldwide (Brockington et al. 2008:18). In Parinacota, she added, there was a military intervention which legitimized an illicit appropriation of traditional native territories that are private property of the Aymara. Doña Carla stated that the protected areas are privately owned and could be managed as a park according to private law, as happens in other parts of the world. Otherwise, in her words, “they are allowing the public to use private property.” Finally, in regards to the park’s boundaries, she said there had been only one prior instance when the state has attempted to change legislation that protected the wilderness area, during Frei’s government.¹⁸⁰ However, this attempt was not intended to give the land back to the indigenous people, but for mining interests.

Politics of indigeneity play a main role in the debate around heritage, especially when challenging hegemonic reproductions of the past. In this sense, I agree with Benavides (2009:190) that archaeological knowledge is used as an instituted form of narrative for reproducing the modern representation of the nation-state. We have seen how the struggles embedded in the conditions of possibility of Aymara indigeneity are constantly negotiated at the borderlands, and translated through transitional territories and regimes of practice. The commodification process that the community of Guallatire actively engages in, interplays with local memory and notions of the past, which does not exclude the fact that notions of heritage are often used in concretely political manners. By discussing the ways in which different notions of heritage are articulated at various levels, my research has contributed to understanding how certain places, such as the Choquelimpe mine, the *Trapicha* site or Puquios, the old town of Guallatire, can operate in the emergence of alternative forms of heritage, challenging hegemonic readings of the past (González-Ruibal 2013).

In conclusion, local perceptions of heritage and the environment can speak to broader identity processes occurring at the Aymara borderlands. The ways in which indigenous people relate to their past also expresses the ways how they project themselves into the future. Ethnography can contribute to the study of alternative accounts of the past with decolonizing practices that engage with ethnicity and not just reproducing dominant narratives. Some questions arise at this point: why was the reserve placed on an ancestral territory that is not recognized as privately-owned, as the Aymara claim? Why would the Chilean government neglect indigenous governance and the rights that they historically had over the land and its resources? How would the governmental representatives manage to promote a new management plan to be validated in the Lauca without having to acknowledge this fact, therefore compromising national sovereignty at the state borderlands? I will address these questions in the following chapter.

Chapter 5

Indigenous Governance and Participatory Government in Protected Areas

In this chapter, I argue that indigenous governance poses challenging questions to the democratic practices of the state in Chile. This challenge is a reminder of an understudied problem in anthropological research, which Nugent (2008:23) identifies as “the existence of a broad range of democracies and the social conditions out of which distinct democracies have emerged.” In a similar way, Paley (2008:5) has argued that the notion of democracy challenges anthropology in two main areas of interest:

First, detecting the many variations associated with the term *democracy* in a broad array of contexts and understanding the way democracy has been conceptualised in public discourse and practice—both the *logic* underlying the idea that democracy is definable by discrete features and infinitely replicable and the *process* through which this notion of democracy has been generated and has come to predominate. (Paley 2008:5)

Contemporary indigenous movements, emerging in response to unevenly institutionalized reforms have posed a ‘postliberal challenge’ to Latin America’s newly-founded democracies (Yashar 1998, 2005). Such models of democracy are extremely politicized, and contemporary indigenous movements tend to oppose them strongly. As elsewhere in Latin America, new political institutions in Chile have aimed at ensuring representative democracy. However, the ostensible citizen decision-making model that was embodied, supposedly, by the participatory meetings which I attended to for the planning of the Lauca Biosphere Reserve, has not secured democratic politics in practice. One of the indigenous participants made this clear by using metaphorical language, *¡El estado nos está ahogando!* “The state is drowning us!”¹⁸¹

In order to grasp the conundrum of indigenous governance, in this chapter I draw on data from a series of Aymara participatory meetings held for environmental planning in Chilean protected areas between 2008 and 2009. Environmental consulting companies, working for the government agency in charge of the Lauca Biosphere Reserve, led these meetings, which for the most part took place in the city of Arica.¹⁸² While appearing to conform to a democratic model of consultation, these meetings effectively enabled the state-run management of international development funds. At almost every session I participated in, a similar situation occurred: as soon as the floor was opened to the audience, the community reacted and confronted the speakers. It felt as if the indigenous representatives spoke in another language from that being used by the institutional officers. But it was not just an issue of translation or miscommunication, as I have mentioned earlier (Chapter 1); there was no real dialogue or common language between both groups, and the interaction was either forced or absent.

The ‘grounded’ problematic that I identify in this chapter emerges from a different kind of ethnographic data from that which I have presented so far: the participatory meetings, which seemed to be marked by this miscommunication between ‘participants.’ Why were the meetings like this? Was it a consequence of indigenous misrecognition by the Chilean state? I will elaborate and answer this question through the following pages. In terms of methodology, in contrast to other chapters, here the data emerges primarily from attendance at citizen participation meetings, supplemented with data collected from respondents during more general, everyday fieldwork, as well as archival research. I examine this data in conjuncture with one another, in order to demonstrate the historical ramifications that have led to the tensions and contradictions evident in what I saw happening at those meetings.

My material is divided into three sections. The first introduces the participatory meetings and focuses on the tensions and reactions of indigenous representatives to territorial development promoted for ‘special-interest tourism’ by the state. The second discusses legislation and conservation policy-making in the contested terrain of protected areas, particularly as these affect traditional ways of making livelihoods and of achieving environmental sustainability. The third section explores the current dynamics—frequently tense and contradictory— between state management and transnational investments that have contributed to the invisibility of Indigenous Peoples in the Lauca Biosphere Reserve. I discuss how contested terrains between public and private sectors open up spaces for Indigenous Peoples to challenge democratic processes by means of strategies of resistance among themselves while insisting on recognition of indigenous rights.

5.1 Territorial management and indigenous development

While working as a research collaborator at the Lauca Biosphere Reserve in 2008, I was invited to the annual meeting of the National Forestry Agency (CONAF) in Putre, the provincial capital of Parinacota. The annual meeting brought together the staff from the regional and provincial headquarters in Arica and Putre, in order to discuss strategic goals and actions that needed to be accomplished during that current year. The director explained that their annual goals were framed by territorial management, provincial planning, and an action plan. Key to that staff meeting was agreeing upon the main objectives for the participative work that they would develop with *Programa Origenes*, a development program for indigenous groups funded by the Inter-American Development Bank (IDB).

For CONAF, the Parinacota Province was a preferential area for territorial management and planning, because it had most of the protected areas under their regional administration legally defined in 2004 as an Indigenous Development Area (ADI), and framed within the Integral Territorial Program (PTI). Hence CONAF shared regional goals, and funding, with institutions such as the National Indigenous Commission (CONADI) or the National Institute for Agricultural Development (INDAP). However, CONAF was the only institution in charge of administrating the Lauca Biosphere Reserve, at least at provincial, regional and national levels. UNESCO sets the standards that regulate the Biosphere Reserve internationally. Within this framework, CONAF merged public and private strategic alliances to receive international funds for indigenous development, particularly from the Inter-American Development Bank (IDB) as of 2007. To implement development programs, which were mostly focused on tourism, CONAF hired environmental consulting companies such as Eurochile and Chile Ambiente, which were also strategically allied to, and funded by, governmental agencies with similar development programs, such as PTI CORFO and BID SERNATUR. In short, CONAF oversaw the territorial management of the protected areas, moved the funding from the national to the provincial level, and implemented it locally. However, because the whole concept was based on sustainable development, local businesses within the Lauca could not be administered by CONAF. As I learned at their annual meeting, about \$136,000,000 CHP—roughly about \$250,000 USD—was dedicated to administrating the Lauca every year, while \$72,380,000 CHP—approximately \$1,500,000 USD—was invested yearly for tourism in the Arica and Parinacota Region, between 2007 and 2011.¹⁸³ The tourism industry was one of the biggest regional market investment spheres, along with mining, in the Andean highlands of northern Chile.

The Lauca Biosphere Reserve now covers sixty percent of Putre, one of the two *comunas* or municipalities that form the Province of Parinacota, and encompasses most of the indigenous land within traditional Aymara territory. An Andes highland watershed shared by two countries, the Lauca waters flow southeast from the Cotacotani lagoons in Chile towards the Coipasa Salt Lake in Bolivia. The Lauca area was declared a Biosphere Reserve in 1983, having been initially protected in 1965 as a Forestry Reserve to preserve the *queñoa* highland trees; the area was then registered as a National Park in 1981. Covering 3,583 km², the Lauca Biosphere Reserve merged three protected areas in 1983 (Figure 5.1) and extended its original state-driven administration from strictly environmental conservation to include localized resource extraction in areas such as the Choquelimpe Mine and the Quiborax exploitation in Surire.¹⁸⁴ New extractive projects have been proposed during recent years for the Catanave Mine and the Polloquere geothermal springs. Considering the need to work in collaboration with indigenous communities according to the ADI and validating the new management plan following UNESCO standards, at the meeting the director added that there were some primary areas of interest in terms of conservation, such as the *bofedales* or pastures that are the natural habitat of the wild *vicuñas* in the highlands. These and other highland wetlands from the Lauca area were considered vulnerable areas that should be protected depending on their environmental value and cultural significance. CONAF had already proposed, in 2007, a zonification model based on locally-identified values to the indigenous communities. The initiative was called MAIA, *Modelo Ambiental Intercultural Andino* (Andean Intercultural Environmental Model). Planned by a former staff member of CONAF (an anthropologist), the MAIA proposed an intercultural approach for engaging with ecological, cultural and productive areas. My research collaboration was originally part of the MAIA; however, the model did not receive enough economic support and has stopped functioning in 2011.

Programa Origenes, the indigenous development program, was managed by the *Comité Público-Privado*, a political structure established by state-appointed members designated by the government in power. This power structure selected local authorities and community representatives to participate in the *Consejo Consultivo* (Consultative Council) and established *mesas de planificación* (planning tables) for working with the 32 communities that were registered within the National System of Wilderness Protected Areas (SNASPE). These planning tables grouped the communities according to the territory shared by communities within the same watershed ecosystem. Hence, the so-called Lauca planning table included the territorialities of Parinacota, Chucuyo, Guallatire and Surire, all of which currently had active indigenous communities, indigenous organizations and indigenous associations both in the rural towns and the capitals of Arica and Putre. During the process, the communities of Parcohaylla and Mulluri were left out of the planning table because their representatives did not reach a consensus in terms of the nature of their participation; in the meantime, the community of Surire was struggling to meet the number of registered indigenous landowners needed to reach a quorum. Although the latter communities were outside of the core protected area of the Biosphere Reserve, they were considered part of the transitional areas in the ‘three-zone model’ proposed for the new management plan.

I became involved as an observer in the planning process of the Lauca Biosphere Reserve by the end of 2007, at which time I first attended an introductory meeting in Arica. The meeting was organized by CONAF and took place at their regional headquarters. The conference room was a wooden rectangle with small windows located on the second floor and could only hold about thirty people. Most of the indigenous representatives of the highland communities belonging to the Lauca four ‘planning tables’ had to be present that day. The Biosphere Reserve was composed by

three protected areas: the Lauca National Park, which was represented by Parinacota and Chucuyo; the Las Vicuñas National Reserve, represented by Guallatire; and the Surire Salt Lake Natural Monument, represented by Surire (Figure 5.1). Due to my research interest in Guallatire, I wanted to get in touch with their community representatives in particular. After the meeting, everybody walked outside to get some fresh air, and I had a chance to approach Don Juan, a well-known Aymara leader. He was a slim and youthful looking man with short hair framing his face just above his prominent cheeks. I introduced myself as we shook hands and kissed on the right cheek; a missing front tooth sealed his smile.

As I have mentioned in former chapters, I spent a lot of time with Don Juan in the field, following him from one place to the other. For instance, during a visit to the hamlet of Churiguaylla, Don Juan and I visited the thermal springs that are next to his family hamlet, which he calls an *ojo de agua* (eye of water). New interest in these thermal springs was triggered by a tourist project promoted by the BID SERNATUR funding initiative. The project sought to renovate to improve the public bath infrastructure, which dated back to the 1950s, for *Sendero de Chile*, the government initiative that wants to implement an ecotourism route throughout the Andean highlands, connecting protected wilderness areas such as the Lauca. The situation was causing friction with the neighbors, who are relatives of Don Juan, because the thermal springs are located right on the property line.

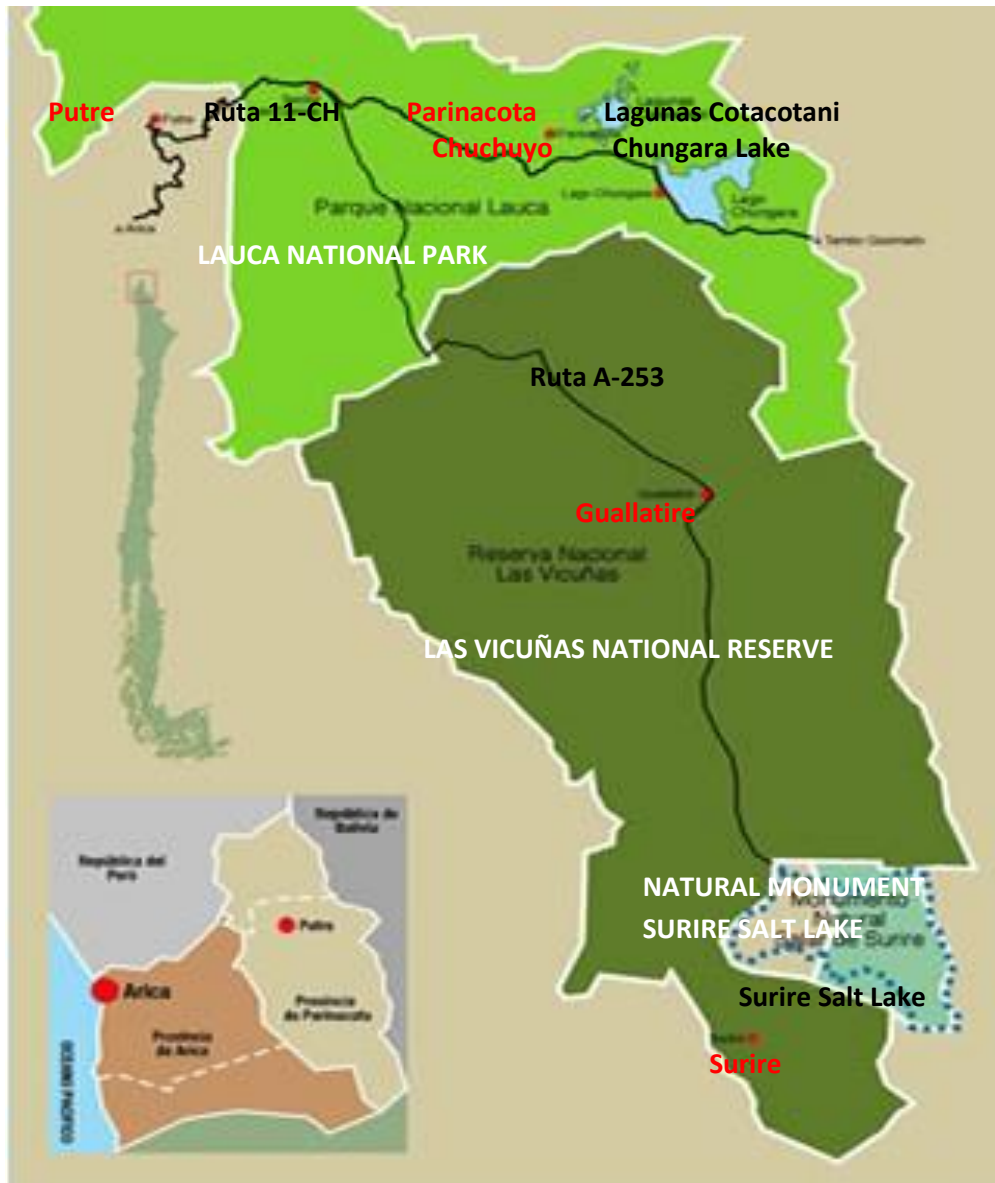


Figure 5.1 Protected areas and communities in the Lauca Biosphere Reserve, according to CONAF

When we were reaching the thermal springs, Don Juan invited me to join the meeting with representatives of EuroChile, the consulting company that was working for CONAF in the territorial development program known as PTI CORFO. We arrived early and walked around the area, Don Juan was telling me about herding animals here as a young man. He pointed out to some hilly slopes where he remembered that lightning had once had hit a group of ‘blue’ rocks

that are supposed to attract rays, and are thus feared by the Aymara. Looking to the horizon, we noted dust columns rising, indicating that the delegation would soon arrive. We headed back to meet the group next to the thermal springs. Once everybody arrived (Figure 2.5), Don Juan welcomed them and first addressed concerns regarding his property, followed by other concerns on behalf of the community. He, as much as other leaders, engages in a dual participation role as a private owner as much as a community leader, a similar strategy to the one Antonio Mollo played in the early 1900s when dealing with issues of property and state authorities, along with other strategies of resistance that continue to be performed by indigenous leaders in the Aymara borderlands (Chapter 6).



Figure 5.2 Meeting at the thermal springs of Churiguaylla. Photo by the author (2010)

As we were informed that day, the ecotourism project could not invest in state-owned land, only in privately-owned property that was not the subject of any legal conflicts. Also, the land is meant to be indigenous, because the initiative is specifically oriented towards indigenous development. Indigenous properties were targeted by the development program, as a field of state intervention. We have seen that much of the land ownership in the Lauca is often contested and that almost all of the hamlets in the area have conflicting boundaries between them. Since 1993, CONADI has been the national institution in charge of developing cadastres through the *Fondo de Tierras y Aguas Indígenas* (Indigenous Water and Land Fund) and mediating conflicts in order to register indigenous land and water. As a consequence, more conflicts have been created at the local level, as my research shows.

5.2 A new management plan for the Lauca Biosphere Reserve

At the end of a participatory meeting for the environmental planning of the Lauca, the floor was opened to the public. *¡El estado nos está ahogando!* “The state is drowning us, starving us of air!”¹⁸⁵ A man’s angry voice was heard loud and clear. Drowning in what? I thought, considering that *ahogando* in Spanish can either mean “drowned by immersion” or “starved of air”.¹⁸⁶ Usually, the participatory meetings took place at the headquarters of the National Forestry Agency (CONAF) in Arica, on the second floor of Vicuña Mackenna 820. Eventually, the meeting transitioned to a bigger space, at one of the conference rooms in the Hotel Savona, located in downtown Arica. An average of about twenty people regularly gathered to participate in the territorial community-based consultation, which was being implemented by an

environmental consulting company called Chile Ambiente for *Sendero de Chile*. The process of consultation itself was a subject often discussed at the participatory meetings that I attended.

Participants from the community referred often to the Indigenous and Tribal Peoples Convention 169 (ILO 1989), using the same technical language the governmental agencies were using, but seeking to achieve quite different aims. At one of the sessions, an indigenous representative assessed, critically, that “We were called to this meeting to be informed, not to be consulted.”¹⁸⁷

At the meeting, Chile Ambiente, the environmental consulting company based in the capital city of Santiago, had justified the need to, once more, develop a cadastre updating land titles to assess the property as either public, private, or indigenous, including mining concessions and water rights, both superficial and underground.¹⁸⁸ According to their spokesman, the purpose of the cadastre was to track the “evolution of the property to understand its current tenure.”¹⁸⁹ The reaction of the Aymara audience was immediate, as was summed up by a man from the community of Guallatire, who used the powerful metaphor of “being drowned by the state” to express their discontent. Almost immediately after his comment, a woman from the nearby community of Parinacota followed by asking *¿Qué va a pasar con la [agua] no inscrita?* (“What will happen with the unregistered [water]?”)¹⁹⁰ The consulting company had stated that ninety-five percent of the water in the Lauca was traditionally used and claimed as an ancestral right, so the company would develop an inventory to assess the remaining five percent.

For decades, planning for the Lauca has drawn on various sorts of cadastres, property registries, mapping technologies, and other inventories promoted by state officials to keep track of the protected area, and it will probably continue to use them. Mapping indigenous territories is a powerful state exercise for graphing the boundaries of the nation (Sparke 2005:9-10). But the

metaphor of “being drowned or starved by the state” embodied a broader conflict between the Chilean state and the Aymara people, one that clearly resonates with other politicized, resource-oriented struggles and identity politics-based mobilizations worldwide.¹⁹¹

According to Eisenberg (2013), the increasing cost of living in Chile—with the highest level of labour earnings inequality in South America—has had a deleterious effect on native populations in Andean territories. The majority of Aymara people are involved in agriculture in the lowlands or pastoralism in the highland and in small scale trade along main commercial routes such as the international highway *Ruta 11-Ch* between Chile and Bolivia. In a 1998-1999 report, the Inter-American Development Bank (IDB hereafter) argued that indigenous labourers from rural hinterlands contribute to the general expansion of the economy, while at the same time, underdevelopment and impoverishment continues to deepen in their home areas (Eisenberg 2013:35, 40). In addition, poverty levels coincide with illiteracy, especially among women (MINSAL 2009).

To address these issues, in 2001 the IDB funded *Programa Origenes*, a development program specifically oriented towards funding indigenous groups. The program, administered by the National Indigenous Development Agency (CONADI), was established in two phases: one implemented between 2001 and 2005; and the other between 2007 and 2011. The purpose of the program was to fund projects related to productive development, health, education, community, and the strengthening of institutions (Bello 2007). My field research coincided with the second phase. Also, in 2007, the Arica and Parinacota Region was legally created (*Ley 20,175*), ushering in major changes in territorial management practices. The total amount of funds regionally invested for tourism during that time, from 2007 to 2011, was \$3,619,000,000 CHP (about \$7,500,000 USD).

To receive international funding, the Aymara natives engaged with the program were required to attend *participación ciudadana* (citizen participation), a series of participatory meetings styled along models of indigenous consultation. In practice, however, indigenous consultation has not yet been established within Chile's legal system, further affecting struggles for recognition (Stavenhagen 2009; Toledo 2011). The establishment of *Programa Origenes* itself demonstrated that consultation and participation are very limited or nonexistent in Chile, as no Indigenous Peoples were consulted in the process of the creation of the program (Richards and Gardner 2013:263).¹⁹² Despite international funding and development efforts geared to promoting a tourism program (BID SERNATUR), the highlands of Arica and Parinacota have remained among the least-developed and poorest areas in Chile's *comunas* (municipalities) (MINSAL 2009).

The launch of a new territorial management plan was past due for the Biosphere Reserve at the time of my field work, and it basically reinscribed economic ties already existing between various stakeholders, mainly Aymara communities, government agencies, and private corporations. All of these are now mediated by a new kind of "middleman": the environmental consulting companies.

Other than Chileambiente, another consulting company that worked for CONAF to develop the new environmental management plan was EuroChile. Based in the capital city and formed in part with the help of the European Union Business Foundation, and co-sponsored by the National Development Agency (CORFO) through the aforementioned Territorial Development Program (PTI),¹⁹³ EuroChile proposed a plan for the Lauca that was also framed within *Programa Origenes* for indigenous development. Through partnership between government agencies,

national NGOs, and non-profits, the international development initiative aimed to promote local development, strengthen the tourism industry, and support competitive businesses.

As part of the first generation of biosphere reserves,¹⁹⁴ the Lauca never really submitted a management plan as such and was now required to update its UNESCO file in order to meet current environmental standards validating, by participatory means, a new zonification model. This model was described by the consulting company and the government agency as a “fried egg” model divided into three zones: 1. *Núcleo* (nucleus)—a centre of ecological vulnerability protected within a jurisdiction; 2. *Amortiguación* (buffer)—a protection area that requires ecological practices and other regulations; and 3. *Transición* (transition)—a permeable and more flexible area promoting co-operative strategies for development. Although the ideal management model does look like a single “fried egg” (Figure 5.3), the final product would appear to be more like a series of fried eggs. After an initial phase of exploration and planning, the project report aimed to validate on paper the values given to each one of the three zones by all the participating indigenous communities.

By applying a three-zone model to the Lauca and transforming what, up to now, has been a 100 percent conservation-based territorial management of the protected area, the new plan allows transnational corporations to enter the biosphere reserve. Their activities include extraction of metallic and non-metallic deposits, and the harnessing of energy from hydrologic and geothermal sources. This would open up between five and fifteen percent of the protected area for corporate development, amounting to approximately 43,000 hectares.

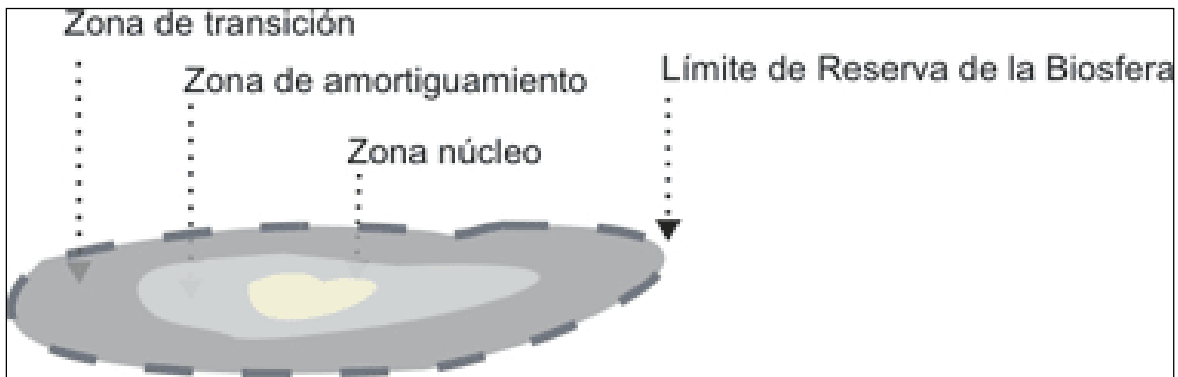


Figure 5.3 “Fried egg” scheme of the three-zone model for the biosphere reserve (<http://www.eurochile.cl>, last accessed August 2011)

During a participatory meeting, the results of a questionnaire were presented. The questionnaire was made and administered by the consulting company and it contained 125 questions designed to determine priorities for developing sustainable tourism and land use in the Lauca territory. The priorities were, in order of importance: 1. Conservation; 2. Tourism; 3. Livestock; and 4. Mining. According to EuroChile, the consulting company in charge of the consultation, there was a competitive deficiency in tourism due to a shortage of business enterprises and a scarcity of personnel, the need for better quality of service, and lack of Internet connectivity¹⁹⁵ and local transport. The primary forms of investment to be developed by the programs involved—mainly BID SERNATUR, and PTI CORFO, which I briefly introduced above—would be hostelry, food and signage. The only concerns given as options to be identified, according to the way the questionnaire was structured and written, were environment degradation and loss of cultural identity.¹⁹⁶

So far we have reviewed the complex landscape of international development projects in the Arica and Parinacota Region. Although at the participatory meetings the main focus was conservation, the Lauca Biosphere Reserve was being marketed as a touristic destination to the Aymara natives as a unique business opportunity that could attract national and international

tourists, considered to be a special-interest “cliente.”¹⁹⁷ The Aymara had to be enlisted because CONAF cannot administer businesses within a reserve, therefore development would be catered to by the natives to special-interest tourists as a specific clientele. Eurochile encouraged the audience to commercialize products and services branded with the Lauca trademark as a denomination of origin, and to exploit all the benefits of being associated with UNESCO (Figure 5.4). The chair of CONAF even quoted former Chilean president Michelle Bachelet (2006-2010) from an official speech she made on May 21, 2007¹⁹⁸: “We want massive tourism, social tourism, international tourism and special interest tourism. Over two million foreign tourists visited us last year [2006] and the goal is to reach three million by 2010.”¹⁹⁹



Figure 5.4 Logo launched for the Lauca (<http://www.eurochile.cl/>, last accessed August 2011)

The role that development and tourism has played in the environmental planning of the Lauca is deeply intertwined with the social history of indigenous rights of ownership of traditional native territories and how they are subject to the rulers of the Chilean state. The fragmentation of native land had gradually affected the native populations since the origins of the Chilean Republic and its expansionist period in the northern and southern territories. This expansion was clearly intensified with the establishment of the 1980 legal constitution which included in depth contributions by the ultimate practitioners of neoliberal market economics, also known as the ‘Chicago Boys’ of Latin America.²⁰⁰ According to Richards and Gardner (2013:272), “Neoliberalism works as the contemporary manifestation of colonialism, and the reluctance to recognize indigenous rights demonstrates that privilege is fixated at the state level as well as within civil society.” The commodification and branding of the Lauca watershed appeared to be another step towards indigenous development and participatory governance for the government officials, but in reality no indigenous representatives were informed or consulted prior to the implementation of the territorial program in 2007. However, the framework for participation was established to ‘include’ indigenous participants rather than ‘exclude’ them, therefore allowing for the intervention of indigenous properties and rights.

Despite the government’s approach, the Lauca territory has nonetheless been shaped by the contested nature of ownership, a contest which has now been forced to include local demands made by indigenous communities. The plan was to transform the Lauca area by 2015 into a touristic destination that would meet international standards, promoting sustainable management and including the participation of local agents. Nevertheless, within the participants, only a few indigenous leaders and community representatives were allowed to participate, as it was a prerequisite to be registered as *propietarios* or property owners by the CONADI in order to do

so. Property was thus a fundamental condition of participation and the basis of citizenship, as has occurred in other places of the Andes and Latin America (Chambers 1999, 2003; Hale 2002; Nugent 2008; Postero 2007; Yashar 1998, 2005). During the participatory meetings, it was reiterated that there would be economic compensation to any *propietario* who voluntarily decided to devote his or her landholding to touristic use—something called “*afectación voluntaria*” (voluntary engagement)—and that it would be assessed as a right of way (*servidumbre*). In addition, a fair trade system (*comercio justo*) would be instituted for any other rentals, franchises, and royalties resulting from touristic activities for the owners who got on board with the plan.²⁰¹

In response to the proposed model of business partnerships for tourism and development in the Lauca, a community representative from Guallatire argued on behalf of his property: “We own the property, it is private property, and it should be recognized as such by public institutions.” Just before this, another representative had asked, “What will happen with the *paja brava* (wild grass) for roofing our houses? We know how to build our houses traditionally, and the grass should be used between August and September. In December it starts growing again, and that is when it has a sweet taste...” He was clearly concerned about how the new plan would affect access to native resources in the area. Another participant quickly followed by asking: “What about the land that will be organized and divided using that model?” Sitting next to him, another Guallatire representative then voiced a central concern about indigenous ownership in the Lauca area: “We own the property,” in other words, they were *propietarios* or landowners and this meant they had rights of ownership for private property, which encompassed almost 98% of the Reserve. “There is another problem,” a woman added: “Private businesses have done a lot of damage, like Quiborax in the Surire Salt Lake, and the mining in Choquelimpe too.”²⁰² Andean

mining has been present in the area since colonial times and is part of Aymara livelihoods but, as we have seen, the community is divided and there are mixed feelings about opening the area to exploration for the Catanave mine or reopening the Choquelimpe mine.

Environmental management was not the only issue addressed at these meetings. Another representative stated that at least seven families from Guallatire had been left out of the regularization process of individually registering land and water. This process of selective exclusion started with the *Fondo de Tierras y Aguas Indígenas* (Indigenous Water and Land Fund) inaugurated in 1994, after CONADI was launched. Up to 40 percent of indigenous people were excluded, without rights to access property and without the recognition that property entails.²⁰³ Over two decades later, they still cannot be legally constituted as property owners, because they were initially excluded from the system. This example shows the mechanisms by which Indigenous Peoples have been dispossessed of their rights. Accordingly, they are now ineligible for development projects and for funding promoted within the National System of Protected Wilderness Areas (SNASPE). Hence, the perception on the part of the meeting participants was that the tourism program would only benefit a few members, consequently exacerbating inequalities between indigenous communities and having a negative impact on their standard of living, which was already below the poverty line.

A lawyer who had sat quietly throughout the meeting now quickly introduced himself as a state representative working for the Ministry of National Resources (MBN). He declared that because the Lauca is within the SNASPE,²⁰⁴ the Aymara do not actually “own” property; only if they registered their land through the state would they be entitled to rent it out and profit from it. For this kind of initiative (indigenous development), he explained, the state cannot invest in privately owned property. This is the main reason why the property would need to be registered as

indigenous property.²⁰⁵ Thus, it was apparent that, while the state requires indigenous *propietarios* to “voluntarily engage” with the program in order to receive international development funds, it was simultaneously promoting private investments by national and transnational corporations with extractive interests. Marketing the Chilean Andes for tourism was one of the government’s strategies for territorial management and indigenous development. It ignored, however, the precarious conditions in which Aymara herders have lived and continue to struggle for both cultural recognition and equitable redistribution.

Despite the lawyer’s intervention, even the state officials at the meetings recognized that, of the 358,312 hectares comprising the Biosphere Reserve, I was told by CONAF that less than two percent was state-owned and considered *tierras fiscales*, while more than ninety-eight percent was indigenous land or *tierras indígenas* individually registered as private property. Despite the long existence of this protected area, many land holdings still remain contested because of the multiple registries of a single property as well as between the public and private uses of the land. Indigenous communities often used land collectively; however, the state did not recognize or register communal land tenure, which has led to its disappearance,²⁰⁶ and its transformation from collective into individual holdings managed by each family. Consequently, legal conflicts have emerged within local families, as we have seen in the case of the land conflict in the town of Guallatire itself (see Chapter 3), contributing to the fragmentation and reduction of the Aymara territory in the highlands.

For a better understanding of the property landscape, I will briefly recount here the historical transformation of land into property and the gradual erosion of the Aymara indigenous territory, including the disappearance of ancestral, historical, and collective rights of ownership. Since the Chilean occupation of the highlands, traditional native territories have been systematically

stripped away from Indigenous Peoples in Arica and Parinacota. With the imposition of Chilean sovereignty came major changes in land tenure (Eisenberg 2013:28). As a consequence of the War of the Pacific (1879-1883) and the Peace Treaties signed with Bolivia and Peru (1904 and 1929), Aymara natives were pushed to register land tenure individually in the form of private property at the national Real Estate Registry (CBR) in Arica, which was opened in 1887 (Díaz et al. 2013). Although former indigenous rights were acknowledged in Article 7 of the Treaty of Lima of 1929, when Chile consolidated its sovereignty over the disputed territory of Tarapaca, all unclaimed properties became public under Chilean Law (Aguilera 2010:34; Bernhardson 1986:315; Eisenberg 2013; Yáñez and Aylwin 2007).

Land registration in the Lauca area started as early as 1901, and multiple registrations of the same property are a unique case in Latin America.²⁰⁷ Under these circumstances, the Aymara that were not prosecuted and managed to stay in the area became property owners and national citizens. However, during the military regime, legislation enforced between 1977 and 1979 by the former Ministry of Land and Colonization modified regulations that protected indigenous rights in order to identify, acquire, and manage state resources, including taking possession of rural property, thus systematically dispossessing Indigenous Peoples from their traditional native lands (Aguilera 2010; González and Gundermann 2009; Richards and Gardner 2013; Ruz and Díaz 2011).²⁰⁸ To date, the state has not given an adequate compensation for usurped indigenous land, which means that indigenous recognition has been misrecognized. The process of fragmentation and dispossession, including inequalities and discrimination amongst and towards aboriginal peoples forced into displacement and migration, has continued since the instrumental, neoliberal agenda was first instituted by Pinochet. These processes became apparent in many of the consultations I witnessed.

After the participatory meeting was over, I approached Don Juan and asked him what he thought. Clearly disappointed, he replied, “*Nos están manipulando señorita y creen que no nos damos ni cuenta*” (“They are manipulating us Miss, and they think that we don’t even notice it”).²⁰⁹

EuroChile did not manage either to secure its role as an intercultural facilitator, because of the negative response of the community, or to reach consensus for their proposal for the ecotourism project of *Sendero de Chile*, thus cancelling their environmental assessment for the Lauca. As of 2013, the territorial management plan for the Lauca was still awaiting completion.

Leaving aside the multiple property registries that Indigenous Peoples such as the Aymara and other small landowners in Chile have to contend with, indigeneous land ownership remains contested and officially unrecognized unless managed by the state. This makes it difficult (but not imposible, as I will discuss below) to improve their current situation. For the Mapuche, it has meant years of dispossession, prosecution and criminalization (Aylwin 2002; Human Rights Watch & Observatorio de los Derechos de los Pueblos Indígenas 2004; Richards 2010; Richards and Gardner 2013; Stavenhagen 2009; Yáñez and Aylwin 2007). The Aymara are still fighting, and since 2003 have created the Association of Andean Owners (AGPRA) to legally reclaim their property rights, regain access to the land, and formalize a lawsuit against the Chilean state. Under the circumstances, validation of the newly developed management plan for the Lauca would hardly be able reach a consensus through any form of participatory process, whether this was a government-led or indigenous-led consultation.

In spite of the participatory discourse and democratic model for citizen decision-making promoted by the consulting companies to facilitate the Lauca meetings, the whole environmental planning process was overseen by the *Consejo Consultivo* (Consultative Council). The Council is a power structure formed by state-appointed authorities, and by indigenous leaders who do not

necessarily represent the local communities, and chaired by the Regional Governor (*Intendente Regional*), another appointed authority with a political mandate. Under the Council's structure, the territorial program inherently undermines itself as a model of representative democracy. In reality, recognition and redistribution for the Aymara has proven to be unreachable through participation or consultation.

5.3 Contradictory legislation and policy-making: recognition beyond negotiation

As noted by Richards and Gardner (2013:264), while Chile was the first Latin American state to embrace neoliberalism, it has been among the last to accept multiculturalism (see Hale 2002). The contradictions in terms of cultural recognition become apparent through a review of the instrumental legislation that has come into place since the creation of the Lauca Biosphere Reserve. Current legislation has institutionalized certain practices while ignoring others, contradicting the conservation policies promoted at the reserve. The main consequence is an increasingly large corpus of 'contradictory legislation' that does not validate indigenous rights and is the result of social contradictions embedded in policy-making at the government level. Although policy-making is shackled to state-building, it also operates against it by prioritizing private interests over state affairs or exposes the state as a contradictory arena; as I discuss in the next section. The imposition of laws, decrees, and other policies that supersede indigenous rights has pushed aboriginal people away from their land. Some have been dispossessed but have stayed in place; others have been forced to migrate in search of better opportunities. It can also be argued that contradictory legislation is a form of state violence and structural discrimination (see Nixon 2011).

Since the return to democracy in 1989, international human rights legislation has certainly prompted changes in the relationship between the Chilean State and Indigenous Peoples. The transition from a military regime back to a democratically elected government in Chile started with the 1988 referendum campaign of the *Concertación*, a left-wing political coalition, which led to presidential elections. After sixteen years of Pinochet's dictatorship, Aylwin assumed the role of head of state on March 11th, 1989. Hopes for democracy were high and, despite the fact that the Indigenous and Tribal Peoples Convention 169 (ILO 1989) came into force internationally that same year, it was only ratified two decades later by Chile, on September 15th, 2008. After years of struggle, and the passing in 1993 of the Indigenous Law (*Ley 19,253*) that allowed for cultural recognition,²¹⁰ it was not surprising that Article 35 of this international convention lead to an interpretation that consequently did not ensure indigenous rights. Instead, it ended up undermining them with the passing of Decree 124 the next year, in September 2009.

²¹¹ Basically, Decree 124 changed Article 34 of the Indigenous Law, violating its specific regulations for indigenous participation by proposing an expedited process. A full process would at least include the following criteria: 1. the right to participate; 2. the right to be consulted; and 3. the right to informed consent.²¹²

This interpretative declaration triggered a public confrontation between indigenous groups and the government in power (Toledo 2011). The right to indigenous consultation exposed underlying tensions that emerged publicly during the endorsement of Convention 169. Although the conflict started during the first term of Bachelet's government (2006-2010) with Decree 124, it got worse during Piñera's government (2010-2014). The tension escalated, first, when the newly-launched General Secretary Ministry of the Presidency suggested that an expedited process of consultation could be carried out by email. Then, Decree 701 was introduced in

August 2010, to promote the afforestation in the *Wallmapu* (Mapuche territory), by means of an attempt to rush through expedited approval via CONAF. Information was sent out by email to indigenous representatives enlisted by CONADI. If a response was not received by a specific date, the government said, it would be interpreted as a sign of conformity and agreement. This caused outrage amongst the Mapuche and other indigenous communities nationwide. It became apparent that international legislation recently ratified to protect Indigenous Peoples was not serving the intended purpose in Chile. Five years later, Chile has yet to acknowledge Indigenous Peoples and their rights in its Constitution (Richards and Gardner 2013:263).

In view of this record, I argue that existing legislation for the Lauca Biosphere Reserve is contradictory and does not accomplish its stated objectives, including: 1. Conservation of biodiversity; 2. Sustainable use of resources for the development of tourism; and, 3. Preservation of cultural values associated with the Andean landscape and its habitats.²¹³ For instance, during a participatory meeting, the former director of CONAF presented new legislation regarding Native Forest Recovery and Forestry Development (*Ley 20,283*) that would prohibit the traditional use of *queñoa* for firewood, legislation which was scheduled to come into force at the national level. Predicting that there would be disagreement over this legislation with the indigenous representatives and community leaders, he firmly said to the audience: “This legislation is a policy of the state,”²¹⁴ making it clear that there was no room for negotiation. One of the ramifications of the law for local communities was that they would not be allowed to gather and burn wood from the native *queñoa* forests. *Queñoa* is the only species that grows higher than four thousand metres above sea level. Since this is the only source of firewood available locally, aside from the *yareta* plants, which have long been listed as endangered species because of their industrial use as fuel for the railroad system and highland mining, the passing of this new

conservation policy would further erode their everyday livelihoods. Instead of arguing against, the director of CONAF firmly stated: “At this moment, we are an example of an organized country in the world,”²¹⁵ and tried to encourage the audience in this manner.

As soon as the director finished talking, an indigenous representative exclaimed: “We do not cut *yareta* and *queñoa* randomly. Since I was a child we have always burnt them when dry, and use some for the construction of houses, like on my property.” Another one asked what would happen if they kept using the *queñoa* as fuel: “Are we going to be charged or detained by the police?” And then a woman followed: “Our rights to ancestral use (of the territory) are being violated. We cannot ask for permission every time we want to cook!” Finally, another representative argued that climate change and global warming had affected the *queñoa* native forests, so that the communities were not the only ones to be blamed for an “illicit exploitation” of *queñoa* for firewood, as CONAF was suggesting.²¹⁶

The indigenous representatives were fiercely defending their rights to access resources and use them in their traditional native territory. Aside from gathering *queñoa* and *yareta* for firewood, or *iru ichu* (wild grass) for roofing, natives gathered other local native plants as well. For instance, fruits such as *ancoñoque* grow seasonally in the area, as do medicinal plants such as *chachacoma*, commonly used to treat altitude sickness. Aymara medical practitioners, known as *q'ulliri* or *yatiri*, recommend several other remedies for illnesses based on these local plants.²¹⁷ Nevertheless, indigenous rights to access local native resources in a traditional way were not taken into consideration during the drafting and passing of this new legislation. How would sustainability of traditional forms of livelihood survive with the passing of this new legislation? Why wasn't this aspect of sustainability valued as the basis for development and tourism?

One reason for the myopia on the part of government agents in terms of sustainability of traditional forms of livelihood has to do with varying perceptions of territory. Local perceptions can be culturally different, and contrary to official state logics of territorial management. Although the traditional *ayllu* structure was disrupted and deterritorialized with the institutionalization of the Chilean border after 1883, and replaced by imposing the *estancia* republican settlement, Aymara local practices have continued to be based on a conception of the land as ethno-territorial (Aguilera 2010:18). In comparing two different conceptions of the landscape, Nixon (2011:17) has argued that:

A vernacular landscape is shaped by the affective, historically textured maps that communities have devised over generations, maps replete with names and routes, maps alive to significant ecological and surface geological features. A vernacular landscape, although neither monolithic nor undisputed, is integral to the socioenvironmental dynamics of community rather than being wholly externalized—treated as out there, as a separate nonrenewable resource. By contrast, an official landscape—whether governmental, NGO, corporate or some combination of those—is typically oblivious to such earlier maps; instead, it writes the land in a bureaucratic, externalizing and extraction-driven manner that is often pitilessly instrumental.

Conflict between both visions, a vernacular one and an official one, emerged at the participatory meetings where the multilayered interactions between Indigenous Peoples and Nation States exposed different sensibilities and frictions around the environmental management of the Lauca. The indigenous use of the territory is not merely extractive or instrumental. It also sustains traditional practices based upon different values and priorities. In the hamlets of Guallatire, for example, every herder follows a pastoral circuit radiating from the main hamlet. This circuit marks their territory using a multi-sited dwelling practice called *anta*. Living in multiple domiciles along the circuit is fairly common, and urban residences in Putre or Arica have been

integrated into the circuit. This multisited living becomes problematic in terms of government authorities visiting the highlands. They argue that the unoccupied residences—which are only temporarily so—are abandoned, without considering the multisited movement of people that takes place through the highlands and lowlands or the various ways to make do that are part of their daily livelihoods. Local dwelling practices are hence not recognized by this property regime. In reality, of about twenty-eight hamlets that belong to Guallatire, at least two-thirds are currently occupied by residents or herders at any given time.²¹⁸ The Aymara argue that state claims that their residences are abandoned are further skewed by the fact that state authorities often come to visit in the middle of the day, when the Aymara are usually out herding their animals (as they do, from dawn until dusk).

The gap in understanding between the government and indigenous people lies not only in that dwelling practices are conceptualized differently. In the context of Aymara land use and production, the technological is always linked to ritual practices, in contrast to nonindigenous views where they become two separate areas. For instance, as Doña Celia and Don Teodoro informed me, within the *anta* in Chivatambo and Tambocollo, *bofedal* (highland pasture), *manantial* (spring water source, also known as *jalsuri*) and *apu* (mountaintops) are highly respected and valued.²¹⁹ These places are named either in Aymara, Spanish, or a mix of both, and remembered one by one in ritual practices when they are thanked for taking care of all beings, human and non-human. Don Juan and Doña Celeste said that in Churigaylla, a common practice was to thank *Pachamama* (Mother Earth) before an animal was sacrificed or land was cultivated.²²⁰ In the highlands, a common practice to maintain the *bofedales* or highland pastures from drying up is to irrigate them with canals, like Don Dario used to do in Lliza.²²¹ This suggests that they are part of a cultural landscape, and not the expression of a pristine wilderness,

as most tourists would think. Doña Celeste had also said that, if an animal were to become lost, she would look for it unceasingly, as if it was a lost child, “We raise them as our own family.”²²²

All of the herders regularly use different pastures, because llamas like to graze over greater distances, while alpacas tend to remain closer to their corrals and can be left there instead of herder away from the hamlet. For this reason, herders like Doña Estela and Don Reinaldo keep *queñoa* firewood and food available in small shacks called *chujllauta* (Figure 5.5), in case the rain comes or night falls while they are still out in Chullpa Visaya or Puquios.²²³ If a *puma* or mountain lion is around, they light a fire overnight to keep the animal away. During the wet season, they have to manage and separate the flocks into groups of males and females and take them to different pastures until they are ready to mate. Don Juan and Don Francisco showed me how they keep the best males as stallions and castrate the rest. As I observed in Japu, flocks of llamas and alpacas are ceremonially marked at the main corral once a year during the wet season, usually the time that families come from Arica.²²⁴ The *k'illpaña* and *markaña* are pastoral traditions and propitiatory rites to assure fertility of the flocks; the animals' ears get cut, and they are adorned with colourful, wool pompoms that signal their sex and their owner. Sheep and goats are also marked, but usually during the dry season.



Figure 5.5 Pile of *queñoa* wood (left) and *chujlla uta* (right) in Puquios, next to Doña Estela. Photo by the author (2008)

All of these practices show the particular ways in which the Aymara natives experience and interaction with their surroundings. Some other practices like hunting, gathering, and fishing are disappearing. Although hunting used to be very common, it was prohibited in 1969 in order to protect endangered native species such as the *vicuña*, a wild relative of the llama, the *vizcacha*, a local rodent, and the *suri* (rhea) and *parina* (flamingo) birds as well as their eggs. All of these were part of the traditional native diet, but now any hunters or gatherers can be prosecuted by the Environmental Crime Squad (BIDEMA). Similarly, recreational fishing credentials are now required by the National Fishery Service (SERNAPESCA) since trout were introduced to Lake

Chungara in 2008, their introduction resulting in the endangering of two native fish species known as *karachi* and *peladilla*.²²⁵

Another example of a disappearing practice is that of barter and exchange. The highland people used to trade meat, wool, and other animal products with the lowland people for crops such as maize and potatoes. This traditional exchange was a form of ecological complementarity that can be traced back to early colonial and pre-contact times in the Arica and Parinacota area (Hidalgo 2004; Horta 2010). Aymara representatives like Don Juan have struggled with the local municipalities to revive some bi-weekly markets in Visviri, Chungara, Macaya, and Colchane at the border with Bolivia, in order to regain access to local produce from their neighbours.²²⁶

The native forest recovery legislation also exemplifies how Aymara livelihoods have been impacted by new conservation policies being launched at the Biosphere Reserve. While prioritizing conservation of biodiversity, the legislation failed to address sustainable development and the preservation of cultural values through the intercultural territorial management of this particular environment. Given what they saw as the likely outcomes of the legislation, the indigenous communities of Parinacota, Guallatire and Surire decided to work together on a letter addressed to the government demanding respect for their ancestral rights and cultural values. The director of CONAF had agreed to forward the letter to the headquarters of the Ministry of Agriculture in Santiago. As an “institutional commitment,” they endorsed the letter and presented it at the next meeting of the *Consejo Consultivo*.²²⁷

Indigenous priorities and values were clearly not represented by this new forestry policy. Neoliberal conservation prioritizes a certain agenda by managing strategic resources available to certain stakeholders, such as government agencies and private companies, while denying priority

to others, like indigenous communities. From this perspective, natives are neither equal citizens nor differential citizens. Their rights are not being constitutionally recognized either way, which leaves them culturally unrecognized or misrecognized and economically marginalized.

Contradictory legislation thus makes Indigenous Peoples vulnerable to the market through a ‘slow violence’ which Nixon (2011:2) defines as “a violence that occurs gradually and out of sight, a violence of delayed destruction that is dispersed across time and space, an attritional violence that is typically not viewed as violence at all.”

To help understanding what I have referred to as ‘contradictory legislation,’ in Table 5.1 I have synthesized the laws that have come into force since the creation of the Lauca as a protected area in 1965 and the ratification of Convention 169 in 2008. Regional legislations created the Biosphere Reserve in 2007, although the Reserve itself is internationally regulated by UNESCO standards that have been in existence since 1983. The protected wilderness area of the Lauca is thus hierarchically subordinated to constitutional legislation from 1980, such as the Water Code and the Mining Code.²²⁸ National laws such as those regarding National Monuments, Indigenous People, the Environment, and Geothermal Energy Concessions are subordinated to existing laws promoted by the 1980 constitutional reforms and codes. International conventions have been passed but, in practice, they continue to be subordinated to the core constitution. Other laws have imposed rules and regulations that directly impact traditional practices as well, as in the case of the Native Forest Recovery law, reviewed above. The Environmental Crime Squad, established in 2002 to monitor and enforce the above-mentioned conservation laws, is another example.

Table 5.1 Main legislation in force at the Lauca Biosphere Reserve (2009-1965)

Legislation	Date	Responsible Institution	Coverage
<i>Ley 20,283 sobre Recuperación del Bosque Nativo y Fomento Forestal</i> (Native Forest Recovery and Forestry Development)	November 2008	MINAGRI (Ministry of Agriculture), and CONAF (National Forestry Agency)	National
Indigenous and Tribal Peoples Convention 169 (ratified), from the International Labor Organization	September 2008	<i>Ministerio de Relaciones Exteriores</i> (Ministry of Exterior Relations) and MIDEPLAN, <i>Ministerio de Planificación y Cooperación</i> (Ministry of Planning and Cooperation)	National and International
<i>Ley 20,175</i> creates XV Region of Arica and Parinacota	March 2007	<i>Ministerio del Interior</i> (Ministry of the Interior), and Gobierno Regional	Regional
Orden General N°1,927 creates the Brigada Investigadora de Delitos del Medio Ambiente (BIDEMA), Orden General N°2,166 creates the Jefatura Nacional de Delitos Contra el Medioambiente y Patrimonio Cultural and Orden General N°2,219 creates BIDEMA in Arica	December 2002, November 2007, February 2009	<i>Policía de Investigaciones</i> (Police Bureau of Investigation)	National and Regional
<i>Ley sobre Concesiones de Energía Geotérmica 19,657</i> (Geothermal Energy Concessions Law)	January 2000	<i>Ministerio de Minería</i> (Ministry of Mining)	National
<i>Ley Bases Generales del Medio Ambiente 19,300</i> (Environmental Law) and <i>Ley 20,173</i> creates Minister of Environment from former President of CONAMA	March 1994, March 2007	<i>Ministerio de Medio Ambiente</i> (Ministry of Environment), and CONAMA (National Environmental Commission)	National
<i>Ley Indígena 19,253</i> (Indigenous Law), creation of <i>Área de Desarrollo Indígena Alto Andino</i> (art. 26), and full process of consultation (art. 34)	October 1993, May 2004	<i>Ministerio de Planificación</i> (Ministry of Planning), and CONADI (National Indigenous Development Commission)	National
<i>Ley 18,248 Código de Minería</i> (Mining Code)	September 1983	<i>Ministerio de Minería</i> (Ministry of Mining) and SERNAGEOMIN (National Service of Geology and Mining)	National
<i>Decreto con Fuerza de Ley 1,122 Código de Aguas</i> (Water Code), modified by <i>Ley 19,145</i> (wetlands) and <i>Ley 20,017</i> (groundwater)	August 1981, June 1992, June 2005	<i>Ministerio de Justicia</i> (Ministry of Justice), and DGA (General Directory of Waters)	National
<i>Ley de Monumentos Nacionales 17,288</i> (National Monuments Law) and Supreme Decree 484 or <i>Reglamento</i> (Regulation)	February 1970, March 1990	MINEDUC, <i>Ministerio de Educación</i> (Ministry of Education), and CMN (National Monuments Council)	National
Supreme Decree 284 and 29 creates Parque Nacional Lauca, Reserva Nacional Las Vicuñas, and Monumento Natural Salar de Surire, now part of the Reserva de la Biósfera Lauca	April 1965, October 1981, March 1983	<i>MINAGRI</i> , <i>Ministerio de Agricultura</i> (Ministry of Agriculture), and CONAF (National Forestry Agency)	Regional and International

To sum up, all of these examples contribute to an understanding of the Chilean power structure legally embedded in state-led territorial management planning. This structure particularly affects environmental policy-making for access to resources and slows the forms in which Indigenous Peoples are recognized and misrecognized by the Chilean state. It becomes apparent that the putatively inclusive and participatory planning discourse is not in tune with indigenous demands and overlaps with various existing policies that need to be constantly challenged and negotiated. This demonstrates the urgent need to consult Indigenous Peoples in creating an appropriate public policy regime that is in harmony with indigenous and local realities of the Chilean Andes (Aguilera 2010:38-40). By contradictory legislation I mean to argue that the imposition of neoliberal practices upon local economies has not only negatively affected the Aymara by exacerbating territorial conflicts over ancestral and historical property rights, as occurred within the community of Guallatire, but has also led to conflicts and confrontations between multiple stakeholders from both the public and the private sector operating within the Reserve.

5.4 Public and private: contested terrains at the margins of the state

And yet, even given these diverse histories, what the governance of prior shows is that from a critical point of view, the Indigenous does not confront the state, nor does the state confront the Indigenous. Both are caught in strategic maneuvers around a shared problematic; the nation-state and the Indigenous cite a shared discourse originating in a history that predates both of their emergence. A formation of power articulated as tense and event –the governance of the prior– is foundational to the imaginary of sovereign power to both settler and Indigenous as such and to late liberalism more generally. (Povinelli 2011:39)

The Surire Salt Lake Natural Monument provides a good example of a terrain contested between the public and private sectors that interfere with indigenous governance and rights of ownership, to the point of ‘invisibilizing’ indigenous communities. In October 2008, CONAF requested the

Quiborax Company to cease work in the *pertenencia minera* (mining concession) of Santa Marta and filed a lawsuit against them. The National Forestry Agency argued that the mining company was using Decree 116 from 1978 to expand their area of exploitation, while ignoring Decree 12 from 1989, which established new environmental regulations within the area of the salt lake. Interestingly, the lawsuit was structured using contradictory legislation that ended up favouring the private company over the government agency.

According to the Washington Convention of 1967 for the protection of the flora, fauna and natural scenic beauties of America, and the Ramsar Convention of 1971, the Surire Salt Lake is a protected wetland of international importance. Surire was also declared a site of “scientific interest” under the Mining Code of 1983, which was adopted through presidential permit, as required for any intervention in the 1980 Constitution.²²⁹ Subsequent legislation declared this protected area a “natural monument” and integrated it into the Lauca Biosphere Reserve in 1981. In spite of these measures to ensure its conservation, since 1986 a part of Surire has been exploited, through 100 percent Chilean ownership and capital, for nitrate mining and the production of boric acid and boron-based industrial fertilizers. Although the salt lake was protected by international, national, and regional legislation, it is not surprising that the area could be approved for development by the Mining Code, which had allowed similar exploitations by the Ñandú mining company during the military regime. Since 1988, Ñandú had merged with the Quiborax Company, and today exports 99 percent of its agrochemical production, the level of which fluctuates at around ninety thousand tonnes per year.²³⁰

CONAF’s main environmental concern was that that Quiborax had to remain at least seven hundred metres away from four of the main flamingo nesting areas. Three different species of

flamingoes have been registered in Surire, all of them currently endangered.²³¹ In the 2013 Aymara documentary *Yuriña: Nacer en Pecado* (Born in Sin), the director chose to start the film with a scene where flamingoes are being banded by personnel of the National Forestry Agency (CONAF) at the Surire Salt Lake.²³² The camera shows an Andean scenery of colourful mountains surrounding the white and flat salt lands, where the chicks are being chased by park guards for identification purposes. While being banded, each bird's beak and legs are measured to identify what species they belong to. *¿Es chileno?* (Is it Chilean?), one park guard asks to the group. *Sí, es chileno* (Yes, it is Chilean), another one replies. Bird banding is a conservation practice that uses coded rings for keeping track of movement patterns along the highland wetlands. This practice is part of the international program of *flamencos sin fronteras* (flamingoes without borders) shared by Chile, Peru, Bolivia and Argentina. According to their last count, in January 2013, there are about 49,088 flamingoes in Chile; of those, 31,593 are from Surire.²³³ Through international conservation and scientific classifications, the flamingoes are considered to be part of the national patrimony, thus worthy of environmental protection. With the new expansion of their exploitation area, Quiborax was getting too close to these nesting areas, according to CONAF. The initial lawsuit initiated by CONAF against the mining company escalated from the court in Arica to Santiago, where it was presented to the State Defense Council (CDE).

While doing fieldwork in Guallatire, an official government committee came to visit the area, and CONAF asked me to join as a research collaborator working in the Lauca area. The morning of our visit, after a standard medical check-up for high altitude, we were shown around the base camp by an environmental issues specialist. Then we walked around the salt lake and saw hundreds of flamingoes that had been killed. We were told by the CONAF park guards that this

had occurred earlier, during the drought of 2007. The flamingoes' eggs had frozen, while their bodies remained on the surface, perfectly preserved by the salt sands (Figure 5.6). Although international conventions and national regulations for environmental conservation were brought into consideration, private interests defeated public concerns. The Quiborax mining company has continued to work in the area after winning the case, as if nothing had ever happened. CONAF appealed to the court in March 2009, with no further success.



Figure 5.6. Carcass of a flamingo lying on the Surire Salt Lake. Photo by the author (2009)

The indigenous community of Surire was excluded from the whole process and did not participate in the lawsuit, as if it never existed. I approached Doña Gladys, a community

representative from Surire, and asked her why her community was not engaged. She said that most of the community members of Surire have grown apart from each other since CONADI registered land and water back in 1992. Some people did not agree with the cadastral system that was being launched because, for them, CONADI represented a “political elite” designated by the government in office. This was why they were unwilling to participate at the time. They felt they had been left out, and could not be legally constituted as property owners, which is why they did not pursue any legal actions against the mining company.²³⁴

However, some members of the community of Surire have organized themselves as an indigenous association, but they still cannot contest the legality of the system. To be eligible to participate, they would have to revise all privately-owned land and water registered at the CBR (Real State Registry), contest information about the state-owned land at the MBN (Ministry of Public Resources) and at the DGA (General Directory of Waters), and also have access to the archives of the registry of CONADI in order to conduct a reassessment of these archives. The bureaucratic, externalizing, and extraction-driven language of legality had achieved its goal of making the system “pitilessly instrumental” (Nixon 2011:17). The nearby community of Guallatire was not officially informed, but was aware of the situation by means of the local media.

The above example shows how, on the one hand, the state cannot continue to ignore indigenous property and ancestral rights, while, on the other, it cannot use existing legislation to contest corporate private property rights by means of claims to indigenous rights to this territory. Within a neoliberal conservation agenda, the state, as much as the Indigenous People, is vulnerable to the dictates of the market economy: “both are caught in strategic maneuvers around a shared

problematic.” (Povinelli 2011:39) The repercussions of such a system are calamitous and extremely violent, though the violence is “neither spectacular nor instantaneous but rather incremental and accretive” (Nixon 2011:2).

Another example of contested terrains fleshes out the role that Indigenous Peoples play within the neoliberal system, particularly regarding transnational mining in the reserve. The first *participación ciudadana* (citizen participation) meeting for the Catanave mining project was held in Putre, the capital of the Parinacota Province as part of the consultation process established by CONADI and framed within the Environmental Impact Assessment System (SEIA). Don Juan, as a *dirigente indígena* (indigenous representative) from the community of Guallatire, asked me to attend the citizen participation, as an observer, in order to give him technical advice.

The SEIA proved quite complex to follow. Following a 2001 modification to the Environmental Law (*Ley 19,300*), the National Environmental Commission (CONAMA) responded to the need to create an environmental assessment system that was public and accessible. By uploading a file for either a declaration or a study (depending on the potential impact of the case on the environment) a project seeking governmental approval would be accepted for consideration. Once the application was uploaded to the e-SEIA online platform,²³⁵ a notice was sent out electronically to the main government agencies and a competent staff member trained in a particular field of expertise (e.g; agronomy, forestry, fishing, mining, energy, real estate, etc.) would revise it and make comments to the file online. At the same time, the environmental project had to be validated through participatory consultation, all of which was publicly accessible and monitored through the website. Eventually, once all of the observations were reviewed by the CONAMA, a consolidated report for environmental impact resolution (ICSARA) would allow the project to be executed, or not. In practice, no agency had the power

to monitor and enforce environmental regulations until the Environmental Crime Squad was created in 2002. In Arica, it was formed in 2009 by the Police Bureau of Investigations, in view of considering its rich cultural patrimony and the potential for developing research in the area.²³⁶ Catanave is of special interest because it is strategically located in a transitional zone, or ecotone, between two Andean watersheds: Lauca in the highlands; and Tignamar in the lowland valleys. It is also part of the San Jose, one of the two rivers that reach the city of Arica. The mining explorations are on an ecological water divide, which also separates the highland population historically and marks the boundary of land tenure between Guallatire in the *altiplano* and Tignamar in the *sierra*. At present, access to the Catanave mine is gained through the highland road that cuts through the hamlets of Misitune, Quilivire, Chuwa, and Catanave. All of them belong to the community of Guallatire. Of these hamlets, only Misitune and Chuwa are permanently inhabited, Quilivire is temporarily inhabited on a recurring basis, while Catanave has been abandoned.²³⁷ Despite the fact that these hamlets are located on the west bank of the Lauca and would be directly impacted by this project, they were not originally considered as part of the Environmental Impact Assessment, because the land tenure is registered under the ownership of the community of Tignamar. Again, property appears to be crucial in understanding the nature of contested ownership in the Andean highlands. The water rights are also registered under the name of this community, which is historically documented as the *Comunidad de Indios Aymara de Tignamar* (Aymara Indians Community of Tignamar).²³⁸ The mining operation would dig fourteen diamond drill holes to explore the potential extraction of a mineralized epithermal system of gold and silver. The area to be explored was 2.2 hectares, and would require a total investment of \$950,000 USD.²³⁹ First, the governemental representatives introduced to the aboriginal audience in attendance the process by which the

project had entered the SEIA. Then, the floor was opened to questions and comments. The first comment made was about water extraction in Quebrada Catanave. A man exclaimed: “You will kill the Catanave wetlands.” Another said that “In all those places, the water flows as if it were our own veins.”²⁴⁰ The metaphor of water in the highlands was appearing once again, now referring to the fluidity that bonds water and blood in the human body.



Figure 5.7 Citizen participation meeting for the Catanave Mining Project in Putre. Photo by the author (2009)

The citizen participation meeting took place in Putre. About fifty people were present at the *sede social* (neighbours’ headquarters) (Figure 5.7), including local authorities from Parinacota Province, such as the Governor and the Mayor, as well as state representatives, such as the

regional directors of CONADI and CONAMA. Although explorations for the Catanave mining project are not new and have been underway since 1996, this meeting marked the beginning of the consultation process that has to take place with the ratification of Convention 169 with the local communities by the Southern Copper Corporation for a proposed new, six-month long exploration project in the area.²⁴¹

Alongside these participatory meetings organized by the CONAMA were alternative meetings, organized by the Network in Defense for the Environmental of Arica and Parinacota (REDMA). I went to one of the meetings held at the office of the Aymara National Council (CNA), on the outskirts of Arica. Representatives from indigenous communities, associations and other organizations attended in preparation for the citizen participation meeting for the Catanave mining project.²⁴² After a long struggle with CONADI to get an autonomous space, the Aymara National Council was finally granted an office, strategically located next to the soccer field where the teams of the *Liga Andina* (Andean League) played every weekend, and often had a few beers after the game.

It was at the Aymara National Council office where I learned that indigenous representatives were actually playing out, as if secretly planning to win a soccer game, one of the various strategies of resistance they employ against the transnational mining company. It was here where participant observation payed off and helped to make sense of what I might have not otherwise figured out. I struggled in terms of thinking about why indigenous discourse sometimes sounded disconnected from the discourse of local authorities and of the consulting companies at the participatory meetings I had been going to. That evening, at the CNA office, indigenous representatives first gave an update about the response to the Catanave Mining Project

information meeting that had been held in Putre a week before. They went through the names of who might be attending the next day and who might not. The goal they were aiming for was that the twenty-five community representatives and indigenous leaders who would be present in Putre adopt a common strategy to reject any proposal coming from the government agency or the consulting company working for the Catanave Mine. The messages they wanted to pass along were clear: “*No entrar en diálogo para no validar nada,*” (“Do not establish dialogue, in order to avoid validating anything”); and “*¡Es una lucha moral!*” (“It’s a moral struggle!”).²⁴³ This preparatory meeting was a unique opportunity to agree on a message of resistance and ‘no dialogue’ in order to convince the rest of the representatives that would be present in the audience the next day. This encrypted transcript operates like a message of resistance (Scott 1990) and explains why there was no real dialogue or communication. Instead, there was precisely miscommunication happening consistently at the participatory meetings. This miscommunication was actually a strategy about which indigenous leaders were in secret agreement. Once aware of the strategy, it became evident how it was being implemented against the governmental agencies, consulting companies, and transnational corporations.

An indigenous representative present the night before the meeting took place claimed that there had already been a violation of aboriginal rights, according to the regulations for the process of consultation stipulated in Convention 169. Indigenous representatives were using different strategies of resistance against the legal and economic system now imposed by the state. The new, state-led regime for policy-making in protected areas was resulting in the appropriation of traditional rights to access land and water. But the Aymara were fighting back. That was the main reason why they needed as many people as possible to participate in Putre, although they also wanted to submit technical challenges and comments against the mining project to the

Environmental Agency Commission Regional Office (COREMA). The official process of consultation would end exactly sixty days later. The only possible legal action after that deadline was to file a *recurso de protección* (protection resource) with an international lawsuit that could be voted down in court—as would, in fact, happen later in 2011. Despite all the Aymara’s efforts, exploration of the Catanave Mine was approved in November 2010.

In Putre however, when the time came for the meeting, indigenous representatives and community leaders arrived: they sat down where they were supposed to sit, and listened to the official speeches. But then, when it was their time to speak, they stood up and turned their backs to the state-appointed officials, governmental representatives and consultants who were standing at the front. The leaders only engaged with the other indigenous representatives who were in the same room, which was full that day. By failing to ensure a space for indigenous recognition, state-led participatory consultation actually created a space where indigenous resistance could be performed. With no other choices left, organizing amongst themselves seemed like a sensible decision for the Aymara to make.

5.5 Participatory consultation: alternative spaces for indigenous resistance

In examining a series of participatory meetings, organized by governmental agencies and consulting companies, designed to mediate between indigenous communities and private corporations, I have exposed contested ground between various stakeholders at the Biosphere Reserve. As it stands, indigenous governance claiming access to the benefits of natural resources, as well as ancestral and historical rights of ownership, cannot be achieved in an Aymara territory under Chilean jurisdiction. The situation has caused friction with indigenous communities,

which have not been consulted in the passing of new legislation that makes traditional herding and gathering of native resources illegal. These sustainable subsistence activities can now be penalized under the law. My material has addressed how contradictory legislation is affecting Aymara livelihood in Guallatire and the surrounding highlands, and has negative impacts on traditional uses of the land and its resources, as well as their cultural significance and preservation. The state has claimed the Lauca as its own property, subject to constitutional legislation, yet the territory has been excluded from international conventions by means of ‘contradictory legislation.’ As a result, natives have been displaced from the rural highlands, either by dispossessing them in place, or by forcing them to migrate to urban areas in search of better opportunities to improve their living conditions.

To sum up, discursively speaking, the state recognizes or includes Indigenous Peoples but, in practice, it misrecognizes and excludes them through government-led forms of participatory consultation for territorial management. Instead, the Chilean state follows a neoliberal conservation agenda that frequently contradicts the interests of public institutions of the state itself, and systematically favours corporate private property. Although conservation policy-making for protected areas is part of a state discourse, it tends to collude with free market practices that create contested terrains between public and private sectors and have paradoxically weakened the role of the state itself.

I have argued that it is within the Aymara borderlands, or what other anthropologists would refer to as “the margins of the state” (Das and Poole 2004), that cultural recognition has emerged as a crucial indigenous struggle to contest Chilean state forms of misrecognition and redistribution prioritizing corporate free trade agreements. The “middleman” role meant to be played by the consulting company was not working through these meetings, due to the non-dialogue strategy

adopted by the Aymara. Neither participatory forms of government nor sustainable development initiatives had worked for intercultural territorial management at the reserve, so instead, they were working for indigenous mobilization and resistance amongst themselves.

My material discusses how state recognition and inclusion of Indigenous Peoples operates within newly-developed, participatory, governmental regimes for territorial management. I argue that existing legislation in force for the Lauca Biosphere Reserve is contradictory and does not accomplish its stated objectives; while prioritizing conservation of biodiversity, the legislation has failed to address other concerns such as sustainable development and preservation of cultural values as part of intercultural territorial management in this environment. I show how the legal apparatus is structured around a neoliberal conservation agenda, and therefore has prioritized corporate concerns and transnational investments in the area, tying the nation state as much as the indigenous communities to the market. Thus, property legislation appears to be essential for understanding current forms of contested ownership in the highlands.

Chapter 6

Ethnography at the borderlands: Aymara Indigeneity and the Making of the Lauca

6.1 Concluding about Aymara indigeneity and rights of ownership in the Lauca

Despite an effort to portray the Andes as a peopleless land for touristic purposes, Indigenous Peoples and marginal territories have always been central to the making of the Chilean state. After the political transition of 1990, bureaucratic transformations including the passing of the Indigenous Law in 1993 and ratification of the Indigenous and Tribal Peoples Convention 169 of the International Labour Organization (ILO) in 2008 have allowed for the emergence of new forms of ethnicity, and legal recognition, in Andean Chile. I argued in the introduction of this dissertation that ethnic formations in Chile have been triggered by new democratic processes and development policies coming from both national and international fronts. However, through my work, when retracing the history of borders and territorial expansion in the northern territories, we have seen that a certain modern sense of indigeneity took shape at the beginning of the last century, one which persists even as indigeneity is once again being transformed under newer, neoliberal circumstances. I also argued that indigenous recognition continues to be a struggle because the terms under which the state has misrecognized Indigenous Peoples has not considered indigenous values for cultural recognition or priorities for economic redistribution. Therefore the historical debit of the Chilean state to Indigenous Peoples persists, along with the conundrum that the politics of indigeneity presents for a country like Chile. This is a country

where multiculturalism has been widely promoted, particularly since the passing of the Indigenous and Tribal Peoples Convention 169 in 2008, during my fieldwork.

As a social formation, indigeneity at the borderlands questions national sovereignty because indigenous citizens become an active dual force—for and against—the consolidation of the nation state. For the last two decades, and particularly after 2007 when I started to conduct my fieldwork in the Arica and Parinacota Region, indigenous legislation and participatory models have adopted ‘democratic’ practices despite perpetuating structural changes that were established with the 1981 Political Constitution. Consequently, these newly-launched legal practices have revitalized an existing historical consciousness at the borderlands, shaping indigenous subjectivities that I have referred to as ‘frontier identities.’ In this sense, the Chilean state has contributed to the reproduction of ethnicity in terms of the re-ethnification or re-articulation of the Aymara in Northern Chile.

Specifically, my research has shown how these structural changes and democratic practices have impacted the Aymara population in the Lauca territory, transforming the ways in which they relate to the Chilean state as a frontier community. We have explored the construction of the borderlands and how a sense of ethnic consciousness or ethnogenesis emerged in what I have called ‘transitional territories’ both in opposition to, and along with, the hegemonic practices of the Chilean state. This double-edged process occurred during the so-called *chilenización*, the nation-building campaign that lasted for forty-five years in Arica and Parinacota (1884-1929). In *La Memoria Olvidada* (The Forgotten Memory), this campaign was lamented as a moment of ‘deaymarization’ by the Aymara Working Group in the Historical Truth and New Treatment Commission (Bengoa 2004:210-211).

In Guallatire, the people in the Andean highlands still relate to this time as “a time of war,” according to the accounts of Don Alberto and Don Reinaldo, both from different family groups that are now in conflict with each other. That time is also known to be the time of the foundation of the town of Guallatire, “at the foot of the church,” where it still exists today, signaling the relocation of the church as a landmark in the collective memory of the *guallatireños*, one that marks the establishment of a new order for local identities and indigenous subjectivities. This becomes apparent with indigenous leaders such as Antonio Mollo in Putre or Esteban Mollo in Guallatire, both framed by the traditional Aymara roles of the *principal* or *jilacata*, present in the area until at least 1927 (Tudela 1992:16).

During the *chilenización*, both Antonio Mollo and Esteban Mollo publically interceded as indigenous interlocutors from the highlands with institutions of the state and the church in order to represent the collective interests of local communities by claiming (not always successfully) prior occupancy as well as demanding newly-established citizen rights. However, as I have discussed in Chapters 2 and 3, indigenous identities seemed to disappear once the territorial dispute of the ‘captive provinces’ of Arica and Tacna ended in 1929. Despite the efforts of public interlocutors such as Antonio and Esteban Mollo, the highland communities of the borderlands became marginalized and racialized until regional changes and local migration reshuffled power dynamics within the ‘northernmost frontier’ or *frontera norte* (Wormald 1968). The local perceptions of these transformations and the tensions between modernity and coloniality are presented in Chapters 3 and 4, where narratives about the commodification of the highlands relate to ongoing processes of mining and industrial capitalism, distributing memories and social contradictions through the highland landscape.

In terms of rights of ownership, indigeneity clashes with the right of property at the state level in the Lauca territory, as a transnational field of governance. In this sense, the Chilean state has also played a key role in fragmenting traditional native territories and in misrecognizing indigenous people, specifically by neglecting historical occupation and ancestral rights. Historically, after the Chilean occupation took place, the state demanded that former Peruvian citizens register all land property, “or they would be shot,” in Don Alberto’s words. Chilean citizenship became a right and an obligation. Gradually, land registration led to the privatization of ownership, a process that coincided with the institutionalization of the border region of Arica and Parinacota. We have examined how this process of commodification of the land into property in the Lauca area started as early as 1906 (CONAF 1998), when the territories were still under dispute between Chile and Peru, and how these land titles later underwent multiple registrations. The land tenure was registered initially in the private system by the Real Estate Registrar (CBR), and then through the public system by the former *Ministerio de Tierras y Colonización* (Ministry of Lands and Settlement), which eventually merged into the *Ministerio de Bienes Nacionales* (Ministry of National Resources). Despite the existence of the Treaty of Lima in 1929 (after which Tacna became part of Peru and Arica became part of Chile), which in its 7th article recognizes that historical property legally acquired would be kept by its original owners, this has not been followed by the Chilean state in practice, thus leaving land claims obsolete and contested (Aguilera 2010; Díaz et al. 2013; Ruz and Díaz 2011; Yañez 2007).

During the military dictatorship, legislation was enforced without consultation. The main decrees or laws that contributed to the fragmentation of the Aymara territories in the Lauca area are known as *Decretos con Fuerza de Ley* DL 1939/77 and DL 2695/79, and are used for the acquisition of public resources and regularization and constitution of rural properties (Aguilera

2010). There is also DL 2570/79, which promoted mining exploitation in the salt lands of Surire, and DL 2568/78, affecting regulations protecting indigenous land rights in order to facilitate the division of community lands and to convert them into private ownership. Neoliberal legislation has also commodified water rights, separating them from land rights. This process has directly aimed for the abandonment of rich mineral deposits concentrated in Northern Chile and therefore impacted minorities of indigenous populations as well as the fragile ecosystems located in these desert and semi-desert areas (Madeleno and Gurovich 2007:442). All of these factors have systematically contributed to the alienation and dispossession of native peoples from their territories in Chile.

Border territories, such as Andean Chile, have been considered a source of wealth to be appropriated, nationalized, exploited and privatized, in addition to serving as a reservoir for a labour force. According to Richards and Gardner (2013:272), who have worked with the Mapuche people, “Neoliberalism works as the contemporary manifestation of colonialism and the reluctance to recognize indigenous rights demonstrates that privilege is fixated at the state level as well as within civil society.” In this sense, the need to publicly justify and legitimate free market changes that intensify inequality operates through various mechanisms for the purposes of structural adjustment, including democratic practices (Paley 2008:14). As we have seen in the Lauca case, legal terrains contested between the public and private sectors have weakened the role of the state. The private sector can therefore be rooted at the core of democratic institutions that are not controlled by the public (Greenhouse 2008). By misrecognizing and undermining Indigenous Peoples’ rights of ownership, the Chilean state effectively exercises a form of oppression meant to perpetuate its hegemonic appropriation to ensure assimilation by all means, despite its official discourse of multiculturalism (Bengoa 1999, 2004; Mires 1992, 2001).

As we reviewed in Chapter 5, the notion of democracy is challenged by indigenous governance, exposing anti-democratic practices at the core of the participatory government model now used for the making of the Lauca Biosphere Reserve. The protected areas at the borderlands have operated under a neoliberal umbrella, allowing the passing of national and international legislation and policy-making for indigenous development and environmental conservation that is not really based in sustainability, thus contributing to the dispossession of indigenous rights and making sustainable development impossible to attain in this territory. Legislative instances become contradictory and play against the protection that they are expected to perpetuate by participatory means. However, in the Lauca, one form of political recognition (property) therefore sets up the conditions for another (consultation). As a consequence, we have seen that some strategies of resistance long practiced by the Aymara at the borderlands have now reappeared along with new resistance strategies that have sought to institute the commonality of property and are strategically targeting specific audiences.

In regards to private property and indigenous heritage, local narratives in Guallatire account for different understandings of both notions. As discussed in Chapter 4, Doña Celia's account of the *mestizo* is a clear example of how indigenous knowledge interprets and reappropriates its own history. According to her family, the Choquelimpe mine was a 'gift' from the Spanish Viceroy to her great grandfather, the son of a *mestizo*, for saving his life from an Indian revolt. This account echoes political disputes in the Andean highlands at times when indigenous resistance became a mobilizing force against the colonial authorities, which could have been anytime between the rebellions of Tupac Amaru I in 1570 and Tupac Amaru II in 1780.²⁴⁴ However, the *mestizo* in the story emerges as a hybrid racial formation that engages with a new regime of property. I have argued that Doña Celia's account roots the mine in a logic of reciprocity, one characteristic of a

gift economy, while at the same time it articulates a modern shift with the emergence of property ownership, a shift towards a new commodity that has become part of the local heritage. The local understandings of indigenous heritage linked to the Choquelimpe mine, the *Trapicha* site, and the old town of Puquios present an interesting case in terms of exploring how the community of Guallatire attributes cultural value and identity to the materiality of the past, while revitalizing the present. In this sense, it can be argued that there are culturalized aspects of race interplaying in the Andes that are constantly operating under notions of heritage.

Racial formations such as *mestizaje* are a strong force in Latin America, including in the Andes (Alonso 2008; Benavides 2004, 2006; Canessa 2005a, 2005b; de la Cadena 2000; Harvey 2008; Wade 2008; Weismantel 2001). In Chile, the idea of *mestizaje* appears in hegemonic discourses associated with morality and considered an inferior hybrid, notions reinforced by ideas of racial purity and class structure (Montecino 1991; Salazar 1990). However, my material shows that in Guallatire, this notion of *mestizaje* also relates to a racialized form of property ownership that is linked to market values. Therefore, the *mestizo* could symbolize a border-crossing category, a transitional state that signals the transformation of economic values such as land and water into property and therefore the basis to access citizenship, as much as a transition to new racial identities (see Chambers 1999, 2003).

In Guallatire, the Aymara occupy a territory that I have described as being in a constant ‘state of frontier.’ Indigeneity and indigenous rights of ownership have undertaken transformations due to the re-ethnification or re-articulation of the Aymara in Arica and Parincota, further impacting the local understandings of property and heritage. My ethnography has shown that in the borderlands of the Lauca Biosphere Reserve, the Chilean state has clearly contributed to the formation of the

framework of current Aymara indigeneity, which has been constructed by a long history of negotiation at the margins. However, ethnic representation needs to be reconsidered at different levels (local, regional, national and international) because, as it has been revealed throughout my work, decision-making instances are not as democratic and representative as they pretend to be.

By ethnographically examining the different fields (of governance, subjectivities and knowledge) of Aymara indigeneity in the Lauca area, my work has recognized the following resistance strategies performed for indigenous recognition and political representation:

1. ‘Dual participation,’ a strategy that works both against, and in support of, the dominant system. This strategy reproduces notions of ownership based on the commonality of kinship as well as of citizenship in order to legitimize access to private property as a family group. In Don Raúl’s words, he spoke to me “on behalf of his whole family,” and he pursues his late grandfather’s dying wish, made to his five children, “to ensure his property is well-taken care of.” By self-defining as property owners, the ‘*somos propietarios*’ positions their family group within the private realm, moving away from both the public sector and from the rest of the community. The *propietarios* justify their position by arguing that they are in possession of a ‘land title’ or legal document that entitles them to land tenure, thus acknowledging the system of land and water registration established by the Chilean state. At the same time, the *propietarios* have also formed the Association of Andean Landowners (AGPRA) and are planning to legally confront the Chilean state. This strategy can be retraced to other differential markers within the community, such as religious beliefs and the status of ‘legal’ guardians of the church to access property that is now contested by other families in the town of Guallatire itself.

2. The ‘environmental coalition,’ by which community members have joined the REDMA and the CADMA. This strategy uses indigeneity against the Chilean government and the state apparatus by claiming original occupancy of traditional native territories that have been appropriated at the national level. At the same time, they argue that these territories are protected under international regulations like those of UNESCO and the ILO. The environmentalist group draws on a modern understanding of human rights to question unclaimed land that has been appropriated by the state as well as land tendered to transnational corporations during the military regime without any consultation, as occurred in the case of Surire Salt Lake. This group also takes into account traditional knowledge and indigenous governance based on sustainable development, maintaining an organization at the community level rather than based on the family or on an individual basis. Some of the members of the environmental coalition, however, participate with nonindigenous members in other social movements in the regional capital of Arica. Others, like Doña Celia and Don Juan, are actively engaged and participate in the coalition because they believe that the highland ecosystem should be protected, especially the water sources, and are in direct opposition to all mining. The people involved often mentioned that the movement started in 1998, during the government of Eduardo Frei, when they opposed the use of the ten wells built on the western side of the Lauca River that dried up some of the highland *bofedales* or wetlands.²⁴⁵ As was stated at one of the participatory meetings required for the environmental approval of the Catanave Mine project: “In all those places, the water flows as if it were our own veins.”
3. ‘No dialogue’ strategy, an example of which was secretly agreed upon by *dirigentes indígenas* or indigenous leaders that participated at the meetings but were in total

disagreement with the system. As I found out while attending one of the parallel meeting at the National Aymara Council (CNA), the message was agreed upon prior to the meeting. Later, when the participatory meeting took place, the message was sent out to the rest of the Aymara community, and it appeared as a lack of communication that ‘made no sense’ to outsiders. This alterity strategy also operated using indigenous stereotypes that were actually performed to deceive outsiders by misrepresenting themselves as if they could not operate within modern frameworks of understanding. Much like the ‘dual participation,’ the ‘no dialogue’ strategy appeared to have been operating underground for some time, in contrast to the ‘environmental coalition’ that seemed to be a newer strategy that dated to 1998, when the active participation of the movement started. In terms of resistance, this political strategy takes a more radical stand and can be performed at any point by indigenous leaders who were mostly, but not necessarily, Aymara speakers. The ‘no dialogue’ can also be related to language translation and issues with miscommunication because, language tensions have created boundaries between the Aymara speakers and the Spanish speakers, as discussed on Chapter 4. According to my Aymara language *yatichiri* (teacher), Don Segundo, from the *Instituto de Investigación Tecnológica Indígena* (INTI), ethnic boundaries have also divided the Aymara from Chile, Peru and Bolivia.

4. The ‘dual exclusion’ is not actually a strategy *per se* but I include it here because I first identified it through the members of the community of Surire who had decided not to participate in the process of land and water registration initiated by the CONADI as part of the state initiative. However, most of the people who have been double-excluded were not actually able to make that decision, and were instead left out of the system because they were not tied to structures of kinship or religion. This was so in the case of Doña Estela,

who was able to able to capitalize on the discourse of dual exclusion in order to make certain claims for herself. The boundary of inclusion and exclusion is probably as old as ‘dual participation.’ Problems stemming from the use of this strategy become apparent in Guallatire where land properties have been taken by the state as ‘unclaimed land,’ while others exist in a state of conflict between different agents making claims over rights to these lands. These problems have had negative consequences for some community members who are now excluded from accessing or managing native resources because they lack ‘land titles’ to legally document the use of a property and of social status to support a claim regarding historical occupancy. This strategy may affect the rural population from the community of origin (residents) and the urban population from the community of succession (descendants). Ownership rights have thus become exclusive to groups in power within the community, and have prevented other powerless sections from participating. Doña Estela’s words, when describing herself as *huerfanita soy* (I am an orphan) speak to this double form of exclusion from both property ownership and kinship ties that also have gendered and religious connotations; in her words, “instead of taking me into the corral, they [the other families] tossed me out. If I am a lost sheep, why did they not help me?”

After examining different resistance strategies, it is inevitable to ask if these can also be considered as representation strategies of Aymara indigeneity. It can be argued that ‘dual participation’ and ‘no dialogue’ strategies have been collectively mobilized, aiming for effective representation as part of a historical identity-oriented process. In the case of the ‘environmental coalition’ strategy, it targets specific audiences such as political authorities and environmental activists for resource mobilization. However, the last strategy of ‘dual exclusion’ is more of a consequence that has

operated sideways, sometimes drawing a line that excludes the state while other times, excluding the community.

Specifically in terms of the community, we have seen another powerful narrative counterpoising that of property (Rose 1994:285) which emerges at the heart of Guallatire. Within the community, familial groups legitimate and entitle themselves by using narratives that root them to the landscape, while simultaneously weaving through social forces, mainly kinship, religion, gender, race, place and nation, to make a political stand and establish and gain a certain position that would legitimate and ensure inclusion versus exclusion within the community. For instance, the mythical account from the past translates Puquios into an ordinary place or *pacarina* for one family, while the other family links their origins to Vizcachani. By story-telling, the Aymara from Guallatire ‘reappropriate’ their history (*sensu* Rappaport 1990) and making it translatable to its members, in terms of ethnicity and positionality. Thus when the history of the town itself is recounted, it becomes a contested terrain for local histories to be renarrativized, creating a political space through the medium of a familiar narrative, and allowing the rethinking of alternative forms of heritage that are not necessarily framed within the dichotomy of indigenous versus neoliberal.

When comparing the accounts between the two family groups, however, similarities and differences convey a ‘regressive history’ (*sensu* Wachtel 2001). One particular part of both stories called my attention because of how similar it was in both families: the accounts about the pastures that were shared in Antacollo. This signaled the collective use of communal land, a former regime of land tenure, which is now under dispute. Another part of the stories, on the other hand, is told very differently between the two families: the lack of reciprocity entailed in the gift-giving act of Don Nicanor that was meant to reunite the two main familial groups. The unreciprocated act

exposes other dimensions such as the religious and gendered divisions within the community today; the nature of the unequal exchange is therefore the motor of gender and religious fields. With Andean festivities and Aymara traditions interrupted and forgotten—the ceremony having last been communally celebrated over 30 years ago—potential acts of reciprocity cannot be met by the *guallatireños* anymore. This might be the reason why new resistance strategies have emerged within the community, and from without. As I have shown in the above discussion regarding the Lauca, Aymara indigeneity can either play along with or against the state, the community or even the private sector, depending on what representation strategy is operating at a given moment.

6.2 Concluding about multiculturalism in Chile

Richards and Gardner (2013:264) have argued that Chile was the first Latin American state to embrace neoliberalism, but among the last to accept multiculturalism. Multiculturalism in Chile has led to the institutionalization of a sense of commonality in terms of culture, causing cultural differences to be subordinated to a hegemonic sense of national identity. Indigeneity can also question the concept of nation, in terms of the subject positions assigned within the modern state, as well as the relations between international states (Verdery 2012:226-227). Considering the challenges that indigeneity presents, the model of a multicultural state and the nature and challenges of multicultural citizenship (Stavenhagen 2009:2), in some Latin American countries (Hale 2002), how ought Chile become ‘multicultural’ in discourse as much as in practice?

In June 2011, during a visit to the Mapuche territories, or *Wallmapu*, in the Araucanía Region, former President Sebastián Piñera (2010-2014) publically acknowledged for the first time the *deuda histórica* (historical debt) to aboriginal peoples, part of the government’s agenda for a *nuevo trato* (new treatment). He said that “more than a million Chileans identify with our

aboriginal ethnic groups” and that “more than constitutional recognition and valuation of their culture, language and traditions, what we have pending is a matter of participation, of knowing how to better listen to the voice of our aboriginal peoples and, therefore, incorporate them in future development planning.”²⁴⁶ This statement was made months after the bicentennial commemoration of Chilean independence at which was celebrated the rescue of 33 miners after they had been buried underground for 69 days. At the same time, the festivities ignored the 34 Mapuche political prisoners who had been on a hunger strike for 89 days. Such a contrast shows how national identity is differentially acknowledged by the government as well as represented by the public media. On the one hand, the Chilean miners are portrayed as patriotic heroes, while, on the other, the Mapuche strikers are neglected. Piñera, after months of arguing that he did not “negotiate under pressure,” eventually sent his ministers to open a dialogue with the Mapuche (Jaccard 2013).

As we have reviewed throughout my work, Indigenous Peoples have systematically been disregarded and misrepresented in Chile, even before the military regime. With the exception of the period of socialist government, territorial conflicts and structural issues bound up with the historical debt have been almost completely ignored as a state issue.²⁴⁷ As already stated, the historical debt refers to the usurpation of indigenous lands, which is an ongoing process of colonial dispossession and fragmentation of native territories, a process affecting all aboriginal peoples in Chile, but impacting the Mapuche population most of all (Aguilera 2010; Aylwin 2002; Bengoa 1999, 2004; Foerster 2001; Haughney 2006; Richards and Gardner 2013). The main conflict in the relationship between the Chilean government and the Mapuche is simultaneously a struggle for recognition and redistribution. Basically, the Mapuche are claiming ancestral rights to lands that were granted by the state to colonizers who profited through logging

and agricultural companies. As a people with collective rights, the Mapuche assert their cultural difference, and claim material suffering due to discrimination and dispossession as a consequence of that difference (Richards and Gardner 2013:265).

The Chilean state is generally reluctant to respond to indigenous demands, and when it does, its reactions are sometimes extreme, even violent. The application of the terrorist label to the Mapuche struggle has legitimated the use of state violence against them, and the Mapuche's rights to equal citizenship have been constantly violated with an anti-terrorist law almost exclusively applied against them (Richards and Gardner 2013:264-265). In 2013, during the Mapuche celebration of *Wetripantu* (Return of the Sun) in the government palace of La Moneda, Piñera reiterated the owing of a "historical debt" to Indigenous Peoples, arguing that "we have not been able to stand up to the level that our Aboriginal ethnic groups need and deserve" and acknowledging that they have "high unemployment and poverty indexes and low development opportunities".²⁴⁸ He announced that public investments had been made for housing, education, health, and economic development, including 39,000 hectares of land that had been acquired and transferred to indigenous communities. Nevertheless, Bengoa (1990:61) has estimated that only 500,000 hectares have been officially ceded by the Chilean state to the Mapuche, which represents only 0.5% of an original total of 100,000,000 hectares. Richards and Gardner (2013:272) observe that "in claiming that poverty and not discrimination against the indigenous is the problem, no attention is paid to the unique roots of poverty in Mapuche communities: colonialist dispossession and ongoing capitalist intervention in their ancestral territories."

The official statements cited above exemplify the state approach to Indigenous Peoples in Chile. In terms of the Aymara people, I have discussed how they have been racialized as 'foreign' populations at the borderlands, such as the northern frontier, clashing with ideals of national

identity as well as Indian identity. Aymara indigeneity, however, has managed to vindicate itself by using different strategies. In the case of Guallatire, the community members alternate forms of resistance that renegotiated with the state and within the community. I have argued that new forms of ethnicity have emerged in Arica and Parinacita by reshaping an ethnic consciousness into the processes of re-ethnification which has also been buttressed by the Chilean state.

In Chile, the governments in power, whether coalitions from the left or from the right, refuse to formally recognize Indigenous Peoples' existence in terms of governance over a territory or identity as peoples, since these governments consider recognition and the granting of autonomy as threats to national identity, security, and development (Richards and Gardner 2013:262).

Debating the politics of multiculturalism, Taylor (1992) has argued that recognition is a vital human need, and that the withholding of recognition can be considered a form of oppression. It can also be argued that poverty—and hence social class—is commonly invoked by conservative elites in Chile to explain away and diminish indigenous demands, because it is a less threatening causal factor than race, ethnicity, and nation (Richards and Gardner 2013:262).

Some forms of recognition are therefore engaged by neoliberal states to undermine certain forms of pressure against the state (Hale 2002). In this case, Indigenous Peoples are considered “differential citizens,” and special inclusive and participatory policies are developed to address their rights as ethnic and racial minorities, legally designated as *etnias originarias* (aboriginal ethnic groups) (Gundermann 1997, 2000). To compensate for structural inequalities, this differential status grants them certain benefits, such as access to development funds, and *becas indígenas* (indigenous scholarships) for elementary, secondary, and university education.

According to Piñera's official statement, the number of indigenous scholarships reached seventy thousand in 2013.²⁴⁹ In spite of such apparent advances, Hale has argued (2006) that cultural

recognition means inclusion only if Indians consent to hegemonic impositions, but that they are still subject to social exclusion, economic marginalization, and state violence if they do not. The main problem will remain unresolved until full constitutional recognition is achieved at the national level, as well as the international level due to the ways in which indigeneity gets mobilized translocally. This recognition would require realistically engaging with indigenous governance and effective representation for decision-making within new democratic forms of government.

In my work, I have discussed the different grounds on which Aymara indigeneity, as “a field of governance, subjectivities and knowledge engaging indigenous and non-indigenous peoples” (de la Cadena and Starn 2007:12), is expressed in the locality of Guallatire as well as how it is translocally articulated. As a mobile and transnational social formation, it challenges citizenship by asserting that First Nations’ indigenous governance can transcend the ‘sovereign’ national boundaries (Li 2007, 2010). Multiculturalism is inherent to Aymara indigeneity—particularly in Bolivia—and, in terms of rights of ownership, they have claimed historical and ancestral rights over territories that stretch across the Andean tri-national border (Albó 2000; Postero 2007). This kind of ‘transnational indigeneity’ becomes apparent in the Lauca, a border landscape that served as the main field site of my ethnography. In demonstrating how the politics of indigeneity operate in the highlands of Arica and Parinacota, however, my research has unearthed questions that remain to be answered, particularly regarding a common ground for indigenous recognition and the possibilities of multiculturalism beyond recognition.

It becomes clear throughout my work that the Aymara borderlands are a unique example of continuities and discontinuities between nations and states, and within local and wider levels of integration (Donnan and Wilson 2010). In this way my work has demonstrated the complexity

and the multilayered nature of the borderlands of Andean Chile. By studying this locality, I have shown the intricacies of the ethnicity processes that have shaped Aymara identity along the national borders of the Andes of Chile, Peru and Bolivia. The *long durée* perspective of my analysis shows how national and indigenous identity formations not only share origins but also hopes of social transformation. Nevertheless, with my research, new questions emerge around the double movement of containment and resistance that is entangled within identity processes as well as the grounds on which these transformations can take shape (Hall 1981, 1997).

This is because ethnicity processes are still developing in the Chilean political conjuncture and transnationally articulated with other processes at play. For instance, in 2005 Gualberto Choque, an Aymara leader speaking to Bolivia's national imaginary said: "We are all indigenous now," thus stating one of the key problems of transnational indigeneity, becoming ahistorical or what others have referred to as "modern ecumenical indigenism" (Canessa 2012:7-8). How then, could historical dynamics and cultural differences contribute to an effective representation of the Aymara and other ethnic minorities in Chile? This is yet another research problem to be addressed in my future work.

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¹ “Andean” literally means from the Andes. According to Cornejo Polar (1995:3), it can be understood as “... oscillating, always out of place, marginal even when established in the centre, a stranger both here and there” (Weismantel 2001: xxxiii).

² In 2003, the *Machaq Mara* (winter solstice) was officially celebrated on June 21st by the Municipality in Putre. A vigil from dusk until dawn commemorated 5,511 years of Aymara history, counting 1,000 years for each one of the five Andean cycles, plus another 511 years since the *pachakuti* or ‘turn of time’ of 1492 (Ari 2004:46). According to this count, the year 5,522 corresponds to 2014.

³ Indigeneity can be defined as a transnational field of governance, subjectivities and knowledge that engages indigenous and nonindigenous peoples (de la Cadena and Starn 2007:12). As a mobile term, indigeneity can be articulated along with various positions and struggles; however, in most definitions it is the permanent attachment of a group of people to a fixed area of land in a way that marks them as culturally distinct (Li 2010:385).

⁴ Of course there are different landscape traditions. Since its European etymological origins, derived from the Dutch *landschap*, the German *landschaft*, or the English *landskip* (Jackson 1986), the concept has been applied for aesthetical, phenomenological, historical, material, cultural, symbolic, and interpretative dimensions. The notion of landscape encompasses a broad and interdisciplinary field that focuses on various aspects of research such as aesthetical (Cosgrove 1984; Cosgrove and Daniel 1988; Daniels 1993; Daniels and Cosgrove 1988; Inglis 1990; Pugh 1990), historical materialistic (Anschuetz et al. 2001; Ashmore and Knapp 1999; Knapp and Ashmore 1999), phenomenological (Tilley 1994, 2004; Ingold 1993, 2000), cultural (Basso 1996; Castro 2002; Feld and Basso 1996; Hirsch 1995; Hirsch and O’Hanlon 1995; Mujica 2002; Muñoz 2002); labour and resource-oriented (Braun 2002; Brosius et al. 2005; Greenough 2003; Massey 1994; Masco 2006; Moore 2003; Raffles 2002; Sturgeon 2005), and

interpretative (Bender 1993, 1998, 1999, 2001; Mitchell 2002; Schama 1994; Stewart and Strathern 2002; Ucko and Layton 1999).

⁵ Locality indicates “a form of collective subjectivities involving a shared sense of a particular place as a contested, elastic terrain of struggle, a great deal of which focuses on internal and external boundaries.” (Frazier 2002:104)

⁶ According to Donnan and Wilson (2010:9-10), the ‘frontier effect’ attracts scholars because, whatever the fit or mismatch between nations and states, borders are probably the best example of continuities and discontinuities between the two, and within local and wider levels of integration.

⁷ My understanding of ‘nation’ here is as a symbol with multiple meanings and as the basis of international classification between nation-states (Verdery 2012; Cf. Anderson 2012).

⁸ In Chile, Indigenous Peoples are conceived as ethnic minorities (not as First Nations) and legally referred to as *etnias originarias* (aboriginal ethnic groups). The *Ley Indígena* (Indigenous Law) N° 19,253, in place since 1993, originally considered eight groups to be indigenous; a ninth one was added in 2006, during the government of Michelle Bachellet. The nine aboriginal ethnic groups are: *Mapuche, Aymara, Rapa Nui or Pascuense, Atacameño or Lican Antay, Quechua, Colla, Kawashkar or Alacalufe, Yamana or Yagan, and Diaguita* (the latter was added in 2006).

⁹ Here I agree with the idea that, “Property can be seen variously as sets of relations, as a powerful political symbol, as processes of appropriation and perhaps most importantly as a historically contingent Western ‘native category’ that has strong effects in the world.” (Humphrey and Verdery 2004:20)

¹⁰ The emergence of parallel regimes of indigenous heritage and identity can be seen as shaping the materiality of the past, which itself can be understood as a ‘living memory’ (Nora 1992).

¹¹ In Latin America, the word *mestizaje* is generally understood as a racial mixture and plays a major role among narratives of nation-building (Klor de Alva 1995). It can be considered a myth that helped link dark to light skinned hybrids and Euro-Americans (Earle 2007:204). Of common use, the word *mestizo* carries along various meanings (Hale 1996). It is an ambiguous category mostly defined by what it is not, involving migration along with a denial or separation from past origins (Harris 1995:359, 365). As a conceptual hybrid category, its genealogy interacts with Western classificatory systems based on categories of race, class, culture, sex, ethnic background, geography, and education, among others (de la Cadena 2005:55).

¹² Understood as some version of entitlement to things, and a way of defining our relationships with other people (Rose 1999:27-28), private property has privatized what the state already considered private land ownership, with the tacit exclusion of the poor (Hetherington 2012:230).

¹³ Here though, I would like to briefly note that the ‘miscommunication’ has a long history in the Americas. For instance, Atahualpa, the last Inca King, is historically known for committing sacrilege when he first encountered the Spaniards, throwing to the ground the Bible he was given to while exclaiming “How do I know what you are giving to me? Go away!” According to Titu Cusi Yupanqui, however, it was the Spaniards who dishonoured him first by not accepting a drink and spilling *chicha* or corn beer from a golden cup known as *kero* or *quero* (Cummins 2002:16-17). Such a sacrilegious act symbolized forces and modes of production as “everything the Spaniard refused—the vessel itself, the liquid it contained, and the gesture of offering—constituted a highly condensed, multivocalic symbol representing entire realms of specialized craft production, religious life and statecraft.”

(Weismantel 2009:268) The sacred Cup and the holy Bible signal another equivocation, a miscommunication or mutual misperception between the European and the Andean. An equivocation is not a simple failure to understand, but “a failure to understand that understandings are necessarily not the same, and that they are not related to imaginary ways of seeing the world but to the real worlds that are being seen” (Viveiros de Castro 2004:11). Atahualpa’s equivocations allow various interpretations since the Spanish Conquest, ultimately embodying the centennial *desencuentro* or (dis)encounter of the Americas (Mires 1992:72-80).

¹⁴ The *awti pacha* or dry season runs from May/June to November. Temperatures at this time fluctuate between -30°C and 20°C in the *altiplano* or highland plateau, which is more than 4,000 meters above sea level. In contrast, the *jallu pachu*, or rainy season, also known as *invierno altiplánico* (highland winter), runs from December through March/April. Temperatures are much milder during this period because of the humidity. There are two other seasons within the cycle: sowing (*sata pacha*) and harvest (*llamay pacha*), which come after the rainy and dry seasons, respectively.

¹⁵ Field notes from Guallatire, June 2008.

¹⁶ The results of the most recent census were made public in April 2012, but they were questioned because of many irregularities. An external commission in charge of revising it suggested that it should be repeated in 2015. See <http://www.censo.cl/>, last accessed December 2013

¹⁷ For the Aymara, the kitchen is a separate rectangular adobe house used by one or more families, and it is not connected to any other adobe houses used as bedroom or storage or bathroom, if there are any. The houses are placed in the shape of a U, L or T (Tschopik 1946:530). A fire is usually made, using a dried highland tree, *queñoa* (*Polylepis tarapacana*), and/or the native plant *yareta* (*Azorella compacta*).

¹⁸ The word *pampa* is commonly used in Aymara to refer to *campo*, a field in use for a period of time, or a land left fallow that is growing wild; it usually indicates a field out of town (Villagrán and Castro 2003:38).

¹⁹ In Quechua language, the word *pukyu* means ‘spring of water’.

²⁰ *Ley 17,729 sobre Indígenas y Tierras de Indígenas* (Law 17,729 regarding Indigenous Peoples and Territories).

²¹ <http://www.gob.cl/noticias/2011/06/30/presidente-pinera-ratifico-nuestro-pleno-reconocimiento-a-esta-deuda-historica-que-tenemos-con-nuest.htm>

²² During the military dictatorship, legislation was enforced without consultation. The main decrees or laws that contributed to the fragmentation of the Aymara territories in the Lauca area are known as *Decretos con Fuerza de Ley* DL 1939/77 and DL 2695/79, and are used for the acquisition of public resources and regularization and constitution of rural properties (Aguilera 2010). There is also DL 2570/79, which promoted mining exploitation in the salt lands of Surire, and DL 2568/78, affecting regulations protecting Mapuche indigenous land rights in order to facilitate the division of community lands and to convert them into private ownership. All of these have systematically contributed to the alienation and dispossession of native peoples from their territories in Chile.

²³ This moment is remembered by the Aymara working group as a *desaymarización* (de-Aymara-ization), conducted by means of violence, intolerance, intimidation, and the imposition of foreign customs (Bengoa 2004:110-111).

²⁴ Interestingly, the Mapuche territory was seized by the same Chilean army that confronted the Aymara after successfully fighting against Bolivia and Peru during the War of the Pacific,²⁴ a conflict that was settled in 1904 and 1929 with each country, respectively. It has been estimated that 500,000 hectares out of 100,000,000 hectares, which represents 0.5%, of the original territory, were officially ceded by the Chilean state to the Mapuche (Bengoa 1999:61).

²⁵ Law N° 18,314, passed in 1984 (last modified in June 2011), and Law N° 12,927, from 1958 (last modified in December 2010), respectively.

²⁶ Guallatire in Aymara means place of *guallata* (*Chloephaga melanoptera*), an Andean goose (Mamani 2010).

²⁷ The term 'Aymara' originated as a colonial denomination referring to people that spoke the language in the Andean highlands around Lake Titicaca (Ondegardo 1571) Ethnic identity, however, is predominantly attributed to rural and peasant populations of the Andes that speak the Aymara language, and are self-identified as *Jaqi Aru* (Thomson 2002:12). According to van den Berg (1985), *jaqi* means person, and *aru* means language.

²⁸ Note that the Sajama National Park, located across the border in the Department of Oruro, Bolivia, was created in 1939 for the conservation of the *queñoa* highland forest and encompasses about 1,000 km² (Muñoz 2002).

²⁹ Biosphere reserves are sites internationally recognized by UNESCO's Man and the Biosphere Program (MAB) (<http://www.unesco.org/mab/BRs.shtml>).

³⁰ According to the National Institute of Statistics (INE 2002), from a total Chilean population of 15,116,435 inhabitants, less than five percent identified themselves as belonging to one or more ethnic groups, amounting to 692,192 people. The Aymara represent seven percent of the total indigenous population, and are mostly concentrated in Northern Chile, in the I Region of Tarapaca (39%) and in the newly formed XV Region of Arica and Parinacota (61%) (INE 2002:120). It is worth noting that the Aymara is the second ethnic group in terms of quantity, following the Mapuche that represent eighty-seven percent of the total population with 604,349 people concentrated in southern Chile, mostly in the IX Region of Temuco, the new XIV Region of Los Ríos, and the Metropolitan Region of Santiago, where the capital city is located (INE 2002:11-13).

³¹ *Ley 20,175 crea la XV Región de Arica y Parinacota y la Provincia del Tamarugal en la Región de Tarapacá*, Law 20,175 creates the XV Region of Arica and Parinacota, and the Province of Tamarugal in the Region of Tarapaca; while *Ley 20,174 Crea la XIV Región de los Ríos y la Provincia de Ranco en su Territorio*, Law 20,174 creates the XIV Region of Los Ríos and the Province of Ranco within its Territory.

³² Field notes from Arica, July 2010.

³³ According to Ari (2004:48), the main seasons are: *awtipacha* (wet) and *jallupacha* (dry) in the *altiplano* as well as *satapacha* (sowing) and *llamayupacha* (harvest) in the *sierra*.

³⁴ Nation' "names the relation between states and their subjects and between states and other states; it is an ideological construct essential to assigning subject positions in the modern state, as well as in the international order" (Verdery 2012:226-227).

³⁵ In doing so, I use Boreman's distinction between nationalism and nationness (1992:339 n. 19), the former referring to conscious sentiments that take the nation as an object of active devotion, the latter to the daily interactions and practices that produce an inherent and often feeling of belonging, of being home.

³⁶ After Spanish rule, colonial frontiers were reinscribed by the newly independent states, ensuring that territories would be respected to avoid border wars over no man's lands. However, national and state boundaries delimited and demarcated between Chile, Peru and Bolivia after the War of the Pacific (1879-1883) have constantly required international arbitration (Glassner 1970; Mäckelmann and Lingenthal 2012; Tomasek 1967; United Nations 2006).

³⁷ In Spanish, the term *patria* simultaneously means 'motherland' and 'fatherland' (Earle 2007:11).

³⁸ Guallatire in Aymara means place of *guallata* or *guayata* (*Choephaga melanoptera*), which is a bird also known as the Andean goose (Mamani 2010).

³⁹ The local Aymara population are territorially organized into indigenous communities and trace their kinship to the community of origin, despite frequently living away from that community.

⁴⁰ Field notes from Guallatire, September 2008.

⁴¹ The anthem was written by Eusebio Lillo in 1921. Originally three strophes, the lyrics of the national anthem now consist of two strophes in octaves and a chorus. During the military regime, the original second strophe of the anthem was brought back, then later removed again, with Chile's return to democracy in 1990. The verses that were removed honoured the memory of Chilean soldiers fallen in war.

⁴² For studies on Andean rituality, see Allen 2002, 2008; Abercrombie 1998, 2006; Arnold and Yapita 1998; Fernández Juárez 1995; Martínez 1976; Taussig 2010; Wachtel 2001.

⁴³ According to Gilles Rivière (2014), who has worked in Bolivian highland communities, as stated in this NYU event: *A propósito de las nuevas organizaciones indígenas en Bolivia: Antiguos y nuevos mallkus en las comunidades aymaras de Carangas*. <http://clacs.as.nyu.edu/object/clacs.events.special.041014#sthash.p9ZMqKRE.dpuf>

⁴⁴ Derived from the Quechua word *wayñu*, a traditional music genre (Arnold and Yapita 1998; Huamán 2006).

⁴⁵ A recording of the song is available on the Sonico Musica website at <http://www.sonicomusica.com/huaynos/pastorita-huaracina/cancion/huerfanita-soy/>

⁴⁶ *Huacharaje* comes from the term *huacho* (or *huacha*) which in Chile alludes to illegitimate children, and is related to the Quechua *huachuy*, meaning resulting from adultery (Montecino 1991:43, 52).

⁴⁷ Field notes from Guallatire, March 2009.

⁴⁸ Field notes from Guallatire, September 2008.

⁴⁹ During the battles that led to Chilean independence in 1818, the *Virgen del Carmen* was appointed patron saint of the Chilean army. It was later officially declared so at the capital city of Santiago on December 8th, 1923.

⁵⁰ After signing a war truce in 1884, the Treaty of Peace and Friendship (1904) settled the territorial conflict between Chile and Bolivia. While Chile gained the former Litoral region, currently Antofagasta, Bolivia lost 400 km of sea coast, becoming landlocked. According to the Treaty, Chile agreed to build a railway connecting the city of La Paz with the sea port of Arica (1906-1913), but it has stopped running (1997-2001), although a restoration project is currently underway (2010-2012). Both countries ended diplomatic relations in 1978. The railway tracks were used in 1929 to divide the provinces of Tacna and Arica between Peru and Chile, respectively.

⁵¹ After years of effort to recuperate their native language, the Aymara in 2008 were vindicated by the opening of the *Academia Nacional de la Lengua Aymara* (Aymara Language National Academy), launched in the city of Arica.

⁵² The main churches established during this time in Guallatire have been: *Nazareno* (1964-1978); *Metodista Pentecostal* (1973-1976), and *Evangélica Pentecostal* (1982) (Tudela 1992:211-217).

⁵³ The local church of *Nuestra Inmaculada Concepción de Guallatire* was partly restored by the *Fundación Altiplano Monseñor Salas Valdés*, an organization working under the supervision of the Archbishopric of Arica as part of a project called *Ruta de las Misiones*. Its roof and walls were collapsing. While in the field, I was told by their CEO that the Evangelico community tried to burn the church down when the late Don Nicanor and his wife, Doña Alicia, were still alive; “both had to protect the temple with their own bodies to avoid its imminent destruction.”

⁵⁴ According to Bouysse-Cassagne et al. 1987, Andean ecology can also be referred in its own Andean terminology as *Umasuyu* (lowlands or wetlands) and *Urcosuyu* (highlands and drylands)

⁵⁵ In 1813, the Padron of the Doctrine of Belén documented a total of 1,495 inhabitants in the area; of those, 68% were concentrated in the sierra valleys, 28% in the altiplano highlands and 9% in the coastal valley of Lluta (Tudela 1992:3). After the Independence of Peru in 1821, the Peruvian census of 1866 indicated that Guallatire was home to a local population of 108 Indians (Ruz et al. 2008:34). In 1871, just before the War of the Pacific (1879-1883), the population remained almost the same, at 106. This single town gathered more people than the other highland towns of Parinacota, Caquena and Choquelimpe together (Wormald 1966:210 and Paz Soldán 1876, cited in Tudela 1992:4). After the war, there was a population increase that doubled the numbers in the region; this was followed, however, by a decrease of the Aymara population by 1907, and further decline through 1930 (van Kessel 1985:11 cited in Tudela 1992:12).

⁵⁶ While Cañipa was recognized as an official authority during colonial times, others who were not in any position of power joined the rebellious forces in the highlands (Durston and Hidalgo 1999; Hidalgo and Durston 1998).

⁵⁷ According to van den Berg (1985:179), *supaya* is an ambivalent spirit, it can be either good or evil. With the influence of the Judeo-Christian tradition, today it is equated with Satan, and occupies the highest position in the hierarchy of evil spirits in the Andes.

⁵⁸ Field notes of group interview in Arica, November 2008.

⁵⁹ The Guallatire volcano has also been conceived of as an evil baker (Monast 1972:89).

⁶⁰ This group often competes against the *Comunidad Indígena Hijos de Guallatire*, especially in the *Inti Ch'amampi Carnaval del Sol* organized by the Municipality of Arica and the *Festival Internacional del Huayno*, organized by the *Grupo Magisterio* folkloric group in Arica. Both groups identify themselves as Aymara people from Guallatire living in Arica.

⁶¹ Field notes from Guallatire, January 2009.

⁶² Between 1974 and 1976, landmines were dug along the line of Concordia that divides Chile and Peru in the north, and east towards the limits of Chile and Bolivia, and from the Hito Trifinio in Visviri south to Cerro Zapaleri, border with Argentina. All mountain passages in the Andes were blocked to avoid enemy troops trespassing into the Chilean territory. Only in the Region of Arica and Parinacota, a total of 78,454 anti-personnel and anti-tank landmines were placed in 88 minefields, 8 of which are in the Parinacota Province with an estimate of 5,197

landmines, which is 6.6% of the regional total. In 1996, the Chilean government committed to searching for and destroying all stored and underground landmines by 2020 at the United Nations Ottawa Convention (CNAD 2010).

⁶³ Field notes from Arica, October 2012.

⁶⁴ Field notes from Guallatire, January 2009.

⁶⁵ In Aymara, *kimsachata* literally means ‘three mountains’.

⁶⁶ There is a similar tradition from the mining communities of Oruro, Bolivia. The mountain spirit, also known as *Huahuari*, and identified with the *Tío* or devil of the tin mines is depicted as trying to seduce peasants to abandon their fields and enter the mines. Once inside, monsters come to eat them, however they are miraculously saved by lightning sent by an Inca princess identified as the Virgin of the Mineshaft (Taussig 2010:151).

⁶⁷ People from the community of Surire are known to practice a ritual exchange called *juego del baratillo*, traditionally played after the death of a loved one to decide on property left behind.

⁶⁸ Duarte, Priscila, 2013. My translation. For an online trailer of the film see: <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=7NATbAg9fLA>, last accessed January 2014

⁶⁹ Article available online at <http://mqh02.wordpress.com/2012/09/01/teofilo-canari-medico-aymara/>, last accessed December 2013

⁷⁰ My translation, for online article see: <http://mqh02.wordpress.com/2012/09/01/teofilo-canari-medico-aymara/>, last accessed December 2013

⁷¹ In this sense, it is similar to *lo andino* (the Andean) as it entails something that is “oscillating, always out of place, marginal even when established in the centre, a stranger both here and there.” (Weismantel 2001:xxiii).

⁷² The results of the most recent census were made public in April 2012, but they were questioned because of many irregularities. An external commission in charge of revising it suggested that it should be repeated in 2015. See <http://www.censo.cl/>, last accessed December 2013

⁷³ For research debating place and space, see Abercrombie 1998, 2006; Basso 1984, 1990, 1996; Feld and Basso 1996; Frazier 2002, 2007; Gordillo 2004, 2013; Gupta and Ferguson 1992, 1997; Hirsch 1995; Hirsch and O’Hanlon 1995; Ingold 1993, 2000; Montoya et al. 2002; Rappaport 1990, 1994, 2009.

⁷⁴ Field notes from Arica, May 2008.

⁷⁵ Field notes from Arica, June 2009.

⁷⁶ Given the growth of these new urban areas, the Municipality decided to expand the city radius from 25,000 to 50,000 hectares in 2009.

⁷⁷ Field notes from Arica, June 2009.

⁷⁸ For a more accurate study on place names in the local toponymy of the area, see Mamani 2010.

⁷⁹ The Aymara root *sarnaqaña* or *sarnaqiri* means wandering or walking around, whereas *collo*, or *q’ullu* refers to a hill; therefore the term as a whole therefore literally means ‘a walking hill’.

⁸⁰ Field notes from Guallatire, November 2008.

⁸¹ Field notes from Guallatire, November 2008.

⁸² An *apacheta* is an artificial mound made out of stones that is usually found on pathways, next to cross-roads and high peaks (van den Berg 1985:26).

⁸³ Don Juan said that the older *Apacheta Portezuelo* is made with not one, but two mounds of stones that look like *saywas*. These might be markers of the highland segment of the Royal Inca trail known as *Qhapaq Ñan* (Castro 2004).

⁸⁴ Field notes from Guallatire, November 2007.

⁸⁵ Field notes from Arica, June 2009.

⁸⁶ These annual competitions include the *Inti Ch'amampi Carnaval del Sol* (Sun Carnival), which is organized by the Municipality of Arica, and the *Festival Internacional del Huayno* (Huayno International Festival), organized by the *Magisterio* Elementary Teachers' Folkloric Group in Arica.

⁸⁷ Field notes from Arica, November 2008.

⁸⁸ Field notes from Arica, November 2008.

⁸⁹ The *morro* is a steep hill and sea cliff that reaches about 140 meters high, located next to the city of Arica. This prominent landscape feature was the location of the last defense of Peruvian troops before they were assaulted and captured by Chilean troops on June 7th, 1880. In 1971 it was also declared a national monument. Today a military war museum is located at the top of the *morro*, and every June 7th military troops re-enact the campaign to commemorate the anniversary of the assault.

⁹⁰ Field notes from Arica, November 2008.

⁹¹ Field notes from Arica, July 2009.

⁹² Field notes from Arica, August 2009.

⁹³ This term probably comes from the Aymara *saraña* or *sarjaña*, meaning to 'walk' or 'travel'.

⁹⁴ Tignamar registered a collective land property in 1758 that encompassed the water sources of Amachuma, Tumaya and Putawa which will be used by the Catanave Mine. Mining explorations were approved in 2010.

⁹⁵ Field notes from Arica, December 2009.

⁹⁶ Field notes from Arica, August 2009.

⁹⁷ Field notes from Arica, August 2009.

⁹⁸ Hernández (2002:121) has noted the importance of an "originary" location for the production of 'history' in the Mexican northern lands, where various sorts of narratives and texts are used to underwrite a discourse of origin. Gordillo (2004) has argued the phenomenological relationship between place and memory in the Argentinian Chaco; every memory is, in a fundamental way, the memory of a place.

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- ⁹⁹ The word *pukyu* in Quechua language means ‘a spring of water’.
- ¹⁰⁰ Field notes from Arica, September 2008.
- ¹⁰¹ Field notes from Arica, September 2008.
- ¹⁰² Field notes from Arica, August 2009.
- ¹⁰³ From the Aymara *wila*, meaning ‘red’, and *qullu*, for ‘hill’; thus, meaning ‘red hill.’
- ¹⁰⁴ Probably from *anta* or *antaña*, in Aymara related to herding, and *qullu* for hill; its meaning thus be ‘herding hill.’
- ¹⁰⁵ Field notes from Arica, August 2009.
- ¹⁰⁶ From the Aymara *wisk’acha* (*vizcacha* in Spanish), a wild rodent from the highlands.
- ¹⁰⁷ Field notes from Arica, June 2008.
- ¹⁰⁸ From the Aymara *ch’iara*, meaning ‘black’ and *qullu*, thus ‘black hill.’
- ¹⁰⁹ From the Aymara *queñoa* referring to a highland tree, and *qullu*, thus ‘tree hill.’
- ¹¹⁰ Field notes from Arica, June 2008.
- ¹¹¹ Field notes from Arica, June 2008.
- ¹¹² The Aymara population overall has been underestimated in the national censuses according to Manuel Mamani, a professor from the Universidad de Tarapacá in Arica (Eisenberg 2013:34).
- ¹¹³ For more definitions of *ayllu* see Allen 2002; Abercrombie 1998; Arnold and Hastorf 2008; Bastien 1978; de la Cadena 2010; Harris 2000; Izko 1992; Murra 2004; Platt 2010; Tudela 1992; Untoja 1992; Van Buren 1996.
- ¹¹⁴ Field notes from Arica, May 2009.
- ¹¹⁵ Field notes from Arica, January 2009.
- ¹¹⁶ It seems to be fairly common that couples get together despite a generational gap of over thirty years, whether it is a case of a younger woman with an older man or vice versa. People said that traditionally, the older person involved one chooses a new partner who is younger in order to assure that they will take care of the family estate once they themselves are unable to.
- ¹¹⁷ Field notes from Arica, July 2009.
- ¹¹⁸ Field notes from Arica, July 2009.
- ¹¹⁹ Field notes from Arica, July 2009.
- ¹²⁰ Field notes from Arica, September 2008.
- ¹²¹ Field notes from Arica, July 2011.

¹²² Field notes from Arica, July 2009.

¹²³ Field notes from Arica, July 2009.

¹²⁴ Field notes from Arica, June 2009.

¹²⁵ Field notes from Arica, June 2009.

¹²⁶ In fact, the last time this celebration took place was back in 1998; at that time, however, it was performed by a single family only and not by the entire community.

¹²⁷ Field notes from Arica, June 2009.

¹²⁸ Field notes from Arica, July 2009.

¹²⁹ Field notes from Arica, June 2009.

¹³⁰ Field notes from Arica, July 2009.

¹³¹ Field notes from Arica, June 2009.

¹³² Field notes from Arica, June 2009.

¹³³ Field notes from Arica, June 2008.

¹³⁴ Field notes from Arica, June 2009.

¹³⁵ Field notes from Arica, June 2009.

¹³⁶ Field notes from Arica, June 2009.

¹³⁷ Field notes from Arica, November 2008.

¹³⁸ Field notes from Arica, June 2009.

¹³⁹ See *Ukhamawa*: <http://ukhamawa.blogspot.ca/2010/08/habitantes-de-guallatire-pidieron-la.html> (last accessed January 2014), *Azkintuwe*: http://www.azkintuwe.org/marz25_01.htm (last accessed January 2014), *La Estrella de Arica*: http://www.estrellaarica.cl/prontus4_nots/site/artic/20100825/pags/20100825000022.html (last accessed January 2014), *Punto Final*: <http://www.puntofinal.cl/681/pueblo.php> (last accessed January 2014), *El Clarín*: http://www.elclarin.cl/index.php?option=com_content&task=view&id=15701&Itemid=45 (last accessed January 2014), and http://www6.rel-uita.org/sociedad/un_pueblo_sin_tierra_ni_agua.htm (last accessed January 2014).

¹⁴⁰ Field notes from Arica, June 2009.

¹⁴¹ Field notes from Arica, August 2009.

¹⁴² Field notes from Arica, June 2009.

¹⁴³ Field notes from Arica, June 2009.

¹⁴⁴ For further discussion on this field, see Atalay 2006, 2012; Ayala 2008; Benavides 2004, 2009, 2011; Earle 2007; Gnecco and Ayala 2011; Gordillo 2004; Jofré 2003; Jones 1996; Jones and Russell 2012; Joyce 2003; Kane 2003; Larson 2004; Mortensen 2006; Mortensen and Hollowell 2009; Rappaport 1990; Rivera Cusicanqui 2010; Smith and Patterson 1996.

¹⁴⁵ Field notes from Arica, June 2009.

¹⁴⁶ Field notes from Guallatire, January 2009.

¹⁴⁷ Field notes from Guallatire, September 2009.

¹⁴⁸ From the Aymara *chiwatu*, meaning 'goat' and *tambo*, which indicates a type of lodge or wayside inn.

¹⁴⁹ Choquelimpe is mentioned in chronicles as the native word for red cinnabar or vermilion, which is mercury in its natural state (Álvarez 1998:386).

¹⁵⁰ Field notes from Guallatire, January 2009.

¹⁵¹ Divorce was illegal in Chile until November 2004, with the coming into force of Law 19,947, which legalized it.

¹⁵² Also from the Aymara, *tambo*, meaning 'lodge' or 'wayside inn,' and *qullu*, for 'mountain'.

¹⁵³ Field notes from Guallatire, January 2009.

¹⁵⁴ Field notes from Guallatire, January 2009.

¹⁵⁵ From the Aymara *janq'u*, for 'white,' and *qullu*, for 'mountain.'

¹⁵⁶ Its meaning derives from a combination of the Aymara word *chuqui* (gold, precious metal or mineral) (Julien 2000:80) and the Quechua word *llimpi* (color or paint) (Barrios-Guerra 2004:1).

¹⁵⁷ *Escritura Pública de Mina Coquelimpe. Archivo Notarial de Arica*, 1750, vol. 29, pp. 42-44.

¹⁵⁸ Field notes from Guallatire, November 2008.

¹⁵⁹ PROMEL dumped toxic metallic waste, consisting basically of a high concentration of cadmium, lead, arsenic and copper, in the Lauca area (Duarte 2013). The hazardous material was sent to Chile by a Swedish company called Boliden Metall Limited, part of the Trelleborg transnational group that is now based in Toronto, Canada. It was deposited without any protection in the suburbs of Arica between 1983 and 1985, where a few years later new low-income dwellings were constructed. Residents were exposed to toxicity for more than 10 years (Tchernitchin et al. 2006). In 1997, the Chilean Ministry of Health was prompted to conduct research into the toxicity in the city of Arica, where 21 tons of metal waste had been stored in a housing developed between 1985 and 1986. The neighborhoods of Los Industriales and Cerro Chuño have been affected to this day. Polluted material was also spread along the Arica-La Paz railway that carried it to the highlands. In 2010 a recovery project started to clean sedimented material from the railway, but wastelands remain in Arica, Copaquilla, and Choquelimpe.

¹⁶⁰ *Millu* in Aymara means mineral.

¹⁶¹ Note that indigenous insurrections in the Andes have long been neglected and excluded from academic research as is particularly noticeable when approaching the field of indigenous politics (Thomson 2002:6).

¹⁶² Field notes from Arica, March 2010.

¹⁶³ Field notes from Guallatire, January 2009.

¹⁶⁴ http://www.eurochile.cl/paginas/sectores/fset_pry_ejecucion.html (last accessed October 2011)

¹⁶⁵ Notes from Aymara language course at the *Instituto de Investigación Tecnológica Indígena* (INTI) in Tacna, June 2008.

¹⁶⁶ Between 2009 and 2010 I took another two Aymara language courses. Each course was taught for eight to ten weeks, twice a year, for three groups: basic, medium or advanced. The classes were taught to up to a hundred people each time. Most people in class were relearning their mother tongue because they had either lost it or could speak but not read or write. (My case was the exact opposite, I could read and write but hardly speak.) To relearn the language was seen as revitalizing in terms of Aymara culture, and hence to their indigenous heritage.

¹⁶⁷ I had to systematically apply the *Manual de Registro para el Patrimonio Cultural en las Áreas Silvestres Protegidas del Estado* (CONAF 2009), a cultural heritage registry manual used to classify sites according to four types of heritage category: 1. Archaeological: material remains of human occupation before European contact (*circa* 1532), 2. Paleontological: animal and plant remains dating to the Holocene, 3. Historical: material remains after European contact, including Republican times (1810 onwards) through recent times (before 1950), 4. Ethnographic: contemporary occupations used and valued by local communities, and 5. Cultural landscape: human interaction with the environment (CONAF 2009, my translation). I wound up visiting around 30 hamlets in Guallatire while conducting the project: Misitune, Chivatambo, Tambocollo, Choquelimpe, Fundición, Negramane, Churiguaylla, Lliza, Lauca Vichuta, Lauca Ancalle, Lauca Cruzane, Lauca Vilaque, Vislubio, Vizcachani, Ungallire, Guaramalla, Botijane, Sayavinto, Japu, Chullpa-Visalla, Pizarata, Quilvire, Chuwa, Catanave, Surasurane, Ancoñocone, Vilacollo, Puquios, Paquisa, and Ancuta.

¹⁶⁸ The data was integrated into prior areas identified by CONAF as six types of land management: 1. Conservation habitat; 2. Mixed; 3. Productive; 4. Wilderness preservation; 5. Special use; and 6. Historic use. The regional registry updated data from Las Vicuñas and the Surire Salt Lake; the Lauca National Park was updated later that same year (CONAF 2009).

¹⁶⁹ Note that in Aymara, verbs change if they are used in masculine or feminine, as well as with people, animals or things. If you mix them up, it sounds offensive and is considered an insult.

¹⁷⁰ *Escritura Pública de Mina Coquelimpe. Archivo Notarial de Arica*, 1750, vol. 29, pp. 42-44.

¹⁷¹ For studies on the Andean body politic, see Arnold 1993a, 1993b, 1997; Gade 1999; Sikkink 1993; Sikkink and Choque 1999.

¹⁷² The mythological origins of metals conceive them as the union of mercury (female) and sulfur (male), growing under the earth, but influenced by solar planets and the stars (Salazar-Soler 1997:296).

¹⁷³ Field notes from Guallatire, November 2008.

¹⁷⁴ As discussed by Eisenberg (2013), Aymara perceptions of development are inevitable linked to environmental changes.

¹⁷⁵ Field notes from Putre, December 2009.

¹⁷⁶ Field notes from Arica, June 2011

¹⁷⁷ Field notes from Putre, December 2009.

¹⁷⁸ Field notes from Arica, October 2008.

¹⁷⁹ Field notes from Arica, December 2009.

¹⁸⁰ When President Frei was in power in 1997, fourteen drill holes were made in the west bank of the Lauca River, near Parinacota, in a search for groundwater. The communities reacted against this project by organizing themselves into the Aymara Coalition in Defense of the Environmental (CADMA), which recently merged with the Network in Defense of the Environment of Arica and Parinacota (REDMA). Both environmental groups have played an important role in mobilizing indigenous and nonindigenous people in order to defend native territories against extractive industries. As it will be discussed in the next chapter, these projects are subsidized by the Chilean state and tendered out through governmental agencies such as CONAMA and CONADI to transnational corporations. Hence, the environmental system could be perceived to be biased and tailored for commercial purposes with conflicting interests.

¹⁸¹ Field notes from Arica, August 2009.

¹⁸² All of the meetings that appear in this chapter were part of the Lauca Biosphere Reserve planning, except for a meeting organised by the National Environmental Agency (CONAMA) for the Catanave Mining Project in Putre, and another meeting organised by the National Aymara Council (CNA) in Arica.

¹⁸³ Field notes from Putre, November 2008.

¹⁸⁴ Since 1988, the Quiborax Company has exported boron and boric acid for industrial and agrochemical products.

¹⁸⁵ Field notes from Arica, August 2009.

¹⁸⁶ The powerful metaphor of drowning astutely symbolizes a current struggle over water rights essential for the survival of Andean communities fighting against mining corporations (Yáñez and Aylwin 2007; Yáñez and Gentes 2005; Yáñez and Molina 2011).

¹⁸⁷ Field notes from Arica, January 2009.

¹⁸⁸ According to the Mining Code and Water Code of 1981 and 1983, land property refers only to access to the land, not to its subsoil, nor its groundwater (Yáñez and Molina 2011).

¹⁸⁹ Field notes from Arica, August 2009.

¹⁹⁰ Field notes from Arica, August 2009.

¹⁹¹ For more research on collective mobilization, see Andolina et al. 2009; Fraser 1997; Fraser and Honneth 2003; Jackson and Warren 2005; Laurie et al. 2009; Povinelli 2012; Richards and Gardner 2013; Stavenhagen 2002, 2009; Young 1990, 1997.

¹⁹² According to the Indigenous and Tribal Peoples Convention 169 (ILO 1989), ratified in Chile in 2008, indigenous peoples have the right to participation and consultation through appropriate procedures, in good faith, and through their own representative institutions (article 6). The Convention also underlies their right to decide priorities for development on their own land (article 7).

¹⁹³ The Lauca management plan was also supported by an Inter-American Development Bank program hosted by the Tourism National Service (BID SERNATUR), along with a regional development agency called *Corporación del Norte para el Desarrollo e Integración*, and another development program known as *Servicio País*, which is sponsored by a national poverty foundation, the *Fundación para la Superación de la Pobreza*.

¹⁹⁴ The “biosphere reserve” category was created by UNESCO within the purview the Man and Biosphere Program. Its initial definition was as an area representative of different world habitats such as terrestrial or maritime ecosystems. Biosphere reserves aim to achieve: 1. Conservation of biodiversity, 2. Sustainable use of resources, and 3. Preservation of cultural values associated with these habitats. There are 564 reserves in 109 UNESCO-member countries, with 79 of these reserves located among 19 countries in Latin America and the Caribbean. Chile contained eight reserves registered between 1977 and 2005, and is among the top three countries listed by UNESCO as having high numbers of reserves, after Mexico and Argentina.

¹⁹⁵ In 2011 the government subsidized an interconnectivity project called Entel to install antennas for telecommunication throughout the highlands in order to link technologically isolated areas.

¹⁹⁶ Field notes from Arica, October 2008.

¹⁹⁷ Special interest tourism has evolved into *turismo vivencial comunitario* (community-based tourism).

¹⁹⁸ Field notes from the Lauca meetings, May 2008. The presidential speech of May 2007 can be found at: <http://www.cybertour.cl/modules.php?name=News&file=print&sid=454>, last accessed on November 2013

¹⁹⁹ The year 2012 saw a Chilean record set for international tourism. The country hosted around 3.5 million foreign tourists, which was considered to be a huge success for the government in power. The official figure for tourists in 2012 was 3,468,475 (<http://www.sernatur.cl/noticias/chile-logro-cifras-record-en-turismo-durante-2012>, last accessed on November 2013)

²⁰⁰ A group of young economists, trained under Milton Friedman and Arnold Harberger at the University of Chicago and its affiliate, the Universidad Católica de Chile. They developed an economic model for the Ford Foundation in the 1950s and applied it during the Chilean military regime (Valdes 1995). They introduced market –based ideas for the “Chile Project,” also known as the “Chilean way” of economic development, which led to the establishment of the state-led economic planning that characterizes the Chilean Constitution, in force since 1981.

²⁰¹ Field notes from Arica, May 2008.

²⁰² Field notes from Arica, May 2008.

²⁰³ Field notes from Arica, June 2008.

²⁰⁴ In Chile, the System of National Protected Areas (SNASPE) encompasses 14 million hectares, which is about 19 percent of all national territory: <http://conaf.cl/conaf/seccion-sistema-nacional-de-areas-silvestres-protegidas-del-estado.html>

²⁰⁵ Field notes from Arica, May 2008.

²⁰⁶ Communal land tenure does exist as a minor system in Chile but some of the lands remaining within this system are of low productive capacity (Eisenberg 2013:28).

²⁰⁷ Seminar “Of self-learning on indigenous and environmental rights in Chile,” given by ambientalist lawyer Nancy Yáñez, and sponsored by the National Aymara Council in Arica, October 2013.

²⁰⁸ The colonial laws that contributed to the fragmentation of the Aymara territories were *decretos con fuerza de ley* (decrees/laws) DL 1939/77 and DL 2695/79 for the acquisition of public resources and regularization and constitution of rural properties (Aguilera 2010), as well as DL 2570/79, which promoted mining exploitation in the salt lands. The DL 2568/78 affected regulations protecting indigenous land rights, in order to facilitate the division of community lands and to convert them to private ownership. This would make them easier to sell, thus initiating the dispossession of the Mapuche territories (Richards and Gardner 2013).

²⁰⁹ Field notes from Arica, May 2008.

²¹⁰ “The Chilean state recognizes that indigenous peoples are descendants of the human groups that have existed in the national territory from pre-Columbian times, that they preserve their own ethnic and cultural manifestations, and that, for them, land is fundamental for their existence and culture” (art. 1).

²¹¹ Seminar “Of self-learning on indigenous and environmental rights in Chile,” given by ambientalist lawyer Nancy Yáñez, and sponsored by the National Aymara Council in Arica, October 2013.

²¹² Seminar “Of self-learning on indigenous and environmental rights in Chile,” dictated by ambulatory lawyer Nancy Yáñez, and sponsored by the National Aymara Council in Arica, October 2013.

²¹³ Field notes from Arica, October 2008.

²¹⁴ Field notes from Arica, January 2009.

²¹⁵ Field notes from Arica, January 2009.

²¹⁶ Field notes from Arica, January 2009.

²¹⁷ Yatiri and Q’ulliri are Aymara medicine people identified (and who identify themselves) with “traditional medicine,” because their healing function serves either biomedical or traditional purposes within the medical system. Recently, these practitioners have been integrated within the Chilean health system by intercultural programs and cultural mediators, as promoted by governmental institutions such as PESPI, *Programa Especial de Pueblos Indígenas* (Special Program for Indigenous Peoples).

²¹⁸ Field notes from Guallatire, March 2008.

²¹⁹ Chivatambo is a Spanish Aymara mixed word for *chivo*, meaning 'goat,' and *tambo*, meaning a type of lodge or wayside inn. Tambocollo is also derived from Spanish and Aymara root, from *tambo* and *q'ullu*, the latter meaning 'mountain'. Field notes from Guallatire, January 2009, and from Arica, June 2009.

²²⁰ Field notes from Guallatire, September 2009.

²²¹ Field notes from Guallatire, January 2009.

²²² Field notes from Guallatire, September 2009.

²²³ Field notes from Guallatire, September 2008.

²²⁴ Field notes from Guallatire, January 2009.

²²⁵ Field notes from Arica, January 2009.

²²⁶ Field notes from Guallatire, September 2008.

²²⁷ Field notes from Arica, January 2009.

²²⁸ There are fifteen different codes of the Republic, which cannot be superseded by other competing laws passed as constitutional legislation in 1980.

²²⁹ As acknowledged by the Mining Code from 1983 (article 17, 6^o).

²³⁰ See: <http://www.quiborax.com/>, last accessed December 2013.

²³¹ The flamingo species are Chilean (*Phoenicopterus chilensis*), James (*Phoenicoparrus jamesi*) and Andean (*Phoenicoparrus andinus*). In Aymara they are known as *parina*, *parina chica*, and *parina grande*, respectively (http://conaf.cl/parques/noticia-conaf_vuelve_a_anillar_flamencos_en_el_monumento_salar_de_surire-1092.html, last accessed December 2013).

²³² Duarte, Priscila, 2013. For trailer online see: <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=7NATbAg9fLA>, last accessed January 2014

²³³ In 2013, 786 flamingoes were banded, marking a significant increase in the nesting sites of the Surire Salt Lake (<http://www.conaf.cl/conaf-duplica-anillado-de-flamencos-del-salar-de-surire-este-2013/>, last accessed January 2014)

²³⁴ Up to 40 percent of indigenous commoners were excluded by CONADI from the registration process in 1992. Field notes from the Lauca meetings in Arica, October 2008.

²³⁵ See: <http://seia.sea.gob.cl/>, last accessed December 2013.

²³⁶ See: <http://www.policia.cl/paginas/brigadas/jenama2/historia.html>, last accessed December 2013.

²³⁷ According to Doña Estela, who used to herd with her mother in Catanace because they were related to the family that owned it, the hamlet has been abandoned since 1980. Field notes from Guallatire, January 2009.

²³⁸ The mining company has already bought the rights to temporarily use the water –about 1.1 litresliters per second ,or 95.7 m³ a day, and has also payed for a land use study in order to start the exploration phase.

²³⁹ Field notes from Putre, December 2009.

²⁴⁰ Field notes from Putre, December 2009.

²⁴¹ Southern Copper Corporation is a transnational mining company owned by a Mexican-U.S. conglomerate, known as Grupo Mexico, which has operations in Peru and Mexico and explorations in Chile, as well as integrated railway and port facilities in the US. In 2010, it became the company with the largest copper reserves in the world (<http://www.southernperu.com/ENG/about/Pages/PGHistory.aspx>, last accessed December 2013).

²⁴² Organizations such as *Markan Arupa* (an Aymara newsletter), *Centro de Investigación de las Artes y Cultura de los Pueblos Originarios* (Indigenous Peoples Art and Culture Research Centre), and the students of AESPO, *Asociación de Estudiantes de Pueblos Originarios* (Indigenous Peoples' Students Association) were present.

²⁴³ Field notes from Arica, December 2009.

²⁴⁴ The death of Tupac Amaru II and Tupac Katari recreate the beheading of Tupac Amaru I and Atahualpa; which in turn recall the living myth of *Inkarrí* (Kusch 2010). The powerful metaphor of a dismembered body, not any corporal body but the Inka's, who alone symbolizes an Andean cycle of death and regeneration: "Today the indigenous movement is trying to restitute the dismembered body, which also means the restitution of the spaces and objects or monuments considered sacred" (Fernández-Osco 2011:339). *Inkarrí's* dismembered body parts were buried by *Españarrí*, king of Spain, throughout the four sections that formed the *Tawantinsuyu*: *Antisuyu* (East), *Chinchasuyu* (North), *Cuntisuyu* (West), and *Collasuyu* (South), while the head still remains in Cusco waiting for its body to reconstitute (Arguedas 1955; Arnold and Hastorf 2008; Bourricaud 1956; Gow 1980; Kusch 2010; Mires 1992; Ossio 1973; Pease 1973; Steele and Allen 2004; Taussig 2010).

²⁴⁵ <http://www.derechoalagua.cl/mapa-de-conflictos/pozos-de-extraccion-de-agua-en-el-parque-nacional-chungara/>

²⁴⁶ See <http://www.gob.cl/noticias/2011/06/30/presidente-pinera-ratifico-nuestro-pleno-reconocimiento-a-esta-deuda-historica-que-tenemos-con-nuest.htm>, last accessed December 2013

²⁴⁷ Under the Allende government, legislation concerning Indigenous Peoples and Territories was passed following the Agrarian Reform in 1972 (*Ley 17,729 sobre Indígenas y Tierras de Indígenas*). This law protected indigenous land, acknowledging former land titles or *títulos de merced* issued by the state according to legislation from 1866, 1874 and 1883. The law was abolished, however, during the military regime and then morphed into the indigenous legislation of 1993 (*Ley Indígena 19,253*), along with the decrees that modified the law to regulate indigenous land between 1977 and 1979.

²⁴⁸ See <http://www.lanacion.cl/presidente-pinera-reconoce-deuda-historica-con-los-pueblos-originarios/noticias/2013-06-24/165633.html>, last accessed December 2013

²⁴⁹ See <http://www.lanacion.cl/presidente-pinera-reconoce-deuda-historica-con-los-pueblos-originarios/noticias/2013-06-24/165633.html>, last accessed December 2013