

UNPACKING ETHNO-TOURISM: "DEVELOPMENT WITH IDENTITY", TOURISM, AND
MAPUCHE STRUGGLES IN SOUTH-CENTRAL CHILE

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THESIS ABSTRACT

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In Latin America, multicultural reforms came in the last three decades in response to regional indigenous empowerment that in turn coincided with processes of neoliberal re-democratization. In Chile, neoliberalization also meant for the indigenous Mapuche dramatic processes of indigenous proletarianization by de-territorialization and a new cycle of resistance and creative deployment of political, economic and cultural agencies bringing forth issues of sustainability, collective well-being, and democracy. Through qualitative methods, this thesis examines how multiple actors are shaping the landscapes of tourism development in south-central Chile. There, tourism practice and discourse in Mapuche rural communities reflect Mapuche responses to a recent phase of policies targeting them under the rubric of "Development with Identity". I demonstrate through three case studies how both these policies and tourism markets are being engaged by Mapuche ethno-entrepreneurial leaders, who at the same time advance agendas of Mapuche re-territorialization through novel re-articulations of livelihoods, place, and identities.

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CHAPTER I
INTRODUCTION

It is heard from the indigenous world that the development policies implemented in the country in the last decade would not be compatible with their traditions, customs and aspirations. Some hold that more than looking for forms of integration of indigenous peoples within development projects, these have been implemented against their will. [...]

In the realm of culture and education, we have made a commitment to promote research and diffusion of our cultural roots... [and] to design policies to promote and protect the cultural, archeological and natural heritage of our communities and to promote ethno-ecotourism in the framework of development with identity.'

Michelle Bachelet (2008) "Re-conocer: Pacto Social por la Multiculturalidad"
[Re-cognition: Social Pact for Multiculturalism. My translations]

The intractable conflict between indigenous Mapuche grassroots on one hand, and wealthy landowners, corporations, and the state on the other, came to a head in January of 2008 in the fatal shooting of the student Matías Catrileo. He was the second of three young, unarmed Mapuche protesters killed by police during *land recuperations* by the Mapuche in the *conflict zones* of south-central Chile during the 2000s. Violent conflict threatened to destabilize the decade-long effort to recalibrate ethnic governmentality in Chile's extractive frontiers, lead by the ambitious Inter-American Bank-Mideplan *Programa Origenes* from 2001 to 2011.

The statement from ex-president Michelle Bachelet's quoted above came on April 2008 in response to this crisis. Under the title "Re-cognition: Covenant for a Multicultural Society", Bachelet framed the latest executive guidelines for "Development with Identity" as a set of "necessary actions by all those involved in the indigenous problematic (sic) in order to create a new scheme of governability" (Bachelet, 2008, p. 3). The official narrative of "ethno-tourism" represented in *Re-conocer*, even when the latter was a political-programmatic document more than concrete blueprint for intervention, represents an excellent entry point to trace the political use of tourism discourse by elites in the construction of a neoliberal-multicultural governmentality in Chile.

Official narratives like *Re-conocer* have enabled elites to not only represent “Development with Identity” as an *alternative* to the extractive model, but also as one which is still within the general orientations of the neo-liberal state and market-based development. Central again to governmental response, as the quote shows, was the idea of “development with identity” as policies promoting indigenous “*economic development... without the loss of their essential identity features.*” A governmental “innovation program,” as it was further said in the publication, would enable “incorporation of indigenous economies to a productive *clusters* dynamic,” (*ibid*, p. 16-17), meaning productive assemblages catering to global “niche” markets. In short, Bachelet’s “Re-conocer” as official document deploys a sophisticated rhetoric on the “development” of Mapuche rural communities. There, the uses of “ethno-ecotourism” are not casual, but ideological: it de-politicizes the conflict over indigenous territories in Chile in two main ways.

First, as Haughney (2006) observes, neoliberal multiculturalism in Chile since 1993, has progressively reduced the issue of the accommodation of indigenous *territorial rights* in South-central Chile to a narrow frame of *affirmative action*. Tourism discourse helps this purpose by reducing the question of “land devolution” to a purely economic dimension of distribution of land to land-hungry ethnic population. By linking the policy of *indigenous lands* devolution adopted by post-authoritarian governments in Chile with the “productive development” (i.e. market integration) of those indigenous lands, ethno-tourism tales occlude the pending and ever growing questions of internal colonialism, restorative justice, indigenous rights to territory, and the ways in which these condition indigenous economic development.

Second, Development with Identity appears in this official discourse as the expertise capable of realizing the potential for “profitability” in indigenous lands (Bachelet 2008: 4). By rallying a form of technocratic governance whose ultimate purpose is to enable ethnic subjects to seize the opportunities of post-Fordist, global “niche” markets, ethno-tourism narratives de-politicize the uneven effects globalization has on indigenous communities, and how these effects are produced by complex power relations operating at multiple scales. In short, in this official narrative of indigenous development it is a neutral, distant global marketplace which “recognizes” the Mapuche who thus have become *global economic citizens*, even as indigenous territories are fractured by unregulated corporations.

In this thesis, I recognize and examine through textual analysis the potential for de-politicizing and disciplining effects of neoliberal ethno-development discourses and

practices, in particular a recent phase of neoliberal policies targeting rural communities in southern Chile under the rubric of “Development with Identity”. But I also turn to a different set of questions that the deployment of “ethno-ecotourism” by elites leaves open. These regard how multiple agencies, including Mapuche ones, shaping the landscapes of tourism in Mapuche communities. In short, this thesis examines the interaction between two seemingly different processes: The changing political milieus of post-authoritarian neoliberal development and governance in Chile and the region, on one hand, and the re-configuration of Mapuche agencies and agendas in response to the political interstices opened by neoliberal multiculturalism and “Development with Identity” (DWI).

I argue that the *politics of indigeneity* in Chile is increasingly shaped by the symbolic and material resources both provided and precluded by neoliberal multiculturalism and its development networks in the region. In sum, I will explore how Mapuche entrepreneurs are using the political spaces and resources made available by DWI, and multiculturalism more generally, to advance the agendas indigenous re-territorialization I address later in this introduction. The questions that have guided both textual and fieldwork-based analyses and observation are the following:

- 1 What is the nature of ethno-tourism discourse and practice in south-central Chile?
- 2 How (and why) do Mapuche actors engage development networks and processes, and particularly DWI interventions, in the production of ethno-tourism projects?
- 3 Have DWI interventions in Chile provided political space for meaningful indigenous economic and political agencies?

I began this project exploring how “ethno-tourism” discourses and practices were being co-produced by rural Mapuche communities at the intersection of “Development with Identity” interventions and their targeted ethnic subjects’ own agendas. However, preliminary interviews in December, 2010, were decisive in my realization that Mapuche entrepreneurs’ incorporation of tourism discourse and practices had been influenced by widespread formation of the “ethno-preneurial” subjects of neoliberal multiculturalism, as analyzed in chapter II, and less through specific ethno-tourism projects. As I will explain, these entrepreneurial Mapuche leaders, who engage DWI interventions, maintain an ambivalent and tense relation with neoliberal governmentalities and appear to be confronting a series of dilemmas and tensions when incorporating tourism practices in

their own terms. I will show that perhaps paradoxically, but not at all alien to the history of Mapuche movements, the emerging Mapuche agenda for alternative, de-colonial development has grown entangled with governmental multicultural discourse and practices.

These preliminary observations echo recent academic literature shedding light on the re-configuration of ethnicities through the global politics of cultural commodification under neoliberal, post-Fordist capitalism (Comaroff et al., 2009). For ethnic entrepreneurship in Latin America see Dehart, 2011). My focus thus includes tracing processes of *re-politicization of tourism practices* and development more generally, by mediation of Mapuche “ethno-entrepreneurs” who are incorporating and re-deploying them in specific sites. Paraphrasing Comaroff & Comaroff (2009), the instability, open-endedness, and, crucially, the re-politicization of “Mapucheity, Inc.” are central aspects of my analysis.

Current debates on indigenous development: theoretical and practical reaches of this study

Multiculturalism as a policy of progressive redistribution of power has become in the last two decades the matter of important global and regional intellectual debates (Fraser et al., 2003; Hale, 2002; Comaroff et al., 2009). Throughout Latin American history, ethnic hierarchies and Eurocentric mindsets have proven to be deeply embedded in political institutions and narratives. Thinkers associated with the “de-colonial turn” in the 1990s have denounced the entire Latin American project of modernity as a fully neo-colonial one -through “development discourse,” they claim, the coloniality of power has continued to exclude subaltern communities, their cultures and political identities in the region and worldwide (Escobar 1994, Quijano, 2000; Mignolo, 2001). Examining indigenous empowerment in development discourse and practice means inquiring a remarkable albeit problematic and complex economic and political shift, in a region marked since the colonial period by rigid racialized hierarchies systematically excluding from political and economic power those labeled as Indians.

As it is well known, in the nineteenth century, newly independent Latin American republics brought about the end of caste distinctions when instituting formal equality under the banner of political liberalism. At the same time, however, these states also brought forth endless war and further land dispossession for indigenous peoples. During the second half of the nineteenth century, several of the young republics would engage in neo-colonial

enterprises in their own inner frontiers. Later on, in the context of national-popular currents in the twentieth century, the region saw the uneven emergence of integrationist *indigenismo* as political, often official doctrine. This discourse nominally advocated for the protection of indigenous communities, casted as the more authentic and vulnerable heart of the motherland, while targeting them with aggressive assimilationist policies in the name of equality, progress, and nation (Engle, 2010. In Chile, see Bengoa, 1985, 2000).

The sudden, telluric emergence of indigenous movements at the center of several Latin American national public spheres in the early 1990s thus meant a remarkable shift in Latin regional politics, and one which is still developing. In fact, for most of the twentieth century, ethnic cleavages in Latin America were deemed politically unimportant compared to class and international questions that dominated political processes in the region (Yashar, 2005). In general terms, and at risk of over-generalizing, these newly visible movements appeared to share important common features. As Yashar (2005) highlights, most of these were forged in resistance to authoritarianism and civil war, and were enabled by the post-cold war re-democratization and a changing global political climate driven by the rise of environmental and human rights movements (Brysk, 2000).

These movements also were, as Hale and Millaman (2006) asserted, somewhat the product of the decomposition of the Marxist Left as well as that of official *indigenismo*, dependent on the corporative states' redistributive capacities. Departing from those, indigenous militant grassroots have spearheaded under neoliberalism, a new style of social action in the region; one that was deeply rooted in place while being widely transnationally connected through human rights and environmental discourse and networks. Finally, having been shaped by five hundred years of colonialism and ignited by the disastrous consequences of neoliberal restructuring for the region's rural communities, a striking and somewhat paradoxical feature of indigenous movements is that these, with few exemptions were to become *entwined*, in the last two decades, with post-authoritarian neoliberal governance and its transnational networks (Brysk, 2000; Stephen 2005; Yashar, 2005; Andolina et al., 2009; Engle, 2010).

Beginning with re-democratization in the early 1990s, multicultural reforms and Development with Identity programs were designed and implemented to different degrees and paces in Latin America, and this with the participation of an array of social scientists. Their political, cultural and economic effects in the region, however, have only recently been critically addressed by scholars looking at how neoliberal multiculturalism and its

politics of recognition have reshaped government, identity and conflict in the region (Hale, 2002; Rappaport, 2005; Andolina et al., 2009; Escobar, 2008; Blaser, 2011). The important work of Charles Hale (2002) in post-civil war Guatemala, shows how multicultural discourse had joined hands with neoliberalism in the institutionalization of indigenous rights. There, Hale asserts, political elites have intended to govern the democratization of ethnic relations and the institutionalization of indigenous rights so that these would not pose any serious challenge to the neoliberal order, but, on the contrary, would legitimize it. These new neoliberal-multicultural institutions, Hale argues, operate a “government through subjects” by integrating—while paradoxically constraining and taming—indigenous concerns and aspirations (Hale 2002).

The Inter-American Development Bank (IDB), the UN system, and several transnational nonprofits and multilateral donors have consistently promoted among governments and civil societies in the region the rationales and techniques comprised under the rubrics of DWI or “ethno-development”. These rubrics were nominally identified to address questions of ethnic and indigenous rights in the context of neoliberal governance and development. In practice, through programs such as the IDB-Mideplan *Programa Origenes* (2001-2011), an array of specific rationalities and techniques of “government at a distance” (I will analyze in detail in Chapter II) have been deployed to produce the *subject positions* needed by DWI interventions specifically targeted and tailored for rural indigenous communities (Hale, 2002; Boccara, 2007; Boccara and Bolados, 2010).

Building on Guillaume Boccara's (2007) and Fernando Leiva's (unpublished) analyses, as well as my own critical examination of DWI texts, I explore in Chapter II the central political rationales and technologies promoted through these programs to govern the “indigenous problem”. But while acknowledging the disciplinary and depoliticizing character of official multiculturalism in Latin America, several authors, including Hale (2002), have also highlighted the crucial role of indigenous movements and “intercultural intellectuals”—a term coined by Joanne Rappaport (2005) in reference to Gramsci's *organic intellectuals*—in shaping the new spaces for indigeneity in development. They have not only permanently negotiated positions within multicultural power fields of expertise and ethnic authenticity, but crucially, as scholarly literature highlights, they are also negotiating the very meanings of cultural heterogeneity authorized by DWI and its “transnational but grounded frontier between culturally appropriate development and developmentally appropriate culture” (Andolina et al., 2009: 3).

Andolina, Laurie and Radcliff (2009), in a recent book that consolidates decades of work in Ecuador, Peru and Bolivia, account for the configuration there of transnational indigenous development networks crosscutting grassroots movements, the non-profit sector, governments, and multilateral institutions. They assert transnational development networks have effectively “reloaded” indigenous politics reorienting it towards a “social-neoliberal”—for Leiva (2008) a “neo-structural”—agenda, which I explore in depth in Chapter II when discussing multicultural reform in Chile.

Andolina et al. (2009) also show how this reloaded ethno-development discourse has been, like a boomerang, “bounced back to the Andes (and for that matter, to the entire region) through the administration of social and indigenous development programs” (p. 43). In this context of ongoing negotiation of indigenous development at multiple scales, activist and professional indigenous networks, the authors argue, have grown entangled within transnational neoliberal governmentalities. This, they argue, precisely as a consequence of their successful journey over the last three decades from scattered cultural resistance at the margins of national political societies, to ever greater degrees of organized participation. *Transnational governmentalities*, a concept these authors have borrowed from Ferguson and Gupta (2002) refers to emergent supra-national political fields, where states interact with other powerful actors, including indigenous and human rights networks, in producing “governmental effects” at multiple scales (p. 24).

In other words, development networks have come to interact with indigenous movements in complex, dynamic, and at least sometimes, politically productive ways. Crucially, while elites and development networks intended to produce governable subjects and places through the de-politicization and *rendering technical* of indigenous development (Ferguson, 1994; Li Murray, 2007), indigenous movements have been concerned in materializing their own political agendas. This, as devolution of “self-management” to local scales, and the interlocution of political authorities with indigenous “subjects of rights” have been part of longstanding political forums demanded by indigenous movements continentally—although, importantly, not the only ones (Andolina et al., 2009, p. 223).

Within these intersections between otherwise disparate agendas, processes of the professionalization of ethno-development and of the configuration of transnational, multi-scaled networks of indigenous development have, in these accounts, opened interstices for significant indigenous agency. In Andolina et al. (2009) and others’ accounts, the reloaded boomerangs of ethno-development have become in this way a permanent object of struggle

as ethno-development networks have sometimes been effectively re-appropriated by indigenous actors through processes of professionalization and organization of indigenous economic, cultural, and political capacities (Andolina et al., 2009, 43). In other words, indigenous agency and indigenous intellectual production are also shaping and crucially re-politicizing multiculturalism discourse and practices, as well as development situated outcomes in place, livelihoods, and identities (Bebbington, 2000).

The transformative potential of multicultural reforms and concessions, however, remains a matter of contention and inquiry, insofar as central concerns of indigenous movements such as collective rights to land and natural resources have been systematically elided and occluded by DWI discourses (Hale, 2002; Engle, 2010). In fact, a main paradox of neoliberal multiculturalism has remained that of “simultaneous cultural affirmation and economic marginalization” (Hale 2002, p. 493). Despite legal recognition, institutionalization of indigenous issues and degrees of devolution of local governance, “indigenous living conditions have not changed significantly, while inequality increases” (Fondo Indigena 2007, quoted by Andolina et al., 2009, p.52).

As recently elaborated by Karen Engle in *The Elusive Promise of Indigenous Development* (2010), the aspiration for endogenous economic agency and, in the broadest sense, productive development “in their own terms” has been a central goal of indigenous movements since the Seventies, but a goal that has proven elusive, both in practice and for academic analysis. For Engle, this elusiveness is due in great part to the restrictive definition of the indigenous “right to culture” in relation to land and development (Engle, 2010). In an argumentative line reminiscent of Hale’s (2002) reflection on multicultural politics in Guatemala, but centered in development implications, Engle (2010) states:

Ethno-development has...largely been transformed from a radical critique of state and international development policy in the 1970s to a less radical critique of (and sometimes an acquiescent bystander to) neoliberal reforms of the 1980s and 1990s. Today, it at time appears to be a sympathetic supplement to (and beneficiary of) what David Kennedy refers to as “chastened neoliberalism.” (p. 184)

In this context of shrinking but contested narratives on the possibilities of alternative indigenous development, the study of Mapuche entrepreneurship speaks to two important regional debates. First, I discuss the question of how indigenous entrepreneurial activities, nominally paradigmatic of a neoliberal approach to ethno-development, might instead be

generating new conditions for a renegotiation of that “transnational but grounded frontier between culturally appropriate development and developmentally appropriate culture” (Andolina et al., 2009, p.3). The second fundamental question is how knowledge of Mapuche economic agency might inform ongoing multi-scaled renegotiations of the narratives and practices of ethno-development in a way that can lead to the fulfillment of its elusive promises.

Neoliberalism in Chile and the Mapuche

After the 1973 bloody coup that toppled the democratically elected socialist government of Salvador Allende, Chile became the laboratory for the first and most advanced neoliberal experiment in the region. Initially, neoliberal policies were pushed down the throats of Chileans at gunpoint. Under the banner of fiscal imbalance and inflation, the civic-military dictatorship of Augusto Pinochet (1973-1989) imposed a neoliberal structural adjustment plan that included abrupt deregulation of prices and lowering of tariffs. It followed the selling of almost all then state-owned enterprises and the privatization of basic services and infrastructure (Petras, 1994; Harvey, 2005). Neoliberalism in Chile also meant the political and legal legitimization and economic subsidization of massive commodification and extraction of natural resources by an export-oriented economy (Claude, 1997; Carruthers, 2001, 2008; Budds, 2004; Toledo, 2005; Carruthers and Rodriguez, 2009).

However, Chile has been regarded as a model for the region, not only because of its seemingly successful economic restructuring, but also, because of its smooth political democratization that ensued in the early 1990s. Once the very development model that once dominated the regional landscape -protected industrialization associated to a corporatist state- had been dismantled under dictatorship in Chile by the late 1980s- a post-authoritarian phase of the neoliberal experiment followed. A negotiated transition took place, leading in 1990 to the reinstatement of civil rights and the electoral process by Pinochet himself.

In the twenty years of electoral democracy underpinned by rapid economic growth, popular resistance to neoliberal economic policies was for the most part tamed into the newly reconfigured democratic state and civil society. Under its post-authoritarian phase, the neoliberal project consolidated in Chile both its export-oriented politico-economic base

as well as its political and cultural hegemony (Carruthers, 2001; Leiva, 2008). In Chile, the 1990s represented a period of consumption and material aspirations, but also a period in which a new kind of citizen became prevalent, one whose expectations of the government were no longer framed by any grand political narrative, such as social justice and redistribution, but instead by demands for efficiency, accountability, and attention to local concerns. As David Carruthers (2001) observes, “Pinochet’s vision of a depoliticized society is discouragingly close to the mark” (p. 346)—ironically not under military rule, but under the democratic, center-left *Concertación* governments that succeeded it between 1990 and 2010. (For neoliberal citizenship Chile, see Schild 2000, 2007. Also, for neoliberal governmentalities in general, see Miller and Rose 2008)

However, the climate of de-politicization in Chile has begun to evaporate under the heat of renewed social mobilization. Scholars, too, have helped make visible the dark side of the Chilean model (Claude, 1997; Carruthers, 2001; Leiva, 2008). In these critical accounts, the neoliberal economic miracle has demanded enormous and unevenly distributed social and environmental costs and “sacrifices” that have proved difficult to compensate with “trickle-down” economics. In this context, environmental and indigenous movements have become important actors contesting the neoliberal export-oriented economic model, its uneven development, and the negative socio-environmental impacts of highly deregulated extraction of natural resources in which it relies (Claude, 1997; Carruthers, 2001).

Not only has export-oriented restructuring entailed new dynamics of sharp, uneven development and concentration of economic power in Santiago, but this trend is also true of peripheral provinces, where rural and indigenous communities bear the brunt of the economic and socio-environmental burdens of the export-oriented neoliberal economy (Fazio 1997, Claude, 1997; Carruthers et al., 2009). Deregulation of prices and tariffs have transformed rural livelihoods throughout Chile. Particularly in the south-central grain-producing provinces, small- and medium-size farms with little possibilities to reconvert to non-traditional exports such as fresh fruit have been squeezed by global markets (Clark, 2011). At the same time, intensified extractive export-oriented economies, such as mining, logging and industrial fishing and fish farming, have, over the last two decades, had a serious impact on rural livelihoods, places and identities (Claude, 1997; Carruthers, 2001, 2009; Montalba-Navarro et al., 2003).

In south-central Chile, in what many Mapuche consider ancestral country, or *Wallmapu*, an extraordinary expansion of the tree- and salmon-farming sectors have come

to replace the ruined domestically-oriented agriculture. Massive forestry operations in Mapuche country have produced food insecurity, degradation of soil and water resources, depopulation through emigration, and the progressive loss of traditional herbal medicine's resources and knowledge (Montalba-Navarro et al., 2003; Millaman, 2007). Other interventions such as hydroelectric dams, cellulose plants, infrastructure projects, urban growth, and, to a certain extent, touristic enclaves, have also taken their toll on Mapuche rural landscapes. In short, a crucial context of this inquiry are indeed the devastating effects for rural Mapuche communities in south-central Chile from the economic and geographic reconfigurations spurred by the neoliberal experiment which are at the root of contemporary Mapuche mobilization (Calbucura, 2003, 2009; Toledo, 2005).

The political corollary of these economic and geographic changes has been the retreat of the state from the redistributive and protective responsibilities it held in a previous corporatist state-society configuration identified with the national-developmental *Import Substitution Industrialization* model, or ISI, that was prevalent before Pinochet implemented neoliberal reforms in the late 1970s (Leiva, 2008). In the context of historical centralism and coloniality of the Chilean state and its governing elites (Salazar et al., 1999), the combined effects of neoliberalism have resulted in what arguably amounts to a reconfiguration in Chile of patterns of internal neo-colonialism along regional and ethnic lines (for internal neo-colonialism in general, see Stavenhagen, 2005).

This neoliberal "invasion" of Mapuche country, in short, has been addressed by scholars and advocates in concepts of indigenous rights violations, the concentration of wealth and power, and, more recently, environmental racism. Building in these insights, I argue that extractive neo-colonialism can be seen as a process of *de-territorialization*. For de-territorialization I understand the process encompassing the symbolic and material transformation, by appropriation and disruption, of rural Mapuche communities' places, livelihoods and identities by powerful economic and political actors who thus territorialize themselves at the expense of indigenous communities (Calbucura, 2003, 2009; Toledo, 2005).

The Mapuche plight under neoliberalism, however, has been paralleled by a tale of resistance, creative accommodation, and resilience. Indigenous Mapuche people of south-central Chile are claiming and sometimes de facto occupying the lands and resources seen by them as illegitimately appropriated by the state, landowners and corporations alike. The Mapuche have resisted neoliberal development in their lands in the form of tree plantations,

hydroelectric facilities, and other investment projects and agro-industrial and extractive operations, while denouncing the neo-colonial nature of the Chilean neoliberal economic miracle as a whole (Millaman 2000, Tricot 2009).Guillaume Boccara (2002, for instance, compares the Mapuche struggle to that of the Zapatistas in Mexico asserting that just as the Maya of southern Mexico, “the Mapuche movement in Chile is bringing the Latin American nationalist project to crisis. Indeed, the challenge posed by indigenous people to internal colonialism threatens the ideas of nationhood, people-hood, and citizenship the state has used since Independence.” Boccara continues:

We can say, without any kind of romanticism, that the emergence of the indigenous social movement represents one of the defining traits of the current South American historical situation and that thanks to their new activism from within, their specific historical experience and sociological location in the interstices and cracks of Latin American societies, indigenous peoples are effectively inventing new forms of doing politics and showing remarkable sociopolitical imagination. (p. 284)

The Mapuche autonomous movement has been, at least from the mid-1990s, effectively challenging the status quo in neoliberal Chile, while envisioning and modeling alternative ways of relating with the global society. Building mainly in Mapuche scholars such as Millaman (2000, 2007), Calbucura (2003, 2009) and Toledo Llancaqueo (2005), I will argue that current Mapuche movements in all their diversity are exercising a social praxis of de-colonization through *re-territorialization*. For re-territorialization I understand here, in one level, regaining control over spaces and resources appropriated by extractive politico-economic assemblages, which in turn has meant, in a second level, the rearticulating of livelihoods, identities and places of Mapucheity in new ways, or what I refer as its territorial recomposition. I also discuss how re-territorialization might also mean the reactivation of Mapuche territories as political ontologies or ways of being in place, in the context a situated struggle for globalization (Blaser, 2011).

Development with identity

A final driver of Mapuche politics in Chile besides the neocolonial effects of neoliberal restructuring and the indigenous movement itself has been the responses to

the “Mapuche conflict” by political elites and development institutions working through the last twenty years in a regional governmental project I refer generically as *neoliberal multiculturalism* (Hale, 2002; Hale and Millaman, 2006; Boccara, 2007). Multicultural institutions of government and Development with Identity (DWI) programs targeting indigenous rural communities in Chile are nominally aimed at addressing indigenous rights in development. Under the banners of social capital, participatory planning and the recognition culture in development, since 1993 but even more since 2001, with the implementation of Inter-American Bank-Mideplan *Programa Origenes*, (which I analyze in depth in chapter II) the Chilean *Concertacion* governments targeted rural indigenous communities with “development” in a very specific way.

Chilean economist Fernando Leiva (2008) has critically examined what he designates as the Latin American *neo-structural agenda*. Articulated in the last two decades by the Latin American “pragmatic left” neo-structuralism associated with the Economic Commission for Latin America and the Caribbean (ECLAC), breaks from its neoliberal predecessor in that “asserted that what competed in the world market were not **commodities** per se but **entire social systems**” (p. 4, bold in the original). Embarked in this societal project, according to Leiva:

Whereas neoliberalism, in practice, represses and disarticulates collective social actors, neo-structuralism recognizes the legitimate existence of such actors while actively trying to channel and subordinate the logic of collective action to the “national effort” behind the export drive. Politics and political action, not coercion or market competition also need to be tapped in order to shape individual and social behaviors so that they conform to the new economic realities (p. 10).

As Leiva (2008) observes, Latin American elites, aided by development networks, are learning to invest in the symbolic and cultural underpinning of “social cohesion” and “integration” in order to attain the social coordination needed to achieve the said systemic competitiveness while “economizing” in the two conventional mechanisms of power—open political coercion and corporatist control through redistribution. In his most recent work, Leiva (unpublished) is pointing to DWI programs in Chile, and prominently the aforementioned *Programa Origenes* (PO), sponsored and designed by the Inter-American Development Bank and co-executed by the Chilean government from 2001 to 2011, as

paradigmatic of such investments in “social cohesion,” pointing as well to the transnational governmentalities involved in this effort.

As Diane Haughney (2006) observes, these neoliberal multicultural policies in Chile, while eliding the questions of indigenous collective rights over territory, its resources and development, have instead relied heavily on notions of affirmative action directed towards ethnic subjects represented as “disadvantage individuals” (p.212). As Haughney (2006) asserts,

Unlike “corporatist” inclusion of peasants in other eras and other countries, the Concertacion’s policies towards indigenous peoples did not envision the creation of a politically closed, state-sponsored, corporate organization as a vehicle for controlling potentially disruptive demands or movements. In line with neoliberal, state-society relations that emphasize “economic citizenship” and self-help, assistance programs were oriented towards promoting small-scale productive activities as vehicles for participation in the benefits of economic growth. (p. 95)

I will explore the institutionalization of multiculturalism in Chile as a particular mode of neoliberal governmentality. As such, the institutions created in 1993 by the Law 19.253 known in Chile as the Indigenous Law, but more explicitly the IDB-Mideplan PO since 2001, have sought to govern “at a distance” through active but disciplined political subjects and economic actors (Hale and Millaman, 2006; Boccara, 2007). Building on current academic and political regional debates over the extent and possibilities indigenous agency in development under neoliberal multiculturalism introduced earlier, in this thesis I inquire how indigenous development in the form of Mapuche-owned tourism ventures is being co-produced by specific actors who are, paradoxically, both enabled and constrained by rationalities and technologies of government embedded in DWI interventions.

Methods

This research looks at two different although interactive processes: changing political milieus in post-authoritarian neoliberal Chile, on one hand, and Mapuche ambivalent responses to the interstices opened by neoliberal ethno-governmentality in

Chile, on the other. In order to address these two processes, I have followed a twofold empirical research strategy.

Through textual analysis of official DWI discourse, I explore how neoliberal multiculturalism is being deployed in Chile by powerful development institutions and in particular, how tailored development programs have targeted Mapuche livelihoods, places, and identities by framing those as part of an “indigenous problem.” This component of my empirical research was initiated in 2010, about six months before I conducted field-work. The results presented in Chapter II refer mainly to the document framing the loan contract between the Inter-American Development and the Chilean Government through Mideplan in 2001, which I refer throughout as the *Loan Contract*. The Loan Contract (IDB-Mideplan, 2001) offers an excellent entry point to both rationales and technologies of ethno-governmentality, as it provides a detailed blueprint for intervention, and importantly, it establishes a particular discursive regime through which interventions were to be operated and justified. I have systematized in Chapter II the core political rationales and governmental technologies configuring DWI interventions in, which I have analytically identified in DWI documents such as said Loan Contract (IDB-Mideplan, 2001), and which provide the necessary backdrop to analyze Mapuche responses to the evolving regimes of ethnic governmentality of post-authoritarian neoliberal Chile.

In turn, through fieldwork-based observation, I traced Mapuche responses to such interventions, and specifically, I explore how emerging regimes of Mapuche relations within the neoliberal state as described by Boccara (2007), Leiva (unpublished) and others, are reshaping Mapuche economic, cultural and political agencies by constraining and enabling these in particular ways. Fieldwork-based qualitative examination of Mapuche entrepreneurship in tourism has enabled me to explore the complex effects of these policies in their target communities. The question of how the discourses and practices of ethno-tourism in south-central Chile are being co-produced within ensembles of Mapuche grassroots and neoliberal governmentalities, leads to the question of the political implications on Mapuche ethno-entrepreneurship in Chile, and from an interpretive approach to grounded theory, to how the actors themselves attach meaning to action while making sense of change, power, and struggle.

A key focus of this project, and particularly of its fieldwork component, has been to elucidate Mapuche entrepreneurs’ economic practices and the discourses surrounding and shaping them. I explore how they came to identify and act as Comaroffian “ethno-preneurs,”

under what influences and pressures they have done so, with what consequences to the communities they belong to, and with what effect in the networks where they act. Through an analytical juxtaposition with the DWI discursive regime deployed “from above” I shed light onto the dissonant narratives and meaningful practices of the Mapuche actors encountering them at the local scale. I argue that in this process Mapuche ethno-preneurs problematize, politicize and mediate these top-down interventions. More specifically, this paper focuses on the re-deployment by rural Mapuche actors of ethno-tourism discourses and practices while displacing those towards what I would argue are situated agendas for sustainable development as recomposition of Mapuche territories.

In sum, in this thesis I examine through textual analysis the ways DWI discourses aim to reshape political subjectivities and economic agencies of Mapuche actors, and concurrently, I explore how in the context of tourism development a range of Mapuche actors mediate both market pressures and neoliberal rationales deployed from above. For this purposes, I have considered necessary to elaborate my own textual analysis of the rationales and technologies embedded in these interventions, as a pre-condition for tracing the *agencies* of the Mapuche engaging them at the local scale, which is the main focus of my thesis. By weaving together these two threads of inquiry, my study suggests that Mapuche touristic entrepreneurs are adopting and creatively adapting certain aspects and resources of DWI as they see fit within the scope of their own agendas. I explore the shapes, texts and textures of these negotiations of Mapuche development.

Participatory observation and interviews with Mapuche entrepreneurs and leaders helped me to assess their understanding and practices of “ethno-tourism,” and also to analyze the competing narratives and political dilemmas faced by Mapuche “ethno-preneurs” engaged in tourism development. I traced the possibilities of *meaningful action* at the interfaces between Mapuche movements, markets, and development networks. Therefore, rather than giving exhaustive account of all “ethno-tourism” interventions or its combined effects on Mapuche places, livelihoods, and identities in the Araucania region of south-central Chile, I have chosen to approach three specific locations of Mapuche engagement in tourism.

Core fieldwork for this project was conducted during the two months spent in Chile, from June to July of 2011. I visited three locations of the Araucania Region where Mapuche communities have engaged creatively with tourism practices and discourse. I also traced local development networks to the regional capital, Temuco, and also to Santiago. These

three locales are (a) the Mapuche community of Llaguepulli in Lake Budi, (b) the small pluri-cultural town of Curarrehue, and (c) the *Pehuenche* communities of Lake Icalma in the Andean highlands of Lonquimay.

In Icalma I conducted most of my fieldwork. A total of six (n=6) semi-structured, recorded interviews to Mapuche subjects involved in tourism, most of them entrepreneurs and grassroots leaders, and a number of more informal but relevant conversations with community member, including elders and traditional authorities. Here and in the nearest town, Lonquimay, I conducted three more interviews with local development agents (n=3). I knew most of these interviewees beforehand, given my long-term relationship with the community, and some of them were contacted in situ through the rapport technique known as “snowball”.

Thereafter, I traveled to two other Mapuche communities, Llaguepulli, in lake Budi, and Curarrehue, in the Pucón area, which provided me with insight into successful “Mapuche tourism” ventures, where I spent two and one nights respectively, and conducted two more semi-structured interviews (n=2) with key informants have contacted beforehand, along with several more informal conversations and snapshots of tourism interaction. In the two days I spent in Curarrehue I had the opportunity not only to interview two of the leaders of the Mapuche entrepreneurial networks there, Raquel Marillanca and Ana Epulef, but also to attend an interesting tourism encounter between Mapuche hosts and visiting high school students from central Chile. Meanwhile, in Lake Budi I interviewed Mauricio Paineñil, a renowned leader with the Mapuche Tourism Committee, and stayed for two nights with a host family affiliated to the organization, interviewing them as well, albeit in a less structured way. The interviews and brief observation conducted in Budi and Curarrehue enabled me to approach some of the more relevant and effective Mapuche ventures in tourism development in the region through the voices and representations of their leaders, with particular focus in how they construct their own agencies in development.

Finally, I also spent time in Temuco, the provincial capital, where I conducted two interviews with governmental personnel. In Santiago, I spoke with high-rank staff of the IDB-Mideplan *Programa Origenes*, totaling 3 interviews (n=3) with higher rank development and governmental staff. In sum, I conducted in total fourteen (n=14) semi-structured interviews, and a number of non-recorded and less structured interviews with

Mapuche entrepreneurs and leaders as well as development staff; and spent a month in Mapuche communities that have creatively incorporated tourism practices and discourse.

Comparative analysis of interviews with key informants and exploratory qualitative scrutiny in three locales of Mapuche engagement in tourism discourse and practice reveals how the textures and texts of Mapuche engagements in tourism are shaped by situated experiences of internal colonialism and struggles for re-territorialization. Although the methods used do not establish determining factors *causing* Mapuche engagement in tourism, its relative success and particular shapes, in each three cases, the comparative, qualitative and interpretive examination of them has revealed crucial linkages, possibilities and challenges for Mapuche economic mobilization towards tourism sustainability under post-authoritarian neoliberalism.

Before delivering an introductory presentation of each site, I propose that the three cases addressed in this research differ in the following three main general realms:

- a. The strength and forms of Mapuche ethno-preneurs' linkages to rural grassroots and their struggle for place, livelihoods and identities within multi-scaled geographies of conflict, mobilization and empowerment.
- b. The politico-economic geographies of Mapuche development, meaning the manners and degrees in which Mapuche economic mobilization for territorial recomposition engages with neoliberal markets and development networks.
- c. The ways DWI has encountered the local conditions comprised by a) and b) to produce political interstices that constrained and enabled Mapuche economic and political agencies in specific ways.

The three cases, however, also share fundamental characteristics. I will show that in culturally plural southern Chile, a new type of economic and political ethnic entrepreneur is actively navigating neoliberal governmentalities and markets in order to mediate development outcomes. I have found that Mapuche entrepreneurs, while uncomfortably relying on the interstices opened by DWI programs and neoliberal multiculturalism more generally, are at the same time advancing strategies of *re-territorialization*—understood as the search for self-centered economic and eco-political narratives and practices as opposed to externally determined, neo-colonial ones.

Three sites of Mapuche engagement in tourism

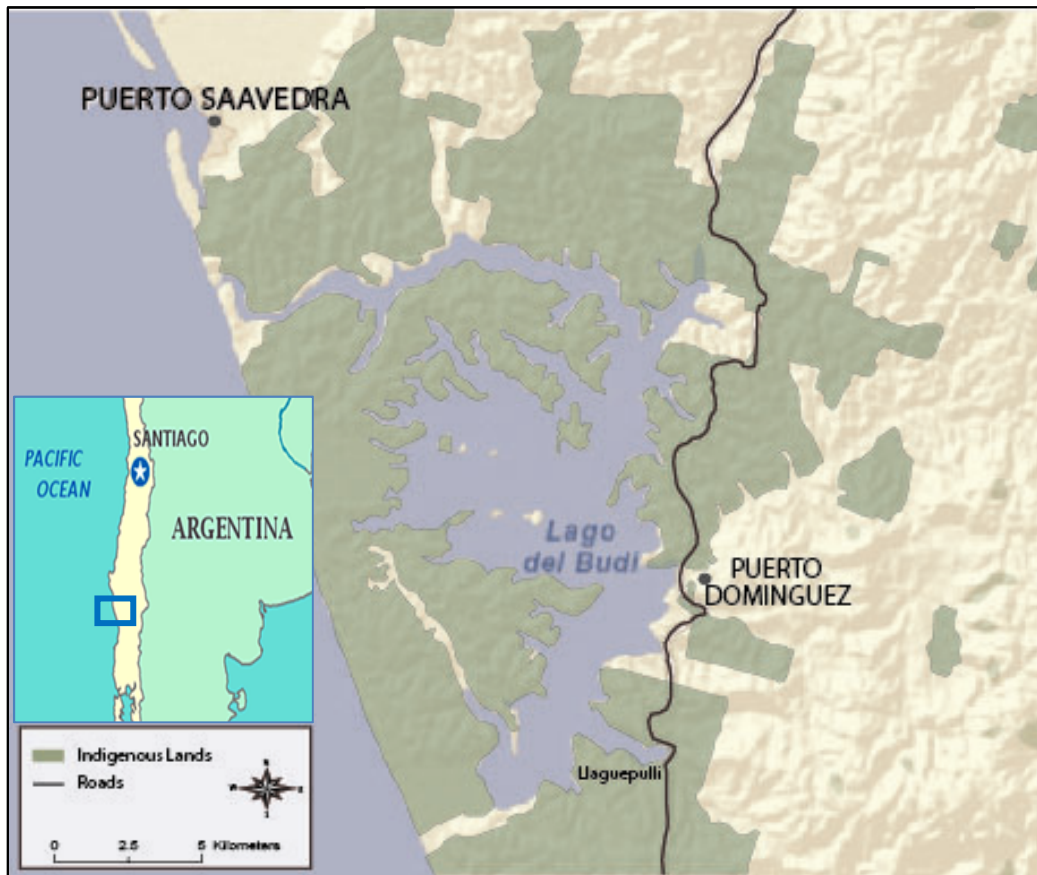
This section will provide brief information on the case studies in which I conducted my research. I conducted fieldwork in three different rural locales in the Araucania region of south-central Chile where Mapuche “ethno-preneurial” touristic development is ensuing. Through interviews with key informants and participant observation, I inquired into how community members are performing particular roles in, and making sense of, processes of incorporation of tourism practices and discourse to rural Mapuche livelihoods, places, and identities in these three locales.

The empirical substantiation of this research might be seen as exploratory. The variety of cases chosen, however, provides a vantage point to address comparatively several key aspects of the problem and therefore they gave this research an additional richness, compensating for the short field research time. Interviews with leaders of two commercially (and politically, in terms I’ll explain) successful communal tourism ventures, in Budi and Curarrehue, contrast with a third case, Lake Icalma, that represent a much more tortuous Mapuche engagement with tourism. Each one, I will show, is embedded in substantively different local geographies and histories, and has taken different shapes. Also, while the two first cases are approach through very few key informants, more extensive fieldwork in Icalma has enabled me to include several voices in order to provide a deeper perspective on the multiple emerging possibilities, tensions and dilemmas of Mapuche entrepreneurial agency in tourism development.

a. Llaquepulli- Budi

Lake Budi Mapuche communities have become nationally renowned for their leadership in the touristic sector and innovative services such as longhouse-style lodging and cultural programs involving several members of the community in educative, cultural and recreational touristic activities. The Budi basin, represented in *figure 1*, is located in the southern part of the *Lafken-mapu*, the densely populated coastal Mapuche territory facing the Pacific Ocean. The basin is administratively divided in two Municipalities, Puerto Saavedra and Teodoro Schmidt. Saavedra, 58 km west from the regional capital, Temuco, and with around three thousand inhabitants, represents the main urban center and point access to the basin.

Figure 1: The Budi Basin



In Budi, rural livelihood strategies have rested in small-scale agriculture and “traditional” land-based practices such as fishing and gathering of seaweed, eggs, mollusks, and other resources, which are then consumed, bartered, or sold in regional markets. The ocean and the Budi, a salty lake unique in this region, have somewhat compensated for the scarcity of agricultural lands and pastures in sustaining an at least eight thousand strong Mapuche community. Also, as in many contemporary Mapuche communities, Lake Budi’s Mapuche-Lafquenche (Mapuche voice for “People of the Sea”) depend on monetary income from rural seasonal wages, emigrants’ remittances, welfare, and pensions (Bengoa, 1985; Saavedra, 2003). Lake Budi’s more than eight thousand *comuneros* are organized in 91 communities registered with CONADI, but also through broader and flexible political organizations and ceremonial complexes, involving all of the communities (Course, 2011).

With high poverty rates, Budi has become the target of “welfarist” assistance (*asistencialismo*) from the state, churches, and development NGOs since the Pinochet era. Declared as one of the first two “Indigenous Development Areas” under Law 19.253 in 1997, recent DWI interventions such as PO have become important terrains of struggle, as Mapuche organizations have been consistently pushing for more horizontal and productive interaction with development networks (Bello, 2007).

Tourism development in Lake Budi and surrounding areas, including Puerto Saavedra and Puerto Dominguez, the small towns that represent access points to the basin from the north and the south respectively, has been largely molded by summer recreational visitors arriving from regional urban centers. These short-distance/term flows have seemingly mainly benefited the non-Mapuche petit trader’s class in these two towns, and as a consequence, the importance of tourism in the livelihood strategies of the Mapuche population of Budi has been so far marginal.

As I show in chapter III, this has begun to change, however, since the deployment of an entrepreneurial but communally regulated tourism project in Llaguepulli, one particular community in the southern tip of the lake, composed by around eighty families. The Mapuche Tourism Committee of Llaguepulli, rooted in historic grassroots movement for the recomposition of Mapuche territory/political community, not only became tool for successful and innovative touristic entrepreneurs, but also a centerpiece on a project of economic, political and cultural recomposition of Lafquenche territories. In Llaguepulli, resources generated through tourism have enabled the movement to assemble a community-based technical staff formed by young members of the community currently developing several parallel projects. As a result, many in Llaguepulli—particularly youth, of whom one is amongst my interviewees—have today a sense of collective economic empowerment and of re-articulation of territory, livelihoods and community.

b. Curarrehue

The mountainous valleys that make today the Municipality of Curarrehue once connected the two hemispheres of Mapuche country, east and west of the Andes. In the late 19th century, these valleys of seasonal occupation in pre-colonial times would receive waves of Mapuche refugees escaping the brutal “pacification” war organized by the republics of Argentina and Chile. After military occupation in 1983, lumber exploitation in now “public

forests” fed an active industry throughout the piedmont region (pre-cordillera) which over time brought in permanent non-Mapuche immigration to Curarrehue, making it today a pluri-ethnic community.

Mapuche entrepreneurship in the mountains of Curarrehue is different in key aspects, as I will explain, from that of Llaguepulli in Lake Budi. I interviewed two leaders of an emerging Mapuche touristic network. One of them, Ana Epulef, a Mapuche entrepreneur who I had met a few years before, has become a public figure leading a movement for respectful and meaningful cultural tourism. This case provided a vantage point into the cultural production and cultural politics of touristic self-commodification of Mapuche communities in south-central Chile. The touristic landscape in Curarrehue offers an excellent vantage point for this, for it has key distinctive features I will briefly comment on here.

As *figure 2* illustrates, Curarrehue is situated in the San Martín/Pucón axis, the most important bi-national touristic corridor crosscutting Mapuche south-central Chile. Curarrehue has remained, for good or bad, a passing zone largely subtracted from the vertiginous touristic and urban development in nearby lakes on both sides of the Andes.

Figure 2: Curarrehue/Pucón Corridor



Difficult access during winter months, and effective enclosure through the creation of National Parks in the mid-20th century, have provided for relatively better conservation of native forests in this mountainous region. Local economies continue to depend heavily on public forests for timber and non-timber products for consumption, barter and regional markets. Historically, disputes over land and resources in this Andean region have not been as virulent as in the central valley and the coast.

About 143 km west from the regional capital, Temuco, Curarrehue, the only town within the Municipality, is home to about a fourth of its 7.000 inhabitants. The rest inhabit more or less scattered settlements of Chilean and Mapuche *campesinos*. Despite its rural character, the poverty rates are similar to the national rate of 15%, and far better than that of other zones of the Araucania, with a regional rate of 20%. Rural life and livelihoods in rural Curarrehue continue to be linked to small-scale agriculture, forestry and ranching, as well as to seasonal and more permanent emigration strategies, as in the rest of Mapuche country (Municipality of Curarrehue, 2010).

While in the Mapuche country of Curarrehue's high valleys tourism seems at first glance absent, Pucón, a town some 40 Km to the west, has been for several decades been the most important touristic center in the Araucania. Capital accumulation through high-end tourism and estate development has dominated the provincial economy, and the local Mapuche (including those of Curarrehue) have for the most part provided cheap labor to the tourism industry as well as to other activities, regionally and nationally (Saavedra, 2003). In *Pucón*, and nearby lakeshore towns as Villarrica and Likan Ray, urbanization and gentrification led by second homes and resort development have severely fragmented the Mapuche population and, in a way, made them virtually invisible. Historic marginalization from the sector, however, has been recently counteracted by a network of Mapuche entrepreneurs producing commercially successful and perhaps, politically empowering Mapuche cultural tourism.

c. Lake Icalma

At an altitude of three thousand feet in the Andes Mountains, Lakes Icalma and Galletué originate the mighty Biobío River, former natural frontier between Mapuche country and the Chilean territory. Today, only a few miles east of Icalma, the border with Argentina dissects what not so far ago was its own Mapuche country.

Field-based observation and interviews conducted in the area of Lake Icalma during 25 days in June of 2011 provide for a deeper examination of how tourism discourses and practices re-deployed by the Mapuche amidst tensions between the actors, discourses, and practices of tourism development. First, while in Curarrehue and Budi, the ethno-preneurial vision has to an important degree materialized, in Lake Icalma, my third case, the Mapuche still struggle to seize the promise of ethno-tourism. Icalma is thus a case which enables me to unpack the meaningful responses of several Mapuche actors to the challenges they found in a processes of difficult materialization of “Mapuche tourism” discourse and practice.

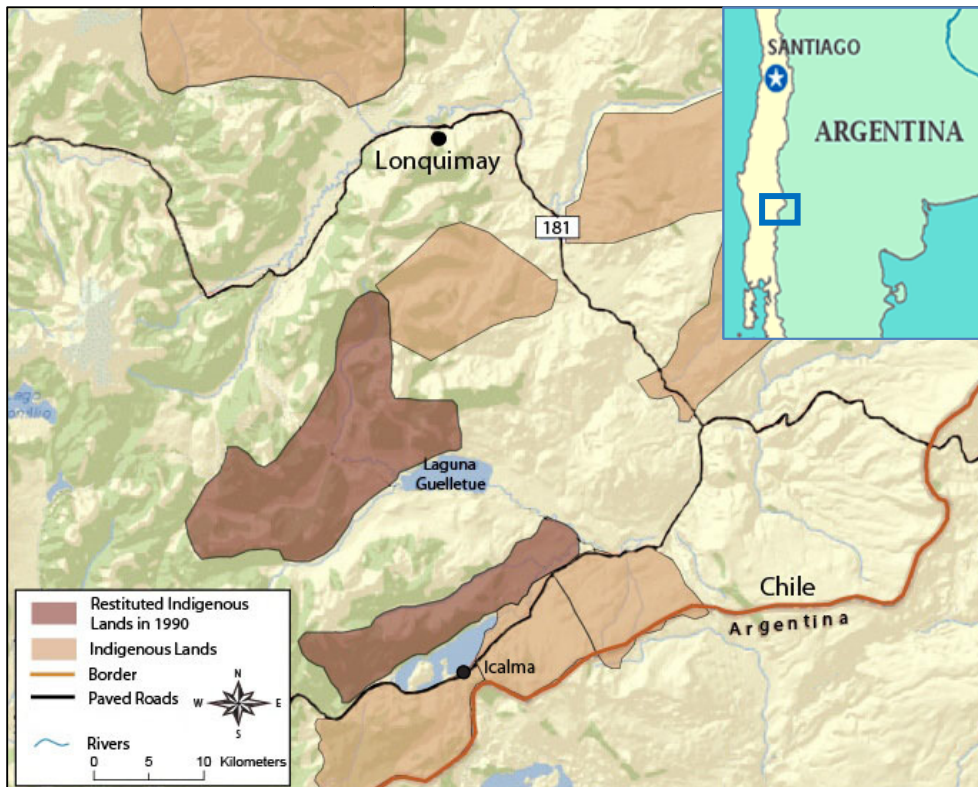
Also, my choice of Lake Icalma as the central case study of this thesis is that I have worked previously with the communities of the area. This positionality as a longtime collaborator of Icalma’s community endeavors provided relationships and knowledge to pursue my inquiries with a specific set of key informants. At the same time, the present inquiry on the nature of Mapuche touristic entrepreneurship and its politico-economic implications is firmly based in my commitment and accountability to the communities that are the subjects of this research. In addition, although the three locales have been targeted by DWI interventions including the IDB-Mideplan PO, in Icalma it was possible to assess the effects of recent DWI interventions more thoroughly than what was possible through interviews with touristic entrepreneurs. Here, PO closed in 2011, but its political effects are still unfolding. Also, in 2010 a pilot Territorial Indigenous Development Program (PDTI) was launched by Indap, the state Agricultural Development Institute in this place, and I interviewed in June of 2011 a Mapuche *dirigente*, as well as a development staff working on it, and who are currently designing an ethno-tourism project involving twelve families in the community.

Livelihoods in these mountains have depended, since pre-colonial times, on transhumant (semi-nomadic) annual cycles between summer and winter posts. Cattle ranching and Pewén nuts harvests, to which I come back later, are among the more important contemporary land-based activities that depend upon the ancient cycle. Current livelihood strategies of the Mapuche-Pehuenche of Lonquimay are made of combinations of land-based reproductive and commercial production, and other income-generating activities, including migration and states social subsidies.

Lonquimay is considered a poor municipality in the Chilean region with the higher poverty rates; it is also the largest Municipality of the Araucania Region. Its immense

Andean valleys and plateaus are less densely populated than the areas of the central valley and the coast of south-central Chile. At 152 km from Temuco the only small urban center and municipal head, Lonquimay, is home for some five thousand inhabitants, about half of the total population (Municipality of Lonquimay, 2010). Neoliberalization, Mapuche resistance, and re-democratization have reshaped this place in distinctive ways. In fact, the Biobío watershed remained somewhat isolated from the harshest impacts of industrial tree farms, hydroelectric development, and other extractive sectors. Moreover, as *figure 3* illustrates, members of these communities regained or secured land title in the early 1990s, which was back then, an exceptional counter-trend in the context of broader processes of de-territorialization, as I will explain further on.

Figure 3: Lonquimay and Lake Icalma



With access to subsistence resources, however, the *Pehuenche of Icalma* also recovered lakeshore lands which in the last two decades a demand in part spurred by improved access roads has gradually re-make them into valuable touristic assets. In fact, also starting in the early 1990s, amenity migrants (wealthy non-indigenous Chileans) began to populate this remote and beautiful area of Pehuenche country with vacation homes in long-term leases of otherwise “protected” indigenous lands under Law 19253. Mapuche

“ethno-preneurs” committed to territorial recomposition in line with those I interviewed in Budi and Curarrehue are, in short, only ones amidst a plethora of actors shaping Lake Icalma’s evolving touristic landscapes in competing ways. In addition, recent DWI interventions, in particular the IDB sponsored PO, have introduced new rationalities of government that have reshaped, as I will show, the intersections of Mapucheity, tourism and territory in Icalma perhaps more markedly than in the other two cases. I will show that Mapuche engagements with both, disparate assemblages of tourism development, as well as recent DWI interventions, have been as heterogeneous and messy, as they are informative of the challenges of Mapuche co-production development in south-central Chile.

In the following table (*Table 1*) I have summarized some central features differentiating the three cases explored. Some of these characteristics have already been introduced, and others will be demonstrated in the course of this paper. The overall importance of each feature, and its place in the whole of relations and mediations configuring the co-production of tourism in discourse and practice by Mapuche communities, will be made clearer as I approach the end of the thesis.

Table 1: Summary of Relevant Quantitative and Qualitative Aspects of Each Site of Mapuche Engagement in Tourism Development where fieldwork was conducted in June of 2011.

	Budi (Saavedra and T. Schmidt)	Curarrehue	Icalma (Lonquimay)
Total Population per Municipality	29098 (Lake Budi area: 8000)	7660	11482 (Icalma area: 1637)
Inhabitants in Rural Areas per Municipality	16382 (56.3%)	5996 (78.28%)	7639(66.52%)
Self-identify as Mapuche per Municipality	14862 (51.8%) (Rural population in Budi basin predominantly Mapuche)	3907(51%)	5098(44.4%) (In Lake Icalma area reaches 81%)
Poverty rate (CASEN 2006)	25% (In the Budi area, up to 59% in some estimates. See for instance Bello 2005)	14, 5%	25,7%

Table 1 (continued).			
	Budi (Saavedra and T. Schmidt)	Curarrehue	Icalma (Lonquimay)
Land and resource tenure	Limited indigenous land title and legally insecure tenure of water and aquatic resources, only counteracted by; Continuous Mapuche occupation of the lower basin and oceanic coast.	Pluri-ethnic rural demography and land tenure including Chilean and Mapuche farmers (<i>campesinos</i>) National parks and public lands constituted in higher lands Bi-national touristic corridor an powerful exogenous economic actors operating in and outside the tourism sector.	Indigenous land titles in higher lands such as Lake Icalma area, with “settler” and hacienda property on the lower, more valuable valleys of Lonquimay. Restitution of lands and protection of the Araucaria tree provides since early 1990 a degree of livelihoods security. Incipient touristic development and gentrification of lakeshores
Mapuche struggles	Strong historic grassroots organizations	Emerging environmental conflicts	Historic conflict pacified in the early nineties with devolution of lands and the legal protection of the Pewén tree
Engagement DWI	Leadership with 30 years of experience of engaging a multiplicity of development networks. Recent interventions such PO came as corollary in establishing these capacities.	Appropriation of a museum as a physical and social space for the re-deployment of DWI as a Mapuche entrepreneurial network of cultural/touristic producers.	Ongoing recombination of resources, discourses and actors of tourism, Mapuche struggles, and DWI following intervention by PO. Indap-PDTI currently developing DWI projects.
Engagement tourism development	Incipient but rapidly growing demand Touristic development initiated by Mapuche entrepreneurs 19 families involved in the Mapuche Tourism Committee of Llaguepulli	Matured tourism destination (Pucón) with a history of marginalization of the Mapuche Curarrehue’s Municipal museum is the axis of Mapuche engagement Approximately 10 families professionally engaged in tourism practices	Moderate but growing pressure for tourism development associated with processes of incipient gentrification of lakeshore propriety, and drive by a plethora of exogenous actors About 20 Mapuche family business engaging tourism in disparate manners Additional 12 families engaging in new governmental ethno-tourism Project

Table 1 (continued).

Main rationale of Mapuche economic mobilization	Re-investing revenue in, and linking development networks to, a project of territorial recomposition	Overcoming exclusion from both tourism industry and political agency by harnessing dynamic tourism markets through cultural production	Counteracting de-territorialization by gentrification of lakeshores and long-term leases to “second home” owners
Fieldwork methods	Visit community for 2 nights; 2 interviews	Visit community for 1 night; 2 interviews; Observation touristic encounter	25 days-long immersion; Pre-existent relationships; 8 recorded and non-recorded interviews to Mapuche actors and 2 with development staff on the ground

(Sources: http://www.sinim.gov.cl/indicadores/seleccion_muns/ and “Municipal Development Plans” of Lonquimay (2009), Curarrehue (2009) and Puerto Saavedra (2009). See references.)

Chapter summaries

In Chapter II, I begin by revisiting the situation of the Mapuche in Chile in its historic and spatial configurations, with a particular focus on the politicization of Mapuche identity in relation to both neoliberal government and extractive economies. I will offer a general account of Chilean multicultural reform’s two more important formulations: Law 19.253 in 1993, and the IDB-Mideplan *Programa Origenes* (PO) which began in 2001. I start by discussing the work of two researchers, Guillaume Boccara (2007, 2010) and Fernando Leiva (unpublished) who have critically analyzed the IDB-PO as a tool of neoliberal governmentality. I will built in their insights with my own analysis of texts, with a focus on how these texts construct the “Mapuche problem” in ways that renders it amenable to technocratic government and in concrete, to a set of governmental “technologies” embedded in mechanisms for the adjudication of funds, planning methods, and bureaucratic and audit procedures. I will analyze how such an “indigenous problem”, and therefore the goals and means of the PO, are articulated in terms of what I identified as the three core DWI rationales: social capital, participation, and culture in development.

Chapters III and IV represent the heart of my empirical analysis focused on the re-deployment of ethno-tourism discourse and practices by Mapuche actors, and the coproduction and re-politicization of its effects on place, livelihoods, and identities. In Chapter III, I examine two “success” cases of Mapuche involvement in tourism development in Lake Budi and Currarehue, as to interpret the ways Mapuche leaders are making sense of

their engagement both with tourism, and with DWI rationalities and technologies of government. Chapter III should serve at least as an empirical argument for the political and academic interest, and perhaps for the very existence—so far under-recognized—of Mapuche “ethno-preneurialism” as an emerging and potentially significant form of indigenous economic mobilization in south-central Chile.

Chapter IV is a deeper examination of the practical and political implications of Mapuche engagement in tourism, and some of its many shades in a third locale, Lake Icalma. There, as said, I conducted most of my fieldwork observation and interviews, which revealed a particularly complex dynamic taking place there. In Icalma, touristic development is still incipient. However certain tourism discourses and practices might be negatively impacting Mapuche population, threatening social exclusion and spatial displacement by amenity development and gentrification. De-territorialization in Icalma, however, is being contested in peculiar ways, as tension between “invasive tourism” and Mapucheity of place, livelihoods and identities is shaping what doing “sustainable” tourism means for Mapuche entrepreneurs. In Chapter IV, my analytical focus will not be on how ethno-preneurs are reshaping DWI rationalities, but on how they and other community political and economic actors perceive the nature and multiple dimensions of the challenges ahead.

In Chapter V, I offer a concluding discussion on how the strategies of rural Mapuche entrepreneurs in negotiating simultaneously DWI discourses and tourism development might inform regional theoretical and practical debates introduced before. I will argue that their experience and meaningful agency, and my own interpretive analysis of the narratives my interviewees have deployed, provide new insight into how Mapuche struggles re-articulate indigenous livelihoods, places, and identities constitute an important albeit elusive Mapuche conversation with global discourses and practices of sustainability from their own situated experience of those. By adopting the perspective of indigenous territories as political ontologies developed by Blaser (2011), I argue that Mapuche strategies for multidimensional territorial recomposition can be seen as practical, situated contributions to sustainability.

The ultimate result of these Mapuche ethno-preneurial efforts under neoliberalism to redirect development, of course, remains largely an open question. Mapuche tourism entrepreneurs’ contribution to sustainability, I will conclude, is complicated by multiple neo-colonial encroachments of their communities; uneven distribution of the resources

used and produced by tourism, and a weak institutional framework for Mapuche people in Chile to regulate of such problematic aspects of tourism development in Mapuche territories. I will argue, however, that Mapuche creative co-production of tourism discourse and practice is to a degree already counteracting or at least making visible this constrains, thus becoming one of multiple threads making the story of a Mapuche contribution to globalization as “*un mundo donde quepan muchos mundos.*”

CHAPTER II

ETHNO-DEVELOPMENT BETWEEN DISCIPLINARY GOVERNMENT AND SUBJECTS' CREATIVE AGENCY

Introduction

The solution is very long and expensive. It entails taking all the necessary measures to recycle a very important part of the Mapuche and incorporate it into the active and productive life of the country. As for those who are non-recyclable, we need to think in some form of subsidy of subsistence that could make the problem less acute
(Juan Agustín Figueroa, former minister of agriculture -2002).

The quote above was taken from an interview in the Chilean elite's newspaper *El Mercurio* with Juan Agustín Figueroa Yavar, ex-minister of agriculture under President Patricio Aylwin and landowner in the Mapuche conflict zone of Malleco. Figueroa's declaration came in the context of the criminalization of Mapuche resistance that he himself spearheaded in the 2000s. Asked what it would take to solve the "Mapuche conflict", Figueroa draws on long-standing post-colonial narratives on an "indigenous problem," as he de-humanize communities as something that can be discarded and recycled. Through his voice, Chilean political elites portray themselves, now as before, as the ones delivering civilization and prosperity to the backward, irrational, dysfunctional, indigenous "inner frontier" of the nation.

This post-colonial discourse has pervaded neoliberal policies towards the Mapuche and crucially, the implantation of poorly regulated extractive industries in Mapuche territories and disputed lands. In addition, what Figueroa tells *El Mercurio* readers is that the "recycling" or, in this sense, the *proletarianization and de-territorialization* of Mapuche populations in the service of extractive operations will not occur simply as the by-product of powerful corporate actors' efforts, nor could it be solved through the persecution of "radicals" resisting corporate expansion only. Instead, the solution would emerge through a "recycling program" represented as a "costly and lengthy intervention," presumably of government, targeting both the "recyclable" and the "non-recyclable" ethnic subjects.

In this sense, Figueroa and important sectors of Chilean political elites are in fact far ahead of the original neoliberal claim that GDP growth solely would change the faith of those trashed by history. They have learned, aided by powerful multilateral development organizations, that in order to solve the “indigenous problem,” there was no such GDP magic wand. Instead, what exists is the pressing need for a systematic although necessarily tortuous, long and expensive governmental attempt to tame cultural difference, regulate ethnic sentiments, and redirect indigenous resistance to *de-territorialization*. Ultimately, the “problematic” that occupies elites is not that of Mapuche poverty *per se*, but instead that of the governance of the process of Mapuche proletarianization (loss of livelihoods) and de-territorialization (loss of control over resources and spaces) imposed by the export-oriented model and naturalized by post-colonial narratives. From the Chilean political elites’ viewpoint, I will argue, DWI is precisely Figueroa’s “recycling program”.

In chapter III and IV I examine in three locales a number of rural Mapuche responses, in the form of touristic entrepreneurship, to the changing milieus of post-authoritarian neoliberalism in South-central Chile. Before that, this chapter draws from literature and my own analysis of governmental and development texts, to examine the implantation of DWI interventions targeting rural indigenous communities. In this chapter I analyze texts as to establish how DWI rationales and tools of government have been set by political elites’ agendas. This enables me to further explore in chapter III and IV, the possibilities, tensions, and dilemmas opened by neoliberal multiculturalism through fieldwork data consistent in Mapuche discourses on their own engagement in tourism practices and development more generally.

In the second half of this chapter I will discuss in depth one Inter-American Development Bank (IDB) sponsored program in Chile, the Integral Development Program for Indigenous Peoples or *Programa Origenes*, or PO. PO, I will argue, was not just any DWI program, but rather an intervention that was at the core of the second wave of multicultural reforms launched as a response to an escalating “Mapuche conflict” in the late 1990s. Designed and funded transnationally, PO was explicitly aimed at triggering institutional change that would reshape what DWI and perhaps even indigeneity meant in Chile. But before turning to my analysis of PO in the following section, I present in this section a brief historic and geographic account of the situation of the Mapuche in Chile, marked by internal colonialism and exclusion by elites, but also shaped by Mapuche resistance, cultural recomposition, and struggle for spaces within the dominant political system. I discuss the

resurgence of Mapuche identity politics, from contestation of authoritarian neoliberalism in the late 1970s, to the expressions of Mapuche autonomous currents following the dictatorship in the 1990. This brief historic account will lead to the central discussion of the chapter: How the partial accommodation of indigenous demands in post-authoritarian neoliberal government has both enabled and constrained Mapuche political and economic agency in paradoxical ways.

The Mapuche situation in Chile

a. Colonization and early identity politics

This section does not pretend to speak for the Mapuche movement, not to analyze what it means to be Mapuche, nor to capture the core of the Mapuche autonomy as a political or cultural practice. If anything, it is a systematization of academic discussions that situate neoliberal multiculturalism in the history of political and economic relations between Mapuche communities, movements, and the state. In other words, this section on the Mapuche situation in Chile is a partial account of what I consider important benchmarks in any historicized approach to Mapuche agency in development.

The Mapuche are in 2012 one of the eight indigenous groups legally recognized by the state of Chile, and totaling more than 600,000 self-identified members in Chile (INE 2002). The Mapuche have also a presence in Argentina—the two population taken together thus constituting one of the largest indigenous nations in Latin America. Contemporary Mapuche assert links to those who lived independently in the southern cone up until the second half of the nineteenth century. Most historiography agrees that the greatest (and relatively recent) transformation of Chilean/Mapuche relations and perhaps of Mapuche society itself was provoked by the genocidal war waged against the Mapuche by the Chilean state, euphemistically known as “Pacification of the Araucania” (1860-1891). Following forced annexation and the murderous usurpation and cruelty that ensued, surviving Mapuche groups were placed into small “reductions” or reservations while their lands were auctioned and settled, and their forests burned by Chileans and foreigners in the name of peace, order, and progress (Bengoa 1985, 2000; Millalen et al., 2006; Caniuqueo, 2009; Comision Verdad y Nuevo Trato, 2003). Little more than a century later, some two hundred thousand of them continue to inhabit the small portion of their ancestral lands “granted” to

them as *titulos de merced* by the state in the early twentieth century. The majority of the Mapuche, however, now dwells in Santiago and regional urban centers such as Temuco and Concepcion (INE 2002).

The nation-state of Chile has often been seen by scholars to be constituted by ethno-classist relations typical in Latin America. That is, the state is largely controlled by Euro-descended elites, and other groups, marked by class (e.g. peasants) and race (e.g. Mapuche), are excluded politically and economically. Recent academic and political analysts, however, have begun to represent the particular asymmetric relation between the Mapuche people and the Chilean nation-state as produced by a specific internal-colonial domination matrix which political dynamics encompass economic, institutional, psychological and epistemic-ontological dimensions (Millaman, 2000; Montalba et al., 2003; Calbucura 2003, 2009). Crucially, it has also been observed that this neocolonial matrix is not a static structure, but, on the contrary, a dynamic set of spatialized social and political relations that are continually shaped and reshaped by struggle and accommodation between the centers of political and economic power and a scattered Mapuche society (Boccaro, 2002; Toledo, 2005; Martinez-Neira, 2009).

This dialectic dynamism of the Mapuche situation in Chile has been interpreted by scholars in terms of a succession of “social pacts” or institutional orders mediating and regulating uneven ethnic power relationships through time. Commonly branded as republican/neo-colonial, developmental/integrationist, and neoliberal/multicultural, the so-called “pacts” broadly correspond to the main periods of regional political-economic history. After the state forcibly annexed territories south of the Biobío through the genocidal twenty-year long War of “Pacification” of the Araucania (1861-1881), the republican/neo-colonial pact reflected dominant landed liberal agendas up until World War II, and was based on the massive incorporation of rich agricultural soil and other resources to global markets (Toledo, 2005; Caniuqueo 2009; Millalen et al., 2006).

From then on, internal colonialism has conveyed both dispossession and dehumanization, and a protective treatment of the “inferior race” or “ethnic group” through a special land tenure regime (the *reductions* or reservations) linked to specific forms of social and labor control, distribution of wealth and power, and state sanctioned institutional mediations (Mallon, 2009, p. 157). In the latter half of 19th century, colonial hierarchies that at least formally had been replaced with political liberalism in central Chile were revived south of the Biobío. This republican/neo-colonial pact reflected dominant landed liberal

agendas up until World War II and was based on the massive incorporation of rich agricultural soil and other resources to global markets. The “social pact,” however, was that *indigenous reductions* were to be “protected” by the state, and Mapuche labor incorporated to the export-oriented agrarian system (Toledo, 2005).

Following WWII a second “pact” emerged from the first framed by *indigenismo* as a narrative of national integration and assimilation. The so-called national-developmental state directed by Keynesians attempted, into the 1970s, to incorporate the Mapuche to “national life” through integrationist *indigenista* institutions such as the DASIN (Bureau of Indigenous Affairs, 1953-1971). The DASIN was charged with delivering development schemes and benefits such as micro-credit and scholarships, and crucially, with the regulation of land disputes and the “protection” of communities (Bengoa, 1985; Foerster et al., 2004). The most remarkable fact about DASIN was for Foerster et al. (2004) that, “through its creation, the Mapuche movement would successfully define and control a space within the state, from where to induce changes favorable to improve the situation of their people’ in the context of the corporatist state” (Foerster et al., 2004, p. 88, my translation). Finally, since neoliberal restructuring in the 1970s and 1980’s, a new institutional arrangement has emerged. This new regime has sought to accommodate *indigenous rights in development*, as to produce a “modern multicultural society,” while deepening the incorporation indigenous territories into the global economy’s extractive frontiers (Toledo, 2005).

The emergence of successive institutional arrangements regulating internal colonialism in a nominally liberal society, however, is only one aspect of the Mapuche situation in Chile, also defined by political experience and agency of the people. Florencia Mallon important ethnographic and historic research captures the evolving relationships between Mapuche subjects and the dominant political system through the dialectic between institutional reforms and Mapuche political subjectivities and experiences. For Mallon (2009), the political experience of Mapuche “citizens” and their leaders since their compulsive incorporation to the state has been one of profound and yet unresolved ambivalence towards this series of institutional arrangements regulating Mapuche identity in Chile. The Chilean national project, Mallon argues, is caught in a fundamental contradiction in its approach to the “Mapuche problem” from the beginning. As political elites pursued a post-colonial republican project of statehood through national integration, they were engaged at the same time in an explicit internal-colonial project. In turn, this has

meant for Mapuche subjects to also find themselves caught between “integrationist” and “ethnic” discourses and practices (Mallon, 2009).

In a recent article, Mallon (2009) examines two historic figures in Mapuche political history of the early 20th century, right after “reduction”. Through the political trajectories of Aburto and Manquilef, the author shows how these leaders negotiated the tensions of Mapuche between participating in the promise of the Chilean republican project (under different political colors), or retreating into an autonomous counter-practice centered in the “Mapuche community.” In the second half of the 20th century, with the installation of *indigenismo* associated with the national-developmental project and its corporatist agendas, these contradictory orientations and their creative resolution by Mapuche leadership did not disappear. Don Venancio Coñuepan, perhaps the more influential Mapuche leader of the past century, allied himself and his Mapuche voters with conservative Chilean parties to promote an *indigenista* agenda of integrationist orientations even as he advocated for the “protection” of the communities, including avoiding subdivision and asserting the right to communal tenure. Coñuepan, who became Minister of Colonization of Ibanez del Campo between 1952 and 1953, from this position, built the first developmental institution specifically concerned with “indigenous issues,” the aforementioned DASIN.

In short, Mapuche political experience within the Chilean state between cataclysmic annexation in the 19th century and the turbulent 1970s, was intensely dynamic. Mallon (2002, 2009) suggests Mapuche actors have, under changing circumstances being able to creatively negotiate the tensions between participating in the republican project, and day-to-day resistance in the reservation to the deeply unequal and odious internal-colonial regime (Millalen et al., 2006). This tension, however, has originated dynamic and creative Mapuche political actors that have achieved throughout the 20th century important benchmarks -from the election of several Mapuche deputies to the national congress, to the persistent and effective campaigning for the protection of Mapuche communal lands, to the massive albeit ultimately truncated Mapuche agrarian mobilization during Salvador Allende’s short-lived socialist experiment between 1970 and 1973 (Foerster et al., 2004; Gavilan, 2008).

b. The Mapuche movement under neo-liberalism

In the early 1990s, however, most Chileans were surprised when the Mapuche movement jumped to the center of the recently restituted democratic forum. A fundamental

component for the re-democratization of the state, the movement demanded reparation of internal colonization of indigenous peoples, sometimes framed as “historic debt” — demands that later in the decade became claim to Mapuche *indigenous autonomy and territorial collective rights* (Bengoa, 2000; Toledo, 2005). This seemingly new Mapuche movement, however, needs to be traced back to the darkest days of the dictatorship.

Back in the 1970s the Mapuche not only endured political repression and the virtual reversion of the agrarian process after the coup, but they also had to endure compulsive subdivision of communal lands, which up to that time had been at the center of Mapuche political identity (Mallon and Reuque, 2002; Toledo, 2005; Gavilan, 2008). Pinochet’s decree No. 2568 of 1979 dictated that when subdivided, the lands would cease to be indigenous, and their occupants would also no longer be indigenous. While Pinochet succeeded in its subdivision plans, opposition among the Mapuche, enabled under the protection of the church, coalesced in 1978 in the *Mapuche Cultural Centers* movement. Ironically, grassroots resistance to subdivision was to become, over the next two decades, a veritable cultural and political Mapuche renaissance (Boccaro, 2002).

From 1980 on, Ad-Mapu, an umbrella organization for the cultural centers, effectively led the struggle for the cultural, material, and political survival of Mapuche communities under the genocidal conditions created by the right-wing dictatorship. But as Isolde Reuque, the Ad-Mapu leader recalls to Mallon (Mallon and Reuque., 2002), by the mid 1980, the once mighty organization was to be ravaged by partisan factionalism as Chilean parties re-articulated in the second half of that decade, and competed to expand their constituencies within the mobilized Mapuche communities. Many Mapuche activists grew bitter of partisan manipulations—treatment some begin to see as racist and Eurocentric (Mallon and Reuque, 2002; Hale and Millaman, 2006; Gavilan, 2007).

In the Nueva Imperial Accords of 1989, a splintered and weakened Mapuche movement was barely able to negotiate an agenda for the discussion and legislation of a new “Indigenous Law” with the leadership of the *Concertacion*, the center-left coalition that was to become government the year after. With democratic transitions, the Mapuche leadership remaining in Chilean political parties became progressively disconnected and irrelevant to the militant Mapuche grassroots, and by the early Nineties, several Mapuche NGOs and factions of *Ad-mapu* opted for politics of ethnicity that refused affiliation to parties and retreated to rural communities (Mallon and Reuque, 2002). In response to the 500th anniversary of Columbus’ “discovery,” one of these dissident factions known as

Consejo de Todas las Tierras (All Lands Council) coordinated a vigorous 500th anniversary counter-celebration campaign (Gavilan, 2007).

In 1993, the so-called “indigenous law” was passed unanimously by the Chilean Congress, and the Mapuche leadership celebrated the materialization of the longstanding aspirations for official recognition of indigenous subjects of rights (Mallon and Reuque, 2002). A younger and disenchanted generation of activists were, however, already shifting towards the notion of “autonomy” that went beyond these core land claims. However, based on the analysis of Mallon (2009) and Martinez-Neira (2009) in Chile, and Claudia Briones (2002) in Argentina, I argue that contemporary Mapuche social movements can be situated in a long history of ambivalence towards the state, and oscillation between autonomous ethno-political spheres and the dominant political society and its republican project.

In Mallon’s accounts, the demand of collective rights *vis a vis* the state has been a mobilizing discourse to an otherwise constantly oscillating constituency, seduced by prospects of political and economic citizenship within the republic. This tension between autonomy and integration, in Mallon’s account, has shaped a rich history of twentieth century’s Mapuche identity politics within the national-corporatist state. Therefore, Mapuche politics, while strongly identity-based, have also been politically expansive through alliances with diverse political forces: conservatives in the Fifties, the revolutionary Left in the Seventies, and the democratic movement in the Eighties.

Coinciding with Mallon, Martinez-Neira (2009) observes that Mapuche politics of autonomy are far from de-linking from the state in a politico-administrative sense. Instead, the author argues, autonomy would be “contingent” on two factors in tension: a) The integration of Mapuche “public spheres” or *political communities* capable of autonomous deliberation and validation of leadership, and b) A politics of alliances and negotiations with more powerful political actors within a broad Chilean public sphere. Together these politics would seek to create more symmetric institutional and cultural relations with the dominant political system. In turn, this “double contingency” of Mapuche politics, Martinez-Neira asserts, responds to a tension between the atomization of the multiple Mapuche political communities imposed by the *reductional* system, on one hand, and on the other, the multilayered and expansive scales of political and socio-environmental conflict (Martinez-Neira 2009).

In a similar vein, but examining the Mapuche situation in Argentina, Claudia Briones (2002) explores the politics of “autonomous” Mapuche leadership in a way is pertinent to

my study, particularly regarding the emphasis on the productive and creative role of Mapuche *organic intellectuals*. In a decisive Gramscian turn, Briones (2002) culture-centered approach to state-indigenous relations explores how Mapuche activists strive to mobilize a heterogeneous Mapuche constituency, even as they struggle to expand the political spaces opening in the dominant political institutions and narratives.

The imposition by Argentinean political elites of definitions of *cultural difference* based on narrow concepts of “fair claims” and “unbearable politicization” has pushed Mapuche constituency in Argentina to split between three lines of political mobilization: First, official integrationist *indigenismo*; second, class-based politics, and third, autonomous currents (p. 102-105). Nevertheless, Briones (2002) notes, Mapuche leadership has learned to navigate and combine these three lines of mobilization and break through the elite’s narrow definitions of *indigeneity* by producing self-representations of *Mapucheity* as a distinct, autonomous political culture/community. By combining postmodern global networks and discourses, on the one hand, with specifically Mapuche politico-cultural narratives constructed through a negation of Western acculturation (*awinkamiento*) they have asserted particular relationship with history and place that includes day-to-day cultural practices (p.106).

Contemporary politics Mapuche identity are for Briones (2002) both an expansive transformational political project and a daily, embodied struggle to break through the narrow definition of indigeneity. These representations, in turn, have enabled them to frame a political project that aims at the transformation of the Argentinean state and society based on notions of equality and respect along the cultural divide (p. 107). Through these representations and bodily assertions of *Mapucheity*, in this novel political discourse, Briones also notes, apparent paradoxical demands for state withdrawal and involvement merge into claims for full citizenship, on one hand, and for differential people-hood and collective rights on the other. In this way, the Mapuche have also asserted rights to territory and to a cultural relationship with land, and therefore the right to decide the sort of “development” that, supported by the state, is to take place in these aboriginal spaces (p. 110). In fact, a second crucial aspect of the Mapuche movement for autonomy under neoliberalism has entailed a process of “re-territorialization,” a political discourse and practice of *recomposition of indigenous territories* of which the more visible aspect, but crucially not the only one, as I will show, has been the contestation and sometimes direct

confrontation of neo-colonial extractive assemblages (Millaman, 2000; Calbucura, 2003; Toledo 2005).

In sum, so far I have argued that the Mapuche have been historically able to articulate transformative projects in terms of an ethnic politics that challenges the *coloniality* of Latin American national political projects, even as they participate in these same political systems through the mediation of co-produced institutional arrangements and political alliances. Tensions and oscillations between de-colonial resistance and integration have shaped uniquely Mapuche political identities and practices, in both sides of the Andes.

c. Extractivism, territory and the autonomous movement

By the mid-1990s, the conflict over territory erupted in south-central Chile. In 1996, the conflict around the Biobío dams became nationally and internationally visible and, by 1997, the first arsons against loggers initiated a meter-by-meter confrontation for land and resources between Mapuche autonomous communities and organizations on the one side, and corporations, landowners, and the state on the other. The plantation-covered provinces of Malleco, Nahuelbuta and Arauco, and other extractive enclaves, such as hydroelectric emplacements, have been declared conflict zones by both sides. So far, the reported deaths reflect only in the Mapuche ranks. In this context, the Mapuche movement, forged in the face of dictatorship, acquired a new edge. Adding to tense and ambivalent relationship with the dominant political society, the emergence of *territorial conflicts* in South-central Chile (Toledo, 2005) configures perhaps the political core of the Mapuche movement under post-authoritarian neoliberalism and its challenge to the extractives and agro-industrial assemblages, and, ultimately, the export-oriented model as a whole.

De-territorialization by extractive assemblages, and its direct consequence, Mapuche “proletarianization” (pauperization, loss of food security and out-migration) are the backdrop of Mapuche new forms of resistance. The concept of de-territorialization, as used by Mapuche scholars, refers fundamentally to the expansion of the power and geographic scope of extractive assemblages making Mapuche communities more vulnerable to food insecurity, environmental degradation, cultural loss, and demographic disintegration (Calbucura, 2009). This occurs, as recent scholarship suggest, by transferring control of the territory and its wealth to the center while disrupting and dislocating socio-environmental systems (Millaman, 2000; Calbucura, 2003; Montalba-Navarrete, 2003;

Toledo, 2005) The deepening conflict under post-authoritarian neoliberalism is therefore rooted in the geographies of extraction, and in that sense, is clearly not a Mapuche problem, but a problem of unresolved internal colonialism, enabling under neoliberalism extractive assemblages to de-territorialize Mapuche culture and livelihoods.

Millaman (2000) states that the “historic production practices characterized by its diversity and cyclical and integral nature have had to be abandoned and, consequently, the indigenous economy is becoming critically and unequally integrated into the capitalist production system” (Millaman, 2000, p. 70). Moreover, as Millaman (2000) observes, de-territorialization by disruption of socio-environmental systems supporting land-based livelihoods and knowledges has deep cultural and political implications, and it has been consequently labeled as a “transnational second invasion” by activists and scholars representing it as an existential threat to the Mapuche. Ultimately, it is under these conditions of veritable *re-colonization* under authoritarian and then post-authoritarian neoliberalism that Mapuche have reframed historic land and racial grievances through globally circulating postmodern discourses of indigenous autonomy and territorial rights. Boccara (2002) states:

The clearest manifestation of the transformation of the Mapuche agenda in the last decade can be summarized in the following terms: from land to territory.

Indigenous associations no longer defined Mapuche people as poor peasants lacking land, but as a people whose territorial sovereignty had been alienated [...] Actually, **mapu**, usually translated as land, would better be translated as **territory** (p. 291, bolded in original).

In short, the focal point of the Mapuche struggle progressively shifted over the past twenty years towards a Mapuche *autonomous* practice and discourse that has conveyed the assertion of a collective subject of rights, constituted as autonomous political community, or public sphere, in Neira’s terms (2009) and holding collective rights over territory and its resources. In this respect, autonomy implies the contestation of dominant concepts of nation and citizenship, as Boccara (2002) correctly highlights. Moreover, I will argue, this Mapuche construction of a dynamic politics of autonomy and recomposition of Mapuche culture and territory corresponds to what Mario Blaser (2011) designate as political

ontologies, or the politics of strengthening ways of being which encompass all aspect of life or being to which culture and nature are only aspects. For Millaman(2000),

The state has provided the corporate sector and particularly timber companies with the capacity to reinforce an economic model that represents Western values and culture throughout the entire region ... Nature, like other domains, becomes part of the market. (p. 9)

Millaman (2000 p. 10) asserts that the autonomous movement has responded to this challenge with a *political project* centered in two complementary objectives: re-constituting the Mapuche political community, and regaining control (by this reconstituted political community) over territory and its resources. This politics of re-territorialization include: 1) Incorporation of neo-traditional ontology of place, and 2) A political organization based on Mapuche traditional authorities and their knowledge. Mapuche communities, Millaman asserts, “are incorporating and re-elaborating their traditional cultural expression within each local group” (p. 10) thus configuring a “mosaic of mini-expressions of autonomy” (p. 11).

In short, instead of secession from the state, the movement seeks to transform of the state from below through Mapuche re-territorialization. This Mapuche transformative political project has therefore also implied the elaboration, albeit germinal, of a development counter-agenda for Mapuche territories and resources, one that can displace extractive assemblage of internal-colonial political elites profiting from the plunder of Mapuche natural resources. *Re-territorialization* of the Mapuche political project and actors is in this sense in itself a form of politicization of development. Moreover, as Boccara (2002) crucially argues, this ongoing discursive displacement of the Mapuche movement from land to territory has also meant the concrete re-politicization in distinctive Mapuche ways of state-sponsored ethno-development projects.

The remainder of this chapter discusses in detail the installation in Chile of DWI programs and more generally, of neoliberal multiculturalism. I will discuss two distinct phases of its institutionalization. The first one is marked by the promulgation of the Indigenous Law in 1993. A second governmental shift was introduced in the early 2000s by the Inter-American Development Bank *Programa Origenes* (2001-2011). Building on Leiva (2008, unpublished) and Boccara (2007) I will analyze *Programa Origenes* as a strategy of

“government through subjects” produced by transnational governmentalities networks as a bundle of rationales and technologies for governing the “indigenous problem” through the engagement of active but disciplined ethnic subjects. In chapters III and IV, I use my fieldwork-based data on Mapuche engagements of tourism discourse and practice to discuss Mapuche responses to the interstices opening in a changing regime of neoliberal multiculturalism.

Ethno-governmentality in Chile

In this section, I will briefly account for several key aspects of what I see as two distinct phases in the institutionalization of multiculturalism in post-authoritarian neoliberal Chile. The first wave of reforms ensued along with democratic transition when, once elected in 1990, Patricio Aylwin will constitute a *Special Commission for Indigenous Peoples* or CEPI (1990-1991) to draft the new Indigenous Law based on the so called “Imperial Pact” of 1989. After fierce debate and much compromise in Congress, the Indigenous Law (Law 19.253) was passed unanimously in 1993 (Mallon, 2002; Haughney, 2005).

From its inception, Law 19.253 and the institutional system it created were criticized as a watered-down version of the 1989 Pacto de Nueva Imperial (*Nueva Imperial Accords*) and the CEPI’s draft legislation (citations). Nevertheless, the deliberative process surrounding the new “multicultural” institutions enabled longstanding demands of the movement to make it into the 1993 Law 19.253 (Mallon and Reuque, 2002). For example, the Indigenous Law did remove Mapuche holdings—even if subdivided—from estate markets. It also protected those, at least nominally, from compulsive development and taxation and a mechanism was included to resolve historic land disputes. Finally, it provided for ethnic representation within the states and committed support for ethno-development in the form of Areas of Indigenous Development, intercultural health and education programs, and funding for community development projects for rural and urban populations (Haughney, 2006; Aylwin et al eds., 2007). Other demands, however, such as the constitutional recognition of indigenous peoples, and the ratification of ILO 169 and the right to prior and informed consultation this international normative body establishes were deemed by Congress too radical and excised from the 1993 legislation. Therefore, many observers have argued that this law institutionalized a neoliberal agenda and curtailed a

Mapuche one, as their claims were “distorted and manipulated by the dominant political institutions” (Millaman, 2000, p.10. See also Aylwin, 2000).

The Law 19.253 and the process leading to it generated important expectations among the Mapuche, but the new neoliberal-multicultural institutions soon proved to be, as I will explain, problematic and disappointing. First, the provisions for the “protection” of indigenous lands from markets and compulsory development were to be subordinated to neoliberal legislation in the water, mines, forestry, and electric sectors, among others (Aylwin, 2000; Budds, 2004; Toledo, 2005). The *Indigenous Lands and Waters Fund* (FTAI) had limited efficacy as the sole mechanism contemplated for addressing the key issue of land and resource disputes.

The FTAI mechanism consisted in the purchase of disputed lands and waters for their restitution to demanding communities, at market values, with a tax-payer budget and a “registry” or more accurately, a waiting list for state-authorized land disputes (Toledo, 2005). With these characteristics the FTAI was irrelevant before the complex environmental conflicts associated with extractive industries. It also proved problematic in many ways for solving historic land disputes (Aylwin 2000, Toledo 2005). As noted by Toledo (2005), insufficient funds were committed and estate values were easily manipulated for the benefit of—in Mapuche eyes—illegitimate owners. Also, the process was discredited in many Mapuche eyes because of CONADI’s perceived arbitrariness in the prioritization of land purchases and the absence of an overarching policy (Toledo 2005: 100).

Finally, indigenous elected representatives to CONADI’s council seemed at first to offer an important space for Mapuche political agency within the state. However, the executive branch nominees formed a majority in this council giving veto power to the designated director. The council and the whole CONADI system lost legitimacy when two successive council’s directors were removed from the institution for not imposing the government line on the key issue, back in 1998-99, of the “relocation” of communities in the service of hydroelectric development in the Biobío basin (Namuncura, 1999; Carruthers et al., 2008).

All in all, the institutions established by Law 19.253 were intended to provide the state with mechanisms for regulating the “indigenous problem” in ways very much in line with a history of subordination and assimilationist (*indigenista*) approaches. As Diane Haughney (2006) observes, these mechanisms, ranging from land purchases, to

scholarships and other subsidies, and even representation in CONADI's council, have been represented by the state as compensations to disadvantaged individuals more than as reparations at a collective level. All of these actions are scrupulously placed outside any formal recognition of collective rights.

Since 1993, multicultural government in Chile has relied heavily on affirmative action programs that recognize and act upon ethno-cultural differences through intercultural/bilingual education and health programs, "ethno-development" programs, scholarships and some other minor benefits, as well as land grants. In turn, the benefits of affirmative action required indigenous individuals and groups to register with CONADI. For "communities", registration meant legal incorporation through the constitution of an assembly of members and an executive board. Finally, the ethnic citizens registered in CONADI got to vote periodically for representatives to CONADI's national council (Mallon et al 2002, Haughney 2006: 89-98). In short, the system created by Law 19.253 legally sanctioned ethnically different minorities (*etnias*) whose individual members were to be compensated by the state for their disadvantaged position in society. Through this legislation, a novel set of relations between indigenous peoples and the state was established: a first version in Chile of what Hale (2002) has designated as neoliberal multiculturalism.

In short, neoliberal re-democratization in Chile did bring a new indigenous social pact, but one loaded with unresolved issues. Building on several academic accounts, I argue neoliberal elites promoting multiculturalism in Chile starting in the early 1990 construct a narrative of "development with identity" or "promoting their development, extension and ecological balance" as the Law 19.253 mandates, even as in practice they have supported the aggressive expansion of export-oriented assemblages and insuring vested interests in Mapuche territory. Therefore, while nominally addressing indigenous *rights in development* through the new institutions, the Concertacion governments continued to further policies of de-regulation and privatization "antagonistic to (Mapuche) autonomous development" (Millaman, 2000, p. 8).

The CONADI institutions were indeed soon challenged by the Mapuche movement. Since the late 1990s, direct resistances to extractive operations and investment projects in Mapuche country have been perceived by elites as sign of ethnic rebellion and as such, treated with harshness. Mapuche activists now totaling hundreds have been investigated and jailed under anti-terrorism laws, but few of them have actually been convicted (Toledo

2005, Tricot 2009). Along with this repressive reaction, however, since the late 1990s the state in conjunction with other powerful actors configuring transnational governmentalities in the region have also acted “productively” before the challenge of indigenous empowerment and revolt. By *productively*, I mean they have not only contained conflict, but also consistently induced new hegemonic orientations to the politics of indigeneity in Chile.

Building in the work of Guillaume Boccara (2007), I will argue that the IDB-Mideplan *Programa Origenes*, examined in depth in the next section, represented in recent years a key mechanism of governmentality for the production of new ethnic subjects, and as such, it was at the center of a second phase of institutionalization of post-authoritarian neoliberal multiculturalism in Chile.

The IDB-Mideplan Origenes

We took up Foucault's rather awkward neologism – governmentality – and began to tease apart two distinct aspects of this art of governing. The first of these we termed ‘rationalities’ or ‘programmes’ of government, and the second we designated as with the term ‘technologies’. Through this distinction, which we did not regard as designating different domains found in reality, we meant to indicate the intrinsic links between a way of representing and knowing a phenomenon, on the one hand, and a way of acting upon it so as to transform it, on the other....Rationalities were styles of thinking, ways of rendering reality thinkable in such a way that it was amenable to calculation and programming....For, to become operable, rationalities had to find some way of realizing themselves, rendering themselves instrumental, and we termed these “technologies” –human technologies. This referred to all those devices, tools, techniques, personnel, materials and apparatuses that enabled authorities to imagine and act upon the conduct of persons individually or collectively, and in locales that were often very distant.

(Miller and Rose 2008: 16-17)

By the late Nineties, the apparent failure of the first generation of multicultural institutions to govern the “indigenous problem” prompted the Ricardo Lagos government (2000-2006) to launch a so called *Nuevo Trato* (New Deal) policy. “Municipal Dialogues” were conducted in 1999, and in 2000 they embarked in “Regional Roundtables”—both ad hoc “consultation processes” promoted by the executive (Bello, 2007). These were followed in 2001 by the constitution of a “Commission of Historic Truth and New Deal” (*Comision de Verdad Histórica y Nuevo Trato*), designated to establish the magnitude of the historic

damage inflicted upon the Mapuche by the state, and to suggest mechanisms for reparation. This process did not result in anything concrete, except as a symbolic call for reparation (Aylwin, 2007, p. 55). That same year, before even hearing the Commission suggestions, the government announced an unprecedented joint venture with the IDB—the “Program for Integral Development for Indigenous Peoples” to be implemented by the Ministry of Planning (Mideplan). The IDB-Mideplan Loan Contract document, which I will be referencing repeatedly in this analysis, defined the general objectives of PO in this way:

(i) To enhance the capacities and opportunities of beneficiaries in the areas of production, education and health; (ii) to strengthen Indigenous Development Areas (ADIs) and beneficiary indigenous communities in terms of integral development and identity, through participatory management; and (iii) to institutionalize indigenous issues in the various sectors, and give public agencies the capacity to serve indigenous groups in a manner that is coordinated, appropriate and culturally relevant. (IDB-Mideplan, 2001, p. 11)

The IDB-sponsored “ethno-development” program was organized in sub-programs addressing different areas concerning the interfaces of the state and public services, and indigenous rural communities, such as health, education, and community development. Better known as IDB-Mideplan *Programa Origenes* (or *PO*), this two-phased, decade-long intervention would *de facto* define the core orientations of this second wave of “multicultural” reform in post-authoritarian Chile (Boccaro 2007, Leiva unpublished). With a US\$133.4 million budget nominally aimed at addressing indigenous rights in development, the PO nonetheless was quite explicitly formulated as an effort to recalibrate governmental institutions to more effectively contain, regulate, and redirect the “indigenous problem” (Aylwin and Yanez, eds., 2007).

The central justification for an intervention of such a magnitude given in the Loan document was concern “with an issue that the Chilean government has not previously addressed in terms of an intercultural perspective and positive discrimination” (IDB-Mideplan, 2001, p. 6). In other words, the IDB was framing *Programa Origenes* as addressing the perceived weaknesses of the 1993 laws and institutions. Most important the IDB articulated the failures of the 1990s reforms and policies as centering on the fact that indigenous peoples “high expectations on CONADI (had) not been met” (P. 3). Moreover, the diagnosis continued, while “the Chilean government has a number of instruments...for

dealing with the disadvantaged status of the county's indigenous populations, its efforts need a better-articulated set of mechanisms if they are to have a lasting impact" (IDB-Mideplan, 2001, p. 7).

Ironically, the IBD-sponsored effort itself was notorious from the start not only for its ambitious goals of political reform, but also, in apparent contradiction, for the lack of indigenous participation in the design stage and the distrust this omission caused in an already volatile political context. PO failed to address the central concerns of Mapuche organizers, particularly the control of land and resource rights at the local scale. Denounced as an open form of co-optation of leadership and *counter-insurgency* operation, PO has also been widely criticized as yet another case of failed ethno-development in its deliverance of substantial socio-economic improvement. Moreover, critics have denounced the disciplinary, carrot-and-stick logic of the PO, as it channeled considerable material and political resources to "reasonable" Mapuche communities, while dissidents spent long seasons in political prison (Bello 2007, Tricot 2009).

In fact, I will argue here that PO was successful, in what it sought to do: To govern the "indigenous problem." It did so by operating in two different time frames and levels of complexity. With an eye on the explosive situation of the Mapuche's unmet demands, the immediate approach was no doubt to inject fresh resources into "conflict zones" while occluding claims to land and resources. Building on Boccara (2007) and also in upcoming work of Fernando Leiva (unpublished), I will examine how in a longer time-frame, however, PO and the complementary symbolic measures taken throughout the 2000s have had important, perhaps even more determining governmental effects. I will show, that PO was explicitly aimed at recalibrating the government of the "indigenous problem," as in the late 1990s domestic political elites and transnational institutions had come to see the mechanisms in place to do so as no longer effective words, in the effort to, in Leiva's (unpublished) words,

Balance mutually exclusive objectives: respond to the ancestral demands of indigenous communities for land, control over resources and autonomy, while at the same time satisfying the interests and support the expansion of domestic and foreign transnational corporations, the very pillar of the country's natural resource-based export model.

Based on literature produced on this second wave of multicultural reform in Chile I elaborate my own textual analysis of what I see as the core technologies and rationalities through which elites and planners have intended to govern the indigenous problem.

Guillaume Boccara (2007), through a Foucaultian lens, has coined the suggestive term “ethno-governmentality” to designate the productive effects of this transnationally-designed program on its “ethnic subjects.” The author, focusing in the installation of an “intercultural health field” in Chile shows how PO was in fact a sophisticated instrument using governmental technologies for the “conduct of the conduct” of “ethnic subjects” aimed at producing governable, or perhaps more accurately, “governmentalized” spaces/communities, through normalization and de-politicization of ethnic identities and cultural heterogeneity.

After I do this, I will argue, also building on Boccara, and in dialogue with regional debates as well, that ethno-governmental rationalities and more generally, post-authoritarian neoliberal “social” policies might be think of as inherently negotiable. These new modes of regulation of post-Fordist produce political hegemony by calling active, responsabilized consumer-citizens. These new spaces for entrepreneurial agency are constraining and disciplinary, but also, I will argue, genuine transnational spaces were indigenous intellectuals are negotiating, more or less effectively, the very meanings of social capital, participation and culture, the core rationalities of DWI.

Conceptually, my analysis of IDB-Mideplan *Programa Origenes* also built on the founding figures of so called *governmentality studies*. These authors’ key distinction between rationales and technologies as two irreducible dimensions of cultural artifacts for the “government at a distance” (Miller and Rose 2008: 17) has proved useful in navigating from the symbolic to the concrete and back, in the effort to trace the changing relations between Mapuche subjects and the changing regimes of neoliberal multiculturalism in Chile. I have organized this part of my analysis directed towards ethno-governmentalities in terms of two main categories: the rationales and technologies of DWI. I resume these constructs in chapter III and 4 to investigate Mapuche re-deployment and re-direction of those, and particularly what I have designated as the three main rationalities of DWI: social capital, participatory planning, and culture in development.

The loan contract between the Inter-American Development and the Chilean Government through Mideplan (which I refer throughout as the *Loan Contract*) offers an excellent entry point to both rationales and technologies of ethno-governmentality. The Loan Contract provides a detailed blueprint for intervention, and importantly, it establishes a particular discursive regime through which interventions were to be operated and justified. It therefore reveals main governmental strategies introduced in Chile by the IDB-

sponsored *Programa Origenes*, which, when combined, mark an important shift from previous efforts to govern the “indigenous problem” under the CONADI system. Before analyzing separately, I will offer a general account of each one of these.

First, PO was framed explicitly as an effort to “de-nationalize” the government of the “indigenous problem,” as noted by Leiva (unpublished), in two opposite directions: That of localization (in each rural community) and that of the trans-nationalization of the program’s design and chain of command. PO was too conceived as a highly centralized adaptive methodology for political reform, which would produce new institutions and mechanisms of ethnic governmentality through calculated experimentation, expert knowledge generation, and expansive (geographic and institutional) replication of effective new “methods” of governing the indigenous problem. Third, as noted by Boccara (2007) remarkable was PO’s explicit pedagogical, almost civilizational aim of reforming political subjects. This mission was to be attained both through the re-education of bureaucracy and development staff, and through the formation of “neoliberal ethnic subjects” in the targeted rural communities. In fact, a central governmental strategy of PO was the conditioning of funds for community projects to a sophisticated combination of so-called “participatory planning methods,” on the one hand, and, on the other, a type of market-based system for the delivery of “out-sourced” non-governmental rural development assistance.

a. A transnational operation

As noticed by Leiva (unpublished) PO was framed as an effort to “de-nationalize” the government of the “indigenous problem” in two opposite directions —that of localization and trans-nationalization of the program’s design and chain of command. Here I focus on the latter, and I will come back later to the localization/specification tools of PO further in this chapter.

Claims are made in the Loan that PO was coming in support of “two processes underway in Chile,” defined as decentralization and “...willingness to expand citizen participation in managing and controlling public investment decision-making” (IDB-Mideplan, 2001, p. 44). Also, the document specifically mentions the process through which the Chilean government “has been attempting to reach out to indigenous population...in an effort to understand and process their demands and to seek alternatives solutions that would involve the entire spectrum of public institutions” (IDB-Mideplan, 2001, p. 7). What this technocratic jargon elides, however, is the fact that these consultations were set up in

response to a conflict in Mapuche territories that peaked in 1999, a process that in many accounts felt more like violent usurpation than a peaceful “reaching out” of the state to indigenous populations (Tricot, 2009). In the context of crisis, the “alternative solution” envisioned by IDB-Mideplan for the Mapuche problem is wrapped in a language of participation, but as the next quotation from the Loan (IDB-Mideplan, 2001) shows, the Programa Origenes “operation” responded to IDB’s regional designs:

The Bank has financed social investment programs in [Latin America] where specific measures were included for promoting indigenous participation. In recent years...community development have been directed at strengthening the social capital of indigenous communities...The programs have been characterized by their comprehensive approach, their participatory mechanisms and their decentralized execution, i.e., they are similar in nature to this operation. (p. 8)

As the text above suggests, the Inter-American Development Bank and its partners in *La Moneda Palace* had the express aim to de-nationalize the Mapuche problem, by linking “indigenous communities” represented as the local, “decentralized” scale of governance, “comprehensively” into transnational governmentalities. Moreover, *Programa Origenes* was unapologetically framed in the Loan Contract as a transnational governance “operation” (IDB-Mideplan, 2001, p. 8) in contrast to the Law 19.253 system, which had ultimately originated in national deliberation. Although the IDB-funded program rests on the mechanisms established in 1993 and on CONADI’s staff, knowledge, and networks, PO adopts the form of a relatively autonomous institution that bypasses CONADI and regional agencies. It is a development policy targeting Mapuche communities that is accountable only to the IDB and *La Moneda Palace* in Santiago (Bello, 2007, p. 201) with the Program’s design, implementation, and evaluation fully under control of these offices, while other state agencies, including CONADI, acted as mere co-executors alongside the Program’s command structure.

b. A scientific social reform

A second bundle of technologies embedded in PO was its inception as an *adaptive experiment* of political reform. To reach their goals, defined in the Loan as the: “establishment of an intervention model that can respond effectively to the demands of indigenous families, while enhancing the effectiveness of public resources” (IDB-Mideplan,

2001, p. 40), the programmers assert that an “experimental approach is needed in responding to indigenous demands, through measures...that can be adapted before they are expanded.” (p. 10). In other words, the governmental effects expected from PO will be attained once institutional experimentation has been conducted, and the new tools have been adapted and replicated, to ultimately encompass all relevant agents (in and outside the state, as I will show) of the emerging ethno-governmental regime. Moreover, it is said that interventions will deliver its “main benefits over the long term, once public programs and policies have been made more relevant to [indigenous communities] situation” (p. 42).

PO’s *phase one* budget contemplated funds of US\$1.7 million for the “strengthening and training for participating public entities” (IDB-Mideplan, 2001, p. 15) Phase two, starting in 2006, contemplated a whole subprogram targeted at various public services, with a budget of US\$19M for the “institutionalization of a model for intervention by public agencies to ensure that the supply of public services is more relevant and suited to the socio-cultural realities of indigenous communities” (IDB-Mideplan, 2006: 21 -22). In this effort, knowledge generation and distribution were critical, and a sophisticated system was set up for harnessing information flowing from local participatory exercises upwards to the Executive Secretariat directly dependent and accountable to the IDB and *La Moneda*. In this scheme, the Loan reads, “Community...participation will be encouraged through participatory planning, which in turn will provide information on the target population, its needs and priorities, for use in planning investments under the program” (IDB-Mideplan, 2001, p. 14). One of the tasks of so-called “promoters” [i.e. staff on the field] when conducting evaluations and reports will be “relating to key moments in execution of each component and [others] associated with unexpected events that affect the proper functioning of the operation...privileging a subjective valuation over material indicators [and] identifying and providing prompt warning” to the regional directorate “of any problems that may arise in the communities” (p. 38).

The mode of intervention described above, I will argue, worked effectively enough as to enable PO to navigate ten years (2001-2011) of permanent conflict at multiple scales and sort out several acute political crises, such as the assassination of at least three Mapuche protesters by police in that same period. Ultimately, as I will show in Chapters III and IV, the experimental/adaptive technologies put in place were effective in achieving their ultimate goal —recalibrating the institutional arrangements regulating *Mapucheity* in Chile (Boccaro, 2007; Boccaro et al., 2010; Leiva, unpublished).

c. *Community development projects: forming the subjects of neoliberal multiculturalism*

Community “entrepreneurial” development projects were a central component of the program, concentrating roughly a 70 % of the total investment of PO’s two phases between 2001 and 2011. Recent literature has recognized these interventions as a central tool of the new ethnic governmentalities and post-authoritarian neoliberal governance more generally. However, critical inquiry addressing empirically the effect of PO’s community development schemes has not yet been produced. I have not observed the implementation of PO ethnographically, as my fieldwork started when the program was closing and being replaced by other state agencies that have taken over what PO left, such as the pilot PDTI program, that is just in its first year (out of five) and which I address in chapter V. However, I will argue throughout the rest of this thesis that the political implications of PO have transcended the program, albeit in ways unintended by planners, as these implications are being shaped too, as Boccara and others have noticed, by Mapuche grassroots’ responses to DWI rationalities and technologies of government.

As Diane Haughney (2006) has highlighted, the 1993 Law 19.253 system relied heavily in multicultural concepts of “affirmative action” toward “disadvantaged individuals.” These concepts, while eliding issues collective rights to territory, historic reparation, and the factors hindering those, opened an avenue for Mapuche ethnic “economic citizenship” within the neo-liberal state. That is, they produced the conditions for new subjectivities and a new type of indigenous “subject position” functional to post-authoritarian neoliberalism. I would say that what in 1993 was implicit became in 2001 the explicit goal of PO, which deployed a range of methods that engaged in “subject formation.” These methods enable and constrain subjects to frame their grievances and claims in terms of ethnic disadvantage, while demanding economic citizenship in the form of individual compensations. This third novel and indeed crucial governmental strategy of PO will be examined in depth in the rest of the chapter. The central question to be established here is that PO programmers aimed not at a mere administrative reform, but instead was explicitly targeting a deeper level: It aimed at reshaping both the “subject positions,” and the very subjectivities of those involved in the “indigenous problem.”

As observed by Boccara (2007), PO in Chile helped produce and solidify a new professional field of the ethnic expert, which Boccara provocatively describes as the “ethno-bureaucracy.” The construction of power-knowledge relations configuring “ethno-

bureaucracy” was for crucial for PO (Boccaro 2007, Boccaro and Bolados 2010). For instance, the Loan (IDB-Midelplan 2001) stipulates that agencies shall engage in “awareness activities expected to reduce instances of racism and discrimination” (p. 40) and organize “workshops...in indigenous history and culture...with a view in incorporating the ethnic component into public policies” (ibid: 15). As a result of these, re-educated bureaucrats were expected to be capable of “intercultural dialogue and negotiation” and the use of “culturally relevant methodologies.” Crucially, they were supposed to know about, and produce knowledge on, the “reality of indigenous communities” so as to ensure that public programs had “cultural relevance” regarding “traditional practices and dynamics of indigenous peoples” (p. 15).

PO was, in this sense, a systematic pedagogical effort on two fronts: First, the transformation of bureaucracies charged with engaging the indigenous problem, and second, the indigenous subjects themselves, particularly those rural communities located in the extractive frontiers that were the main target of PO. In the Loan, this pedagogical, almost civilizational effort is represented as necessary in order to “institutionalize a new approach to participatory development that overcomes the limitations of the vertical models that have typified relations between the Chilean State and its indigenous people” (IDB-Mideplan, 2001, p. 41). Ethno-bureaucrats and development staff were from now on expected to situate themselves in a “multicultural” discursive regime, albeit occupying different “subject positions” from that of their ethnic “beneficiaries.” In contrast with the 1993 first wave of multicultural reforms, the formation of governable ethnic subjects was this time explicitly rendered an expert, pedagogical task, culminating in the constitution of a new a set of relations between the Chilean State and “its indigenous people.”

Mapuche *dirigentes* were, just as governmental agents, targeted by a series of workshops and training sessions. However, they were also “pedagogically” targeted through PO’s central intervention: The implementation of small community development projects, and through these, the implantation a series of techniques and rationales of “government through subjects” embedded with these projects. A sophisticated and tightly controlled methodology for community development planning, which I briefly describe in what follows, represents a fourth political technology, and perhaps the central one deployed by PO directly at the level of indigenous rural communities. These *methods* were in fact a bundle of peculiar *technologies*, in Miller and Rose’s (2008) sense, being operated under the banner of *participatory methods*. Some of these “subject-making” interventions were as

mundane as opening community bank accounts to *dirigentes* where part of the funds were to be directly deposited. Some methods were as politically charged as conditioning public investment not only to attendance of community members “participatory” meetings, but also to *consensual decision-making* (Bello, 2007). I will focus now on two central, articulating technologies—participatory planning and the “outsourcing” and privatization of development assistance.

First, the assignation of funds for community development was conditional to *participatory planning exercises* where communities were expected to agree with PO staff on a five-year investment plan, within a pre-established standardized budget (IDB-Mideplan, 2001). In Bello’s (2007) account, the operation of the “participatory methods” went as follows: PO staff reached out to the community and convoked its participation, in exchange for access to PO funds. As a series of meetings proceed, the *community development plan* is produced. At the same time another set of relations were being produced, ones coalescing between staff on the ground, the community members’ assembly, and their *dirigentes* or “brokers” (Durstun et al 2005). In Bello’s (2007) account, the process was heavily molded by the considerations of promoters on available institutional and financial resources, and the priorities “proposed” by the Program (p. 207) In other words, these “community plans” were made consistent with the orientations the staff thought would justify transference of funds by the Program.

Building in the important critique of Uma Kothari (2001) and based upon my own analysis of Programa Origenes texts and secondary evidence, I would argue that these meetings also deployed powerful disciplinary mechanisms. Kothari (2001) suggests that so-called participatory methods for research and planning, and particularly Participatory Rural Appraisal (PRA) and similar techniques can have powerful disciplining effects on populations targeted for “participation.” For this author, PRA practitioners are induced as well by “participatory methodologies” to play a fundamental role in governmental functions of social control. While immersed in “participatory planning methods”, both communities and rural development practitioners are prone to “perform” a knowledge-power that de-politicizes conflict by turning dissent and deliberation within the community into “self-exclusion” from participation (p. 148).

Moreover, a second key and novel *technology of subject formation* embedded in PO’s community projects is the “out-sourcing” of “technical assistance and training...to experts and to civil society organizations” (IDB-Mideplan, 2001, p. 29) whose services, nominally at

least, were to be selected and hired by the communities themselves, and paid for by the IDB loan. Mapuche rural communities were “incorporated” by Law 19.253, but most were inoperative as corporative economic organizations until PO interventions, as from then on they were required to perform as entrepreneurial entities to access public investment. This performance of entrepreneurship evolved under the methods designed by the IDB-Mideplan PO for the planning and implementation community projects, as rural communities and their *dirigentes* were expected to the contract services and hold private providers accountable, while themselves being accountable to the Program hierarchy through budgetary and audit procedures (specified in the Loan Contract (2001) and the Operative Rules for Phase I and II of 2001 and 2006).

As recent studies have suggested, these market-based mechanisms for outsourcing of assistance might have reinforced disciplining effects of participatory planning pointed by Kothari (Boccaro, 2010; Leiva, unpublished). The effects and implications of this penetration of accounting, bureaucratic and audit procedures, and, in a sense, of “professionalization” of Mapuche rural leadership in development remain, however, largely unexplored. Based on primary and secondary data I present here and in following chapters, I will argue that the results have been more complicated than mere discipline, and similar to those Andolina et al., (2009) found in the Central Andes. I will argue that PO methods have had, certainly, disciplinary or *governmentalizing* effects, as this new combination of “participatory planning” and outsourcing of assistance was intended to reinforce ethno-governmentality by holding communities and their leadership responsible for the “quality of the investment” while having to literally “negotiate” these investment’s “quality” with state and non-state actors. At the same time, however, as I will show in chapters III and IV, professionalization of Mapuche *dirigentes* as development brokers has also meant new access to technical, financial and symbolic resources and might contain interstices for ethno-preneurial agencies striving to “harness” development networks and markets towards Mapuche grassroots agendas of territorial recomposition.

The “indigenous problem” and three rationalities of “development with identity”

The previous section accounted for the main “technologies” of government with which PO has intended to govern the “indigenous problem”: transnational knowledge

production and control, adaptive methodologies for institutional reform, systematic pedagogical efforts towards both state bureaucrats and rural communities, and the introduction of private providers of development assistance in a pseudo-market environment. All of these, I would suggest, have deeply altered the way indigenous people relate to government, markets, and transnational development networks.

In this subsection, I will argue that these technologies, in order to produce these recalibrations, have had to induce those involved in the “Mapuche problem” to adopt new, specific, governable “subject positions.” Producing ethnic beneficiaries, ethno-bureaucrats, and *dirigentes* (or mediators/brokers) has required in turn the construction of new narratives and meanings, or in Miller and Rose’s (2008) terminology, new *rationalities of government*.

The nodal narrative of an “indigenous problem” that government and development ought to solve will provide an entry point to the core rationales of DWI. I have identified the three core rationales of DWI discursive regime as those of *social capital*, *participation*, and *culture*. These, I argue in the following pages, have defined the “Mapuche problem” in a way that delineate three broad areas of Mapuche rural life and render those amenable to “government through subjects.” Through *social capital*, indigenous livelihoods can be regulated as to how commodified and non-commodified components of those are mutually articulated and can convert to each other. Through *participation*, indigenous places and local communities can be governmentalized by state and non-state actors. Finally, through *cultural difference* rationale, political identities can be de-nationalized into ethnic/local communities, while remaining functional to transnational capital accumulation and concentration of power.

Infused by the core rationales of neoliberal multicultural reform in the region, the *Programa Origenes* texts represent an “indigenous problem” that has been de-politicized and rendered amenable to neoliberal governmentality and its technologies for the “government through subjects” (Miller and Rose 2008). I have identified three aspects of the indigenous question “problematized” by *Programa Origenes* in a de-politicized manner by deploying discourses on social capital, participatory methods, and the value of cultural difference. These are: a) rural indigenous communities’ lack of participation in government, b) their incapacity (or unwillingness) to convert social (and natural) capital into income, and c) the under-recognition or lack of commoditization of their cultural differences.

a. *Culture in development*

Multiculturalism is the discourse of the intrinsic “value” (or at least political or economic *potential*) of cultural diversity. In Chile, the indigenous problem thus shows itself as cultural plurality which has not been fully incorporated by political and civil societies, including the Mapuche themselves. In turn, it is conceived that the way to have cultural difference dignified is to deliver “affirmative action” measures towards subsidizing disadvantaged ethnic individuals (Haughney 2006: page). In order to effectively target measures to the subjects in this way particularized, a specific form of knowledge-power is constructed through which ethnic subjects need to be recognized and normalized in their difference, while occluding the historic conditions of its production (Boccaro 2007).

In sum, the right to culture in development becomes a key discourse of governance with three distinct aspects, which are three forms of producing and using governmental knowledge: a.) One normalizing ethnic “positive discrimination” and therefore inter- and intra-ethnic competition for state resources, b.) one enabling the specification and differentiation of interventions by expert knowledge, and c.) one politically-symbolically underpinning socio-affective nexuses necessary in the context of semi-clientelistic networks of ethno-governmentality.

First, the targeting of “ethnic populations” with specific measures needs to be justified or naturalized. For instance, the Loan (IBD-Mideplan 2001) asserts, as a given, that “because the program is targeted at the indigenous population, it will have a direct impact on social equity...reducing the discrimination they suffer” (IDB-Mideplan, 2001, p. 41). The program, in turn, is said to have an “ethno-cultural” dimension that would enable affirmative action towards indigenous development to be effective (ibid: 11). Existing “universal” programs for social assistance and community development, it is claimed, present “marked problems of execution and impact, because of a lack of relevance and adaptation to the organizational and productive reality of indigenous communities” (IDB-Mideplan, 2001, p. 43).

In this sense, the rationale of culture, as noted by Boccaro (2007) enables government not only to “de-nationalize” the scales and actors of government and development, but also to infinitely specify and adapt the ways in which participation and social capital are to be governed, or in other words, how they enter in the definition of the “indigenous problem.” Addressing culture in development calls for a specification of intervention and calculation of success for “agencies to deal with problems specific to

indigenous populations” (IDB-Mideplan, 2001, p. 11). It is asserted that, “While public agencies are careful to check performance against goals, by means of physical management indicators, these are not adequate for measuring the real impact on the living standards of the beneficiaries” (p. 3) and it is therefore required “social and cultural diagnostic studies based on relations of kinship and traditional authority...gender and generational considerations...functional and informal organizations [as to enable the] redesigning government instruments...so as to render them compatible with the reality of indigenous populations” (p. 9).

The Loan texts, in short, represent an objective “reality of indigenous populations” out there, waiting for the expert gaze to reveal better ways of governing it. “Intercultural relevance” defined as the interventions’ “adaptation to the organizational and productive reality of indigenous communities” (p. 43) is the rationale that enables governmentality to multiply differentiated interventions based on expert knowledge on the “specific nature of their culture and their problems” (p. 45) as well as on “relations of kinship and traditional authority, gender and generational consideration (and) functional and informal organizations” (ibid: 9).

On the other hand this objectifying knowledge of cultural difference needs to be complemented by a second crucial aspect of the rationale of culture as power-knowledge which is practical and embodied. The IDB-Mideplan Loan (2001) is full of requirements for staff to understand the way people “feel” about government and whether they “trust” it; it is also about maximizing “positive impacts” of the interventions, and about the importance of cultural factors “as perceived” by beneficiaries. The use of culture as symbolic nexus is a practical knowledge that the ethno-bureaucrat needs to learn to embody, since “there is the risk that some sectors will not respect the principles of the program...Individual public officials may still betray attitudes of discrimination with respect to indigenous cultures, and this could affect the degree of participation and trust on the part of the beneficiaries” (p. 45).

However, As noted by Leiva (unpublished) the rationale of culture as “socio-emotional nexus” is that by understanding and empathizing with the *perceptions* of the *cultural other*, the *development agent* is able to solidify the different complementary subject positions in the context of the semi-clienteles described by Durston and Duhart (2003) and Schild (2000, 2007), which in turn links culture to the third rationality: social capital.

b. Social capital

If the rationale of participation is about the responsabilization of subjects for their communities' government, social capital in turn is, as Leiva argues (2008, unpublished), the rationale that instrumentalizes the non-commodified components of indigenous livelihoods towards market-integrated economic strategies. The indigenous problem, from a social capital lens, is that subjects are not being able or willing to translate the non-commodified capital they are assumed to have into "income generating capacity" (IDB-Mideplan, 2001, p. 16). Ethno-development projects, it is assumed, are implemented against a backdrop of these said capitals waiting to be translated into income, as social capital rationale assumes communities actually *having* these non-commodified resources that can readily be put in circulation through capital investment and technological innovation.

Social capital discourse is place-based, as it focuses on conducting subjects' livelihoods strategies in ways that produce specific relationships between local and transnational markets and networks. In the Loan IDB-Mideplan (2001), "territory" is represented as the "space within which social and cultural capital can be concentrated (as community members) strengthen their cultural identity and their sense of place." The ethnic territory is the place "to bring about a sustainable improvement in the living conditions of individuals (and) increase the income generating capacity(of) rural indigenous communities" (IDB-Mideplan, 2001, p. 16). Put simply, if the community 'concentrates social capital,' the family unit has better chances to improve its income generating capacity. Crucially, these non-commodified shared assets, from social relations and safety nets to environmental resources and land-based livelihoods, can only be converted into income through some form of disciplined mediation, "the kind of leadership that can put the social capital of indigenous peoples to best use" (p. 14). Fundamentally, social capital rationale assumes that communities *have* untapped potential for income generation, whether in the form of socio-emotional bonds, or non-commodified "natural resources," or shared cultural practices, while occluding or at least de-politicizing the conditions of production, reproduction, and destruction of these.

Economic change, it is understood implicitly, can and must occur within the existing neoliberal order, in which unregulated, export-oriented assemblages have been naturalized. Social capital discourse, in Ben Fine's (1999) crucial critique, allows the state to be "selective in where and how it addresses the role of non-economic factors in economic performance" while concealing the fact that non-economic relations contributing to the

economy are regularly characterized by asymmetry, dependency, power, and conflict (p. 13).

As a result, the forms of “synergy across the public-private divide” that are the privileged object of social capital analyses and interventions often tend to “cement relationships founded on patronage and clientelism rather than to foster inclusive forms of civil engagement” (Beall as quoted by Fine, 2000, p. 9). Fine’s (1999) thesis on the de-politicizing effect of social capital can be related, I would argue, to a crucial performative aspect of social capital rationale in DWI. In Chile, Veronica Schild (2000) observed in her groundbreaking study on post-authoritarian neoliberal social policy in that country, a network of NGOs dedicated to the *formation (formación)* of poor women under the feminist banner, have massively re-educated these subjects into maximizing behaviors regarding their work opportunities, social obligations, and care obligations. The instructors, their organizations, and the *shadow state* they form, argues Schild (2000, 2007), act as cross-class brokers, materially and politically enabled by a common discursive regime or knowledge (in this case a so-called “feminist curriculum”) they share with their clients.

In a similar vein, as observed by Durston et al. (2003), governmental agents and outsourced providers of rural development assistance are engaging in so-called “semi-clientelistic” schemes with Mapuche communities. These agents, the authors note, see themselves as progressive *indigenistas* and their role as being more horizontal than clientelistic. In Durston and Duhart’s (2003) development promoters exude a genuine sense of loyalty toward their (semi) clients, even as they promote -just as Schild’s (2000) feminists- norms associated with neoliberal democratization such as accountability, efficiency, responsibility, and orderly participation and “stakeholders” collaboration. Durston and Duhart (2003) describe a new type intervention that uses a social capital rationale to build cross-class semi-clientelistic networks that displaces hardcore patronage and the conventional “vote for favor” clientelistic scheme. This new form of governance is exercised not through parties or local patrons but through development networks, within which communities and their brokers can exchange participation and social capital for development assistance and leverage within development and governmental networks (Durston et al., 2003).

In other words, social capital is not only biased towards integrating indigenous livelihoods, markets and governmental networks. Social capital and its instrumentalizing rationale towards the non-commodified in favor of “income generation” has a crucial

performative function not only in promoting market integration but crucially also in the organization of semi-clientelistic networks where social capital and participation would be traded for income in the form of subsidies and projects. Essentially, in this latter regard, social capital as a central component of DWI in Chile has elicited two interrelated processes that have re-arranged how rural Mapuche livelihoods crosscut markets and non-commodified spheres of material reproduction. Building on Durston et al. (2003) and the work of Fernando Leiva (2008, unpublished) I distinguish two ongoing transformations elicited by social capital rationalities: a) The organization of semi-clientelistic networks with the broker occupying a pivotal subject position, and b) the organization of safety nets on the shoulders of responsabilized, self-caring subjects.

c. Stretching participation

Bocara (2007) and Bocara and Bolados (2010) have focused on the installation of participation rationales by the PO within the “intercultural health field”, but its generalized deployment at the level of rural Mapuche communities remains unexplored. As represented in the Loan Contract, the rationale of participation is the idea that through planned intervention, governments can “expand citizen participation in managing and controlling public investment decision-making” (IDB-Mideplan, 2001, p. 44) and this, in turn will have the effect of reducing “social exclusion,” in this particular case of “ethnic groups” (ibid: Executive Summary). The “indigenous problem” is therefore represented as unequal “participation” in government.

As self-management is described as the solution for the indigenous problem, staff is charged with ensuring *participants* establish their “ownership” over the Program's community development projects. Moreover, for self-management to be attained, PO requires staff to “generate a community capacity and commitment for participatory planning and execution of program intervention” (IDB-Mideplan, 2001, p. 14). This, in turn, is expected to change the way communities engage with government, generating “greater demand for services and greater satisfaction” with governmental services (p. 11) “Community involvement in school management,” it is said, would also be encouraged (p. 4). More important, rural Mapuche were now expected to behave as active consuming-citizens, both demanding, and taking responsibility for, the “quality of (public) investment” (p. 11).

Also, the Loan establishes that “greater self-management capacities” are linked both to a “territorial context, represented by the (Areas of Indigenous Development or ADIs) and other territories with high concentrations of indigenous peoples” as well as to a particular “kind of leadership” (p. 14), for whom training in “management...and dispute settlement for leaders of the organizations to be established in the ADIs” was needed (p. 15). Moreover, as mentioned earlier, bank accounts were opened for them (ibid: 30) to receive the funds with which “each community will contract for local services” (p. 28).

Through “participation” rationale, the “indigenous problem” has been framed as one rooted in a lack of effective governance structures and interfaces. But it is not just about communities improving their relations with those who governed them, but about becoming *governmentalized* themselves. In the Loan, for instance, the “community” is represented as the “execution level,” where “proposals will originate ... and where actions and projects ... will be implemented” (IDB-Mideplan, 2001, p. 24). As an operational level of *Programa Origenes*, communities are governed through budgeting and auditing as “the spirit of the program is to delegate project execution to beneficiary communities [that] will have a reference budget, as part of their [Community Development Plan], from which they may withdraw funds once progress [has been] demonstrated,” to the upper echelons in PO’s lines of command (p. 28).

Mapucheity, Inc.: de-politicization and re-politicization

So far, in this chapter’s second subsection I have analyzed institutional texts, mainly the IDB-Mideplan Loan Contract of 2001, to unpack the rationales and techniques of government targeting rural Mapuche in south-central Chile. In this analysis, I have emphasized the (anti) political effects of DWI sought for by political elites and transnational development experts. In the two subsequent chapters, the focus shifts to Mapuche intents at mediating development outcomes through the re-negotiation of such technologies and rationales of transnational ethno-governmentalities.

As explained in chapter I, scholarly literature has in the last decade shed light onto the ongoing negotiation of DWI development networks by indigenous economic actors and organic intellectuals (Bebbington, 2000; Andolina et al., 2009). Even Boccara, that theorizes in Chile the disciplining power of DWI, recognizes instability, friction and situated re-politicization in the installation of the new ethno-governmental regime (Boccara, 2007;

Boccaro et al., 2010). I will argue that a new type of Mapuche “entrepreneurial” actors is using the rationales and techniques of DWI in ways that are ambivalent, creative, and even disruptive, as the rationalities and techniques deployed through DWI intersect with and become transformed through indigenous movement’s agendas and politics. In my conclusion (Chapter V) I will discuss scholarly work that considers neoliberal governmentalities as inherently unstable, labile, and containing interstices for the subaltern’s agency, echoed by my fieldwork-based observations on Mapuche involvement and agency in tourism development, which I present in Chapters III and IV. I will argue there, based on my empirical findings that both professionalization of indigenous development networks, and communally regulated touristic self-commodification have been harnessed by some “entrepreneurial” communities in empowering ways, and I will show how these strategies are informed by Mapuche grassroots agendas of re-territorialization.

In their *Ethnicity, Inc.*, Comaroff and Comaroff (2009) argue that there is an ongoing worldwide reconfiguration of “ethnic minorities” into “ethno-preneurial” actors. In this account, the emergence of *Ethnicity, Inc.* is the ultimate expression of the “projection of the entrepreneurial subject of neoliberalism onto the plain of collective existence” (p. 140). This, the authors observe, through the commodification of “things ethnic”, and the economic incorporation of the “ethnic group”, two dialectic processes, the authors assert, spurred by post-Fordist markets but also infused by the neoliberal apotheosis of intellectual property and the utter displacement of politics into “law-fare.” The commodification of things ethnic, meanwhile, is crucially enabled by the “naturalization” of identities and the normalization of cultural differences that are “at once essentialized and made into objects of consumption.” (p. 150).

The Comaroffs’ work, in my view, is a call for a critical acknowledgement of the connections between the current revitalization of ethnic movements and neoliberal globalization. But it is also and foremost, a call for scholarly appreciation of ethnic entrepreneurship’s powers to redefine belongingness to place, ethnic conflict, and cultural rights, in ways that are not necessarily detrimental for subaltern indigenous groups, and which can only be appreciated fully by considering the situated economic, affective, and political mediations implicated in the multiple *Ethnicity, Inc.* emergences.

In Latin America, these sort of Comaroffian “ethno-preneurial” actors have also been documented, as have been their dynamic linkages to indigenous movements’ agendas

(Brysk, 2000; Stephen, 2005). Monica DeHart's (2010) "Ethnic Entrepreneurs", for instance, have recently explored the emergence of such actors in the Latin American context through a series of case studies, including one on a community-based Mayan enterprise in Guatemala. This author shows how the discourses and practices of institutional ethno-development and particularly the "redefinition of ethnic identity as a valuable tool for development" (Dehart, 2010, p. 141) have enabled the formation of a particular type of actor who, invested with an ethnic-entrepreneurial identity, will eventually play a major role in reshaping the same politico-economic assemblages from which they originated. The particular endeavor described by Dehart, reinvented itself from being a nonprofit organization dependent on development networks' resources, to being a commercial operation based on the "value of things Maya," to being a company that produces commodities which are not directly related to any identity (e.g. organic herbal products) except insofar as their production fits the needs and preferences of its ethnic membership. As Dehart observes, each reconfiguration means a recomposition of the community's livelihood strategies, places, and identities as they also rework their relation with markets and powerful global actors.

Building on Lowenhaupt Tsing's ethnography of environmentalism in Indonesia (Tsing, 2005), Dehart (2010), makes a call to account for the creative "friction" that the negotiations of identities and livelihood strategies by mediation of these entrepreneurial subjects entail, as "unequal, unstable, and heterogeneous development encounters can lead to new arrangements of power and culture" (Dehart, 2010 p. 144, quoting Tsing, 2005). As DeHart's Maya entrepreneurs "sought to resolve the problem of how to live in relation to a historically specific configuration of global market forces" (p. 144) or simply, *the problem of development*, she observes, they have elicited two intertwined processes. First, they have induced imbrications of Maya grassroots and their political subjectivities in "Western modes of modernization marked by expanding market relations and technical forms of expertise" (p. 141) such as financial institutions and bureaucratic and audit procedures. But at the same time, very much in the Comaroffs' argumentative line, the entrepreneurial process involved a new politicization of ethnicity. These projects, the author asserts, were "political and moral...in and for themselves" (p. 141) as they were aimed at preserving the indigenous rural community "as a site of cultural and political reproduction (...) and one enacted through new forms of ethnic entrepreneurship" (p. 142). Also, just as the Mapuche entrepreneurs I have met in southern Chile, Maya "ethnopreneurs," having at first mainly

dealt with the distribution of resources by governmental and development networks in a role of “ethnic brokers,” were now moving through an affective and politically mediated process towards entrepreneurial risk-taking in order to “achieve (a) redistributive function, albeit through the market” (p. 143). Alison Brysk had coined, for similar discourse and practice, the expression *indigenous economic mobilization* (Brysk, 2000).

Finally, Anthony Bebbington’s work in the central Andes offers insights that enrich this discussion on indigenous development (Bebbington, 2000). The distinction between Development with a “D” as planned interventions and development with a “d” as uneven accumulation of productive assets and sedimentation of power relations in place, enables the author to consider development as the product of dialectic mediations through two entwined agencies: On one end, those targeted by Development who are struggling to “build livelihoods and rework the relations of power that structure patterns of access to resources and participation in markets and political processes” (p. 511). In the other end, powerful development institutions have “engaged with, respond to, and often promote these...struggles” (p. 511) albeit often in “unplanned and unpredictable ways” (p. 512). Bebbington’s approach to rural development enables a re-centering of endogenous economic agency in its relation to place, livelihood strategies and identities, as opposed to discrete economic activities. In this way, I would argue, it enables a more creative approach to debates on alternative indigenous economic projects, and among them, the emerging entrepreneurial movement that is the object of this study.

For the author, processes of alternative development in the Andes, in turn, appear to be guided by the aim of “increasing grassroots control over the ways in which places are produced and governed” (Bebbington, 2000, pp. 514-15). It is precisely this societal project which in Bebbington’s, as well as the other authors’ accounts, have lead indigenous actors to carve out alternative livelihood strategies for place-centered development by harnessing networks and markets to these ends. For Bebbington, “Interventions and market transactions become part of a longer, sedimented history of a place.” So by tracing “actual processes of livelihood and landscape transformation and the institutional interventions that have accompanied them, [one can see that] germs of these alternatives have already been elaborated at the intersection of popular practices and external interventions” (Bebbington, 2000, p. 496).

In light of these discussions, the relevance of studying *Mapuche entrepreneurship* in its relation to neoliberal multiculturalism appears to be twofold. First, it might shed some

light in the ways that spaces of indigenous political participation, provided by multicultural reforms in Latin America, might or might not translate indigenous economic agency in the form of accumulation and control over productive assets, commercial, and organizational innovation. In turn, it opens the key question of whether ethno-preneurial economic mobilization is destabilizing or strengthening the disciplinary mechanisms identified as inherent to DWI as a form of neoliberal governmentality. Furthermore, what is at stake in current experiments on indigenous development, as well as in these issues academic discussion, are the chances of advancing, even under neoliberal conditions, what can be seen as *indigenous sustainable livelihoods strategies*, in Anthony Bebbington's account, *diverse economies* à la Gibson-Graham, or as *alternative modernities* à la Arturo Escobar (Escobar 1995, 2008; Bebbington, 2000; Gibson-Graham, 2008).

In chapter V I will resume this discussion to consider how Mapuche struggles to re-direct tourism development may provide insight into the practical challenges, implications, and possible trends within broader debates on alternative or sustainable development and post-coloniality (see for example Escobar, 1995; de la Cadena, 2010; Blaser, 2011). Issues of land rights, indigenous economic governance and resources; livelihoods and sustainability; coloniality and democracy; and cultural plurality and commodification are being posed, I argue in my concluding discussion, not only in terms of restorative justice, but also as the concrete problem of counteracting processes of de-territorialization of the Mapuche by reasserting the ontological status of Mapuche territories as the basis for a *good life* in pluri-cultural south-central Chile.

Thinking the struggle for Mapuche territories in terms of political ontologies, that is, as politics of reassertion and performing "other ways of being" might be relevant in the study of the possibilities touristic sustainability in Mapuche country. My analysis of how Mapuche touristic ethno-preneurship is co-producing sustainable tourism landscapes by negotiating DWI, can be seen as an expression of the globalizing political ontologies of indigenous struggles for territorial recomposition, described by Blaser (2011). By this I mean that the effort to re-direct tourism development by counter-acting de-territorializing pressures can be understood as a struggle to reconstitute the Mapuche capacity to fulfill their moral/political belonging to Mapuche territories, as the basis for good life or sustainability.

CHAPTER III

MAPUCHE CO-PRODUCTION OF ETHNO-TOURISM AND THE STRUGGLE FOR LIVELIHOOD, PLACE AND IDENTITY

This chapter traces possibilities of *meaningful economic, cultural and political engagement* at the interfaces between Mapuche movements, neoliberal markets and post-authoritarian development networks shaping Mapuche livelihoods, places and identities in south-central Chile. Rather than giving exhaustive account of all “ethno-tourism” interventions or its combined effects on Mapuche places, livelihoods and identities in south-central Chile, I have chosen to approach three specific locations of Mapuche engagement in tourism. These, described in chapter I, are: (a) the Mapuche community of Llaguepulli in Lake Budi; (b) the small pluri-cultural town of Curarrehue, and (c) the *Pehuenche* communities of Lake Icalma in the Andean highlands of Lonquimay, all three in the Araucania Region in south-central Chile.

I used interviews with Mapuche entrepreneurs and leaders and various degrees of participatory observation and to assess in these three sites Mapuche representations and practices of “ethno-tourism,” and to analyze the competing narratives and political dilemmas faced by Mapuche “ethno-preneurs” engaged in tourism development. Before this, as a general context, I will briefly present some general facts about development actors promoting ethno-tourism in the Araucania in the last 20 years of post-authoritarian neoliberal government in Chile.

A first set of actors promoting tourism in Mapuche territories and therefore shaping Mapuche involvement in tourism have been state agencies involved in the promotion tourism development such as Sernatur (National Tourism Service) and, CORFO, the historic Chilean agency charged with promoting industrial and technological innovation in the country. Without being indigenous-focused institutions, these programs and agencies have nevertheless promoted *Development with Identity* discourses about the “*touristic potential*” of Mapuche and rural communities, as well as on the possibility of their local incidence in tourism development. CORFO-Innova Chile has also produced a series of studies about tourism destination management in Mapuche territories, studies that promote a series of environmental and social sustainability criteria for touristic development (CORFO, 2008,

2009). In short, these “agendas” reaffirm strong orientation towards commodification of Mapuche knowledge and spaces under the banners of social capital, participation and the value of cultural difference. I briefly come back to official tourism texts that illustrate these points later in this chapter, when I compare these discourse with Mapuche accounts of ethno-development.

A second important set of actors investing in concepts of community-based tourism in the Mapuche countryside are in the non-profit sector. Multilateral organizations such as the Inter-American Council through the *Fondo de las Americas -Chile* (FDLA), transnational and domestic NGOs in rural development, and environmentalists such as WWF have experimented with community-based development. While environmentalist such as WWF has been committed to a couple of long term community-based ecotourism ventures, rural development NGOs have organized co-ops in tourism-related sectors such as farmers markets and handicraft outlets, small food processing and packaging, and so on (Schaerer et al 2001, FDLA-Sernatur 2004, Munoz 2009).

Finally, a third agent of ethno-tourism development has been “Development with Identity” programs proper, such as the IDB-Mideplan *Programa Origenes* from 2001 to 2011, and currently, Indap’s (National Agricultural Institute) “Indigenous Territorial Development Program” (PDTI) which since 2010 has been built on the methods and capacities generated previously by Program Origenes, as detailed in chapter II (Indap 2009). As mentioned, Development with Identity in Mapuche rural areas has been mainly operated through small competitive bids for community “entrepreneurial” projects, generally tied to participatory planning. Programa Origenes, as discussed in chapter II also introduced a “market-based” mechanism for the “outsourcing” of technical assistance. I come back to Indap-PDTI in chapter IV, through one particular biographical story of Mapuche engagement in tourism development though the Indap-PDTI program. A high-ranking *Programa Origenes* staff member I interviewed in Santiago the 9 of June of 2011, recognized that the opportunity to launch consistent interventions in tourism through PO was largely missed, scattered in several small investments, as *table 2* shows.

Table 1: Descriptors IDB-Mideplan Programa Origenes (2001-2011): investment in “ethno-tourism”

	Phase I	Phase II
Number of tourism projects	40	53
Total investment in US \$ (approximation)	1,000,000	700,000
Number projects above US\$ 20,000	21	13
% invested in tourism projects out of total funds for “community development”	3%	2,18%

(Based on data provided by my PO informant in 2011)

In Mapuche country, my informant confirmed, PO’s *community development component* resulted mostly in individual transferences of purportedly “productive” assets ranging from chainsaws to improve grasslands projects, from cattle to camping grounds facilities. This shattering of investment was, in his opinion, produced by a combination of the Mapuche “choice” for small family-based investment; the lack of expertise in the organizations charged through competitive bids with implementation; and the failure of the programs to mobilize more input of universities and expert institutions (personal communication, June 9, 2011). My analysis in chapter II suggest, however, that the goals of Programa Origenes, more were about installing new rationalities and technologies of government than they were about generating productive capacities in the intervened rural communities.

Each one of these institutions has injected capital and resources into Mapuche entrepreneurial tourism development, and plausibly, each has contributed to the circulation of discourses on the benefits of local engagement of the tourism industry. Moreover, building in Bebbington’s (2000) and my own fieldwork observations I would assume that no matter how limited, scattered, and inconsistent, these interventions have sedimented, in interaction with markets and local livelihood strategies, into Mapuche *touristic places*, such as Llaguepulli, Curarrehue and Icalma, the locales I visited as part of my fieldwork and which I initially described in chapter I.

Moreover, fieldwork-based interpretive analysis suggests that some of these resources have indeed been oriented towards entrepreneurial touristic projects implemented by communities in line with their own needs and agendas. Indigenous subjects, who have been called to occupy the position of entrepreneurial ethnic brokers, are assembling resources and networks in ways that were not anticipated by planners and with its own effects on Mapuche livelihoods, places and identities. While this thesis is not focus on documenting directly the transformation of these latter, I will argue that by tracing processes of *indigenous economic mobilization* ensuing in the realm of tourism development, one can explore how entrepreneurial grassroots leaders are harnessing neoliberal multiculturalism towards agendas of Mapuche re-territorialization of which Mapuche-managed tourism development is a part.

Llaguepulli-Budi: tourism development and the politicization of social capital

a. Presentation: roots of a project of Mapuche economic mobilization

The ethno-touristic “success story” of Llaguepulli has been recently showcased in international fairs by the Chilean government. In reality, Mapuche entrepreneurs in Budi, far from “buying-in” into neoliberal governmentality, have an ambivalent relationship with neoliberal markets and governance, as well as a solid history of resistance and economic mobilization that goes back to the late 1970s. I spent two days in the community of Llaguepulli and conducted two interviews with subjects engaged in the successful Mapuche Tourism Committee. Here I share their stories, and I offer an interpretation on the meanings that shape what I have come to consider as transformative economic practices.

Mauricio, today a leading “ethno-preneur,” was among a generation of Mapuche activists who were formed politically within “Ad-mapu,” the key organization articulating Mapuche resistance to Pinochet’s neoliberal policies and the subdivision of communal lands. In 1978, Mauricio relates, the military regime was preparing to dictate the subdivision and liquidation of “indigenous lands” and their final integration into land markets. In the Mapuche communities of Budi, amidst brutal political suppression, the biggest fear was complete dispossession and dislocation. *Ad-mapu*, in turn, was organizing resistance throughout the region, under the church’s protection. After a series of meetings

Ad-mapu had convoked in Budi to discuss the ‘defense of lands’, the community of Llaguepulli agreed to resist.

The *Ad-mapu* leaders asked the gathered local assembly “who knows how to read?” and the response was “The young Mauricio”. Mauricio, astonished, asked how could he, with only 17 years old and without any political experience, influence the government offices in Temuco to question the dictator’s policies toward the Mapuche People. “Don’t be afraid peñi’ -one of the elders, as Mauricio recalls, addressed him - ‘One learns that over time. I know you are intelligent: that’s why you are here in our assembly. You know how important this is to us: It is about the defense of our territory. Give it some effort -he added- and if you succeed, you will be of much use to the community’. ‘I’ll learn,” Mauricio recalls, was his response.

During the dictatorship, Mapuche communities were left further impoverished and vulnerable due to political suppression, neoliberal economic downturn in the early Eighties, in conjunction with the subdivision of the lands (Mallon et al., 2002; Calbucura, 2003). Despite the “not very pleasurable memories,” Mauricio feels that he and the community learned a great deal from those times of resistance. A couple of decades after subdivision, and now with more than thirty years of experience as a Mapuche grassroots leader, Mauricio declares with somber but still defiant dignity: “Llaguepulli was one of the last communities to give itself up.” Mauricio now exercises a crucial leadership in the “Mapuche Tourism Entrepreneurs Committee” of Llaguepulli. I interviewed him in his restaurant in Llaguepulli. To get here, he tells me, he has given a “fight for which he shed tears of sadness and joy.” Fulfilled for having done an “outstanding job” with his community, he seems particularly proud for the support from his own people, including the elders and traditional Mapuche authorities of Budi. His reputation, however, goes far beyond Budi—a “Toki de Plata” award given by the government to distinguished Mapuche entrepreneurs hangs from his restaurant (see Appendix B, figure B1). Sebastian Alvarez, the regional director of Sernatur, visited him with his parents-in-law, Mauricio tells, and “had fallen in love with what we are doing here.”

Importantly, Mauricio has been invited to the *Regional Tourism Council*, where he spearheaded the *Inter-ministerial Committee for Mapuche Tourism*, to which I’ll refer in my conclusion. Mauricio is hopeful and confident the model they have developed can be replicated with support from the government. Remembering the leaders of the resurgent Mapuche movement in the Eighties who mentored him, he declares proudly: ‘The seed that

sprouted in me was not in vain,” and I would add, has instead given life to an enterprise deeply rooted in the Mapuche social movement. I will describe now how this Mapuche venture, while entangled with government and “neoliberal” discourse, is at the same time deeply embedded in a long term process of indigenous grassroots struggle to re-articulate indigenous livelihoods, places, and identities. These struggles date back, I will show, to the initial effort to endure and overcome the disastrous conditions created for the Mapuche by Pinochet’s genocidal policies and will be reshaped by processes of post-authoritarian institutionalization of multiculturalism.

Tourism development in Lake Budi and surrounding areas, including Puerto Dominguez and Puerto Saavedra, has been largely molded by summer recreational visitors arriving from regional urban centers. These flows have mainly benefited, as my fieldwork observations suggest, the non-Mapuche petit trader’s class controlling the commerce of these two small towns. As a consequence, the importance of tourism in the livelihood strategies of the Mapuche population of Budi has been, for the most part, marginal.

While incorporation of tourism practices by the Mapuche could be represented as a new form of “dependency,” I will argue through telling Mauricio’s story that instead, Llaguepulli ethno-preneurs are creating new possibilities by deliberately moving from dependence to interdependence by “harnessing” global development networks and markets. They do so as they transit from clientelism to “ethno-preneurialism”, in ways I will demonstrate now. These strategies of re-centering development networks, I will further argue, represent a significant re-negotiation of the rationalities of DWI, in particular the notion of social capital, towards relational ideas of reciprocity and autonomy informed by Mapuche agendas and moral/political ontologies.

In what follows I trace the experiences of a group of rural Mapuche that have not only built their autonomous sources of income, but opened up jobs and indeed meaningful professional opportunities that weave back together place, livelihood, and identity in new ways. Those forming the Llaguepulli Mapuch Tourism Committee have not only become successful and innovative touristic entrepreneurs, but they have assembled a community-based technical staff of about six young members of the community. As a result, many in the community—particularly youth—have today a sense of collective economic empowerment and of re-articulation of territory, livelihoods and community. In my visit to Llaguepulli, Nadia, one of these young endogenous “staff” performed as host and informant. She explained to me:

In Mapuche culture there are the children, the young, the adult and the elder; each one has its role and learns from the other. Each project has been developed considering how to enable new generation to remain. Youth would like to stay here but they need to emigrate in search of jobs. Now, some people have begun to return.

Drawn by the new opportunities for economic and professional development opened up by the tourism business and the school, several young community members, some of them with degrees, are staying or coming back and building life projects in the community. Nadia wants to work in the tourism sector, or, in agricultural development and natural resource management. She also enthusiastically tells me about a recent re-introduction of silverwork and sees an opportunity in trading handcrafts. She feels confident. More important, Nadia feels she's part of deep changes. The name of the community, Llaguepulli, she tells me, can be interpreted as "*Re-growth of the Ancestral Spirit*".

b. Harnessing networks through professionalization and self-management

As mentioned, the Budi basin's rural Mapuche population has become the target of "welfarist" assistance (*asistencialismo*) from the state, churches, and development NGOs since the Pinochet era (Bello 2007, Caniguan 2009). In the 1980s, land subdivision and the initial implantation of extractive assemblages in Mapuche country went, under authoritarian neoliberalism, hand in hand with paternalistic treatment. Welfare and temporary jobs programs in the 1980s sure alleviated unbearable pauperization, but came along with potent doses of political control. According to Mauricio, for instance, basic housing (with 24 square meters of floor space) were given as "prize" for "regularization" of private property and therefore subdivision of communes. Despite having been unable to avoid subdivision, the Llaguepulli and other Lake Budi's communities linked to Ad-mapu were able to maintain the spirit of resistance. In this context, the emerging local Mapuche social agenda was quite immediate: To overcome the vulnerability and dependency imposed by Pinochet neoliberal policies while bypassing governmental control. Asked for the conditions and motives that initially led to a strategy economic mobilization in the early 1980s, Mauricio recalls:

We lived during those times on small-scale farming and through artisanal fishing in the lake...What we produced was not enough to sustain all of our other necessities such as improving our education, quality of life, health and thus live with more dignity. What we produced was not enough, and there were no alternative means to generate extra income. The emigration of our youth was imminent. Very few youth stayed in our communities. Although many managed to complete their high school, they had to migrate anyway. The women migrated to Santiago, to become domestic workers and did not practice the skills they acquired in high school. The young men worked in construction, bakeries or other degrading jobs in Santiago. So, how could we reverse this situation by using the skills I knew we had here. We needed other strategies to generate income and improve the quality of life so that our youth can pursue their studies and continue living here in our communities. But in what way could this be done? How do we find an alternative?

The first programs Mauricio helped implement in Llaquepulli were so-called “self-help” projects supported by the Catholic Church through *Caritas-Chile*. This consisted in food aid for the Mapuche *comuneros*, who, in turn, were expected to dedicate themselves towards community development work (e.g. road repair). Today, Mauricio recognizes this otherwise quite limited frame for development to be a key process through which economic mobilization project of the Llaquepulli community began to take form in the early 1980s. At the time, the local school was established in a joint effort with the local parish, and it was the first “communitarian infrastructure,” according to Mauricio, even though this school was later controlled by the church. A small community center was also built during this time period.

Between 1980 and 1996, the Inter-American Council -*Fondo de las Americas (FDLA)* implemented a series of projects in the agricultural sector, consisting in the introduction of greenhouses and other such productive assets. In this period of national democratic transition, Mauricio consolidated himself as a grassroots leader as well as a broker of development links. The objective of economic mobilization in these initial times, Mauricio reflects, was to harness the minimalistic capitalization offered by the emerging networks of neoliberal social development to allow the eroded Mapuche rurality to reproduce, or in Mauricio’s words, harness “something from which to hang on to, to continue seeding the lands.” And having reached that goal, Mauricio added, “little by little we started moving forward.”

One of the initial IAC-FDLA projects he helped implement, relates Mauricio, consisted in a humble scheme of “animal leasing” by which community members had the option received two oxen repay and them in a future with new born animals. Most of the farmers would use bigger imported oxen, assuming this would yield to higher profits. Mauricio, however, was one of the few who succeeded and paid the loan back. The reason, he claims, is that he chose animals acclimated to Lake Budi, and a little bit smaller than what the other farmers would choose.

From his current position as a reputed entrepreneur, Mauricio’s stories represent an entry point, not so much to facts from the past, as to how subjects *make sense* of the incorporation, by their own mediation, of tourism practices. In this sense interpret the story of the oxen as a hyperbolic representation Mauricio elaborates on the ethno-preneurial movement and his own leadership role in it. Here, a “neoliberal” narrative based on concepts of informed choice, individual agency, and economic discipline intersects with rural Mapuche culture, of which Mauricio continues to participate as we talk, and in which cattle is important. Still a central productive asset in rural communities of south-central Chile, in Mapuche lore the ox represents persistence, work, and success in economic effort when, for instance, appearing in dreams (*personal communication with Longko of Icalma, 2006*). From this interpretive perspective, these narratives therefore can be seen as constitutive of Mapuche ethno-entrepreneurial experience which Mauricio leads in Llaguepulli. Mauricio, in his story, has been able to entrepreneurially negotiate an external development link to strengthen his own, local, adaptive, resilient resources, in turn also linked to Mapuche symbolism, values, and social prestige.

Mauricio describes his community’s engagement in tourism discourse and practice has an “internal process”, but one which has also required of him to “seek alliances with professionals”. Back in the 1980s, welfare networks established by the church and NGOs were developing a myriad of community-based development projects such as rural electrification and drinking water. “A whole process” -Mauricio recalls. Since the early 1990’s these “alliances”, or perhaps, in Durston et al (2003) terms, *semi-clientelistic networks*, have been reshaped, professionalized, and ultimately challenged by their subjects.

In the beginning, Mauricio recognizes, the “social action office” of Puerto Dominguez parish was instrumental in his own establishment as a *dirigente*, then “ethnic broker,” and, finally, as entrepreneur. First, they enabled him to begin an endogenous process of generation of knowledge about tourism development in terms of “potentials” and

“resources”: “We could do tourism; the territory had the conditions.” Mauricio became a mediator between his own community, and a *tourism discourse* acceded to through the church’s development staff. “Little by little,” he recalls, “we began to speak about tourism, yet in a low-key manner. After that period, from 1998 to 2000, we took two years to discuss (*socializar*) the topic more broadly within my community.” Back then Mauricio wanted to include the 80 families of Llaguepulli in a “community-based tourism” project, but in this intent, he faced initial resistance from the community. Having acquire the knowledge, not only about the “potential” for tourism development, but on how to use tourism discourse to articulate a different relationship with development networks, Mauricio take his chances in a dynamic that, in his own account, has not been free of tension. After those two years, Mauricio recalls, a community member told him during a community assembly: “You know Mauricio, we don’t understand what tourism is. We don’t know what one can do with that.” Mauricio recalls his response to the community was,

If you back down today from the association I am proposing I will still pursue it on my own anyway. I see it as an opportunity to generate a new strategy parallel to what we are doing traditionally, so I will risk the fall (*voy a tirarme al agua*) and if I fail, it will be me that will lose. But if there is a brave soul here who wants to follow my footsteps, the doors are open.” And then two families, that of my brother, and that of *peñi* Marcelino, said that they would take the chance.

A second fundamental aspect of “harnessing networks,” for Mapuche communities engaging in such strategies, has and continues to be access to capital, as the rest of the narrative illustrates. Mauricio and his partners in the Mapuche community of Llaguepulli have started to alter their engagement with development networks, transitioning from clients to entrepreneurs as they seize initiative and decision-making. After that key meeting, Mauricio recalls, he went back to Puerto Dominguez to talk to Mark, the parish social worker, and said to him:

“Look, I’ve been meaning to create a tourism strategy for the community. I don’t know exactly how, but it is my intention. Therefore, I need technical support from you as a professional, and if you add other people it would be better still. Then I straightforwardly asked Mark: “We are three families that would like to undertake this initiative, to see if this will show the community that tourism can be done. Can three families start a tourism project?” and he responded, “Yes, no problem. We can work with these three families initially, and try our luck. Here nothing is lost.” And so we started by asking ourselves, “What do we want to do?” My brother said, “I

want set up a camping ground business. My land has access to the lake, I have beautiful lands and cozy place that I think is suitable for camping grounds.” Even though we were not clear on how to install this process, we did our first bid.

In short, Mauricio represents tourism entrepreneurship as a seminal moment in the transformative agenda of re-centering development networks and of appropriating knowledge and seizing initiative. He makes this claim while recognizing the tension with other actors in the community, over the recomposition of territory and its resources. Once the first three projects were taking off, Mauricio recalls,

People began to understand, began to create space, to provide more freedom, so that we, the families that wanted to take on this initiative, had the freedom to do our project. What happened, when it was presented to the community, was that people began to open their vision and see the possibilities to find resources through [grant-funded] projects, and with those begin to install small touristic areas here in the community. They said “Gee! So that is tourism! That's what Mauricio was referring to, and we were not able to understand it. It is not as difficult as we first thought!” They were afraid because there was no clarity...But I said we have to be smart enough to generate a strategy where we can say *no* to this, but *yes* to that.

Mauricio and his associates thus continued to spur deliberation at the grassroots level around tourism practices and its effects on the community, thus facilitating a process of purposeful economic recomposition and situated re-politicization of ethno-development. As a result, from the spatial distribution of a camping ground or other facilities to the priorities of development, I will further show, decision-making is being seized back by “ethnopreneurs” of Llaguepulli whose networks have since grown in complexity and reach, without losing a balance between individual and communal initiative.

This enhanced endogenous capacity for economic management and initial commercial success in Llaguepulli, however, was in the 1990s not yet paired by autonomous commercial capitalization. The need for capital, therefore, continued to be addressed through the opportunities for capitalization offered by small entrepreneurial projects at the heart of neoliberal interventions in Mapuche communities, such as those articulated through *Programa Origenes*.

In short, Mauricio and his associates early on developed two key capacities via development networks: to exchange social capital for development funds, and crucially, to assemble small entrepreneurial projects into an “apparatus,” in Mauricio’s descriptive term,

consisting in the assemblage of a number of small projects in a community-based network. This network enables place-centered economic capacities to develop in relation to communally articulated goals and objectives. Moreover, this self-managed “apparatus” is deeply rooted in Budi’s political community, its agendas of empowerment through re-territorialization, and its traditional and spiritual authorities. This is why, I argue, Llaguepulli ethno-preneurial organization represents a new Mapuche articulation with development networks that undermines some of the disciplining function of neoliberal ethno-governmentality. The following quote shows how the processes harnessing of knowledge and capital through professionalization of self-management, have produced cultural and economic change in Budi. Also, Mauricio’s account speaks to the centrality of professionalization of indigenous self-management and to the project of Mapuche mobilization to harness development networks.

We have been generating our own resources as tourism entrepreneurs. So, today has been for us a good living. We can say today that we are autonomous, independent, and that we generate our resources here in our community and our surroundings. We do not have to go begging for small grants from the office. Here, we are smart enough to generate our resources independently, and build-up our youth, our own technical team, like Nadia and Fabiola. They take responsibility in all the accounting aspects, like Fresia who manages a little bit of the business here. We have been around for eleven years as a small business. This strengthens me, mentally, and financially as well. Sure, we don't gain large amounts of money, but we are able to slowly grow.

In 2011, 19 families directly operated tourism ventures within the committee. In this expansive radio of action, the Mapuche ethno-preneurial organization of Llaguepulli has veritably reversed the relationship between market-based and non-commodified components of Mapuche rural livelihoods, effectively subordinating the former to the latter. They have accomplished this by investing income obtained through markets and development networks in the strengthening and diversification of placed-based networks of non-commodified productive reciprocity; webs posited by ethno-preneurs as economic goals in their own. Operating a school, opening jobs for the community’s youth, securing title to resources (such as the aforementioned lake’s legal water rights) and incipient efforts towards environmental restoration and reforestation are all examples of these transformative engagements with DWI and social capital accumulation. As a result, a placed-based, but widely interconnected economy is offering a flexible diversity of

professional and income-generation opportunities. Most importantly, these productive engagements are assembled into place-based economic/ecologic relationships sustaining well-being as well as enabling further processes of territorial recomposition or situated re-articulation of identities, places and livelihood strategies. (See Appendix B, figure B3)

c. The re-politicization of ethno-development I: re-deploying social capital discourse for re-territorialization

So far, the analysis has focused on Mapuche economic mobilization's moment of action, the moment of negotiating capital and knowledge within development networks. Now, I will focus on the moment of reflection, when the meanings of practice as well as narratives about goals, problems, and agendas, become highlighted. By contrasting the ethnopreneurs' discourses surrounding and shaping their economic practices, with official narratives on "social capital," I will trace how Mapuche discourse is produced in "excess" in relation to official narratives.

As discussed in Chapter II, under post-authoritarian neo-liberalism, non-commodified components of Mapuche livelihoods are not to be compulsively terminated, as in its authoritarian antecedent. Instead, I argue, building on Leiva (unpublished), neoliberal multiculturalism tolerates, regulates, and even protects social capital, as long as it can be tapped for—or at least does not interfere with—broader processes of market integration and capital accumulation.

Social capital is, in that sense, the rationale that instrumentalizes the non-commodified components of indigenous livelihoods towards market-integrated economic strategies. The indigenous problem, from a social capital lens, is that subjects are not being able or willing to translate the non-commodified capital they are assumed to have into "income generating capacity" (IDB-Mideplan, 2001, p. 16). Ethno-development projects, it is assumed, are implemented against a backdrop of these said capitals waiting to be translated into income, as social capital rationale assumes communities actually *having* these non-commodified resources that can readily be put in circulation through capital investment and technological innovation. In short, DWI assumes, on the one hand, that communities have untapped income-generating potential in the form of socio-affective bonds, non-commodified "natural resources," and shared cultural practices de-politicizing, in the other, the historic conditions of production and reproduction, dispossession and disruption, resilience and change, of these non-commodified indigenous communal assets.

I also argued in chapter II that social capital and its rationale of instrumentalizing the non-commodified towards income-generation has a crucial function in the organization of semi-clientelistic networks. that will trade social capital and participation for income in the form of subsidies and projects. Essentially, in this latter regard, social capital as a central component of DWI in Chile has elicited two interrelated processes that have re-arranged how rural Mapuche livelihoods crosscut markets and non-commodified spheres of material reproduction. These ongoing transformations are: a.) The organization of semi-clientelistic networks with the broker occupying a pivotal subject position, and b.) the organization of safety nets on the shoulders of responsabilized, self-caring subjects.

Tourism texts produced by CORFO and Sernatur offer a slightly different vision of social capital. There, investment in ethno-ecotourism has the function of harnessing Mapuche “capitals” by markets and networks, and in that sense, *tapping social capital* and commodifying *cultural heritage* for income generation are equivalents. According to the guidelines set up by CORFO-InnovaChile in the 2007 “Innovation Agenda for Touristic Destination-Araucania Andina”:

When trying to transform a "territory that has resources" in a "tourist destination that offers products and experiences to specific markets," a number of processes should be undertaken...We need a proposal for accessibility in its broadest sense...taking advantage of the outstanding natural resources found in the territory and the survival of the Mapuche culture...Culture that has a rich history and a personality that brings uniqueness to the territory constituting in itself a value for visitors. However it should be noted that tourism activities based on cultural encounters should be carefully planned to ensure that is done with the consent of the community and with respect of its values??...The actions to transform the land into a tourist destination follow the premise of sustainability...to ensure the preservation of resources, participation of local actors and the relationship tourism with culture, lifestyle of the population and interaction with other productive activities. (CORFO 2007, my translation)

Here, the longstanding colonial narrative of “access” to Mapuche “capitals” is actualized with DWI concepts of carefully planned “protection” and “consent.” In contrast, I will show, what I identify as a re-politicized ethno-preneurial discourse in Llaguepulli is not about regulating, taping, or even simply “protecting” non-commodified indigenous sustenance. Instead it is about, actively, dynamically, and progressively *balancing the satisfaction of financial needs created by negative structural conditions* with a process of

permanent and proactive counteraction of threats to, recomposition of, *the non-commodified* human and human-non-human networks sustaining Mapuche rural life.

But let me note first that Mauricio displays an apparently conventional appropriation of the “capitals” discourse, for which untapped potentials of already existent non-commodified resources are searched and tapped in order to generate income through market integration. Indeed, Budi ethnopreneurs have become conversant with “social capital” rationale, understood in broad terms as everything ‘*over and above other types of capital*’ that can be ‘*attached to the economy* (i.e. market integration) *in a functionally positive way*’ (Fine 1999: 5). As Mauricio relates,

Living my entire life here, I saw this beautiful landscape that we see now, and perhaps took it for granted- never placing much attention or much value on it. That, until I heard that famous term: tourism. I thought: What is tourism?! What can be done? I started looking for information and guidelines with professionals. They told me, tourism can be done here: “You have a nice environment and landscapes, that can be exploited touristically.” When I heard that, I thought, well, maybe there is potential in that regard in the environment and natural resources that we have. Afterwards I saw that my community historically has been, even until today, one of the communities that have been the most strengthened in the area of culture. In short, I envisioned these two main bases: Natural resources on the one hand, and cultural resources, like knowledge and language, on the other, and from those bases, I can install an apparatus through which we can autonomously generate our own resources as a community or territory.

Arguably, in order to harness neoliberal social development networks, I argue, ethno-preneurs have learned to adopt subject positions within DWI discursive regimes because only insofar as they converse within its discursive regime can they push to re-direct resources to indigenous sustainable livelihoods agendas. But crucially, I will argue, while remaining “conversant” with the official narrative, ethno-preneurs are also producing creative friction within the neoliberal-multicultural regime. The ability to harness development networks depends to a great extent, I will argue, in Mapuche leaders or organic intellectuals re-politicizing and re-conceptualizing social capital rationality. Mauricio articulates, in the following quote, what I identify as two core aspects of this re-politicized deployment of social capital rationale in the following terms:

Our thought is not about filling up with money, or having a purely entrepreneurial-capitalist logic, because we have never done it that way before. This is all about our ability to balance having economic resources, that is interesting indeed, but we cannot lose that logic, and that’s a main issue of conversation among us.

First, the notion of “not having a purely entrepreneurial-capitalistic logic” being at the basis of success introduces a crucial aspect of Mapuche re-deployment of social capital. Mauricio recognizes that some element of capitalism might be indeed necessary while suggesting that entrepreneurship can be hyphenated to something else, perhaps the word Mapuche, therefore discursively incorporating those other-than-capitalistic economic rationalities that emerge from “the way we Mapuche have always do things”. The notion of “balancing” the satisfaction of financial needs with investing in non-commodified economic capacities, I will argue, is at the core Mapuche re-deployment of social capital in their own terms, as it will be made clear further on. Second, the quote above denotes one of many allusions (by Mauricio, as well as other actors, within the other locales) to an internal, ongoing “conversation” or communal deliberation on the challenges and dilemmas concerning economic mobilization and touristic recomposition, or the “how not to lose *that* logic”. This conversation, it appears to be key aspect of the process of indigenous economic recomposition movement under neoliberalism, as it gives it its deliberative and therefore reflexive and political character.

In short, I am arguing that the official development rationale of harnessing Mapuche “capitals” by markets and networks has been negotiated by Mapuche ethnopreneurs into that of harnessing markets and networks for Mapuche re-territorialization through investment in social/natural capital, understood roughly as non-commodified self-centered productive networks. As the next quote shows, land-based livelihoods are one key component of this strategy of economic mobilization. “We are not only thinking about the dollar sign,” insists Mauricio, and adds,

We are looking at how we can re-articulate ourselves with our *way of life/livelihood (forma the vida)* in harmonious balance with our environment and our natural resources -There is a whole vision in that regard at stake in this project. For instance, today this beautiful lake we are gazing at is state-owned (non-Mapuche). This concern arises in Llaguepulli and we are organizing to register Lake Budi (water rights) on behalf of all our communities. To this end we are surveying, mapping, zoning. We, as a community, as a school, are generating this initiative.

Although Llaguepulli’s collective project for sustainable livelihoods is based in notions of “re-articulation” of the community and its territory and natural resources, as the quote shows, the project of re-territorialization through investing in securing and enhancing “reproductive” or non-commodified economic capacities is far from just, so to say, “*back to old days*” discourses. In the contrary, the community is pursuing re-

territorialization in the form of legal security over resources and environmental management rights (in this instance, water rights) through technical tools such as mapping and zoning techniques in the context of professionalized indigenous development networks. The quote speaks about the centrality notions of empowerment through professionalization of the interfaces between Mapuche grassroots and development networks in the re-deployment of narratives of the non-commodified basis for self-reliance and re-territorialization.

Llaguepulli's basic school, the administration of which was taken aback by the community from the church in 2005, represents today a key recipient of tourism earnings slated for reinvestment in territory. While the community taking responsibility for the school can be seen as a typical case of instrumentalization of subjects by *neoliberal governmentalities*, my argument here is precisely that by performing self-management on their own terms, Llaguepulli ethnopreneurs are redirecting resources in complex ways to an agenda of economic recomposition towards self-sufficiency and re-territorialization. Mauricio asserts that "investing in the school" is the venue they have envisioned to "distribute with equality" tourism revenue. Through tourism, Mauricio explains, "people have come, and we have told them we are doing this with education, and some of them have injected resources into the school; they do inject resources, and we do too, a fixed percentage" of the Committee's earnings. Redistribution towards the students and their families, and the space opened to develop an appropriate pedagogic process with their involvement, are important aspects of this central component of Llaguepulli's territorial recomposition.

Crucially, the school has also been instrumental in assembling a "nucleus" of community-based technical staff, as mentioned earlier, composed by a small but growing number of, in 2011, seven young community members, among them the teachers of the school and their assistants, as well as some newly hired in the community's library and adult education programs. For the latter, Mauricio tells me, the church's previous administration "never cared about at all," denoting the transformative intent of their struggle. Moreover, as Mauricio explains, hiring community members in this development projects has responded to a core agenda of Llaguepulli ethno-preneurial movement. This is, in Mauricio's words,

One way or another to stop emigration. Generate capacities, have our children educated. Have them go to college to Temuco, to the institutes, but to return again. And here, in their territory, their land, generate economic development strategies. That is our vision. That was my vision when I started as an entrepreneur...Thanks to

the tourism revenues, and also the work we do within the scope of our traditions, we have succeeded in stopping the migration of our youth. These girls for instance, that if right now the community would not have had this strategy and these jobs, they would already be in Santiago or Temuco working for the large companies where they are humiliated, where they are mistreated. And instead, they are here, happy, in liberty, together with their family, their parents.

Crucial for this story of indigenous economic mobilization are the disastrous combined economic and cultural effects of neoliberal adjustment on agricultural markets, subdivision of lands, and the implantation of industrial forestry operations in disputed lands, shaping a societal experience of *proletarianization by de-territorialization* (i.e. loss of rural livelihoods, food insecurity and outmigration). It is in this context that the Mapuche ethno-preneurial “vision” or agenda to enhance non-commodified productive capacities and networks is co-produced in Budi, at the interstices of DWI.

In sum, the creative re-deployment of social capital rationale by Mapuche actors pursuing a strategy for re-territorialization has meant Mapuche actors informed by Mapuche political agendas are negotiating discourses on non-commodified components of Mapuche livelihoods in peculiar ways, where governmentalities, economic entrepreneurial actors, and grassroots agendas of re-territorialization entangle. As Mapuche entrepreneurs gradually and deliberately transform the linkages between development semi-clientelistic networks, touristic commercial enterprises, and the non-commodified or “reproductive” components of Mapuche livelihoods, they are doing so on their own terms and not as purely governmentalized subjects. Mapuche proletarianization by de-territorialization, which was naturalized by Development with Identity technocratic discourse (as discussed in Chapter II) is re-politicized by the Llaguepulli entrepreneurs. In this manner, they have re-deployed “social capital” rationales that lie at the heart of DWI interventions such as *Programa Origenes*.

Deliberative re-politicization of the relation between commodified and non-commodified livelihood components in indigenous development, in turn, has enabled Llaguepulli ethno-preneurs to redirect resources available to them under neoliberal multiculturalism towards an agenda of investment *on local/extra-local networks of productive reciprocity* at the base of Mapuche self-reliance, economic security, and rights to land and natural resources. As I will suggest in my conclusion, this Mapuche ethno-preneurial re-deployment of DWI, I will argue as I proceed in this analysis, is not informed only political agendas of re-territorialization, but in a deeper level, by particular notions of

territories as dynamic, open-ended networks of reciprocity that are central to Mapuche ontologies or ways of being and which are also, central to Mapuche co-production of DWI outcomes.

Curarrehue: re-signifying culture in development

a. Presentation: cultural production for economic and territorial recomposition

In the previous subsection I explored through the Llaguepulli case how Mapuche organizations are deploying economic mobilization strategies to harness networks and re-center development in indigenous territories while negotiating the governmental rationality of social capital. In this section I address how Mapuche entrepreneurial movements are also harnessing touristic markets through cultural production. Curarrehue, a small semi-rural community near the main pass to Argentina through the Andes, provides an example of a different but equally successful Mapuche tourism movement. In contrast to the largely non-touristic Lake Budi, which is situated deep in Mapuche country, Curarrehue is located within the important touristic axis of San Martín (Argentina)–Pucón (Chile).

In Curarrehue, the virtual imposition of tourism practices by exogenous actors has led to a Mapuche involvement in cultural tourism development that has meaningfully opened the questions of tourism sustainability on Mapuche territories. Building on Joanne Rappaport's (2005) conceptualization of indigenous leaderships in Colombia (2005), I argue that this movement has been led by active *indigenous intellectuals* reshaping the interfaces of markets, politics, and culture. These Mapuche cultural producers are questioning hegemonic definitions of Mapucheity in development by discursively tying culture, nature, and place into *indigenous territory*.

The Curarrehue experience, conveyed through its leaders' voices and a glimpse of touristic interaction at the museum, will enable me to focus on a particular dimension of Mapuche tourism movement: The mediation of touristic commodification by endogenous intellectual producers. Just as creative re-politicization of "social capital" discourse allowed Llaguepulli indigenous "professional" managers to harness development networks, the creative challenge of official accounts of culture and identity has allowed Curarrehue's *indigenous intellectuals* to harness touristic markets through endogenous cultural production. I will show that they have become conversant with neoliberal concepts of the

“value of culture” in development, while at the same time challenging and molding those discourses in ways that have facilitated autonomous cultural production for economic and political empowerment. Ultimately, cultural entrepreneurs, through the assertion of *de-essentialized and re-territorialized* notions of “Mapucheity in development” are consciously advancing the broader project of recomposition of indigenous territories.

In the next two sections I explore, mainly through the discourse deployed by a leader of the movement whom I interviewed in June 2011 in her restaurant in Curarrehue, this specific aspect of Mapuche tourism practices and discourse I refer to as cultural entrepreneurship. Through it, I argue, *culture in development* has become a key ground not only as resource for self-commodification through dialectic innovation and regulation, but has triggered a affective and politically mediated process of re-signification of indigeneity in globalization *vis a vis* the state as well as transnational governmentalities and markets.

b. Harnessing markets through indigenous cultural enterprising, innovation and regulation

The bus arrives at the Mapuche museum of Curarrehue and a mass of loud teenagers descend into the freezing morning. Mapuche hosts greet them in Mapuche language: “Mari mari”, -“Mari mari” the students respond, still laughing, but now full of curiosity and contagious excitement. Two parallel tours organized by the Mapuche team are a success. The students travel through time from the colonization to contemporary Mapuche struggles to maintain their relationships to their own history, knowledge and territory. The tour ends with everyone sitting around the an impressive “modern” bonfire installed inside the museum, where the nanas open up the *good word* while the mate is passed from hand to hand, and from mouth to mouth. The moment has a human significance rare in our plastic times. I recall what Raquel Marillanca, the museum's administrator related to me minutes earlier: “In Mapuche culture 'tourism' didn't exist, but we are creating a new form to work tourism, in order to avoid the emigration of youth in search for jobs, and for them to develop skills and stay here.”

The ethno-preneurial movement in Curarrehue offers a second vantage point to look at cultural production and cultural politics of touristic self-commodification of Mapuche communities in south-central Chile. In Curarrehue an ethno-preneurial network has organized around certain key elements of leadership and material infrastructure. A municipal community museum opened to the public in 2002 under the name of

Trawupeyum or place for encounter. Founded by government and other external non-governmental actors, this museum received 4000 visitors during the last season, but more importantly, it has become the material pivot for a Mapuche economic movement striving for beneficial, self-empowering incorporation and adaptation of tourism practices. (See Appendix B, figures B4 and B5)

In Curarrehue, the local Mapuche entrepreneurs strive to incorporate tourism practices on their own terms. As in Llaguepulli, they have been doing this by harnessing development networks and re-centering them into a place-based “apparatus,” in Mauricio’s terms. In Curarrehue, the museum serves as that center of dense networks crosscutting government, economic actors, and the local community. In Curarrehue as in Llaguepulli, the reworking of these networks by Mapuche entrepreneurial leaders has been pivotal in enabling a communal regulation and mediation of the effects of tourism development in livelihoods, identities, and places of Mapucheity.

This section, however, will focus not so much in ethno-preneurial harnessing of development networks, but in the efforts to seduce, regulate and reshape of touristic markets through the co-production of “Mapuche tourism” as a set of narratives and practices of Mapuche touristic self- commodification. In Curarrehue, as in Budi, this process of cultural entrepreneurship is integral to a process of economic mobilization. In this case, however, ethno-preneurship is exercised by local Mapuche actors in response to concrete changes and pressures coming from within Pucón tourism industry as well as from other economic actors, as I will explain later. The next quote from Ana Epulef, narrates what she perceives as her leadership in this project of engaging tourism in transformative ways. For Ana,

Tourism arrived, and we have had to learn how to adapt it into our families and communal sociality. The most important aspect of tourism for me is that it is a new way of relating to people who come here. The most important thing is that it should not alter our way of life, *should not be invasive in our spaces* (sic) (...). We have somehow learned to live with this form of tourism by gradually incorporating it to our own people, because I remember at one point it was all going very fast. I realized, “Hey, I’m doing something, and I have not asked my children or my husband if we want this.” So we reflected, and we are all happy with how this [tourism] rewards us. And doing so, here in Curarrehue many families, who have observed our work have identified with this process. And they see us and realize, “Yes, we can do it, we can live like that.” You see? We can make a living without having to continue to see the earth (tierra) as a bank that gives you money —

without seeing the forest, this and that, in that way, but instead remain friends with our environment.

Ana's words demonstrate how, in the context of a tourism industry that "arrives" via Pucón, the politicization of *culture in development* is enabling ethnopreneurs to articulate an agenda for touristic recomposition in ways that fit local livelihoods strategies and lifestyles. But Mapuche tourism discourse in Curarrehue, as the quote also reveals, reach further into an explicit agenda of cultural production of "new ways of relating", both with territory and with global society, shaped by local conditions, and I will argue, by Mapuche relational ontologies.

Transforming the relation between Mapuche hosts and visitors is central in Ana's ethno-preneurial discourse. The next quote from her speaks of "friction" in her interactions with tourists, which in turn is represented as a learning opportunity. With a touch of humor, Ana relates,

Sometimes frenzied families arrive, and they say "I want this now. Don't you have chicken? Don't you have sodas?" We respond: "No, we don't have that: We are doing Mapuche cuisine." Then they are like "Ah! What is Mapuche cuisine?" And so begins this story of making it stronger, more powerful: how can we come to what always has been our way of life- the relationship between communities, between people, the way to work, to make economies. When I say "Mapuche cuisine", I mean we need to make a difference between what came to us from outside, and we have incorporated it, but at the same time, keep in mind (*tener en presente*) what we did have here, and what has been lost for different causes.

Ana's "Mapuche cuisine" has been celebrated for its economic success. I will argue, however, that narratives such as the one above reveal a fundamental linkage between commercial innovation and a politics of culture re-shaping touristic encounters, where Mapuche cultural entrepreneurs produce, through friction what, could be considered a *situational de-colonial knowledge*. In short, tourism pressure and cultural friction has provoked instead of self-enclosure, a creative response: a dynamic "cultural industry" based on innovative cultural self-commodification.

Crucially, I have found that Mapuche approaches to touristic self-commodification as learning have embedded a form of *collective regulation* meant to produce a specific set of effects at the interfaces of markets, government, and rural Mapucheity. By *collective regulation*, I mean here the capacity of the community to recognize, deliberate on, and intentionally mediate the effects of development in relation to place, livelihoods, and identities. To this end, I found that ethnopreneurs are using *Mapuche culture*

interchangeably as a “heritage resource” as well as a normative frame to generate practical, relational knowledge and norms on how to incorporate tourism into rural Mapuche life in non-invasive manners.

Interviews with Mapuche tourist entrepreneurs reflects what I consider to be enhanced authority of communities to decide what shall remain the same and what should change as they re-link into broader markets and structures of government. In their transit from objects of folklorization to subjects of cultural production, these entrepreneurs are thereby assuring that touristic cultural commodification is not just about attracting and regulating markets for profit, but also about producing livelihood strategies consistent with good life in a viable rural indigeneity. In turn, this transition is only made possible through a deep recomposition of identities, crosscut by gender and class difference, in ways that affirm the Mapuche as relational collective actors. Culture and cultural property transactions, however, also became the object of explicit control, design, and “naming” by ethno-preneurs who have assumed the prerogative of mediating tourism interaction and development. As Ana relates,

Many people [tourists] have come to me and asked if they can speak to someone like that [a Mapuche elder]. Fortunately they ask, and they don't just try to reach them directly. I do not believe myself to be a guardian of this [the traditional Mapuche culture], but when I have to assume the role, yes I do, because I know the outside world. I want people to have respect regarding how one approaches our [traditional] authorities. So we have convoked the people of Curarrehue to discuss what we want to achieve out of tourism; what does tourism mean to us; and how we are incorporating it into our communities.

Mediation and regulation of tourism encounters by Mapuche entrepreneurs, as Ana's quote shows, have spurred further processes of deliberation, as the “what do we want from tourism?” question reemerges, this time linked as to how to, and to what ends might be materialized a communal regulation of the encounters with tourists and operators. In short, for Ana the word *Mapuche* in *Mapuche tourism* is not just a catchy slogan, but an ethical commitment to moral political economies and ecologies. As Ana asserts,

For us there is an abysmal difference in understanding what real food is. So today, where there is a Mapuche tourism venture growing and opening up spaces, the women, families, and children cannot lose this sense of purpose. Otherwise, it would not last very long, and we will be tarnished with other things that do not correspond to the way we feel...Mapuche cuisine is how one behaves with the land. What you take care of, that's what you have. For instance, I cannot over-exploit the forest just because there is a demand. And that is exactly what happens to food, like milk or

tomatoes that are [industrially] “over-produced.” For us, the garden, the water, the forest, do not give to us just like that. It is a completely different process that has to do with weather, rain, sun, wind- with the entire natural process of life that ensures that food gets to our table.

In sum, Ana and her associates have not only enabled themselves as economic actors through a commercial innovation, but have provoked a complex, collective, ongoing process of touristic recomposition that in certain ways, challenges dominant notions of *cultural multiplicity in development*. I will argue that the industry itself is changing in tandem with the economic conditions of Mapuche communities in the mountains of Curarrehue, *vis a vis* global networks and markets. Like Mauricio and the leadership of Llaguipulli, Ana and her associates have succeeded by harnessing networks and markets towards Mapuche social agendas. At the core of this effort of economic mobilization has been a group of entrepreneurs who are collectively reformulating the interface between Mapuche identities, places, and livelihoods, on one hand, and tourism markets and development networks in the other.

c. Re-signifying culture in development to harness touristic commodification

I will explore in this subsection how *Mapucheity in tourism* thus becomes a venue for the ethical and political problematization of otherwise marginalized questions in official, neoliberal DWI. I proceed in this analysis by elaborating a counterpoint between dominant “ethno-tourism” narratives on cultural difference, on the one hand, and those co-produced by the Mapuche on the other. I will argue that the analysis of the case of the Curarrehue Mapuche entrepreneurs shows that touristic successful self-commodification has both elicited and depended on a situated re-politicization of *culture in development*.

Touristic commodification is a main entry point into the process through which cultural heterogeneity in Curarrehue is being re-signified into *Mapuche cultural production*. Touristic “attractions,” “products,” and “experiences”, in Mapuche country as elsewhere, are made of places, cultures, and labor undergoing touristic commodification. These tourism practices and their institutionalized discursive regimes, are described and made sense of by Mapuche entrepreneurs, I will show, in dissonance with dominant de-politicized technocratic discourse in two crucial manners: First, by centering culture in territory, and second, by addressing tensions of ethnic, class, and cultural asymmetries.

Multiculturalism, a central articulating narrative of DWI, is a discourse about an intrinsic value (or at least political or economic *potential*) of cultural diversity. The “indigenous problem” thus shows itself as cultural plurality that has not been fully incorporated by political and civil societies. The idea that the way to have cultural difference dignified is to deliver affirmative action measures considered as actions towards subsidizing disadvantaged ethnic individuals. In turn, as noted by Boccara (2007) in order to target ethnic subjects effectively with such measures, a specific form of knowledge-power is constructed. First through culture as knowledge-power, ethnic subjects classified and their difference normalized, and de-historicized. Second, the rationale of culture enables government to “de-nationalize” the scales, agendas and actors of government/development as serves to specify the definition of spatially, socially and technically specified an “indigenous problem.” Third, this objectifying knowledge of cultural difference is complemented by second crucial aspect of the rationale of culture as power-knowledge. As noted by Fernando Leiva (unpublished) the rationale of culture as socio-affective nexus is that by understanding (practically, *bodily*) and empathizing with the *perceptions* hold by the cultural other, the development agent is able to solidify the different complementary subject positions in the context of the semi-clienteles described by Durston et al. (2005) and Schild (2000, 2007).

d. Culture, asymmetric relations and self

The self-empowerment of the Mapuche as cultural producers is a first fundamental aspect of the re-politicization of culture in touristic commodification. It is in the “tourism encounter” that the asymmetric relations between tourist and toured, between *wingka* (Westerner) and Mapuche, are reproduced or challenged. The virtual absence of conflict in mainstream touristic discourse, as well as its de-politicization by neoliberal multiculturalism a la *Programa Origenes*, whether *psychologizing/racializing* it as “ethnic mistrust” or “cultural misunderstanding,” is counter-narrated by Mapuche intellectuals representing conflict as lingering oppression, and cultural difference and resistance as proof of it. Yet disruptive narratives of ethnic discrimination and resistance are, interestingly enough, nuanced by the hosts in the context of the tourism encounter through “healing experiences” where asymmetries are momentarily but proactively neutralized. The playful, careful, and sometime deeply compassionate disruption of asymmetric relations is illustrated in the following description of Ana on her role as a Mapuche host.

They have looked at me as a leader in the tourism sector, which we here call it Mapuche tourism. And also when you say Mapuche tourism and people already know what you mean and adopt a position of respect. It's like slowing down a bit and see how we can understand each other, and finally realize that we are not odd people, that we are not people that don't dialogue, that don't converse, that do not know how relate to others. But instead we are normal people, we just look at the world a little different from the people who sometimes visit us. But it is not so much because of the people who come here, it's because they are searching for something more special. They arrive with a disposition of respect, of relating with beings, with us, which is special too. Sometimes we put on music bands were there is no *kultrun* and *trutruka*. So when people are here, and know our way of life, it is more powerful that we speak, interact, and offer an experience. That's what one wants: Call for an encounter among people, for a dialogue, and reencounter again, starting with food.

The “tourism encounter” is, in Curarrehue and all three locales I visited, representative of a prime ground where culture becomes a tool both for innovation and for collective regulation of practices. Entrepreneurs manage tensions in these contexts through a range of strategies embedded in deeply human and political representations of their contemporary Mapuche identity. Beyond tourism, *Mapuche* entrepreneurs' narratives of Mapucheity are also reshaping ethnic “subject positions” in development narratives and political discourse more generally, which are in turn imprinting deeper layers of recomposition of Mapucheity.

More broadly, I find in Curarrehue a clear trace of cultural entrepreneurial agency re-signifying Mapuche cultural difference. I would argue that for Mapuche cultural entrepreneurs, cultural multiplicity enters development discourse and practice not because an innovation enables it to seize a particular “niche” in the global market place, but only insofar tourism self-commodification entwines, meaningfully, with broader processes of political, geographic, and cultural recomposition (or de-colonization) of Mapucheity. I will argue, in fact, that innovation would have not been possible if Ana had not produced useful narratives of Mapuche culture and identities that defy and destabilize dominant dualist representations of culture as separate from “nature,” and culture itself dissected in “heritage resource” (or folk expressions) and cultural norms. Moreover, through discourses of *culture as territory*, ethno-preneurs have produced themselves as the subjects, rather than the objects, of cultural production and cultural change. The tensions that are produced

in this context are often treated with a sense of humor. Because information of her circulates in magazines and brochures, Ana laugh, tourists with stereotyped expectations,

Sometimes ask for me to myself! Perhaps they want to see a lady with her traditional regalia while stirring the pot for the photo. But I do not see *wingka* women ornamented when in the kitchen. And it is not because it is a space that is not worthy of that, but because the practice itself does not make us comfortable. I can see my *trapelakucha* (silver jewel piece) on top of the salad!

Are these Mapuche intellectuals performing the “test of modernity” to become “*indios permitidos*” as Charles Hale (2004) puts it? It seems, on the contrary, that in order to incorporate themselves into tourism assemblages Mapuche cultural entrepreneurs have had to push in a direction that departs from occluding asymmetries and conflict, thus reproducing modern/colonial narratives, and to move toward reflecting on and subverting asymmetries and conflict. When Ana exclaims, “people ask me for me!” she is denoting how fully she is invested in collective and personal projects of enactment of a cultural project of unapologetic *mestizaje* and wide-open conversation with global governmentalities and cultural debates. However, engaging in tourism practices has entailed for Ana enormous responsibility not only at a personal level but before her political community as well, inasmuch as she has deliberately mediated touristic recomposition of livelihoods, places, and identities of Mapucheity in ways she see fits with her familial and political roles. Sometimes, she complains of having to “give too much to work and forgetting about the family to be able to generate income.” But overall, she admits that, “We've been ten years sustaining our family through this.”

Normally, she says, the local people would need to “go out,” by which she means they would leave for agricultural seasons, or “go work with another boss, so they distance themselves from family and the way to relate with sons and parents changes.” And so, despite the challenges, and over and above the profit, Anita says that tourism has gave her “the ability to live in peace, to remain in this place, to enjoy the land, like how always we have been accustomed to, to be able to go to the forest, to gather, to accompany the old, our parents, and have time with them, and be good with children.”

As suggested in the previous subsection, ethno-preneurship intersects with the neoliberal ethos, as it is based in individual or non-state risk-taking and responsabilization for social regulation. But de-proletarianization for Anita is much more than mere individual upward mobility. It also pertains to a collective process of re-territorialization understood

as re-centering development in place. I would argue that tourism represents for her the possibility of building moral economies. In this practice, the concepts of culture and identity seem to help Ana and other entrepreneurs to hold together the two dimensions of their own de-proletarianization: Upward mobility and re-territorialization.

e. Tourism, culture, nature, and ways of feeling life

In mainstream DWI and neoliberal development discourse, culture and nature are seen as separate realms. Take for instance a document specifically aimed at addressing the development of Mapuche “ethno-touristic” practices in Curarrehue, the CORFO's “Curarrehue Innovation Agenda” (2010). Produced by “heritage” experts and intended as a guideline for public investment, this text finds great difficulty in articulating meaningfully the inter-linkages between culture and nature that I have found in Mapuche entrepreneurial discourse. It states, for instance, that, “the Municipality of Curarrehue has a great touristic potential in relation to its natural, as well as heritage resources. Evidence of this is the growing and auspicious development of Mapuche gastronomy”, is referring to Ana Epulef and her associates experience (CORFO, 2010, p. 27). Nevertheless, when speaking of Mapuche “gastronomy,” these guidelines fail to portray Mapuche culinary practices and their “cultural” richness as inherently embedded in historic memory and ecological linkages, but instead, present them as an isolated piece of folklore. At the same time, the CORFO narrative constructs the “environmental strengths” of the destination as “low levels of human intervention, with natural resource of great potential for touristic use and in excellent levels of conservation and wildness (*naturalidad*)” (p. 35). Thus these CORFO (2010) guidelines suggest that touristic success is dependent precisely in maintaining or producing that separation between human and non-human, between “intervention” and pristine nature:

The network of touristic attractions of...Curarrehue is composed essentially of natural attractions such as old-growth native forest, and prominently the presence of the Pewén or Araucaria tree, symbol of Mapuche culture and without any doubt the most distinctive and original marker of the regional landscape. Cultural heritage has also become a touristic attraction of wide regional and local recognition (sic) in particular regarding the different manifestations of the Mapuche culture...This network of natural and cultural attraction of the territory is composed by 87 attractions in total, of which 21 are manifestations of folklore, 60 are natural sites and the rest correspond to local cultural and religious manifestation. (pp. 27-28).

In this technocratic narrative, “culture” is again dissected in cultural norms and folkloric or “heritage” resources, while being regarded as utterly divorced from nature. This agenda further holds that among the “advantages” of the destination are the already ongoing processes of touristic commodification (*puesta en valor*) of “Mapuche gastronomy and medicine as alternative therapy; traditional dances and music; textiles, jewelry, natural dyes and other handcrafts; traditional agriculture and gathering practices, etc.” (CORFO 2010: 63). Nothing, or very little is said, however, of *culture* as the normative frame for commodification, or the role of the Mapuche as cultural producers. When culture is invoked as the normative frame, it is usually referred to in terms of indigenous “idiosyncrasy” and “cultural variable” and thought of as arcane, static *limits* to commodification that planning should account for, and not as a malleable resource to be used creatively in tourism recomposition.

In contrast, nature and culture for ethnopreneurial actors merge in Mapuche touristic products and experiences into *territory*. Place is not regarded as natural, but instead as an entity invested with historic, religious, and economic meaning—as the Mapuche Territory. For Mapuche ethno-preneurs, all separations between culture, place, nature, and knowledge are, at least in certain contexts, as I will show, irrelevant. And it is precisely by “naming” these linkages that the “attractions” Mapuche touristic entrepreneurs are producing take shape. Mapuche cuisine, because food is the primordial linkage between culture and nature, constitute an excellent example of this production, to which I will come back later. Horse riding ancient path and founding the stories it holds, or, for instance, an experience with Mapuche healing, can be seen also in this light. Regarding the gatherers who supply her with various goods, Ana says:

For us, they are the pillars of our cuisine: They have the wisdom they inherited from their parents and grandparents. I have a “brother” (*lagmien*) who tells me that if he doesn’t enter the forest chanting he cannot find anything. So just imagine the sort of behavior these people have with their land.

Yet by blurring the distinction between nature, place, and culture, ethno-preneurs are also subverting the distinction between the objects of touristic commodification, and the norms shaping this practice. For instance, visitors to Curarrehue can enjoy visiting traditional Mapuche authorities, or sacred places. They can experience traditional livelihoods, ecological knowledge, and artistic expressions and even, in some cases, minor ritual engagements, such as prayers and offerings before starting a trek. All these “products”

or “attractions” represent forms of touristic self-commodification of Mapuche culture/territory Mapuche which entrepreneurs hold, can only be experienced by visitors if done with respect, that is, establishing a relationship of mutual respect. These *relationships based on respect* are molded by Mapuche hosts and mediators, informally and in principle, simply by “naming” the dignified nature of the “objects” of ethno-tourism (i.e. designating, for instance, someone as traditional authority, a path as ancestral, a forest as sentient, or a tree as sacred).

In Mapuche discourse, in short, culture is norm and object of a tourism practice that simultaneously is about, and from, cultural plurality. This notion of culture as object and norm as just two aspects of the same relationships between *visitors* and *hosts* has enabled ethno-preneurs to harness markets towards a project of recomposition of indigenous territories. By regulating the tourism encounter through such concepts of culture, I would argue, ethno-preneurs such as Ana defy dominant rationales and create space for politically meaningful Mapuche engagement in DWI and tourism development.

Building on current discussions on indigenous territories as relational ontologies (Blaser 2011), I interpret Ana’s emphasis on gatherers as an assertion of her own primordial bond (and that of the movement she leads) to Mapuche territory conceived as a relational moral ontology. From this viewpoint, Mapuche tourism is arguably regulated by norms that human and non-human “objects” of tourism impose on tourism practices by mediation of Mapuche intellectual workers such as Anita. Therefore, for the tourist to “enter” the Mapuche territory and its political/moral constitutive relations, what is required about all is the establishment of a relationship grounded in “respect.” In this context, cultural difference becomes a politics of relational ontologies, where an ethics of care, relationship, and reciprocity link together local Mapuche and visitors, as well as humans and non-humans.

At the same time, Ana does not refuse change and hybridization. Clients at the restaurant, she tells me, often ask her, “Do you really eat this in the day to day?” “Yes, of course, this is our food, how could be not eat it? Oh well, sometimes we might eat a lasagna, a pasta, or Chilean cuisine, such as cazuela. But we do eat this. So it needs to be real.” Mapuche cuisine for Ana, when real, represents precisely the convergence between nature and culture, territory and difference, object and knowledge/norm, ancient and changing, all dimensions that make contemporary rural Mapuche culture and identities. It is these cultural practices that ethnopreneurs are consciously and strategically self-commodifying

as a strategy for recomposition of their communities' livelihoods, places and identities. In this sense, Mapuche touristic commodification defies static borderlines between cultural norms and objects (or tourism from culture and about culture) and *between culture and nature*. Importantly, these alternative discourses enable cultural producers to embed forms of normative regulation of touristic commodification with the deliberate objective of molding the social organization and spatial sedimentation of tourism resources, exchanges, encounter zones, and interactions, processes that will be discussed in more depth in chapter IV.

In short, the re-politicizing effect of assuming, in the part of the community, this active economic and cultural agency in shaping touristic commodification of "culture" goes far beyond the realm of the touristic encounter, as it *manifests* indigenous territory and the constitutive relations that bond the Mapuche community to it. According to Ana, tourism discourse becomes political discourse in the following manner:

How to teach them (tourists) that they are treading on territory that is not theirs: It is not necessarily ours either, because this ground has no owner. It has caretakers, we, but we are not the owners, you know? No, we are not owners: this place was left to us so that we can look after it. So then when you begin to appropriate land and water and forests and everything, in future we would end up buying and selling the amount of snow that will fall on our soil, you know? Why do we have to be private owners of something? So that's the message we convey, for the children that come here realize that this is no ground where they usually walk on. We have our *nguillatun* (main annual ceremony) in the midst of January, when it's crowded here. But it is our custom, it is our tradition, and this space [her restaurant] may not necessarily be open, but [tourists] will know why it is not open. That's the message: Our community *lives* what we attest for, right? That is what is most important for us, because in that way one defends what is ours. It's like our cry of battle (*bandera de lucha*): Who we are.

Anita's narrative quoted above is rich in terms of how ethnopreneurs, as cultural producers, use narratives of Mapucheity to redirect touristic recomposition while re-politicizing culture/territory in development. The idea that the *Mapuche are not owners of the land, because no one is*, destabilizes stereotyped ideas of ethnic conflict. At the same time, it challenge both official ideas of land redistribution as affirmative action, while it de-naturalizes unregulated corporate appropriation of Mapuche livelihoods and spaces of cultural production, and even puts to question *private property* as the maxima of government in Mapuche country. Ultimately, I would argue, it brings the conflict over territory to whole new level, which, building on Blaser (2001), I designate as politico-

ontological: Humans (or for that matter, corporations) cannot own the land because essential spirits (*gnen*) already do.

Finally, the politicization of tourism through the acknowledgement of the moral relationships constituting indigenous territory also means that the meaning of Mapuche/Chilean difference has been subverted. This by the intellectual work of Mapuche ethno-preneurs that with a narrative of Mapucheity that re-centers difference (and conflict) in *indigenous territories* have displaced official narratives which had, under a progressive veil, “ethnicize” heterogeneity by anchoring it to objectified and, to a degree, racialized subjectivities.

Concluding remarks

“There is no much grass suited for roofs left, but gathering, you can put together enough” (Mauricio, Llaguepulli-Budi, June 2011)

Llaguepulli’s touristic grass houses (*ruka*) have become in recent years a mark of Mapuche touristic entrepreneurship. Now showcased in international fairs, and commonly perceived as a commercial innovation, they might mean much more. Mauricio’s parabolic language, quoted above, speaks again of imagining and materializing new links tidying Mapuche territory together and linking it, in a different way, with global society.

I have offered in Chapter III analytical insight into the narratives that surround and shape distinctively Mapuche entrepreneurial practices in two different sites/situations. These two successful strategies for economic and political empowerment through ethno-preneurship represent re-combinations of a similar repertoire of Mapuche responses to neoliberal post-authoritarian governmentality. Therefore, I see them as situated expressions of an emergent form of Mapuche economic mobilization under neoliberalism towards the recomposition indigenous territory in south-central Chile. In both Curarrehue and Llaguepulli, Mapuche touristic entrepreneurship is practically and discursively linked to the Mapuche movement and its unending search for new levels for political, cultural, and economic agency in the changing scenarios of neoliberal democratization and globalization. In both cases leaders are articulating strategies that rely on a so far under-recognized re-politicization of Development with Identity rationalities and instruments of government,

and mediation of the effects of those on Mapuche places, identities and livelihoods. Both cases, however, also differ in informative ways.

In Budi, I explored how Mauricio and the others leading this Mapuche grassroots touristic initiative pursuit strategies for economic empowerment through professionalization of self-management and mobilization of social capital within development networks. In Budi, I explore through his own voice, how Mauricio has transit from grassroots organizer, to “ethnic broker” of development, to ethno-entrepreneur, while creatively re-politicizing neoliberal social capital discourses in ways that enable investment and deliberate recomposition of a non-commodified or communal Mapuche economic sphere.

In chapters IV and V, I will draw on some relations between these Mapuche reshaping of social capital and what current literature in South American indigenous activism are conceptualizing as political ontologies. I will trace further the relation between investment in non-commodified moral economies, concepts of territory as networked and expansive self-centeredness, and Mapuche territories political ontologies.

In Curarrehue, I explored the ethno-preneurial agenda of harnessing markets through cultural production, both of touristic commercial products, and of Mapucheity, Inc. as a discourse. This Mapuche “cultural industry”, I showed, combines entrepreneurial innovation and collective regulation as tools to re-direct tourism development and its sedimentation in place. In turn, regulating touristic self-commodification has depended on the capacity of Mapuche intellectuals to exercise autonomy in cultural production and authority over the meaning of cultural multiplicity in development, and these changes are challenging establish dichotomies between nature and culture and between indigenous “heritage” resources and the normative relationships that make indigenous ontologies/territories. In this way, touristic and cultural entrepreneurs in Curarrehue are re-politicizing culture in development in two broad senses I have explored here and to which I come back in my conclusive chapter: First, it reopens the question of cross-cultural asymmetries and ethnic identities in new ways, and second, it enables the question of alternative development in a new, situational way, which is informed, I will argue by Mapuche ontologies or *ways of being* undergoing new cycles of politicization.

In sum, I have used my interviews with two leading figures of successful Mapuche ethno-preneurship to illustrate two different but interrelated aspects of Mapuche engagement in tourism development emerging as creative indigenous response to the

changing milieus of DWI in south-central Chile. In exploring the experience of Mauricio in Llaguepulli, Budi, I emphasized the role of a strong Mapuche grassroots in harnessing development networks “harnessing” knowledge and resources from networks towards place-centered development project of *de-proletarianization through re-territorialization*. Then I highlighted the role of cultural entrepreneurs of Curarrehue, through Ana’s story, in engaging the aggressive touristic markets of Pucón in a transformative strategy of economic and cultural empowerment through cultural self-commodification. Both strategies, building non-commodified or “reproductive” economic capacities by weaving together local/extra-local networks, as well as embedding more or less explicit norms (or moral/political ontologies) in processes cultural commodification in ways that enable recomposition of Mapuche livelihoods, place and identities, however, represent two aspects of a single process, and are both observable in these two successful Mapuche ethno-enterprises.

It is still pending an analysis of the re-politicization by Mapuche entrepreneurial movement of participatory governance —after social capital and culture in development, the third rationale of neoliberal ethno-governmentalities. In the next chapter I resume the discussion on Mapuche re-negotiations of neoliberal multiculturalism from the lens of the re-deployment and stretching of the third core rationality of DWI: participation. I will do so by examining Lake Icalma, a site where, in contrast with the two presented so far, ethno-preneurs are struggling to seize the promise of Mapuche tourism while engaging pressures for de-territorialization coming, paradoxically, from tourism practices promoted by powerful actors and associated with commodification of land, real estate development, and gentrification. In analyzing this third case, I will focus on Mapuche ethno-preneurial re-deployment of participation rationalities, and will come back briefly to Llaguepulli and Curarrehue in a comparative interpretive analysis of this third key aspect of both, DWI and Mapuche ethno-preneurial mobilization.

CHAPTER IV
COUNTER-ACTING INVASIVE TOURISM AND THE STRUGGLE FOR PLACE, LIVELIHOODS,
AND IDENTITIES

Lake Icalma: from conflict zone to touristic zone

This chapter, as the previous one, focuses on how Mapuche actors are adopting the rationales and technologies of Development with Identity to *problematize and mediate* tourism development in different locales and under variegated circumstances. In chapter III I presented two cases where “ethno-preneurial” leaders have arguably been successful not only in harnessing markets and networks, but in re-negotiating what development might mean, for contemporary Mapuche. These Mapuche actors are shaped in complex ways by the strength and trajectories of their linkages to heterogeneous rural grassroots and in turn by the degree to which they engage uneven neoliberal markets and development networks in each site. In the two cases, however, entrepreneurial success seems to go hand in hand with a re-politicization of development.

As shown in Chapter III, mediation of tourism development by Mapuche entrepreneurs have entailed a departure of Mapuche “ethno-preneurial” discourse from official de-politicized rationales of social capital, participation, and culture in development. The purpose of this chapter is to offer a deeper look into the complexities of Mapuche engagement with DWI and its mediation of tourism development, through the examination of Mapuche engagement of tourism discourse and practice in Lake Icalma, a case of particular interest for a discussion on indigenous development and tourism sustainability.

I will provide interpretive insights, derived from interviews with entrepreneurs, development staff and other local actors I conducted in June of 2011 in the Lake Icalma area. In this examination, the analysis of policy documents presented in previous chapters has been equally important to observation and interviews, as the juxtaposition of discourses deployed “from above,” with local practices and representations, provides insight into the creative agency of the Mapuche subjects encountering official “Development with Identity” at the local scale.

Lake Icalma has been reshaped in distinctive ways by processes of neoliberalization, resistance, and democratization. By the time of democratization in the early 1990s, most rural communities nationwide had been pauperized by the virtual reversion of the agrarian

reform and the deregulation of agricultural markets. The situation was aggravated for the Mapuche by the subdivision of communal lands and the implantation of extractive industries in south-central Chile, particularly highly disruptive, de-regulated forestry operations. This resulted in continued erosion of livelihoods, food insecurity and out-migration. Nevertheless, as I discussed in chapter II, de-territorialization was contested by a strengthened Mapuche grassroots movement. The Biobío watersheds in lakes Icalma and Galletué basins, however, remained somewhat isolated from the harshest impacts of industrial tree farms and hydroelectric development down the river. Moreover, members of these communities have in the last 20 years regained or secured land title and access to subsistence resources, as well as lakeshore lands that have gradually become valuable as touristic capital.

This re-territorialization of the Mapuche in Icalma since the 1990s has been represented as an opportunity for creative recomposition of Mapuche economies and territories, both by development networks and local actors. A crucial difference with “successful” touristic recomposition experiences such as those of Llaguepulli and Curarrehue, however, is that there, exogenous economic actors linked with tourism and amenities’ development are threatening a new de-territorialization of the places, livelihoods, and identities of Mapucheity in Lonquimay highlands. Lake Icalma provides, indeed, a case in which “Mapuche tourism” discourse and practices has had difficulty materializing. The Mapuche community and its ethno-preneurial networks are struggling to effectively mediate tourism development and its effects on Mapuche places, livelihoods and identities.

The interpretive analysis of ethno-tourism engagements and the meaning actors attach to those in Icalma, offer a means to examine more closely Mapuche discourses and practices of “Mapuche tourism” and how these are shaped by situated indigenous experiences of colonialism, re-democratization, and globalization. As with the cases presented in Chapter III, I argue that ethno-tourism ventures in Icalma cannot be reduced to a simple incorporation of neoliberal governmentality through ethno-development. Pehuenche tourism practices and narratives in Icalma are analyzed in terms of the re-deployment of DWI by the Mapuche in response to rapid change in local conditions in the last 30 years. These, in turn, are seen as induced by processes of neoliberal globalization and re-democratization acting on situated configurations of internal colonialism, resistance and accommodation.

I will be looking to understanding changing spaces, livelihoods and identities through the representations of actors engaging tourism development. I hope to understand how these representations frame Mapuche motives for engaging or resisting tourism and/or lakeshore development and gentrification. I will focus on how “ethno-preneurs” committed in Icalma to a project of territorial re-articulation through touristic self-commodification, are reframing the challenge of sustainability in tourism development, through their situated knowledge and meaningful practices. In Lake Icalma, I will explain, ethno-preneurs are articulating agendas of re-territorialization by constructing a relational dichotomy between “invasive tourism” driven by exogenous actors on the one hand, and Mapuche endogenous “sustainable” practices on the other. I argue that through these concepts they are articulating political and economic agendas that while emerging from Mapuche situated experience of internal colonialism, and therefore from Mapuche *relational moral ontologies*, speak relevantly to current debates on globalization, indigenous peoples and sustainability.

a. *The Lonquimay highlands from 1883 to 1991: from inner frontier to battlefield for the right to culture*

The mighty Biobío River that flows from Icalma and Galletué Lakes was, for some 300 years, the natural frontier of the Mapuche country to the north—first for the Spanish empire, and then the Chilean Republic. Lonquimay, the municipality in which Lake Icalma is located, is the largest of the Araucania Region. Lonquimay’s immense Andean valleys and plateaus are less densely populated than the areas of the central valley and the coast of south-central Chile. The only urban center of some importance is the small town of Lonquimay. Two border crossings connect the Lonquimay municipality to the Argentinean Patagonia. The less important of these crossings is Icalma. The road there is unpaved, but readily accessible except during the winter, when several meters of snow can accumulate, isolating the small mountain settlements. Thus the wildness of this mountainous country continues to shape livelihoods and identities of its pluri-cultural inhabitants (Lonquimay Municipality 2010).

This wild part of Mapuche country, however, has gone in the last one hundred and thirty years through dramatic change imposed by internal colonization. To illustrate this point, Bengoa (1991) quotes the fascinating letters of Martin Drouilly, the colonel who in 1883, conducted the “pacification” campaign of the Upper Biobío and Lonquimay highlands.

As Drouilly wrote: “Desde el año 1861, los avances sucesivos de la frontera al sur del Biobío, se efectuaron por la costa y en el llano central, dejando al zona andina en poder de los indios insumisos, aumentando en numero con los que huían de los territorios que se iban ocupando” (Bengoa, 1991, 18). Ultimately, the coronel asserts, simultaneous occupation of the Andean territories by the two armies concluded the campaign with the establishment of forts and the demarcation of the border. Drouilly further reported that his soldiers “put an end to the last hope that Araucanians [i.e. *Mapuche*] and Pehuenches could entertain about conserving their independence, thus concluding with the immoral question of the [subjection of the] Araucania” (Drouilly, 1883, quoted by Bengoa, 199, p. 37, my translation). The (im)moral “question of the Araucania”, however, would linger for generations to come in Mapuche oral history, sense of loss, and struggles for a land they consider theirs.

After the incorporation of these frontier territories in the late 19th century, where “a hundred years ago there was no property,...other than that of the indigenes, and not even the Chilean territory and its limits with Argentina were demarcated,” surviving Mapuche groups were “granted” land (*titulos de Merced*) by the state. The *radicación* process, also referred to as “reduction,” consisted precisely in delimiting an area for indigenous occupation that represented a fraction of the original territories that were previously possessed. Vast tracts were appropriated in this way by the Chilean state. The more productive lands were then auctioned to “settlers” who eventually consolidated extensive properties in southern Chile, together with an internal-colonial regime of dispossession, racialization, and labor control (Toledo, 2005; Millalen et al., 2006).

The so-called “*radicación*” or “settlement” of the indigenes in Lonquimay, Bengoa’s account, “was very partial (and) left many occupying de facto the mountain valleys of southern Chile.” (ibid: 38). In the Lonquimay highlands, however, despite expropriation, vast territories continued to be “informally” incorporated into the Mapuche mountaineers’ pastoralist economy, through the middle of the 20th century. In Lonquimay, Mapuche communities were basically “settled” (*radicados*) by the state in their winter posts, but they continued to use, along with non-indigenous settlers, ranchers, and loggers, the huge tracts of highlands where property ownership continued for decades to be somewhat unstable. In the following decades, the Upper Biobío and Lonquimay valley became *inner frontiers* of the Chilean nation—a place characterized by an unstable constitution of property, an extractive timber and ranching economy, and intractable conflicts surrounding the demarcation of indigenous land and resource rights.

However, despite dispossession from their lands, the Mapuche in Lonquimay, over the course of the 20th century, were able to re-create spaces, livelihoods and identities within one of Chile's last remaining inner frontiers by maintaining—although in an insecure and fragmented manner—their access to pasture and Pewén stands. (Bengoa, 1991, p. 44) This equilibrium of sorts, in Bengoa's(1991) account, was to be eroded in the 1950s by the incursion of logging operations. After decades of latent dispute over contested property between Pehuenche “informal occupiers” and logging companies and landowners, land struggle explode in 1990, coinciding with the crucial moment of the democratic transition in Chile.

In fact, the remote Biobío watersheds would become, in the early 1990s, the locus of quite extraordinary events. In the late 1980s, still under authoritarian rule, protracted conflict over land in this area started acquiring new dimensions as a national controversy mounted over the exploitation of the nominally protected remaining old-growth stands of Araucaria. The “defense of the Araucaria” campaign led by environmental organizations such as the Chilean non-profit CODEFF resulted in the effective protection of the species in 1990. The campaign provided the visibility for an effective politics of alliances at the national level by Lonquimay's Pehuenche communities, engaged in a decades-long conflict with loggers and ranchers. However, in a chain of events that followed the legal protection of the Araucaria in 1990, loggers would retaliate by obtaining a judicial eviction of the “informal occupants,” that is, the Mapuche communities allied to CODEFF.

At this point, elites concerned in the early 1990's with the legitimization of the new mechanisms for land disputes resolution under post-authoritarian neoliberalism crucially stepped in. In a controversial move just days before the eviction of several dozens of families from their home valley of Quinquén, the government of Patricio Aylwin deeded disputed lands to the Pehuenche, at a cost of around 5 million dollars for the taxpayer. Several Pehuenche communities in the area of Icalma and Galletué lakes in the Biobío watersheds were restituted their holdings in what was to become the first land thus purchased and devolved to Mapuche communities by the new democratic neoliberal government (Bengoa, 1991, 2000).

b. Lonquimay and the Mapuche-Pehuenche: place, livelihoods, identities

Lonquimay is considered to be one of the poorest municipalities in the poorest of Chilean regions (Municipal Development Plan PLADECO -Lonquimay Municipality 2009).

Economic precariousness, reveal official statistics, is not limited to ethnic Mapuche residents, but non-Mapuche actors tend to be dominant economically, culturally, and politically, just as they are in other parts of the Araucania region. However, indicators of Mapuche precariousness, such as low income, illiteracy, and low integration in labor markets, must be consider also in relation to more positive indicators, such as relatively high infant nutrition rates, which reflect, I would argue, the always underestimated productivity of non-commodified components of Mapuche livelihood and well-being in this mountainous landscape.

The highlands' Mapuche self-identify as Pehuenche or people of the Pewén tree (*Araucaria Araucana*). The Pewén tree is considered an altar and a *medium* to the divine. Its destruction is forbidden, and children are taught to care for the tree in all its life stages. Crucially, this *tree of life* delivers an important annual yield of pine nuts (*nguillio* or *piñones*) that has been stored by the community through harsh winters for generations, to feed families and animals alike. The rich pine nuts are considered a delicacy throughout the region, and Pehuenche families obtain significant income and goods from their barter and sale (Herrmann, 2003).

Daily life for the Mapuche-Pehuenche in Icalma ensues at the rhythm of storms, horse rides, unreliable transportation, and, importantly, the seasons. In Icalma, three annual cycles shape Mapuche spaces, identities, and livelihoods. In the first of these cycles, Pehuenche communities follow their distinctive, age-old, transhumant (semi-nomadic) practices, although these movements today are relatively constrained compared to the pre-colonial past. Each family traditionally has a winter and a summer post, located at different altitudes. In this way, land-based economies organize the Mapuche territory in a spatial-temporal cycle between two environments experienced at these summer and winter posts (Herrmann, 2003). In the summer, families scatter through the immense mountainous landscape. And in the winter, they concentrate near lakeshores, streams, roads, and the small but steadily growing *Icalma Ville*. The second annual cycle is ritual. Once a year each community offers a *nguillatun* or main thanksgiving and imploration (*rogativa*) ceremony in open spaces consecrated for that purpose. Families extend invitations to each other and meet consecutively for two days and nights to pray, sing, dance, and eat in imploration for the communities' health, spiritual strength, and protection from calamity. Syncretic ceremonies such as *Día de los Muertos* and San Juan/Mapuche New Year enrich the ceremonial cycle. A third, newer cycle, is determined by tourism, which I consider below.

Livelihood strategies of the Mapuche-Pehuenche of Lonquimay are made of multiple combinations of land-based reproductive capacities, land-based commercial production, and other income-generating activities. As mentioned, to make livelihoods in these mountains, the Mapuche have, since pre-colonial times, followed transhumant annual cycles between summer and winter posts. Cattle ranching, Pewen nuts harvests, textile making, and herb- and firewood-gathering, are among the contemporary land-based activities that depend upon the ancient cycle. (See Appendix B, figure B6: A Pehuenche home at the feet of the *Pewén tree*).

As mentioned before, migrant labor has also been a key livelihood strategy since the early 20th century for many Mapuche families. This has been particularly true for the Pehuenche of Lonquimay (Municipality of Lonquimay, 2009). Firewood and occasional timber sales as well as social subsidies and pensions often complement livelihoods as important sources of scarce monetary income. Finally, the sales of textiles, meat, wooden handicrafts to tourists, and more recently the commodification of touristic activities such as lodging, prepared barbecues, horsehides, cultural experiences, have become important sources of income for a growing number of families. And so has the long-term leasing of property, particularly in the gentrifying lakeshores.

The restitution of lands, for Mapuche communities around Lake Icalma meant to gain or secure access to crucial resources, and this was represented as a big victory for Pehuenche communities as it seemed to counteract historic dispossession and fragmentation. But restitution also meant for the Mapuche of Icalma the need to deal with new pressures, tensions, and dilemmas emerging from *contradictory trends of re-territorialization and de-territorialization*. On the one hand, land and natural resource rights were widely distributed among Icalma's families, many of whom regained, expanded, or secured (at least relatively) their access to soil, forest, and water resources. On the other hand, with these new resources came new pressures and tensions. Logging operations were implemented in the newly restituted timberlands, thereby generating tension within the community, since some Mapuche landowners decided to sell timber in ways that others considered detrimental to the relationships, tranquility, and values of the community, as well as the sustainability of the resources.

In addition, as communities were able to materialize longstanding aspirations of land tenure security, a different reconfiguration of space and resources ensued with the gradual penetration of tourism discourse and practices. Starting in the early Nineties,

tourists and amenity migrants (wealthy non-indigenous Chileans building vacation homes) began to arrive to this remote area of the Andes. Thus, many Mapuche found they had gained access to a new kind of resources: lakeshores that were becoming, by mediation of local Mapuche and exogenous non-Mapuche actors, valuable real estate for of tourism amenities and second homes. (See Appendix B, figures B7 and B9)

The co-production of tourism landscapes in Lake Icalma

Lake Icalma's tourism development comprises today a physical and social sedimentation of superimposed tourism discourses and practices in and around the "contact zones" configured by lakeshores and the small urban center of *Villa Icalma*. There, small commerce, camping grounds, and cabins make a disparate collage of tin roofs, fences, and billboards. In the outskirts of the small town, in the more heavily gentrified *peninsula* sector and some other lakeshore tracts, around a dozen of second homes are owned by amenity migrants in the basis of long-term leases of indigenous land otherwise "protected" under Law 19.253.

Mapuche touristic entrepreneurs are one among several classes of actors shaping Lake Icalma's touristic landscapes. Foreigners and grocers, travelers and second home owners, all of them enabled by improving roads and communication and mass car ownership, have become determinant actors in this changing landscape. These exogenous actors of touristic development in Icalma can be grouped in four broad classes: a) domestic (mostly regional) recreation-oriented visitors; b) domestic and international tourists (including travelers coming and going from Argentina) in small but growing numbers and, among these, those who seek to consume touristic and ethno-touristic products and experiences; c) proprietors, mainly wealthy second home owners, who have been slowly occupying the lakeshores under a regime of long-term leases; e) petit traders who, in the last decade, have been installing a handful of grocery and liquor stores, and a growing number of basic cabins and touristic amenities.

A closer look at local Mapuche actors in tourism reveals heterogeneous discursive and practical engagements, intertwined in complex ways with those of exogenous actors and newcomers to Icalma. In what follows, I will situate, using fieldwork data and interpretive analysis, Mapuche tourism engagements within dynamic political, economic, and cultural landscapes shaped as well by powerful institutions and exogenous economic

actors. In the next subsection, I will explore, through the discursive constructs of entrepreneurs, leaders, and development staff on the ground, the creative but tortuous appropriation and re-politicization of DWI and tourism practices and discourses by Lake Icalma's Mapuche. Crucially, I will show that while certain indigenous intellectuals and entrepreneurs have committed themselves to a life-long project of agency for the recomposition of the places, livelihoods, and identities of Mapucheity in Icalma, other Mapuche entrepreneurs and economic actors are not opting for this collective project. I think of these as *centripetal and centrifugal actors* respectively, and explore how they are shaping current processes of touristic recomposition of Mapuche rural life.

Yet another set of actors are also navigating these wavy waters. Development staff, particularly local agents working in the "intercultural field" also act as brokers, co-producing the conduits that link Mapuche communities to government and markets. Some are ethnic Mapuche themselves, and almost all think of themselves as progressive agents within the state or development networks, as observed by Durston et al (2003). I will argue that they are re-negotiating with Mapuche entrepreneurs the meanings of cultural difference, social capital, and participation authorized in development.

a. Land leases: Marco's story

A first, key form of centripetal or de-territorializing Mapuche engagement with touristic commodification of place, broadly speaking, is long-term land leasing for real estate development, which is, in fact a mechanism to transfer indigenous lands otherwise subtracted from markets by Law 19.253. Although not strictly a tourism practice, the construction of second vacation homes around Lake Icalma and its impacts are shaping, in paradoxical and complex ways, Mapuche tourism discourse and practice in Icalma. Through one of my interviewees' story, I will introduce the tensions and dilemmas that land leases and gentrification pose to *those* engaging in tourism.

Marco is a young, recently married specialized construction worker who just returned from Brazil with savings to start his own family tourism business. His relationship with tourism, however, is complex and ambivalent: "Doing stuff to bring more people from the outside? Honestly I never had any intention of working in tourism. I just was not interested in it," he declares. Nevertheless, today he is improving his house to rent it for tourists, so that he can use the profits to start a touristic venture. He tells me, "once the cabins have been established and people are arriving, I will ask myself: what else can I offer

at the moment apart from the cabins? What can I teach the tourists? Perhaps invite them to visit a site where they will learn more about the cultural stuff, or the theme of nature, things like that. But I would like to go step by step.” And while he sounds enthusiastic about what seems to be a new turn for him, when I ask him how he sees the direction tourism development is taking in Icalma, he reflects in ways that encapsulate important motives, as well as tensions and dilemmas of engaging tourism in Icalma:

The point is that in the pace that we are heading, no one is noticing what we are falling short on, and what things we need to be aware of, so things don't get out of hand. (me: “What are you thinking about?”) Just in being aware that people here might see a better comfort in doing businesses that are harmful, in this case, for the community as a whole. For example, selling [land] to outsiders and getting rid of what we have here.

Marco is indicating here the crux of Mapuche dilemma in engaging tourism development in Lake Icalma. An ongoing trend of gentrification and “de-Mapuchization” of lakeshores by exogenous actors linked to second home development and tourism goes hand in hand with the somewhat uncomfortable part of this story: These de-territorializing forces are being engaged from within the community by actors searching in this manner to generate income. Marco continues:

I've had inconveniences here because there are issues that happened many years ago. Now everything is comfortable, but I knew true poverty my brother. I used to go barefoot, and had just a little bread for each day. And my mom and dad, well, I have realized that my parents did things that were... (Marco pauses) Maybe they did not see it at the time that it was going to affect their future. And they met with idiots, excuse my language, who ended up taking advantage of our want. The dude, being a lawyer, took care of every detail, every word. He said "Don Jorge, let's do business, let's work" and all that crap, and because of our needs, of course my dad saw it as somehow... but he never read the papers! I now want to recover that stuff.

Marco not only spoke of rapidly changing landscapes of development and power, but also about experiencing these changes in ambivalent ways. Marco's family story is the story of many in Icalma. As it were, his parents were in the first generation after subdivision in the 1980s to engage both in tourism by installing camping ground facilities, and in land leasing for tourism amenities and second home development. The gains obtained from the latter went at least in part to capitalize the incipient tourism business. In turn, Marco's own life project is the story of emerging centripetal forces of Mapuche re-territorialization in Icalma. Marco's new house and the envisioned touristic project will be located on his

parents' land which is partly leased to second home owners in one of the more valuable lakeshore tracts known as the *peninsula*. He declares,

Now I am in the struggle, peñi (brother), with these people. (They have a lease for 25 years and have 7 left) And they are after me now, peñi, offering me money (to extend the lease). They offered me land elsewhere: They wanted to get me out of here peñi. I said "When you want me out of here my friend, it will be over my dead body! Who do you think I am, a passerby?" They do not want me to build another cabin. I told them, "Look here, I am in a tourism project now to build cabins." "No, dude, do not do cabins," he replied. That means I will have to be waiting for Don Miguel to have his vacations? When I built my house, that already made him uncomfortable. Even the [Mapuche] neighbors bother him. He wanted to make a deal with me so I would dislodge them [from his family lands] before I left myself! To that extreme! I stare at the old man and said, "Who do you think we are?! My parents still need to sign another paper that will finalize the deal, because this idiot did a lease with a sales commitment. I have a great need for money, you know? But my brother and I are enemies to all of this: We are the thorn on the side for these people.

Marco seems reluctant to frame his struggle in terms of "indigenous territorial rights." Nonetheless, he makes a strong moral/political commitment to Mapuche territory when he relates, for instance, that the "rich" offered to buy him "ten hectares elsewhere in the lakeshore, so you can do your tourism business there." For Marco, accepting that offer would enable him to capitalize a profitable tourism business and follow his parents' trajectory. His response, however, was "No, sir, I don't want to go anywhere else- I want to do [my business] here!" In short, Marco, has opted to use tourism to root himself in his family's ancestral holdings in the *peninsula de Icalma*, and his touristic projection in it has become the central focus of this dispute for place (see Appendix B, figure B8: Marco's boat, in beautiful and valuable peninsula de Icalma).

Marco's story of ambivalent engagement helped me flesh out the contested process through which land has been ceded to outsiders through second home real estate development—the first set of engagements with "invasive" practices. Because his family is one of the few that benefited from leasing lands to wealthy amenity migrants, his personal struggle is as an expression of intensely emotional, but also political, struggle for place, identity, and livelihoods many local Mapuche entrepreneurs face. Marco's ambivalent engagement with tourism seems to reflect expressions of a tension that cuts across the entire community and its ethno-preneurial networks. In short, centrifugal Mapuche engagement facilitating de-territorialization through the cession of land rights has been a

determinant experience in shaping ethno-preneurial strategies of resistance to deepening gentrification and displacement of the indigenous population.

b. Camping grounds: Silvia and Jorge's story

A second key from of Mapuche engagement of tourism, shaping Icalma's post-land-devolution landscapes in centrifugal ways, has been the co-production of "camping grounds". Emplaced on lakeshores, this Mapuche-owned rudimentary facilities offer cheap camping sites directed at recreation-oriented domestic vacationers. I spoke with Silvia and Jorge, mother and son of one of the handful of *Icalmino* families engaged in the campground business with some success. In his twenties, Jorge relates:

We've been involved (*'metidos'*: also stuck) in this business for about twelve years. We began little by little- selling bread, milk, and tortillas. That's how we started because only jeeps and 4x4 trucks could arrive here before; no cars could arrive. So there were limited tourists here. Twelve years ago, when the road was not good, tourists came here only by the handful. Ever since the road improved five or six years ago, tourists are now able to arrive massively, in good vehicles. So that is when we also started to "get" (development) projects....This land on the lakeshore here is ours. It used to be ten hectares, but now really little is left because part of it was sold [by my father]. And then he went to establish more camping sites with better toilets, showers, hot water, countertops, stove, sorted by site, and so more and more people began to arrive. That's when we started charging for each site: six thousand pesos per site, with electricity and hot water, everything.

Ignacio: And how is the business doing, considering all the costs, work and challenges? Do you gain revenue?

Very Little, very little, because we pay [municipal] permits that are expensive. If you add up the bills for electricity, water, and so forth, it takes out almost all our money. After doing the math you realize that not very much is earned. A bunch of people arrive, but sometimes they stay only for a day, and they don't leave much revenue.

This passage not only suggests the vertiginous changes of landscape and livelihood in the last fifteen years, but also establishes the role of governmental projects that cede land to estate markets as strategies to capitalize the family's business. Also, this family, having been one of the few that benefited from this model, is acutely aware of its limitations. The camping model surely has winners, though the winners may not always be the families who own the camping grounds; a range of businesses owned by outsiders seem to benefit the most from these domestic short-term trips. As Doña Silvia, Jorge's mother, says: "We only

have two months to generate income; but it is the outside traders that come here to make all the money!" I ask them whether they perceived any impact of massive tourism:

Jorge: Pollution has increased a lot. The same thing is going to happen as it happened in Pucon. Pucon used to be very calm, like it is here. But it is no longer that way anymore -there are even delinquents there. The tranquility is gone. And here I am seeing the same thing, because every year more people are arriving, and once the tar roads reach here, more people will start to come. There will be more pollution and more people. And people are not educated about trash.

Silvia: Ooooh! ... I dreamed last night that those bad people came here ... bad people arrived here. I dreamt they broke into the house. I woke up scared! I dreamt that two young men grabbed a lady by the throat, and I screamed, shouted to let her go, and she struggled, but they contained her. I woke up really scared!

The challenge of making a sustainable living out of "camping grounds" (let alone counterbalancing land leases and dislocation) is not just that these are not profitable because of a short season and high operational costs, but also because entrepreneurs are in competition with one another for the same recreational users. Having failed to coordinate a common strategy out, these Mapuche economic actors are bringing camping sites fees down, while attracting more and more masses. In this way, they are not only subsidizing other commerce associated with these domestic flows, such as supermarkets and gas stations, but they are also putting growing pressure on public space and natural resources, affecting community life, ecosystems, and ultimately, tourism development itself.

Despite quite evident negative social, economic and environmental impacts of this flawed business model, interventions from rural development state agencies and NGOs have continuously favor the installation of this sort of conventional touristic infrastructure on Icalma's lakeshores. The installation of camping grounds has been seemingly the simplest and cheapest solution to the problem of inclusion of the local community to the tourism assemblage.

One local development staff member, who works for a local NGO linked to a religious congregation, expressed interestingly critical, although at moments contradictory insights on indigenous engagement in development. This interviewee offers an insider's vantage point into the quite tense conditions created by the results of clientelistically-driven governmental intervention in tourism. One extreme case, she relates, was the following:

The Indap-SAT program lasted for three years. They were going to build bathrooms for camping grounds. There was a private consultant for this initiative, for three

years, with the injection of resources from a vision of Indap, which had to do with generating certain hygiene conditions, so that the old folks could install the camping grounds. Indap installed the bathrooms and the old folks had to habilitate the campsite- that was the deal. But as it was, the bathrooms were finished just this year, because when they started the project three years ago the constructors stole all the money! Another consultant then had to come in. They were delayed for about two years in building the bathrooms, and finally, they built them badly! In short, that was the investment for tourism through Indap-SAT: No significant investment, no training and no capacity building. (*Local development staff, Lonquimay, June 17, 2011*)

The Indap-SAT scam-project, as it is now known, represents for this insider only a manifestation of pervasive “development” practices, which are, as she recognizes, marked by induced dependency and clientelistic practices. Asked if any governmental agency was promoting narratives and practices of “Mapuche tourism,” she said sarcastically,

You mean like “Mapuche tourism”? Not as far as I know. The Programa Origenes? No, here the PO didn’t get to do anything of that. PO would bring warehouses, sheep that died, and cows that died. (...) But say for instance “ok, we are going to define what kind of tourism we want to do with the communities”, definitely not.

Instead, the camping grounds strategies have prevailed, in part, she observes, because investments can be redirected to family consumption. She supposes that much of the beneficiaries accepted the plans because they thought, “if the camping works, that’s fine, and if it doesn’t, that’s fine too because we can keep the bathroom.” One much-publicized governmental program for tourism development in the Araucania Region was CORFO’s “*Araucania Andina*” (2004-2009), was purportedly meant to install a stakeholders' rationale for “tourism destination management.” My informant conceded, however, that,

What this system was doing was to subsidize certain situations...because there were many people who won projects (sic) worth a million and a half pesos and would never invest the money in a tourism venture. And being a state subsidy, you had no reimbursements. Instead you had to only put in ten or fifteen percent and that was never evaluated either: They [the beneficiaries] would instead end up buying TV sets, paying debts, and so on. What was left at the end was a big mess. (...) If they could leverage funds, let’s say, for twenty projects, ten would be channeled to the city’s mayor’s clients.

Under these conditions, the co-production of camping grounds has largely become a de-territorializing process. Fermin and Paula, one of the families dragged into the Indap-SAT camping grounds fiasco shared with me their story. Having migrated to Santiago, they eventually decided to return to their inheritances, expressly to join the touristic

recomposition of Icalma's rural livelihoods. In Fermin's words, they came to "change the face of this place" through touristic entrepreneurship and economic development. What they found, however, was the ugly face of abuse and neglect. After waiting for the facilities for which they had invested their own savings, they received a defective sanitation project, which didn't meet the Municipality's own standards. Their efforts are also hampered by the fact that their lakeshore property is relatively far from the small commercial center at "Icalma Ville." They struggle with the lack of capital and other capacities, and now they depend on buying liquefied gas for the campers' hot showers. As a result of all this, they have neglected the implementation of their Mapuche bonfire for tourists, which was once their central project.

Fermin and Paula's case, on the one hand, illustrates in a stark manner the limitations of a decade of material and political co-production of camping grounds as a development strategy for the Mapuche of Icalma. Among the central centrifugal features of the camp grounds model are stimulation of massive tourism, internal competition, environmental and social impacts, and the reinforcement of a pattern of concentration of resources in the lakeshores and consequent gentrification and fragmentation. Marco and Jorge also gave testimony of land leases being a common strategy to capitalize (or pay previous debts associated with) the installation and maintenance of facilities.

But Fermin and Paula are not defeated by governmental inconsistency. On the contrary, their voices and aspirations are adding now to a counterforce through which the Mapuche community is both changing tourism practices and recomposing its territory. Hopefully, they tell me, soon they will be able to upgrade the bonfire to offer "cultural demonstrations," and to cook tortillas, as Paula tells me, which come out delicious out of the ashes, and sell at a good price. Enthusiastically, she also tells me the *pinones* products she prepares fall short to the demand, perhaps just to tempt me to come back in season. This time, however, they will do it with their own resources and, in good Chilean, Fermin tells me, "*a la pinta nuestra*": in our own terms.

In a simple manner, they speak of communal redistribution of tourism gains, the need to articulate local economies, and to collectively negotiate the commodification of culture and territory. Fermin considers the *Longkos* or ceremonial chiefs should have a pivotal role in promoting environmental and socially sound touristic commodification of Mapuche territory. "The idea Mapuche-Pehuenche," he tells me, has to be that of maintaining the ceremonies, and "the most important thing of all, respect among the

Mapuche.” In short, they are struggling to engage tourism in a centripetal fashion, weaving their livelihoods and economic capacities into the fabric of Mapuche territory and identity.

Unpacking ethno-tourism: DWI and tourism in Icalma

Having explored heterogeneous Mapuche engagements in tourism discourse and practices in Icalma, I will now examine how local leaders are re-deploying DWI rationalities to frame an agenda of re-territorialization through sustainable tourism development. Specifically, I am interested in how the *subject formation* effects of the IDB-sponsored *Programa Origenes* in Icalma have interacted with Mapuche involvement in tourism discourse and practice. With a focus on *participation*, the third DWI rationale identified in chapter II, I argue these have reshaped Icalma’s Mapuche agencies in development as Mapuche actors are beginning to articulate a situated agenda for tourism sustainability in ways similar to their colleagues in Budi and Curarrehue. Icalma, however, represents a vantage point to understand how stretching participation in government might be key for Mapuche sustainable tourism recomposition. This is precisely because here, *Mapucheity of place is at stake*, and with it, the possibility of Mapuche meaningful engagement in touristic discourse and practice.

I will offer now an interpretive analysis on the perspectives of three Mapuche leaders and one development staff I interviewed in their homes in Lake Icalma in June of 2011. I have explored how they have attached meanings to their roles in the negotiation of tourism through the incorporation, problematization, and to a degree, re-negotiation of DWI rationales. I will inquire whether DWI programs are affecting the ways in which Mapuche engage tourism in Icalma, and whether these changes providing political interstices for Mapuche actors to enact transformative economic projects.

Bernarda and Geronimo, two of these community leaders and entrepreneurs have managed their tourism ventures largely outside development networks, despite being dedicated semi-professionally to brokering development with governmental agencies. I interviewed a third ethno-preneur, Bernardino, who is currently “brokering” a community-based tourism project involving 12 families with Chilean Agricultural Development Institute INDAP. This agency is implementing in Icalma the new Indigenous Territorial Development Program’s (PDTI) pilot intervention. Bernardino, having been previously reticent to involve himself in tourism development, is now working closely with this ethno-development

program in developing a model of Mapuche tourism. I also interviewed an Indap-PDTI development staff working with him on this project. As the IDB-Mideplan PO is in its closure, in 2011, the Indap-PDTI resumes its methodologies in the context of the second multicultural reform envisioned by elites and transnational development institutions and implemented initially through the PO.

I will focus now on the third core (anti)political rationality of DWI and its re-politicization by the Mapuche, in Icalma and the other two sites I have investigated. The rationale of participation represents the “indigenous problem” as unequal “participation” in government producing “social exclusion” of “ethnic groups”. Planned intervention by governments, in turn, can “expand citizen participation in managing and controlling public investment decision-making” (IDB-Mideplan, 2001, p. 44). In the official participation rationale, as my analysis of texts showed in chapter II, communities are expected to act as the final link in the top-down administration of DWI, becoming governmental through bureaucratization of management and incorporation of mechanisms for processing internal dissent and managing conflict with other actors. “Participation” rationale will seek to remake indigenous communities not only as bureaucratic echelons, but also into entrepreneurial, incorporated entities, constrained to adopt the status of economic “stakeholder” when interacting with civil society and economic actors as they “establish objectives, define priorities (and) take decisions on resource allocation priorities and identify available sources of funding, within and beyond the program” (IDB-Mideplan, 2001, p. 29). They are conducted toward this, as explained in chapter II, through technologies of subject formation embedded in community development project, such as participatory planning methods and market-based mechanisms for accessing development assistance. In short, the implantation of neoliberal tools and rationales of government such as “participatory planning methods” for community development projects were intended to lead, I argued in chapter II, to the governmentalization and economic incorporation of rural Mapuche communities.

I now explore how Mapuche grassroots and ethno-preneurs, while adopting to a degree the rationales of incorporation and participation in government, are also struggling to stretch what “participation” means. In the concluding section, I reintroduce the cases explored in chapter III to show how Mapuche ethno-preneurial networks are stretching the narrow focus in public investment typical of DWI interventions into a broad scope in governing place. In this way, I conclude that they are moving away from governmentalized

“participatory planning methods” and towards *political community* with capacity for autonomous deliberation and interaction with the broader political society.

a. The challenge of stretching participation

As mentioned in Chapter II, up until 2004 the post-authoritarian neoliberal *Concertacion* governments had propitiated under the Law 19.253 a minimal “place for ethno-development.” In 1993 the Indigenous Act 19.253 created the figures of the “indigenous community,” Indigenous Association, and the Indigenous Development Area as the avenues for representation and incorporation of indigenous groups, after 20 years of assimilation-oriented policy that had deprived indigenous peoples from any formal organic expression. However, Indigenous Association and the Indigenous Development Area had very limited application, and for most rural Mapuche this reorganization within the frame provide by the Law 19253 meant a fragmentation into small groups of co-resident Mapuche (citations). According to Bernarda, the current Icalma Lofmapu Secretary:

In the old times we were organized in three grand *Lofs*. Currently, within those three *Lofs* there are 13 small communities. In those times [before the PO shift] the government instead of helping us to maintain unity, they found useful to divide us. So that’s how many communities popped up and just so, many rival *dirigentes*.

The constitution of the “local planning groups” (LPG) or *mesas de planificacion local* was one of the main innovations introduced by the PO in 2006 as part of its nominal intent to install more efficient forms of participation. In fact, by the late 1990’s, however, this scheme was being eroded by transversal organizations of the indigenous movement growing more powerful than government sanctioned ones. Therefore, incorporating small familial groups as “indigenous communities” and encouraging them to act as counterpart for governmental programs and development interventions, including land devolution, was not anymore an effective governmental strategy. In this context, the LPGs were conceived as the entities that would act as the counterparts for DWI investments as well as the units for “participatory planning”, agglutinating within the smaller units represented by the smaller, registered communities under the Indigenous Act.

This institutional innovation introduced by PO meant an veritable inflexion in the way the government dealt with governance of indigenous communities, and resulted, in several accounts that my fieldwork observation echoed, in a process of empowerment and political reorganization. For instance, according to a PO evaluation elaborated by a

consultant, TIEMPO 2 MIL (2006) as a consequence of this scaling-up of the “participatory planning units” they observed “positive effects not intended in the original design of the Program.” This included, “an overcoming of patronage by consultants and agencies [by Mapuche leadership]; more direct dialogue with public institutions; ...and a rescue of forms of inter-communitarian articulation ... which as implied the identification of the old lofmapu...territories based on patrilineal bonds and old *Titulos de Merced*” (Corporacion Tiempo Dos Mil, 2005, p. 146, my translation). As my fieldwork also suggests, this *unintended positive effects* of the up-scaling of the interface structures of ethno-governmentality in south-central seem to have had (at least initially) a potent empowering effect, as the communities involved developed parallel informal instances of autonomous coordination, decision-making, and ultimately of political community that were previously, under the prevalent atomized regime, marginalized from institutional interfaces.

In Lake Icalma, the communities under the umbrella of the LPG gathered for the first time in decades. This was, I argue, a crucial change regarding the governmental model of “participatory” governance of Mapuche rural communities. In Icalma, as in virtually all Mapuche territories in which PO intervened, this process spurred the recomposition of the Lof, the Mapuche political community. The *Lof Icalma* would then become the “Mapuche Association of Rikalma Lof Mapu”. Thus organized, they were able to call for the establishment of intercultural health and education models and secure effective participation of parents in the administration of the local middle school. *Programa Origenes*’ expansion of “participatory planning units” led to the constitution of *Lof Icalma*. For three years the *Lof* would deliberatively articulate an endogenous development agenda, agglutinating the whole of Icalma’s Mapuche political community. For Bernarda, its current Secretary,

When an organization is born, it is born for a reason: It is born out of necessity, and I think when there is no need, nothing grows...And the truth is that it’s hard: It’s like a newborn child. There comes many difficulties, many joys, sometimes anger too, because this was an organization we needed, in order to work with a clear objective, or several objectives, and so that all persons or families who are within the territory can attain what they have actually been trying to reach and bring out here the solution...Here the goal was always very clear: The goal was to work, work to improve the quality of life of all Mapuche Pehuenche here, not asking, but demanding the government. This was the speech I always heard, that here we are all Chileans and like any Chilean “*haciendo patria*” in distant areas, we have every right to have a better life in housing, health, and education.

The process, however, would also provide exceptional leverage to *dirigentes* acting as ethnic brokers, who could then act as conduits between these bodies and governmental agencies and development networks. My informant in Lonquimay's development offices sees this new configuration of local influence in ambivalent terms, repeatedly questioning the level of professionalism, properly planned agendas, and problems with development promotion:

They just jump over the municipality, but that does not mean that they have an agenda: They do a reading that the municipality meets certain needs of the territory. For others [they say], "It does not serve us." And they dumped it on the Assistant Secretary for Health and I don't know how he went on, but he did build a health center up there! They sure caught him in a very strategic manner. But this does not mean to have an agenda...They say they have an agenda but...they have issues to address and they just strive to inject as much resources as possible, in this case, by identifying who do they have to skip so that the issue will be addressed more quickly. And [they say], "I jump over the municipality, because it just don't serve me!"

During my short stage in Icalma I had the opportunity to attend one of these meetings that escape the rigid "methodologies" of participatory planning, "scale jumping" for desperation of development workers. It was a cold, snowy day, and my friend Geronimo (and a "national" Mapuche *dirigente* who had apparently brokered the meeting) and about a hundred more *comuneros* waited patiently for the authorities- no les that a sub-secretary of Public Work Ministry in Santiago and other regional authorities. They were there to seal a deal brokered months before to install a million dollars worth project of tap water for a couple hundred families. I need to confess that having been before in meetings, in much more tense situations (this, after all as a "friendly" meeting), I was impressed by the superlative deployment of ethnic grievance. My otherwise calm, almost shy friend Geronimo loudly challenges the Minister for a delay minutes before nobody seemed really to notice. 'Authorities sometimes don't like to come to the communities, but now they will need to listen', and the room resounds with a strong *felei!* (so be it!). After a prolonged discourse on how much people have been economically marginalized and deceived by political authority, in a final push Geronimo shouts to the authorities: 'So then you say we Mapuche are terrorists, so, why don't we just go and burn the snow out there?' Whether it is skillful brokering of grievance, or cathartic ritual cathartic of "recognition"; empowerment or powerlessness (burning the snow), is difficult so say. After the tension peaked, the tone

settles down, and finally, the Mapuche broker cedes the word to the “authorities” who of course, commit the *tap water project* to be implemented as soon as possible, and with direct *participation* of Mapuche leadership.

b. Negotiating DWI: three ethno-preneurs, and one ethno-development encounter

One of the pilot interventions of the new Territorial Indigenous Development Program (PDTI) administered by Indap, the historic Chilean agency for support of small rural producers, was launched in Icalma in 2010. The PDTI, however, has been recently designed as a separate entity from the “universal” PRODESAL program—both administratively and regarding aspects of its rationales and techniques of government, which are nominally aimed to fit indigenous “users” needs, and address their rights under ILO 169 (Indap 2009). In fact, the PDTI in great part adopts the technologies and rationalities promoted by the IDB-Midelpa *Progama Origenes* for community development projects and enacts continuity with this program in key aspects. For one, it prioritizes PO beneficiaries, and, centrally, those communities with the “capacities” in which PO invested so much. Crucially, a pre-existent development plan validated by at least 70 families is required for investment. This, in practice, means the communities, capable of using the Local Planning Group infrastructure created by PO, are the ones included in Indap ethno-development experiments. In the PDTI, brokers are once again pivotal in using governmental technologies such as schemes of participatory planning, but I will also argue, in negotiating what “culture” means in development.

Bernardino is a carpenter, a common trade among *Icalminos* working throughout Chile and Argentina. Bernardino, however, has stayed in the northwest shore of Lake Icalma, the lands which were recuperated by his parents’ generation in 1993, after a life long struggle. Among magnificent *pewén*, *coihue* and *lenga* stands as he cautiously carves a livelihood. Bernardino has been involved in the All Lands Council, the organization that pioneered the new indigenous movements in post-authoritarian neoliberal Chile in the early 1990 (see also Chapter II) and is an active leader in communal political, economic, and ceremonial life. Until recently, however, he had not been involved in tourism practices and discourses, except as a reluctant bystander. In his capacity of *dirigente* of his community, he recently engaged in a pilot program of ethno-tourism. Bernardino also told me he is brokering the installation of “cabins with identity,”--twelve cabins for an equal number of families of the community who have held in common the property of the pristine lakeshores

restituted in 1991 to Bernardino's and the other twenty families. Emphasizing his own ambivalence and cautiousness, he relates:

We have been for a year now working in the PDTI system, and just now we are addressing the cultural issue. We will start with the construction, and we will do something that we think is interesting. There will be four or five cabins that will be built [in a first stage] and in that way we want to say: Look, this is what we intend to do. So that will be a first step. Now of course, this is also an internal process, because one needs to let the community members know why in this stage one chooses this type of construction. Because, if anyone asks you about it and you don't know the response, we are still not making an impact, but rather generating confusion. And so in that way, we will progressively adopt the form of work that clearly reflects our way of thinking.

Clearly, Bernardino is articulating similar strategies that those of its experienced and successful colleagues in Llaguepulli and Curarrehue, in terms of communally deliberative economic recomposition. Although the project is in its design stage, the narratives being re-deployed by its actors, to which I come back to later in this chapter, will help me to inquire how the Mapuche in Icalma are experiencing and creatively co-producing their engagement in tourism development.

c. Counteracting invasive tourism

The *Icalmino* community at large, as well as its communal political organization and its ethno-preneurial networks, face important challenges to governing place and indeed, to exercising control over touristic development and commodification of culture/territory. In what follows I explore how they confront these challenges, by drawing on their own narratives of touristic recomposition.

The first challenge that Icalma's ethno-preneurs committed to counteract invasive tourism identify, echoing the successful experiences presented in chapter III, is harnessing limited available links to development networks while at the same time gradually transforming clientelistic relations. Geronimo, the aforementioned *Lof dirigente* and skillful *ethnic broker at the meeting*, is also the founder of a community-based tourism co-op. As the next quote shows, he invokes DWI rationales to claim the responsibility of the state to invest resources in Mapuche ethno-preneurial projects, state "support" often represented in this context as part of the rightful historic reparation. For Geronimo,

Sernatur [the Tourism Bureau] has an obligation to support the community in tourism, and what happens in Sernatur? No resources, there's nothing. Even if we

want to do tourism, how are we going to do it if there is no funding? ...We need to create our own market, create own labor sources in order to have revenue here. We should be able to work in a large project, if an institution would support our communities with resources. Today we have the wealth here, on the land. Hopefully in time, the state will realize that we indeed need to have our own museum. I think our culture, which gives thanks to our God, in nature, the harvest of the pinion, deserves to also have a monument, in the community, a space where to do all that is cultural. That is also something the state has to support us here with funding. Even though these issues have not been discussed all too often in the communities, we today we are starting now to grasp what we can attain in this way: We need to take advantage of our cultural heritage.

Geronimo not only has incorporated to his ethno-preneurial agendas notions of social capital as something to be exchanged within development networks. He also has adopted, as the next quote shows, typically neoliberal concepts of “economic citizenship” based on accountability, responsibility and ownership. I interpret that ethno-governmental subjects such as Geronimo are, on the one hand, using this neoliberal discourses at face value to demand two-way accountability—since they have already submitted, as I explained in chapter II, to strict audit processes in their managerial responsibilities. On the one hand, Geronimo is frustrated with the chains of favors and patronage he has to deal with daily in his role of broker. When talking about his engagement with semi-clientelistic networks as a broker, Geronimo unveils a fundamental paradox; his awareness of the systemic corruption represented by the resources dwindled down through the *chain of clientele within* ethno-bureaucracy and local governments. In other words, Mapuche activists and entrepreneurs recognize that development interventions and networks have proven to be scattered, inconsistent, and closely linked to clientelistic relationships. Geronimo relates:

Today I'm collecting in all the institutions! They do deliver resources, but in the wrong way, and resources are dwindling. Let's say, for instance, if we receive five or ten million pesos, we are left with three million or two million. And the rest? I think these people should let know how much the inputs cost ... Let's say we were to start a craft workshop. Then, those resources must be invested well to buy materials. Many times people buy inputs for us, but people do not know. So in that sense I also think that the person who is favored in that project should demand accountability (from the consultants) and monitor their budget.

But Geronimo's speech goes from disgust to desire denoting the ambivalence of Mapuche subjects when facing “ethno-governmental” power relations between elites and the rural Mapuche. The recurrent idea that a “big project” is needed from Sernatur instead

of the usual “pro-poor” scattered transferences, expresses the drive to harness and rework these networks in favor of their economic empowerment. The notion of achieving the latter by means of entrepreneurial “scale jumping” within development networks is a key elements on the discourse and practice of these half-brokers, half-ethno-preneurs.

The *Lof dirigentes*, however, are not just waiting for the big connection: They are developing community-based experimental ventures apparently in the hope that these would represent capital (social and otherwise) they will be able to use in the future to negotiate within broader networks the expansion of their economic capacities as touristic entrepreneurs. Bernarda, for instance, has a family business she runs with her family, which consists basically of a *ruka* where she hosts “cultural encounters” and some services associated with it such as interpretive cultural treks. Geronimo, in turn, has opted for a more collective project, through a horse rides co-op and interestingly, by establishing for the first time a fee to (and therefore controlling) visits to communal winter posts. Last years’ revenue was invested in the community’s health center, and this year, Geronimo expects to formalize the practice, make it more transparent, and of course, rise the revenue.

In addition to experimenting at the grassroots level, they have also connected these autonomous ventures to programs that seek to secure flows of social expenditure in basic services. They also strive to hold government and development networks accountable for their projects. For instance, because of the aforementioned case of the camping grounds “scam-project” that was afflicting twelve families, according to Geronimo,

People here in Icalma lost millions of pesos, and they don’t have a sanitary certification, they just don’t have it. So what happens: the resources are all misallocated. It should not be that way, because the resources need to be utilized the best way possible- to make good campsites available to tourists, and so that we don’t have problems in the summer. Because that is what happens today: the campsites have no water. And if there is no water, how are we going to practice good tourism within a camping ground?

Through initiatives such as the aforementioned *tap water project*, as well as a new housing project led by Bernarda, another *Lof dirigente*, they are linking coverage of basic needs with conditions for enterprising in tourism and vice versa, in this way strengthening a coherent agenda for development through fair provision of basic services, good governance of resources, accountability, and a overarching concept of the possibility of transformative reparation of internal colonialism through Mapuche empowerment in development. According to Bernarda,

The biggest challenge we have is how to make people understand that they need to take care for [their territory], and become the protagonists of their own development, of their own growth. But it has to be a growth or development that is very even- not a growth without balance. Because if we tilt too much towards economic growth and we leave aside the other part, then we are in the wrong path. So the task is to have groups of people working on different issues towards a single mission: To prepare the community to have a kind of tourism that, as we've been saying for two years now, has a higher quality, and lower quantity. That means we can make a very sustainable tourism: A tourism that is unique, with one hundred percent of our identity...And to be the main role player here, and that we, or in this case the Lof, could take responsibility for the proper functioning of tourism, as we begin to prepare our youth to lead this project forward, managed and controlled by the organization. And on that note, well, I don't think I can say that "the baby" has yet to be born.

For Bernarda, the emerging Mapuche organization can play a crucial role in governing the changing landscapes of tourism development in Icalma, but this, under very specific conditions that are to be pursued. Bernarda refers to the same "social capital" program well advanced in Llaguepulli and to an extent in Curarrehue as well: Balancing the satisfaction of financial needs through market integration, while investing in the recomposition of the Mapuche livelihoods' non-commodified articulations to territories and reciprocity networks. In turn, this sort of economic recomposition requires the organization of sophisticated economic and technical capacities, Bernarda's "baby", are in Budi and Curarrehue, as I showed in chapter III, rapidly reaching adulthood.

The next quote from Bernardino illustrates several crucial ways in which he and the other ethno-preneurial leaders in Icalma are framing Mapuche engagement with development in terms of ethno-preneurial strategies, Bernardino, finally, also makes visible the inextricable linkage of economic mobilization with deeper processes of de-colonization. For Bernardino, who as mentioned is currently engaged in the PDTI, his main motivation to engage tourism, he declares, is that,

Tourism here (in Icalma) is already well-advanced. It's being implemented in a way that is perhaps, mistaken. Here there has been a lot of money invested. Some have tried to do it better, but they haven't been able to. Perhaps, they lack vision in the programs and development staff. So, perhaps for good, they have been very mistaken. But also, they have abused (*manoseado*) the terms of development, welfare, and well, they also say we are going to "make tourism with identity". Now, what took me to make a turn regarding the tourism issue is that I see urgency in the risk that this can become a third resort-town [after Pucón and Licanray]. There is a risk that here the majority of the population might lose their rights because of that -

because of ambition, right? Big investors, people with more money that come to offer a little more than you have. So that's how this can get out of control. So this is the reason why I said, look, if tourism is already here, well, let's take it, but in order to give it a better character- we need to create awareness amongst the people. That here, there shall be more sustainable tourism, a more rational tourism, and not an invasive tourism. And this is the reason why I am including the cultural issue, which is the only alternative, the only tool we have to halt the system that is coming. So the idea is to include the cultural theme as we, as Mapuche, are always subject to do that, right? It is the only weapon we have to halt all of this. Sadly, it isn't an easy business, because there is the issue of ideological colonization, which sadly is affecting us very much, right? The Mapuche culture is receding. We haven't been able to revert this yet. Now, with the tourism issue, I hope, we can make culture prevail and be strengthened. The government is promoting programs [under the rubric of DWI, such as the PDTI], perhaps very shallowly, but if the communities today are able to take advantage of those small funds, those small spaces, I think that's the instance to create awareness amongst the leaders, and the people themselves, and search for ways forward...and resume, from the community itself, the cultural issue, with small learning centers, for children but also with the participation of elders. Because if we put ourselves in the balance(scale), obviously we are in total imbalance. So I say, to balance our scale, today we have elements to propel what has been deteriorating. You have to do it through certain factors, certain elements. Perhaps it's a bit sad, but the option we have now is working through these small programs.

When I interviewed the staff charged with implementing Indap's ethno-development experiment, I found that this "ethno-bureaucrat" had a very particular role that could be seen as destabilizing the broader orientations of DWI as a neoliberal policy premised in unregulated agency of economic actors. I asked how he foresees tourism development in Icalma. For this development worker, naturally, he tells me "there is no doubt that one supports investments in connectivity because there will be much more affluence of public, and that means better business opportunities (for the local Mapuche), right?" But in a crucial turn, Roberto will make readily visible the dilemmas he is confronting in negotiating Mapucheity in development, and indeed, his own position in it. He continues,

Here one sees *farmers (pequenos productores)* with a degree of uncertainty regarding what will happen. When they ask themselves "I can build a cabin, I have the resources and I can build it, but...will it work out? What kind of people will arrive? Will we become sustainable over time? Will they come to destroy? To pollute? And maybe, they will come to buy us our lands," Because in the end, if it is easily accessible, people will come here and buy land at whatever value, and

[Mapuche] people will continue to lose the places where they originate from...Here in Icalma, the choice is to have, say, adequate places for the tourists and to display the culture, which I think is a...I do not know whether to call it a business, but is an option for attracting tourists and that can be sustainable on time, and will not cause the damage of land loss because of having greater connectivity. Because having roads, having services, will generate what has generated virtually in all the lakes in Chile where in the end, the aboriginals, the locals end up ceding their places. So if people here are better prepared, they can defend themselves better. They can protect their environment/place (*entorno*). If not, if they are not able to do so, they will be left isolated. They will be obligated to be tempted to sell, and will continue to remain even further away and without major possibilities to develop their lands/place (*entorno*).

Roberto's family was displaced after an older generation sold communal lands in the now "developed" Calafquen Lake, some hundred miles southwest from Icalma. He was, indeed, one of those "victims of the famous development" as Bernardino, his partner/counterpart in the community put it to me. Beyond this seemingly anecdotal encounter, the way Eduardo's life experience crosscut with that of *icalminos* at the interfaces of state and community, identity and territory, development and resistance--is, I think, somewhat expressive of tensions in the broader institutional field. Hiring ethnic Mapuche has been the "solution" to the problem of *culture in development* that neoliberal multiculturalism engages. As Richards et al (2007) shows, Mapuche DWI staff in institutional interstice are negotiating resources and agendas, as well as their own political and personal identities. I asked Eduardo if he were conscious of negotiating Indap intervention in a very specific direction, and how he dealt with this within the institutional hierarchy. His answer,

Tourism here has to be Mapuche-Pehuenche...We have to enhance that, and that comes "from above." On the other hand, he tells me "in conversations with community leaders (*dirigentes*), there has been a level of agreement in that we must try to protect this (place), and one protects this with knowledge, good management, with resources. So these programs provide that opportunity.

The main issue raised here is that this labile encounter, while enabled by policy, has become in itself an interstice that escapes the rigid logic of neoliberal governmentalities, and constitutes perhaps a unique opportunity for Mapuche engagement in development. In short, synergy at the interstices of ethno-governmentality and DWI semi-clientelistic networks has put two very different Mapuche intellectuals, Bernardino and Roberto, is opening the PDTI-Indap to an agenda of situated tourism sustainability framed as that of counter-acting exogenous and centrifugal forces of de-territorialization through tourism in

Lake Icalma. As one will note, they assert that culture in development might constitute one fragile venue currently available for Mapuche to engage the global society in ways that facilitate, rather than disrupt, Mapuche territory. Whether negotiation at the local scale within these networks will ever enable ethnopreneurs to “assert culture before established rules,” and, ultimately, if this will be enough to counterbalance coloniality and de-territorialization remain as open questions.

Bernardino and Eduardo’s development encounters demonstrate a crucial aspect of this unfolding story of Mapuche engagement in touristic recomposition. Lack of an institutional frame for indigenous self-government in Chile has been somewhat compensated, in the multicultural logic, by the installation of ethnic Mapuche staff. Some of these staff members engage in dynamics that surpass the usual bargaining, thus creatively negotiating the meaning of “Mapucheity in Development.” Bernardino, asked why he had opted for this kind of very delicate work under Indap, an institution known for its paternalistic approach (as illustrated in the camping grounds issue), says,

We’ve been working [with Roberto] on the issues [surrounding tourism in development]. He’s a government worker right? We have made some suggestions, and well, he is also a Mapuche, he also has his version on this, and luckily, we have had this fortune of counting on a person who in the end, is trying to help us. Indeed, he has been one of so many victims of this so-called “development” my brother. We have sat together and have reached an exact point of understanding. However, it is clear that it is a challenge to work within the apparatus (government system). There are rules that restrict us. So how do we fit in those rules? Thus, we are dealing with the purely cultural issue, that is, how we assert our culture before those rules. And then, those rules don’t serve us anymore. So we have been building awareness regarding this, and we have been winning spaces. So there, maybe, it is up to us to make up for the “plus” (effort). We are not yet there. I can’t say I’m an expert in this business. There will always be something to improve and to implement with other *dirigentes*, as well, right?

Synergy at the interstices of ethno-governmentality and DWI semi-clientelistic networks has put these two very different Mapuche intellectuals to drive the PDTI-Indap into an agenda of situated tourism sustainability framed as that of counter-acting exogenous and centrifugal forces of de-territorialization by tourism in Lake Icalma. As they assert, culture in development might constitute one fragile venue currently available for Mapuche to engage the global society in ways that facilitate, rather than disrupt, Mapuche territory. Whether negotiation at the local scale within these networks will ever enable

ethnopreneurs to “assert culture before established rules,” and, ultimately, if this will be enough to counterbalance coloniality and de-territorialization remind open questions.

Bernarda tells me, how she was inspired by another Mapuche touristic entrepreneur near Temuco, of whom she adopted the basic moral frame for touristic ethnopreneurship. In an epiphany during her visit, she “realized that what was the most important thing for her [the other Mapuche female touristic entrepreneur] was to share part of her culture, her identity... because someone could realize a dream of generating a lot of income, to have a better life, to have lots of money, but there are dreams that don’t go in that way, and are more natural.”

Since then, Bernarda came back to Icalma and started a long-term investment in her family business, which represents for her a first step in her vision of touristic recomposition through cultural self-commodification. She tells me she has been working in a vision of interdependent ethno-touristic centers consisting of a restaurant, a lodge, and a *ruka* for cultural activities, where she plans to integrate a big number of families and women. The barriers holding her from that goal are not only (nor mostly, in her opinion) financial. For Bernarda, having embraced a pathway of re-territorialization through cultural commodification has required from her a deep process she describes as a personal “breakthrough”, but which clearly has also been inter-personal and potentially collective. As the next quote suggests, Bernarda’s “breakthrough” could be described as a healing from the trauma of internal colonialism and racialization, in order to become an authoritative cultural producer of a successful model of cultural commodification, where culture is conceived both as an object of commodification and as centerpiece of a moral economy of this same process. The challenge now is to have the rest of the community engage in these processes. In Bernarda’s words,

If you venture in a project that originates in your culture, your identity, it is complicated, because first you need to break many of the barriers of you yourself, of your person. Because in this world that we live in, it is not easy to launch a project, that may be very innovative. You also have to strengthen the base so that your dream doesn’t fall apart when the first wind blows. For that reason you as a person, as a Mapuche, have to break that barrier, once and for all, and in that same breakthrough there is a strengthening of your identity. Also what you can offer tourists will be stronger; how you are going to do it; from where you will begin. It is all a book that you have to open and begin to prepare as a person, as a Mapuche, and from there, when you feel that you are prepared you will say, “Ok, here I come.” At that point one takes the leap because now you know you are prepared psychologically, emotionally and spiritually. (...)

Ignacio: What barriers are you referring to, economic ones?

No, what I think are the barriers that one should break, is that caution, that sense of protecting what one thinks one has guarded inside you. But in the end you realize that what you have inside of you is necessary to share with other people that are interested in knowing more, to learn and to also share.

Ignacio: You mentioned to me that your brother was a little doubtful in the beginning and is now more compromising, is this what you are referring to?

It comes with the breaking of barriers, of course. One of the things I saw before was not only to integrate my family to a project of this kind, but to see how to integrate the whole community, because here we are all one people, Pehuenche, we all have the same cultural richness, which doesn't mean there are no people who deny or hide that and don't want to share. That is, all the Mapuche, all of us here- and we identify as Pehuenche because we live in a land of *Pewén*- we have all one language, we also the same beliefs about nature. Well, unfortunately there is something very delicate and it has entered into not only the people but the Pehuenche people, general Mapuche, and other indigenous people (...) and unfortunately we were unable to find medicine to heal the spirit, the soul of those Mapuche Pehuenche brothers unfortunately (...) it is extremely complicated.

For Bernarda, the spiritual illness affecting her people is manifested in the rejection of traditional ceremony by fanatic Pentecostal movements greatly diffused among the Mapuche in the last two decades. But she also sheds light on a broader dimension of Mapuche experience, such as the internalization of colonial categories occluding Mapuche identities and territories. For Bernarda, it is apparent, her touristic enterprise, more than a business is a whole cultural project. She describes it an inner process of healing and re-invention of her own Mapucheity as a contemporary, dynamic, and global identity, conducted so far in the intimacy of her interaction with family and the small numbers of, in her words, very special visitors. The isolation of this delicate process from her professional activities as an ethnic broker seems, a very sound strategy to propitiate the deep cultural and economic change that is sought. This, given the conditions of tortuous articulation of social capital networks, further complicated, as I will show, by internal Mapuche factionalism. Finally, I would argue, her inter-personal struggle with internalized colonial hierarchies reflects a collective process the community as a whole is undergoing as it undergoes touristic recomposition. In turn, overcoming this psychosocial dimension of

coloniality might be determinant of the material success of the movement she leads. As she puts it, if Mapuche tourism ventures are not based in a deeply seated sense of autonomy,

[They] unfortunately will not last: The first tourist will say to you, and why not do this? Why not integrate this? This will surely happen, because people coming from outside are more “intelligent,” so it will be easier perhaps to sell or to lease the land than continuing with this struggle for a project with priceless identity to stay afloat.

Mapuche social capital, or their individual and collective capacities to forge ties with broader networks based on inter-dependence as oppose to dependence, is eroding in Icalma due to de-territorialization by gentrification. In this context, Mapuche economic actors find themselves struggling with growing tension between seizing opportunities for income generation, or opting for investment in communal non-commodified economic and cultural capacities. Regarding the latter, Bernarda relates,

Today I have the joy of being part of, and represent this organization [built to] to help our people to do some projects that are beneficial for everyone, and not just for some groups. I think a *dirigente* (leader/broker) doesn't seek that role, because you gain nothing from being a *dirigente*: Quite the opposite indeed. Perhaps it will help you grow as a person, as a Mapuche. But in another sense, if we talk about the economic part, it ends up being quite the opposite. It becomes too big a challenge: It is a commitment that needs to be carried on with loyalty. I think everything you do, you ought to do it with love because otherwise it can get very complicated.

She also asserts emphatically that she would feel more accomplished if she wouldn't “have to charge” for her services as a touristic and cultural hostess. I interpreted her insistence in tourism as service and therefore in the secondary place of profit in her project, as a response elaborated before tensions arising from difficult recomposition and the permanently open dilemma for the Mapuche community in Icalma between income generation and long-term development of productive and reproductive capacities. Bernarda “exorcises” this tension from herself through “sacrifice” narratives expressed as “pride” of not being paid to raise “the baby,” a recurrent metaphor of care, perseverance, and vision in Bernarda's discourse. But, she indeed shows concern about this tension mobilizing other actors in centrifugal ways. For instance, when I ask her if she foresees communal regulation of the social and environmental impacts of the installation of tourism facilities, such as the camping grounds and cabin businesses, her answer is:

It's complicated because of the make-up of the person who undertook this project. If it becomes smeared, it is smeared. One is not willing to get into that terrain just because the guy is making a lot of money in the summer months, because there will

be no motivation to innovate and make changes since it has become only a business...It's hard to change people's mentality. I think that to have camping grounds or cabin owners to change is very difficult: They work for money, not to protect their land or to protect their identity. The more cabins they have, the more pollution they cause, because they do not even have the time, or the integrity to tell customers: 'Look, these are the rules. You are in a Mapuche community, here you can only eat ...or... do not bring so much plastic because it might contribute to pollution.

While being aware of the centrifugal economic practice of other Mapuche, Bernarda retracts from governing them. This was indeed a recurrent attitude, as almost no interviewee asserted a strong will to exert control, but instead, as Bernarda, in demonstrating alternatives, reconnecting, and educating. Ultimately, however, Bernarda knows that the biggest threat of de-territorialization for Pehuenche livelihoods, places and identities, is not the sprawl of ugly tin roofs, or even the environmental impacts of unregulated touristic flows and small businesses engaging those:

There is another issue that often worries me: We want to have the main role, but how we encourage people to become actors, raise their heads, and see that there are other actors who want to undertake a project at a different level at, shall I say, a national level. It scares me because there will come a time, if we do not hurry, that someone will appear with all the money in which perhaps we would need to undertake the project that we've been talking about [and seize the opportunity from us].

If "social capital" stands for individual and communal capacities to build mutually beneficial, non-commodified linkages between local and globalized networks of productive relationships, the processes of erosion of these possibilities by centrifugal engagements is shaping, and perhaps can be in turn re-shaped by, situational ethno-preneurial strategies based on thus re-politicized conceptual frameworks for investment in "social capital." Control over touristic recomposition under neoliberalism means for Icalma's ethnopreneurs to take responsibility for building an alternative to invasion by preparing their people from a spiritual, to a political, to a material/technical level, to engage global markets and governmentalities in ways that strengthens territory.

But Mapuche empowerment at the interstices of ethno-governmentality has yet an additional problematic dimension. After a period of unity and strength through the constitution of the Lof, the organization was fractured along lines of political clienteles and rivalries between brokers. Factions were, in part, created when multiple leaders ran for the

municipal council, and in great part, in my analysis, were the product of the same process of Mapuche empowerment in development. If stretching participation means governing place, factionalism poses indeed a powerful challenge to Mapuche participation as a political community, in the government of place and development. I will briefly revert back to Marco's story. After he tells me of his personal struggle for place, I ask him if Mapuche touristic could be an antidote to land cession and in a collective level and, to de-territorialization. His response,

Perhaps in some cases, yes, it could lead towards recovering, I think especially in the customs, the roots. Because sometimes other issues [presumably land] are a bit more complicated. But yes, I think you could also call it that, to recover things in general...How I can say it: To go on recovering all that belongs to the people of this area, nothing more.

Then I ask him, using a recurrent expression on my informants, if he thought that things could "get out of control." The quote below, as I will explain afterwards, offers an insight to the tensions generated by political factionalism, and suggests the close relation between tourism recomposition and participation as government of place. As Marco puts it,

Yes, I have noticed that things go very fast time and like they're spiraling out of control (...) The truth is that I' for example, I like more the conservation of communities: more union as the basis to begin to work in communion, you might say. Because sometimes in communities note that there are differences of opinion and that's straddling communities, and that means that one cannot say 'Hey look, this is a model of community, what they are doing, they are inventing a way of working with tourism issues.' But you see that it is not: is in decline. In the beginning [of the Lof] all gave their opinion, and all heard each other's opinion. Everyone gave their opinions and nobody said anything. But all of a sudden it started, the political issue, and every one took sides. And if the one gave an opinion, and this other one did not like it, ho boy! What a shame. The Lof was firmly standing, it was respected, and we were talking about many different issues. People seemed to have a well formed idea, and they were following their own ideas, their views, and they were giving strength to their leaders to express the needs. But suddenly, there were people who were not from here, and began to speak, little by little, about (partisan) politics, and all began to falter...Now in Icalma, there is a disaster. I blame politics...And it entered like a flu!

In the image of political factionalism as flu, intentionally or not in Marco's mind, establishes a potent link that was all more evident as I conducted fieldwork: The challenge of tourism sustainability in Mapuche country is the problem of coloniality, in all its interconnected historic, geographic, cultural and political dimensions. Somewhat

contradictorily, I perceive the new leverage of brokers and the new desire they arouse in political parties and therefore the permanent instigations these grassroots leaders are under to take sides in partisan electoral politics as intimately connected dynamics. In this sense, the brief unity of all Mapuche actors of Icalma, between 2006 and 2009, when the municipal elections were held, was an historic process. And despite the risk it poses to the entire project of re-territorialization by counteraction of invasive tourism, I cannot but consider that this new factionalism is part of an ongoing process of empowerment.

A main argument of this thesis is that through appropriating the rationales of Development with Identity, and in this case by stretching the rationalities of participation through which post-authoritarian neoliberalism has look so solve the “indigenous problem,” Mapuche leadership are elaborating situated agendas for re-territorialization at political, economic, cultural, and perhaps, as I discuss in chapter V, politico-ontological levels. To finalize this fieldwork-based interpretive exploration of the challenges and dilemmas Mapuche leaders in Icalma face when *participating* in neoliberal governmentalities, I will bring a passage from Bernarda synthesizes Mapuche re-deployment of participation. Despite painful fracture of the organization, Bernarda relates,

I think the goal remains the same: someday in the not too distant future, work hard to become a municipality. I do not know, however, how convenient would be to become a municipality right now, because there are many things you first have achieve to take that big step. There are several projects at a territorial level, there has been a lot of analysis, there have been beautiful conversations, dreams, with people coming from outside, and seeing the future of the Lof in creating jobs. And I think if we get to that point, it would be very feasible for this territory, the Lof, to become a Municipality.

This quote is informative in two main ways. Firstly, the agenda of constituting an independent municipality, given that in Chile there is no legal recognition indigenous autonomy, is the only framework for local self-government. This is particularly true when the established Municipal administration, as several of my interviewees attested for, has become the axis of clientelism and dependency. Secondly, Bernarda suggest that municipal independence is necessarily part of a long-term process that encompass several dimension, but centrally, a dynamic of economic empowerment and professionalization of indigenous development. I sum, Bernarda is not thinking of self-management just in typical neoliberal terms of efficiency, accountability, and responsibility, or even just in terms of “self-government” in a purely administrative sense, but in terms of an economically empowered,

self-determined political community, capable of deliberating on and materializing a project of *good life*. In this latter sense, she tells me, “we still need a common vision for all the community: we need to ask youth, for instance, how they foresee their territory in ten years.”

Concluding remarks: stretching participation and recomposition of territory

Self-government is the ultimate goal; autonomy is something we as Mapuche exercise daily. (Bernardino, Icalma, June 2011)

Through the case of Icalma, I have explored in this chapter how Mapuche leaders problematize the challenges and dilemmas they face when struggling to materialize an alternative Mapuche tourism practice. In this context, I have focused on ethno-preneurial re-deployment of the rationality of participatory governance, in ways that Mapuche actors understand and bring forth the elusive constitution of a political community empowered to govern place and its touristic commodification. In these concluding remarks, I offer a comparative perspective encompassing the three case studies, on how Mapuche touristic entrepreneurs “participate” in neoliberal government while stretching the meanings and practices of participation.

As depicted in the three case studies at Laguepulli-Budi, Curarrehue in the Pucón area, and Lake Icalma, Mapuche leaders are struggling to articulate consistent discourse and meaningful practices regarding the third crucial rationality of DWI: *Participation in government*. However, while the successful ethno-preneurial projects examined in Chapter III have stretched participation for several years with some success at different scales, as I explain at the end of these remarks, these agencies developed later in Icalma, and only in response to recent DWI interventions. A key venue for stretching participation in Icalma has been the expansion of the “units of participatory planning” by IDB-Mideplan PO, which in turn induced a veritable transformation of “participation” discourse and practice. Rural *dirigentes* were now occupying a pivotal subject position as *ethnic brokers* in the new regime of rural Mapuche/state relations. However, brokers’ empowerment seems to be often in tension within grassroots’ cohesion, thus creating a discontinuous and open-ended process of *reconstitution of the Mapuche Lof or political community*. The *Icalmino* community at large, its communal political organization and its ethno-preneurial networks, in fact face

important challenges to their empowerment on the government of place and, particularly, over touristic development and commodification of culture/territory.

First, while “success cases” have been able to engage and to a degree, reshape the development network where they operate thus enhancing their “social capital,” ethno-preneurs in Icalma still struggle to harness development networks that continue to be embedded with clientelistic and disciplinary practices. Moreover, centrifugal forces within the community engaging in de-territorializing development through land leasing and unsuitable massive tourism practices are eroding the community’s capacity to harness development networks and mediate development sedimentation in place. In sum, Bernarda and Geronimo as Lof dirigentes/brokers, and tourism ethno-preneurs, are acutely aware of the centrifugal engagement with external actors by Mapuche subjects who experience tension between generating income and investing in territory. Harnessing social capital in Icalma is a battle against time, and ethno-preneurs such as Bernarda, Geronimo, and Bernardino risk—they know very well—complete failure.

Second, it is only with great difficulty that successful ethno-preneurs in Icalma have “declared” Mapuche culture/territory and asserted the authority of cultural Mapuche producers to shape and regulate touristic commodification. The commodification of culture/territory that remains here is an unfinished, somewhat controversial agenda. While certain ethno-preneurial actors as Bernarda have been for years now experimenting in cultural commodification, through very cautious ways and largely outside governmental networks, the process of collectivization of power-knowledge which is clearly visible in Llaguepulli and Curarrehue, has proved trickier in Icalma. In fact, key actors such as traditional authorities and even some touristic entrepreneurs have apparently remained doubtful of the usefulness of cultural commodification as a de-colonizing strategy.

In official discourse, local development is treated as a solution in itself, in an often incongruent postulate where regional problems are sought to be resolved locally. Ethno-preneurial experiments, instead, are portrayed by their leaders as models for the region, or for Mapuche country. Mauricio Paineñil from Llaguepulli, for instance, concludes:

In our territory, there are many schools ran by individuals, municipalities, by churches, Catholic and evangelical. If the communities would take those back, as we have done here, there would be a truly powerful transformation: The culture, the life experience (*vivencia*), would be completely different. So for me, hopefully this could be replicated in Icalma, in Pucón, and many other places, and thus we can become a powerful, economically autonomous people. That's the challenge ahead.

I'm not going to achieve this on my own. That is, I will be part of the greater challenge- but my sons, my daughters; my grandchildren will continue this project.

In fact, successful Mapuche ethnopreneurs are already weaving regional Mapuche tourism networks and are striving to negotiate an official authorization and promotion of the concept of Mapuche tourism. Ana relates,

We are connected to other networks. I have to mention here the PTI program of CORFO, which has been one of the main axes of contacts and networking. We are not only Curarrehue, we can talk to people in Melipeuco, in Lonquimay, in Cunco, in Temuco, Villarrica, and Pucon. We are all together in this work of leading the idea that tourism has to be harmonious so that it can be sustained over time. There is a magazine or *memoire* (publication), and there you can see that over the years we have been working on this. What we want, we have captured. And the idea is that it reaches all public entities so that when they set up their projects and distribute their money, they know in what they will invest.

The use of economic or professional associations to exert political influence outside the local sphere is not at all a novel political configuration. However, in neoliberal Chile, its use by the Mapuche is somewhat exceptional, and as long as it is attached to a political vision relevant to regional problems, is indeed politically powerful. As Ana illustrates, Mapuche ethnpreneurs are taking advantage of an instrument of economic promotion installed recently by CORFO to reach out to broader scales of participation and incidence in development policy.

Ana demonstrates that the “methods” and “scale” of ethno-governmentality are being challenged through ethno-preneurial networking, lobbying, and “scale jumping.” In this context, what do the cases explored in this chapter tell us of the ability to reverse and transform these narratives about “the object” of participatory governance? “Development with Identity” rationales and techniques discourse have “governmentalized” the “local community” by making it responsible for “the quality of public investment,” even as it separates the same local “local community” from governing territory and its resources. As ethno-preneurial “stretching” of participation ensues, the first visible tension between technocratic and ethnpreneurial discourse mounts over the “methods” for “participation” each of these discourses legitimize.

In this context, a range of Mapuche actors are stretching the rationale of “participation” and its scales, towards a constitution of Mapuche political community as the locus of a genuinely deliberative government of tourism enterprises. These deliberative,

collective bodies engage in debates about central dimensions of public interest, such as collective indigenous rights to natural resources and environmental protection; impacts and risks associated with tourism development; and how to pose incentives for retaining educated youth, among other issues. In short, as Mauricio puts it, expansive and politicized concept participation should be, ultimately, about “how we articulate with the rest of society.” For Mauricio, this new articulation of indigenous territories/communities with the broader society is not about the sort of “economic citizenship” offered by neoliberal multiculturalism. Instead, it can only be achieved through autonomous, deliberative *political community* grounded in territory, identity and economic self-sufficiency. In this sense, the ethnopreneurial “vision” of political recomposition can be summed up through the following:

How are we able to revitalize our cultural knowledge: Through the language. We say we are one people, but a community without a language is a dead community. That is the logic behind our work. In the school, we are able to instill these values of solidarity, respect for nature, the environment, and respect for the elders, and to value ourselves as we are: We are Mapuche. We are just as valuable as the rest of humanity in our world. So, that means having high self-esteem and talent. And wherever we go we stand as equals with the rest. In other words, there is a lot at stake here, because as we rebuild our self-esteem, we gain an ability to unite, to come together. I instill these values (to the community’s youth): We were, we are, we ought to be. Never negate (*renegarse*) that we are Mapuche. Proudly (I tell my children), you have to stand up for yourselves wherever you go. Speak in your native tongue, in Mapudungun, and do it with high self-esteem and you’ll see how people will begin to consider us, to respect us, as a different culture, as distinct people. This is the way we need to articulate ourselves with the rest of society.

Mauricio’s speech illustrates the critical connection, for the ethno-preneurial movement, between building economic capacities, governing of place, and attaining a deep de-colonization of subjectivities. Similarly, Ana places the importance food, the primordial link of culture and nature, at the center. Through image of junk food in governmental meetings, Ana de-naturalizes Mapuche’s loss of food-ways and food security in the context of proletarianization and on-going neo-colonial cultural and economic practices. Moreover, Ana’s following narrative links this loss of food autonomy with neoliberal re-democratization and in particular the institutionalization of multiculturalism in the early 1990s, represented as a misguided process and as yet something else brought to them from outside –as it was the meetings’ junk food. In contrast, she expresses how the movement she leads along with mostly female cultural entrepreneurs, is concerned with “what do you

put in the table,” and how you do it. Ana represents the origins and motives of the ethno-preneurial movement she leads through narratives linking those back to the crucial moment of re-democratization in the early Nineties:

You know what happened to me, ten years ago or more, when several communities began to meet again after the [Pinochet] dictatorship to participate in the “Indigenous Law” [19.253] discussion. And there they were, working, and I saw this as yet something else that was brought to us from outside: How they wanted us to behave; how they gather you in one place and impose on you; how they bring forward to you a certain topic. And so everyone here was worrying about the language, about the relationship of the community [with the new multicultural institutions], about the recuperation of the lands, about education, and so forth, but they were not talking about the fundamental value that foods have. Many women realized this. Not just me, but women in other communities as well. And we women were the ones that begun speaking again of our dishes. And if we are speaking about seeds, well, what seed is that; where it is. And so we put them on the table: We gathered our seeds to give them their true value.

Bonded to a discourse on the preeminence of *territorial recomposition*, Mapuche ethno-preneurs, have reshaped their relation with government, precisely by re-politicizing social capital and culture through the means of stretching participation by constituting culturally and economically empowered political communities.

CHAPTER V

CONCLUSIONS- THEORETICAL AND PRACTICAL CONTRIBUTIONS

It is not unusual for researchers on indigenous tourism to cite a number of factors as essential to creating a sustainable and just touristic commodification of indigenous places, livelihoods, and identities (Zeppel ed. 2006, Stronza et al eds. 2008). These factors commonly include endogenous leadership, community cohesion, political and technical capacities, and secure land tenure. It is less common, however, for scholars to address critically and historically *how* certain communities attain these capacities and why do they put those in the service of touristic recomposition. This thesis contributes to this lacuna by exploring two different but intersecting processes: how under the banner of DWI political elites have installed in new rationales and technologies to govern the “Mapuche problem,” and in turn, how Mapuche communities are re-deploying DWI rationales in strategies of economic mobilization to harness development networks and tourism markets towards a recomposition of indigenous territories and the places, livelihoods, and identities.

In chapter I I posited three guiding questions, and I will now discuss how and to what extent have I offered empirically and theoretically informed responses to each. After I have had synthesized my main arguments in this manner, I will offer a final discussion that considers how Mapuche struggles to re-direct tourism development may provide insight into the practical challenges, implications, and possible trends within broader debates on alternative or sustainable development and post-coloniality introduced in chapter I and end of chapter II (Escobar, 1995, 2008; Graham-Gibson, 2004). Specifically, in this final section I will discuss the relation between indigenous struggles and tourism sustainability. Whether Mapuche co-production of touristic recomposition of Mapuche territories is underpinned by a “way of feeling life” or Mapuche moral relational ontology, in the terms recently proposed by Mario Blaser (2011) it is crucial to consider the implications of this study on the nature and possibilities indigenous engagement in sustainable development.

What is the nature of ethno-tourism discourse and practice in south-central Chile?

Mapuche involvement in tourism in south-central Chile has been recently addressed by a handful of studies. Pilquiman and Skewes (2010) examine, in a pristine coastal area of

the southern Lakes Region in Chile, the incorporation of tourism practices and discourse by the local Mapuche-Huilliche under the structuring forces of governmental intervention and growing domestic touristic demand. They observed mounting tensions, caused, in part, by high hopes among the Mapuche that tourism would bolster local economies while politically reasserting Mapucheity, while they were at the same time confronted with the reality of very limited opportunities for the development of economically feasible, socio-environmentally sustainable and culturally meaningful tourism practices (p. 114). The authors raise concerns regarding current indigenous tourism policy targeting Mapuche places, which they argue will be a source of further marginalization, as Mapuche entrepreneurs are displaced by more market efficient tourism operators (p. 113). The authors also comment on the rich Mapuche history and mythology around travel as potentially representing a source for imagining more equitable and culturally-relevant alternatives to conventional tourism development. What they miss, perhaps due to features of the case they studied, is attention to the multiple ways Mapuche actors are building more equitable and culturally-relevant alternatives. Despite suggesting that the Mapuche are searching for *their own ways* of being involved in tourism, Pilquiman and Skewes seem to ultimately fall into a structuralist analysis of change driven by global capital.

Recent doctoral research by Palomino-Schalscha, presented at the American Association of Geographers Annual Meeting in 2010 has focused on Trekaleyin, a community-based ethno-tourism experiment in the “conflict zone” of Queuco Canyon in Alto Biobío reaches different conclusions which echo, in some ways, my own findings. Palomino-Schalscha (2010) emphasizes the departure of Mapuche militant grassroots in Queuco from confrontational politics of land “recuperation” towards politics of territorial recomposition through economic mobilization that attempts to use markets in order to gain political and economic power. The author asserts that they,

Dissatisfied with the results of their past struggles in the conventional spaces of politics, they are now building an alternative, non-Statist space to exercise power and decide their own issues...Of course this carries many tensions and challenges, but overall has been a quite successful effort to articulate worldviews and traditional ways of organization with the development of tourism. This way they are reactivating...forms of territorial organization, not by asking their recognition but rather by their de facto articulation.

I agree with Palomino-Schalscha (2010) on the relevance of Mapuche agency in articulating tourism practice and discourse with their political agendas of re-territorialization and autonomy. Also, my observations confirm the briefly mentioned findings of Pilquiman et al. (2010) who argue that Mapuche tourism actors often fight an uphill battle with clientelistic practices and unregulated markets. Palomino-Schalscha (2010) observes that Trekaleyin, the community-based tourism venture,

Is not an organization that aims to seize power in conventional terms, but rather looks for reorganizing its territories and communities on the basis of local autonomies, from their own particular set of cultural norms and practices, setting into movement capitalist and non-capitalist, modern and communitarian, non-modern social relations and forms of organization. From here they are rethinking and acting towards issues of development and modernization, in a process of indigenizing development that has involved a move towards the de-colonial and the challenge of modern ways of thinking and governing.

Palomino-Schalscha's (2010) short article considers Mapuche engagement in tourism mostly as belonging to the autonomous sphere of Mapuche grassroots and its politics of territorial recomposition. The analysis presented in this thesis, however, contributes a more complicated outlook to the issue of indigenous development, or, as Palomino-Schalscha puts it, of indigenizing development in south-central Chile.

I, too, see the Mapuche tourism ventures I have explored as expressions of economic mobilization under post-authoritarian neoliberalism and as expression of an emergent form of indigenous agency in Chile. But, in a crucial turn, I have *conceptualized* Mapuche ethno-preneurial representations and strategic agendas, as co-produced facets of an ongoing renegotiation of a new neoliberal "ethno-governmentality." In other words, rural Mapuche touristic ethnopreneurs are becoming increasingly important, but not by any means, the only set of effective actors drawing the networks and landscapes of tourism development in Mapuche lands.

On the other hand, studies of ethno-governmentality in Chile and elsewhere have focus on the mechanisms of disciplinary government deployed "from above" in the last two decades, but empirical research on the governmental effects of "Development with Identity" projects at the level of concrete Mapuche communities is almost non-existent. The work of Guillaume Boccara and others looking at the configuration of an "ethno-bureaucratic field," have highlighted how ethno-governmentalities have elicited processes of situate re-politicization within, for instance, public health care institutions (Boccara 2007, Boccara

and Bolados 2010). Little critical scholarly research has been conducted into how rural Mapuche livelihoods, places, and identities are affected by DWI community development projects.

This thesis, in exploring the question about the nature of ethno-tourism as a political and cultural co-production by multiple actors with disparate agendas, contributes to the literature on ethno-governmentality by looking at how DWI interventions' outcomes on Mapuche livelihoods, places and identities are mediated or co-produced by local actors, particularly regarding the formation of new indigenous subjectivities and agencies. I have argued, building on Boccara (2007) that these co-production of ethno-development often ensues in ways not anticipated by the architects of these policies, although not necessarily in ways that result in clear counter-hegemonic orientations either, but in ambivalence, friction, and situated re-negotiation.

But in order to reach this perspective on the co-production of DWI, in Chapter II, through the lens of governmentality and textual analysis (Miller and Rose 2008), I traced how political elites—aided by powerful transnational institutions such as the Inter-American Development Bank—have sought to govern the “indigenous problem” by institutionalizing the politics of Mapucheity in particular ways. Specifically, I explored how the IDB-sponsored *Programa Origenes* (2001-2011) sought to recalibrate the government of the “indigenous problem” by intervening the interfaces of Mapuche communities and the apparatus of government. Building on Boccara (2007) and Leiva (unpublished), I proposed that through specific techniques and rationales, “ethno-governmentality” calls upon ethnic subjects themselves to occupy politically and materially productive roles within the new regime, therefore empowering and disciplining them at the same time (Hale and Millaman, 2006; Haughney, 2006; Boccara 2007).

I situate these dynamics within a historicized account of Mapuche identity politics and relations with the Chilean state. To this end, I provided in Chapter II a brief political history of Mapucheity in Chile since the territories were forcibly incorporated into the republic during the second half of the 19th century, and up to the important reconfigurations of “internal colonialism” that have occurred under neoliberalism, both authoritarian (1973-1989) and post-authoritarian (1990~). This history reflects a longstanding Mapuche vacillation between political participation and cultural resistance, a continuum that has taken on added complexity in the neoliberal era of resource extraction and ethnic governmentality.

How (and why) do Mapuche actors engage development networks and processes, and particularly DWI interventions, in the production of ethno-tourism projects?

Historically, Mapuche movements have creatively articulated apparently contradictory demands on the state. First, they have demanded autonomous political spheres as well as a more just relationship within the broader political system (Martinez-Neira, 2009). Second, Mapuche leaders have called for involvement of the state and reparations even as they seek self-determination and de-colonization in both cultural and material terms (Briones, 2006; Mallon, 2009; Mallon & Reuque, 2002). Today the Mapuche are not merely demanding autonomy, reparation, and ethno-development from the government, but they have also been exercising autonomy through daily political, economic, and cultural practices. In short, the need for political autonomy seems to be closely linked to a recomposition of a Mapuche territory perceived by the Mapuche grassroots as severely threatened by neoliberal extractivism (Millaman, 2000; Boccara, 2002; Martinez-Neira, 2009).

Considering the promotion of ethno-tourism as a strategy of neoliberal governmentality in the context of increasingly powerful and confrontational mobilization by indigenous communities in Chile since the 1990s was the starting point of this analysis. Yet, by focusing in the interaction between institutional change, geographic sedimentations of development, and Mapuche experience and representations, a central contribution of this thesis has been an exploration of an under-recognized aspect of Mapuche grassroots' agency: The situated re-politicization and mediation of tourism development in the context of changing transnational ethnic governmentalities and discourses of sustainable development.

In Chapter III, I examined how the technologies and rationales of government, as well as accompanying material resources are being harnessed by Mapuche ethno-preneurs, in two different sites. Mainly through my interviews with two Mapuche tourism entrepreneurs I explore two success stories of Mapuche tourism, taking place in two sites: the community of Llaguepulli in Lake Budi, deep Lafquenche territory, and the town of Curarrehue, in the touristy Pucón area, both in the Araucania region of south-central Chile. The analysis shows that in the quite different geographies of Lake Budi and the Pucón-Curarrehue area, the degree of coherence, communal support, and growth of Mapuche

ventures have been, in great part, the work of endogenous individual and collective actors and processes. These Mapuche agencies have entailed, nonetheless, harnessing (and to a degree, becoming enmeshed with) multiple and somewhat disparate development networks that provide them symbolic and financial resources.

The case of Llaguepulli enabled me to show how a successful Mapuche tourism project created a formidable base for economic empowerment through the investment in non-commodified, self-centered, productive networks. This was, in turn, politically grounded in the re-appropriation by the Mapuche community of Llaguepulli of social capital rationale. Specifically, Mauricio and the ethno-preneurial leadership of Llaguepulli depart from assumptions that non-commodified components of Mapuche livelihoods should be “tapped” (I.e. subordinated, albeit not extinguished) for income generation. Instead, these ethno-preneurs re-invest tourism revenues and redirect development networks towards the recomposition of indigenous non-commodified economic capacities, which while grounded in territory, are linked to globalizing networks of non-commodified exchange. Central to this Mapuche social capital agenda in Llaguepulli is the so-called community’s “technical staff”, a network of professionalized indigenous development practitioners which is working in projects such as the community school and library, but also in legally securing access to natural resources and in incipient environmental restoration efforts. Even more important, in this way they are creating jobs for the community’s youth that would otherwise emigrate. As a result, “social capital” has been re-politicized, recomposing non-commodified networks that sustain Mapuche livelihoods and project those as a Mapuche as an alternative development experiment.

The case of Curarrehue further enabled me to focus on the effort by Mapuche intellectuals to harness markets towards re-territorialization and de-proletarianization. Here, I have shown, first, that Mapuche economic actors have reinvented themselves as savvy cultural producers and marketers of Mapucheity, Inc., and masters of their own touristic creations. In this manner, Mapuche cultural producers have been able to harness Pucon’s touristic markets through a dialectic learning process of innovation and informal regulation by these ethno-preneurial networks. Through these local and communal regulatory strategies, the objects themselves--impose the moral ontology of Mapuche territory, including the concepts of “respect” and “thanksgiving.” The construction of a politicized concept of cultural plurality in development is, I argue, fundamental to indigenous touristic recomposition. These discourses challenge official multiculturalism in

three key ways: By re-signifying culture as a contemporary and productive process, by re-signifying cross-cultural asymmetry, and by re-centering Mapucheity in the moral ontology of territory.

Chapter III thus lays the groundwork for the deeper ethnographic and analytical examination in Chapter IV, which focuses on the tensions involved in Mapuche rural leadership as it engages simultaneously in tourism recomposition and the re-politicization of “Development with Identity.” Chapter IV introduces a third case, Lake Icalma, where I conducted most of my fieldwork. Based on exploratory participant observation and interviews with several subjects, I examined more deeply how the Mapuche leadership negotiates personal dilemmas and communal tensions while engaging in an ambivalent dialogue with both official multiculturalism and tourism development. In Icalma, the situated nature of Mapuche contestation and re-appropriation of Development with Identity rationales is more evident as fragmented and scattered agendas for re-territorialization.

The installation of the rationales of social capital, culture in development, and participation in Icalma are being shaped through ambivalent and frictional involvement in development of multiple Mapuche actors. “Ethno-tourism” has been engaged by Mapuche subjects, some of them ethno-preneurs acting as well as ethnic brokers and who are also leaders in a project of re-territorialization, and see grassroots tourism projects as a mechanism to counteract invasive development. Only a few successful ethno-preneurs in Icalma have been able “declare” Mapuche culture/territory and asserted the authority of cultural Mapuche producers to shape and regulate touristic commodification. The commodification of culture/territory remains here a controversial, unfinished agenda. Ethno-preneurs in Icalma still struggle to harness development networks that continue to be embedded with clientelistic and disciplinary practices and discourses. Centrifugal forces within the community engaging de-territorializing development through land leasing and unsuitable massive tourism practices are eroding the community capacity to harness development networks and mediate development sedimentation in place.

Have DWI interventions in Chile provided political space for meaningful indigenous economic and political agencies?

The main argument of this thesis is that by striving to re-deploy the rationales of “Development with Identity” in their own terms, Mapuche leadership and intellectuals are connecting rural Mapuche to transnational governmentalities, in potentially transformative

ways. In this way, this thesis contributes to both studies of neoliberal governmentality in the region, as well as to scholarship on alternative economies and indigenous re-territorialization.

Recent scholarship examines the means by which indigenous actors have envisioned strategies to interact with both development networks and markets in ways that enable them to advance their own grassroots agendas (Bebbington, 2000; Brysk, 2000; Stephen, 2004; Andolina et al., 2009; Dehart, 2011). Comaroff et al. (2009) coined the term *Ethnicity, Inc.* to refer to the new prominence acquired by ethnic politico-economic agency in the context of globalized post-Fordist markets and neoliberal governmentalities. In many ways, what some Mapuche actors are creating is a “Mapucheity, Inc.” that has potential for commodification and disciplinary governmentality as well as for transformative agency.

In short, multicultural neoliberalism privileges an entrepreneurial approach to indigenous development. The installation of an entrepreneurial discourse, in turn, has required entrepreneurs to perform it. But the way these ethnic entrepreneurs perform their parts as they access, exchange, and redirect material and political resources is not always consonant with the way neoliberal ethno-governmentality defines, and aims to govern, the “Mapuche problem.” In fact, I argue that Mapuche ethno-preneurial empowerment not only proceeds at the levels of mere professionalization of ethno-development and innovative cultural commodification. On the contrary, the exploration of these three cases has enabled me to observe the co-production situated re-politicization of indigenous development by ethnopreneurs. Therefore, I would conclude, ethno-preneurial leadership is not completely subsumed in the disciplinary frameworks of the policy sanctioned from above. Instead, I found that many *dirigentes* continue to act as politically deliberative subjects, leading agendas of autonomy and re-territorialization of Mapucheity.

The question of whether DWI interventions in Chile have provided political space for meaningful indigenous economic and political agencies remains somewhat unanswered because it refers to an ongoing, open-ended process. The “success cases” examined in Chapter III stretched participation for several years; in Icalma, these agencies developed later. A key venue for stretching participation in Icalma has been the geographic expansion of the “units of participatory planning” induced by represents an institutional recalibration, aimed at “facilitating participation” (i.e. governmentalization) of rural Mapuche. Rural *dirigentes* or ethnic brokers were to occupy a pivotal subject position in the new regime of rural Mapuche/state relations *represented by the PO's local planning groups/boards.*

However, this process has not necessarily gone hand in hand with a politics of re-territorialization and autonomy, but, instead, tension between *dirigentes' empowerment* and political cohesion within the grassroots has molded a discontinuous and open-ended process of reconstitution of the Mapuche Lof, or political community.

I concluded Chapter IV with a brief discussion of how the success cases explored in chapter III stretch participation through incidence within the broader scales of government by successfully combining syndical negotiation (i.e. as touristic entrepreneurs) for the mediation of ethno-tourism development nationally policy, with grassroots deliberative decision-making. Recently, for instance, CORFO has authorized the concept of *Mapuche tourism* as designating the specific practice of Mapuche entrepreneurs that should be promoted by the state in its own terms. But at the same time, these associational bodies are also rooted in the local *Lof* or Mapuche political communities who are, through this ethno-preneurial leadership, advancing the politicization of DWI and the recomposition of Mapuche territories “from below.”

My analysis suggest, in short, that Mapuche engagement in tourism discourse and practice lies at the intersection of development, networks, and markets, and its expression of broader a movement for economic/political empowerment through *indigenous economic mobilization* under neoliberalism. In it, local but expansive counter-development agendas, situated and relational notions of socio-environmental sustainability articulate tourism ethno-preneurship with Mapuche agendas of territorial recomposition.

A main argument of this thesis has been that by appropriating notions of social capital, culture and participation, Mapuche ethno-preneurial leaders have made of the intersection of DWI and tourism, albeit in constrained and unstable ways, a venue for the Mapuche to re-politicize issues of land rights, indigenous economic governance and resources; livelihoods and sustainability; coloniality and democracy; and cultural plurality and commodification. These issues have been posed, I argue in this final discussion, not only in terms of restorative justice, but also as a way to counter-act processes of de-territorialization in ways that reassert moral/political character of Mapuche territories and the need to strengthen it, as the basis for *good life*. As I'll explain in the final subsection, this is what I would call, building on De la Cadena (2010) and Blaser (2011), a “political-ontological” project.

Tourism sustainability in Mapuche territories: indigenous relationality, situated learning, and global dialogues

I briefly commented, in chapter IV, on the importance in Mapuche discourse of notions of good life, and mentioned Bernardino articulated Mapucheity in development in terms of “strengthening ways of feeling life and projecting those into the future”. The key shared emphasis many of my interviewees put when talking of Mapucheity in development and its inherent orientation towards sustainability, was life. *Monguen*, life in Mapuche, is central term in Mapuche “cosmologies” or ontologies. First, this word links two things we Westerners have learnt to think as separate and call nature and culture, and correspondently science and subjective experience. Also central in Mapuche rituals is concept *Itrofill-monguen*, literally biological diversity, but mean also designating the ‘interconnected, irreplaceable and sacred (gift of the divine) whole of living organisms and life supporting forces’, including, as Bernardino points, the *gnen*, living “*master spirits*” of *geological and climatic forces, places, and species, to which prayers are offered in thanksgiving and petition in a daily basis, among rural Mapuche. Kume monguen*, the good living, and this idea of culture as a way of “feeling life” appears at this light not only meaning subjective experience, but how *life feels and organizes itself* as an interconnected whole through reciprocal relationships between human and non-human “persons.”

As Magnus (2011) observes, even if the Mapuche don’t use the word person to refer to the spirit masters of places, animals, waters, weather, and so forth, the relational basis of Mapuche ontology means entities (even divinities) are made of relationships, and persons, true persons, by volitional establishment of networks of reciprocity –including antagonistic one. Different degrees of asymmetry, volition and obligation in the multiple relations that weave Mapuche rural life constitute a moral and at least potentially political Mapuche ontology. In Mapuche relational ontology, the Mapuche individual person exists and gains further liberty and knowledge through productive “sociality”, both with human and non-humans, sociality which norms constitute the *ad-mapu* or natural law (Marileo, 2001).

De la Cadena (2010) and Blaser (2011) have highlighted the unintelligibility of indigenous struggles for territory under conventional frames of political ecology based on western ontological premises. Indigenous struggles to maintain and be guaranteed their multi-dimensional relationships with territory are, de la Cadena (2010) argues, irreducible to notions of *indigeneity politics* as “strategic essentialisms” of the “ecological Indian.”

Moreover, Blaser (2011) asserts, indigenous struggles for territory, as *political ontologies*, have become struggles not only for the local but struggles for globalization.

As I reach the end of this thesis, I will argue that Mapuche touristic ethno-preneurship as an effort to re-direct tourism development by counter-acting de-territorializing pressures, can be understood as a struggle to reconstitute the Mapuche capacity to fulfill their moral/political belonging to Mapuche territories, as the basis for good life or sustainability. Don Oscar, the main traditional chief and spiritual leader of Icalma's Mapuche community has been reluctant about Mapuche engagement in tourism and had largely remained an ambivalent bystander. For *Longko* Oscar, tourism practices could only be purposeful insofar as they could strengthen the community to resist encroaching coloniality in all its entwined dimensions. Land loss and environmental degradation; occlusion of culture/territory and invasive development; and religious and political sectarianism, all needed to be addressed simultaneously, before he, as traditional chief, could get involved. For *Lonkgo* Oscar, Mapuche leadership and traditional authority, communal ownership and stewardship, cultural values and contributions to global society had yet to be "declared" (*Longko* Oscar, June 2011) in the tourism sphere and therefore before *global society*, and only then could a de-colonial perspective be materialized into tourism development.

Mapuche territories, were transformed by neoliberalization in ways that have been perceived as disruptive and abusive of human rights. Subdivision of lands and implantation of extractive assemblages such as hydroelectric facilities and tree farms, but also the proletarianization and de-territorialization of the people, have configured the backdrop of contemporary Mapuche search for autonomy, broadly understood as a new relation with global society different from the current one, perceived as one of subordination. De-territorialization, several scholars have argued in various terms, ensues as livelihoods, identities and places are dislocated by powerful neo-colonial economic actors take hold, materially and symbolically, on territory and its resources (Calbubura 2003, 2009 Motalba 2003, Toledo 2005). The political corollary of the neoliberal invasion, of course, has been the naturalization of it, in great part by DWI policies and rhetoric nominally aimed at addressing indigenous rights.

Perhaps paradoxically, I have argued, DWI rationales have also opened interstices for creative re-deployment of indigenous development. Echoing Mario Blaser (2011) work in north-east Paraguay, I found that this process of re-negotiation of development has only

been possible because Mapuche actors are deliberately performing renewed Mapuche ontologies of territory. As inherently political/moral *ways of being encompassing* the whole of human and non-human actors weaving those, in the Chaco and beyond, indigenous territories as political ontologies bring forth new ways to address culture in sustainable development that defy western ontological separation of nature and culture (Blaser, 2011). Blaser interprets the “friction” in the negotiation by indigenous communities of transnational “Development with Identity” discourse and practices as expression of said *ontological conflicts* under globalization. Centrally, indigenous territories, for Blaser, are being performed as *alter-globalities* in a politico-ontological level. I argue here that Mapuche tourism, or the re-deployment by Mapuche actors of tourism discourse and practice is an example of the global manifestation of *indigenous territories as political ontologies* being deployed at the interstices of emerging transnational governmentalities.

By opening political space for the non-commodified, DWI have enabled Mapuche actors to push towards investment in productive complexes composed of non-commodified networks of reciprocal and more or less hierarchical relationships that combined placed-based with global webs to produce *kume monguen*, good life for Mapuche communities and territories. The result is not a subordination of the non-commodified to the commodified, or in other words the reproductive to the income-producing, as in the dominant discourse, but the articulation of income-generating activities to a non-commodified moral economy/ecology. As a result, these webs of Mapuche livelihoods are undergoing recomposition while growing in productivity and complexity.

In Lake Budi, and the community of Llaguepulli in particular, this process as takes the shape of a professionalized but communally rooted or self-managed development organization. In one part, this organization enables subjects to engage in various capacities with neoliberal markets and development networks. But the organization crucially is also made of networks of solidarity and horizontal reciprocity that shape projects such as the school, but also more directly politicized issues such as water and land rights, which the community economic organization is indeed supporting, financially and technically. In sum, is in territory and its productive networks that the ethno-preneurial movement is investing in.

Also, as explored through the case of Curarrehue, ethnopreneurs have re-appropriated the “value of culture” by linking touristic commodification to the production of Mapucheity as alter-modernity, effectively moving from recognition/folklorization to

cultural/ontological revitalization of the *mapu* or Mapuche world through the “declaration” of Mapuche constitutive moral relationship with it. In Icalma, by making tangible new, less disruptive tourism practices, the Mapuche are searching to counteract pressures for invasive, de-territorializing development. The latter, understood in this context as discourse and practices conveying the subordination of Mapuche economic actors by more powerful ones, in unregulated, often monopolistic markets of post-Fordist neoliberalism in the region. Challenging this subordination through practical economic mobilization has in turn only be possible because Mapuche entrepreneurial leadership has incorporated non-commodified networks of reciprocal exchange as main economic objectives on their own.

In the three cases, deliberative government of territory and tourism development’s sedimentation on it, have been identified as a collective challenge and act upon through communal regulation of the risks and tensions involved in Mapuche engagement in touristic recomposition through communal deliberation, where elders play a crucial role. Stretching participation to exercise of political/ moral ontologies in tourism has meant for Mapuche rural intellectuals displacing “governmentalization” by the neoliberal state through genuine, deliberative, political community that can govern place for good life (or the territory’s good life) by fulfilling its *ad-mapu*, or natural law of balance. Literature as highlighted the revival of Mapuche traditional authorities and political organization as a form of re-territorialization, as it is precisely in relations to Mapuche territorial claims that this categories and entities are shaped (Boccaro, 2002; Millaman, 2000, 2007). This was the case indeed in the communities visited, and discourses on the importance of traditional authorities in the processes –in Llaguepulli and Curarrehue, as a reality, and in Icalma, as an aspiration.

The hegemony of the extractive model and the naturalization of its de-territorializing effects on the Mapuche are being strongly contested, but the exercise of *Mapuche agency in development* has remain close to the “bottom line” of daily resistance, and far from alternative models. By this, I mean that economic mobilization has mainly revolved around immediately preserving some degree of “reproductive capacities” (both economic and cultural) in rural communities while halting, in a meter by meter struggle, the advance of neo-colonial extractive operations -the latter, at growing costs imposed by the criminalization of resistance).

From this perspective, studies on Mapuche engagement development can inform discussion on indigenous alternative models, which have proved elusive. The re-politicization of

tourism development offers a vantage point because it links (counter) development not only to the politics of re-territorialization of the autonomous Mapuche movement, but to the problem of sustainability more generally, and how it is linked in the Latin American region with the problem of coloniality exacerbated under neoliberalism by neo-colonial extractivism. By re-centering the public debate on territory as a multidimensional reality that is constitutive of Mapucheity in Chile, this thesis in the nature of Mapuche agency in tourism development importantly intersects with decisive new directions in both indigenous development, in one hand, and touristic development and environmental governance in the other. The value of this research projects also lies in broadening a conversation with an ongoing a Mapuche counter-practice of situated sustainability from below.

Comparative political ecologies, geographies and cultural studies of Mapuche tourism, this exploratory study suggest, should contribute to facilitate horizontal learning, communication, knowledge, about the present trends and possible outcomes of indigenous engagement with tourism practices, and the way it is advancing practical but at the same time transformative approaches to sustainability. The lens of political ontologies, I will argue, will enable future research on indigenous investment in territory; their moral economies/ecologies of touristic commodification; and their search for political community in place, to see these as constitutive of Mapuche territory that reemerges and gain strength as the basis for Mapuche good living or sustainable development in a global society.

The strength of Mapuche territory, in turn, could be understood through the political ontologies lens as the power of human and non-human communities making the territory (*mapu*) to regulate the terms of productive interaction with exogenous economic actors. The Mapuche, in short are recomposing the sort of relationship that bounded together human communities and these with non-human ones, relationships that were which were destabilized and invisibilized through land subdivision and enclosures during the last thirty years on neoliberal policies in south-central Chile. In their reconstruction of territory as moral ontology, the Mapuche are interweaving “traditional” regulation of human-non-human relations, and very much “modern” negotiation of political and cultural space within globalizing governmentalities and markets. Finally, reasserting indigenous territories as moral/political ontologies can be a potent link between indigenous intellectual giving the fight, and their colleagues in academia, striving to incorporate “culture” in the complex equation of sustainability.

APPENDIX A

INTERVIEW GUIDES

(1) Topics for tourism entrepreneur / employee interview

- Subjects' personal information: name, age, marital status, ethnicity, occupation(s)/job status, income, property.
- Terms and nature of their involvement in tourism practices.
- Perceived negative and positive cultural, economic and environmental impacts of tourism practices in general and of their own in particular.
- Perceived challenges regarding tourism development.
- Perceived challenges at inserting tourism development in broader objectives of sustainable development.
- Representations regarding the impacts of public policy on tourism development.
- Representations regarding Mapuche agency on public policy and tourism development.
- Representations regarding the power relations and conflict of interests contained in tourism practices.
- Representation of cultural conflicts expressed in tourism related decision-making.
- Representation of the agency of other actors on local tourism development – tourists, tour operators, non-profit organizations, governmental agencies, etc.
- Representations of better practices, better policy and better institutional arrangements for tourism practices consistent with sustainable development objectives.

(2) Topics for resident interview

- Subjects' personal information: name, age, marital status, ethnicity, occupation(s)/job status, income, property.
- Perceived negative and positive cultural, economic and environmental impacts of tourism practices in their locale.
- Perceived challenges regarding tourism development.
- Perceived challenges at inserting tourism development in broader objectives of sustainable development.
- Representations regarding the impacts of public policy on tourism development.
- Representations regarding Mapuche agency on public policy and tourism development.
- Representations regarding the power relations and conflict of interests contained in tourism practices.
- Representation of cultural conflicts expressed in tourism related decision-making.

- Representation of the agency of other actors on local tourism development – tourists, tour operators, non-profit organizations, governmental agencies, etc.
- Representations of better practices, better policy and better institutional arrangements for tourism practices consistent with sustainable development objectives.

(3) Topics for residents' interviews

- Subjects' professional information: job status and career.
- Representations regarding the impacts of public policy on tourism development.
- Perceived challenges regarding tourism development.
- Perceived challenges at inserting tourism development in broader objectives of sustainable development.
- Representations regarding Mapuche agency on public policy and tourism development.
- Representations regarding the power relations and conflict of interests contained in tourism practices.
- Representation of cultural conflicts expressed in tourism related decision-making.
- Representation of the agency of other actors on local tourism development –tourism local entrepreneurs, tourists, tour operators, non-profit organizations, indigenous leadership, etc.
- Representations of better practices, better policy and better institutional arrangements for tourism practices consistent with sustainable development objectives.

APPENDIX B

FIELDWORK PICTURES



Figure B1: Harnessing development networks: Mauricio's restaurant and "Silver Toki Award" hanging from its wall



Figure B2: The famous rukas: a symbol of Mapucheity, Inc.



Figure B3: Investing in non-commodified capacities: the school and intial efforts of environmental resoration



Figure B4: Tourism encounter at Currarehue's community museum



Figure B5: Ana Epulef restaurant at the entrance of Curarrehue, in the Pucon-San Martin (Argentina) route.

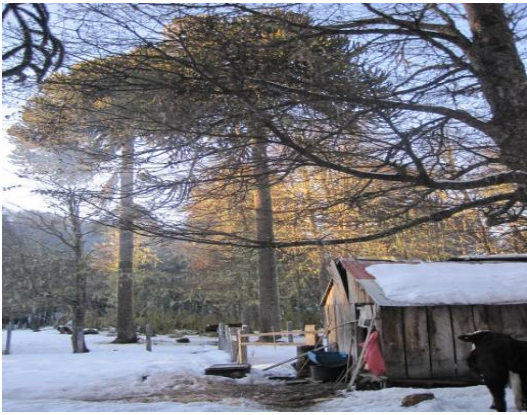


Figure B6: Pehuenche home, at the feet of the Pewen



Figure B7: Icalma Ville: A disparate bricolage



Figure B8: Beautiful and valuable peninsula de Icalma



Figure B9: Second home in Icalma lakeshore



Figure B10: Bernarda's billboard: "A nation rich in values and knowledge"



Figure B11: Fermin, a scam-project and a obliterated life project

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