

Cross-Scalar Politics in the Paradise: Tourism, Conflicts and Development of Indigenous People in San Pedro de Atacama, Chile

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Abstract

Economic globalization in developing countries has increased conflicts over the control of natural resources and restricted local access to land and resources, modifying the relationship between indigenous communities, local, regional and national governments. In this context, tourism plays a relevant role in the economic development of indigenous peoples because its effects on territories, livelihood and social and political institutions. Local empowerment and development through tourism initiatives has been a vehicle for indigenous communities to legitimate their claims and to prevent appropriation or land grabbing.

In the paper, we propose to study the political economy and cross-scalar politics associated to tourism and indigenous people in the municipality of San Pedro de Atacama, a geographical area inhabited and governed by the Lican-antay indigenous people, and that stands out as the main tourist destination of Chile in number of visitors. Although during the last two decades tourism has been developed based on demand, with little planning and high presence of external entrepreneurs, progressively Lican-antay communities have obtained the administration of places of natural and cultural attractions around the wide extension of San Pedro de Atacama. The presence of massive tourism and mining generates conflicts linked to land, to the access to water, to the control of heritage sites or with heritage content (such as the Museum), and to the management of protected wildlife areas. At the same time, Lican-antay people have been developed forms of tourism that pursuit demands for recognition of historical, territorial and cultural claims. This gives a particularity to this research, incorporating indigenous tensions and demands in the context of Chile's free-market economy.

We show that contestation over the land, the landscape and water has played a key role in the dynamic of relationship and conflict between indigenous leaders and organizations on the one side, and the Government and corporate interests on the other side. We analyse the contradictions and trade-offs faced by indigenous people in the process of building their economic and social development throughout the role of different indigenous political organization, networks and leaders. It is stressed how productive vocation of the territories, processes of ethnicity associated with cultural valuation and patrimonialization, and the role of the state and the private sector have shaped the types of empowerment that Lican-antay people have developed to cope with external threats. It is stressed how the economic and political bargaining between the State and the Indigenous People in San Pedro de Atacama has often overlooked the asymmetries of power, either at the community or at the individual level, which has produced unequal access to the benefits from tourism. Moreover, the strengthening of economic and political goals has come at the cost of the marginalization of some indigenous members. Indigenous elites develop complex relationships with external agents such as national politicians, private mining and touristic companies, and within Lican-antay communities, to see how market relationships offer them possibilities for political-economic and cultural gains.

1. Introduction

Tourism is one of the faster growing sectors in developing countries around the world. According to the UN World Tourism Organization, the sector grew a 7 percent in 2017 and it is expected to grow 4-5 percent during 2018. In Latin America, it contributes directly and indirectly to the GDP, a 4 percent and a 10 percent, respectively (WTTC 2018). An important part of that tourism occurs in landscapes and territories where indigenous peoples are located. Landscape and heritage have an economic value as a tourist resource, which allows them to insert themselves into the cultural market, generate jobs and improve their monetary situation (Morales, 2006). In addition, in many places tourism and indigenous people had faced the challenge of extractives industries, such as mining, oil extraction, and urban developments. In different countries, such like Argentina, Brazil, Chile, Ecuador and Peru, the peasant movement has struggled against mining projects in order to prevent the impact of negative externalities over its rural territories (Bebbington et al, 2008).

Rural and remote indigenous groups have also faced the increasing constraint that climate change implies for their economic, social and cultural development. Consequently, indigenous communities need adaptation strategies to deal with dynamic internal and external shocks that can affect its livelihoods, culture and survival (Fabricius et al. 2007; Ojha et al. 2016). Also from the environmental perspective, community-based conservation initiatives has emerged during the last three decades because of the importance of biodiversity protection and the lack of state capacity to deal with security and environmental problems (Calfucura, 2018).

Recently, Ojha et al. (2016) and Calfucura (2018) have stressed that the interaction of the indigenous communities with external agents – the market, local institutions, civil society and bureaucracies- are fundamental for the social, economic, cultural and political development of indigenous people. They must be able to create links to wider networks or pursue goals that match State priorities or needs. On the one hand, market relationships offer indigenous people with possibilities for political, economic and cultural gains (Stronza and Gordillo, 2006). Private tourism investors are seen as a source of funding and a way to legitimate themselves in their historical struggles (Gardner, 2012). On the other hand, indigenous people's partnership and alliance with NGOs follow common goals of territorial retention and sustainable market-based initiatives (Coria and Calfucura, 2010). Indigenous communities are negotiating multiple actors and agendas, grappling with ethno-political movements, and strategically formulating collective identities.

Chile has become one of the most laissez fair economies in the World (Carter and Barham, 1996). Under the dictatorship of the Junta Militar and later with the arriving of the democracy, the country has adopted a series of market reforms that have privatized most of its natural resources, encouraged foreign investment in mining and decentralized the provision of many basic services, decision-making, and finance to the state and local government levels (Meller et al., 1996). Indigenous agriculture, mining and tourism came into conflict regarding the access and availability of resources, especially water resources, and the displacement of populations, the pollution of agricultural land and changes in their traditional activities (Calfucura et al. 2013).

In the present article, we study the political economy and cross-scalar politics associated to tourism and indigenous people, the Lican Antay, in the municipality of San Pedro de Atacama. We contribute to the literature in several ways. First, there has been a demand for comparative assessments of strategies through which local groups have struggled to gain recognition of their rights to resources and territories (Brosius et al., 2004). Second, it is stressed the relevance of the process of collective identity formation of groups as a standard manner through which indigenous organizations negotiate rights with state and non-state actors (Zanotti, 2011).

Lican Antay people have presented to the Chilean State a series of demands related to its cultural heritage and the territory inhabited by them that are related not only to redistribution of mining rents but also to participation and decision making about the projects installed by external agents. Indigenous people often experience exclusion in the decisions that affect their territories, which puts at risk the possibility of developing in the future (Ayala, 2007; Bolados, 2014). The cross-scalar politics associated to the indigenous territory is wide and diverse. For example, the ethnic discourse of indigenous groups seems to have been nurtured not only by the patrimonial discourse disseminated by the State but also by constructions made from disciplines like the anthropology, history, geography and archeology. Tourism offers multiple opportunities to Lican Antay. Moreover, it is interesting to contrast the position of the Lican Antay people vis-à-vis other indigenous peoples who have tended to a process of commodification of culture and ethnicity through the exaltation of an exotic. These processes experience responses and resignifications in a context of formation of new transnational networks formed by local, regional, national and transnational actors, which display changing relationships over time. However, local populations claim that they have lost control of their territory that tourism companies appropriate their resources, and with the growing global relations, this feeling has been increasing. While this is happening, the state tends to favor projects that increase the tendency to deregulate the territory, carrying out unilateral actions through disintegrated public policies.

II. A Framework

Indigenous peoples often join forces to create a unified political organization to advocate for their land rights, and shortly thereafter, obtain the support of external agents to establish their land rights vis-à-vis the creation of community-based institutions, address the securing of territorial tenure and to demarcate their territories (Dressler et al., 2010). Multi-community and cross-scalar alliances are possible to establish because of the common goal of territorial retention and sustainable market-based initiatives. Although the concept of sustainable development is not identical among environmental justice groups, NGOs, the civil-society and indigenous movements, a common goal is defending livelihoods without great inequality or poverty (Carrasco, 2010). Furthermore, indigenous understanding of Nature goes beyond the market logic of valuing in accordance with market prices (Prieto, 2016). Nature provide a nonalienated life that involves the practice of a social and geographical identity that connects them to a fulfilling culture their communities have developed over generations (Carrasco, 2010).

Adaptability is a necessary characteristic of sustainable and persistent local communities (Calfucura, 2018). Indigenous communities must embrace strategies to cope with external political,

economic, and ecological threats. In social systems, adaptive capacity considers the ability to learn, to deal with changes, and to innovate (Fabricius et al. 2007). Diversity in ecosystems and livelihood strategies is important to buffer people against shocks while traditional practices can support the adaptive capacity, while enhancing intangible values such as a sense of place, identity, and pride. In this context, the conservation of a collective identity and culture provide a basis for adaptive capacity especially when communities are able to create horizontal networks with other groups, forming alliances with powerful actors at higher spatial scales, and linking with national or global processes such as policy forums, markets, and multinational agreements” (Adger, 2005; Fabricius et al., 2007). However, low adaptive capacity generally leads to greater poverty, migration and depopulation of the territories. Moreover, indigenous communities can succeed in adaptation if they are able to develop local governance that contains leadership and vision, creation of knowledge networks, development of multiple institutions, links between culture and management, enabling policies and motivation (Fabricius et al. 2007).

Adger et al. (2007), Corbera et al. (2007) have pointed out that governance system legitimacy depends on the distribution of benefits and costs of cooperation from cross-scale linkages, providing a basis of trust. However, distributive effects of co-management may shape the intracommunity inequality depending on the quality of local institutions and on the influence of external agents. Equity in access, in decision-making and in outcomes are necessary for a more inclusive and equitable implementation of natural resource and indigenous governance. Power is important in determining the interactions between actors within and across scales, and therefore in defining decisions, trade-offs and distributive issues, among others (Calfucura, 2018). Vertical and horizontal interactions that create political capital can be beneficial for the less powerful agents (Adger et al. 2007).

III. The Case of Study

San Pedro de Atacama is a municipality located in the Antofagasta Region, Chile. The Antofagasta Region is a highly urbanized export mining economy with a high insertion in the globalized world economy, both through its destination markets and the supply of inputs and capital goods and mass consumption. Two thirds of the regional GDP corresponds to mining production and the remaining third consists of activities complementary to mining, such as energy, construction, communications and consumer goods. The geographical area of municipality of San Pedro de Atacama refers to the localities that surround the Salar de San Pedro de Atacama. This region, at the end of the 20th century, acquired political and administrative autonomy with the creation of the municipality of the same name in 1981, becoming a municipality with strong ethnic links to its indigenous heritage.

In the Salar de San Pedro de Atacama, the resurgence of indigenous multiculturalism discourse coincided with the expansion of the mining industry and with the tourism boom that resulted in an exponential socio-demographic growth. The population of San Pedro de Atacama doubled between 1992 and 2002, increasing the demand of water resources and the sale of the exotic landscape of the Lican Antay indigenous. According to the 2002 census, the San Pedro district has a population of approximately 4,800 inhabitants, of which 2,862 are from the Lican Antay ethnic group distributed in 16 communities. The indigenous communities recognized by the Indigenous Law:

Cámar, Peine, Socaire, Machuca, Toconao, Rio Grande, Talabre, San Pedro de Atacama (town) and those of the ayllus or parental communities of Coyo, Quitar, Larache, Séquiton, Solor, Catarpe and Cúcuter.

In San Pedro de Atacama there are approximately 574 farming families, 61% concentrating in the ayllus of the homonymous town, while the rest is dispersed among the towns of Socaire, Peine, Talabre, Camar and Toconao. The estimated area of agricultural areas in the commune of San Pedro is 2,400 ha. The above figures allow us to understand why the agricultural sector is the least significant within the regional economy, representing only 0.5% of the GDP. Agro-productive activities appear disproportionate, precarious, and an important part are self-consumption and marginal agricultural production, with few exceptions. It lacks competitiveness with respect to other regions, because the farms are small, the soils of poor quality, little water availability for irrigation, and bad systems of accumulation and management of the water resource. It is far from the multiplicity of networks created under the umbrella of globalization, and consequently, negotiations with markets, structures and relations of regional and world production seem unlikely. In this way the sector presents difficulties for its proper functioning throughout the entire value chain, and persisting in promoting a traditional agriculture has little viability, since there is no way to compete with the production of extra-regional origin, except in some products and with a maximum of limited production (INDAP, 2005). The livestock activity is equally marginal. According to the 2007 National Agricultural and Livestock Census, at the regional level there was a population of camelids, mainly llamas, of 5,892, sheep of 10,588, and goats of 6,181 goats. Indigenous standard of living in terms of economic, educational, and basic infrastructure is far inferior to their national averages (i.e., their unemployment and income levels, as well as human development indicators such as education and health conditions, have consistently lagged behind those of the rest of the population; see Hall and Patrinos, 2006).

IV. Government Institutions and Territory

Indigenous development requires local empowerment, recognition by the State throughout coexistence rules that accommodate local actions to national goals, and a predefinition of the type of institutions to be negotiated with the State (Schakleton et al., 2002).

The municipality of San Pedro de Atacama is also the center of the Area of Indigenous Development (ADI, in Spanish) Atacama La Grande, designation that the Chilean state used to deploy its policy indigenous and multicultural with large resources directed to the indigenous population inhabiting within its borders (Bolado, 2014). The ADI is presided by mayor and managed by a Board of Directors. Regional authorities play a key role shaping certain aspects of the management of the ADI, such as the extension or restriction of indigenous participation in the commissions and boards of directors.

The ADI defines a model of territorial development imposed against which the indigenous people negotiate. The implementation of the ADI Atacama La Grande was not exempt from criticisms emanated from the indigenous leaders. For example, initially representatives of the indigenous communities were the only ones considered to participate of the ADI implementation leaving

outside other representative organizations. However, indigenous leaders also value the installation of the ADI because of its greater proximity and interaction with the regional public services. The ADI meetings are range from local conflicts and territorial cooperation among the Lican Antay communities. On the one hand, prevails discussion over the conflicts between communities due to problems of community delimitation not resolved. On the other hand, address debates respect to public or private investment projects that could affect the Lican Antay territorial heritage in one way or another (Avendaño, 2009). It should be noted that the Indigenous Law only allows the constitution of two types of organizations: the indigenous communities – based on territorial roots- and the Indigenous Associations, the latter with a wide range of purposes. The 18 Lican Antay communities correspond to the first kind of organization; meanwhile the Council of Lican Antay Peoples (CLAP) is a political indigenous association aiming at addressing transversal demands from the Lican Antay people.

The conceptions of indigenous participation are combined with the organizational and indigenous leadership dynamics of the ADI. In the first place, product of the policy model, there exists a functional leader to the public services supply, which would act according to short-term objectives, and it would be younger. In addition, another one has a vindictive discourse, demanding the most autonomous management of resources (mainly lands and waters) against the State and mining companies. Both types would be present in the ADI, although with greater predominance of the former over the latter. From the point of view of the State and its officials, the most legitimate indigenous actors are the presidents of indigenous communities, territorial leaders recognized by the Law, who represent the interests of rural communities. In terms of indigenous participation, due to the pressures of the "non-participant" indigenous leadership, other actors have been included, such as the CLAP. The Council is the "voice" of the indigenous leaders in the area, through a political position prone to territorial demand and the defense of water resources. There are differences among the indigenous leaders for legitimacy and representation. Emphasis are placed on the divisions that exist between urban and rural leaders, the first with the greatest power of negotiation and agency vis-à-vis the State and the private sector, and the second with less preparation and more inclined to local and negotiated solutions. It will be said that the urban leaders have not managed to capture a unitary vision among the indigenous people of the area about the territorial demand as Lican Antay, but rather they generate "rejection" among the rural population due to their confrontational attitude.

In Chile, one of the most serious issues regarding mining and its effect on the indigenous communities is the right to water. Water scarcity has the potential to limit mineral development and creates competition for water with traditional communities and ecological needs. Contestation of surface and underground water is evident in the region of Antofagasta where the municipality of San Pedro de Atacama is located. Ghorbani and Kuaan (2016) mentioned that almost 90% of the surface water is owned privately while mining companies were allocated all the underground water. A main issues is if the right to underground water affects the surface water used by the communities. Legislation seems not to protect indigenous water uses, particularly those related to the culture of Lican Antay. The controversy persists as to the right to underground water use where currently mining companies are the registered users.

V. Ethnogenesis, Territory and Patrimonialization

Lican Antay people as a distinctive culture did not exist a half century ago. Identification with an ethnic group, such as the Lican Antay, did not exist as such before the Indigenous Law, at least in the Andean case of northern Chile. The continue process of occupation of the Lican Antay people by the Spanish rulers, and later the independent Bolivian and Chilean Republic. The colony brought mining and religious exploitation projects that led to the loss of the Lican Antay language, the Kunza, together with territorial expropriation, heavy taxation and restriction on the mobility of the indigenous population. This process was accentuated after the incorporation of the Lican Antay territory to Chile after the end of the Pacific War.

Ethno-genesis is built on elements of memory, kinship, territory and productive activities that are translated into "the cultural bases of ethnic identity" (Mandel, 2005). This concept provides an identity discourse as a means of claim and recognition toward the built of an ethnopolitical conscience focused mainly in three aspects: territory, culture, and livelihoods. Heritage assumes a fundamental role because, like other ethnic groups, the Lican Antay need symbolic references to reaffirm their identity and project a historical continuity as a collective. In this way heritage (cultural and natural) is transformed into a strategic instrument for the vindication of their ethnic identity and their legitimacy as a people (Bustos, 2011).

Since the 1980s, the fields of the anthropology and archeology have supported the construction of the past and indigenous history, the creation of ethnic identities based on material culture (Ayala, 2007). In particular, Chile has experienced a process of indigenous claims centered on the reconstruction of its indigenous identity, largely neglected by Spanish rulers and republican creoles. Here the notion of heritage occupy an important place. In political terms, the Lican Antay revitalization was characterized by the emergence of a first generation of indigenous leaders who initiated a leading role in the local municipality and then in other indigenous groups¹(Bolados, 2014). At the community level, this was a process that stimulated ethnic differentiation while also recognizing the limits of the multicultural recognition made by the Chilean State through the Indigenous Law. (Morales 2010).

Patrimonialization is a process of increasing valuation of local and regional identities, which highlights the use of cultural heritage in the strengthening and formation of ethnic identities, historical memories and political movements (Ayala, 2007). These struggles for cultural heritage occurs between the State and indigenous people in circumstances that previously the latter were outside of all kinds of decisions regarding cultural heritage. In the case of the Lican Antay, the demands over the right to preserve and promote their culture and strengthen their identity through the recognition, respect, promotion and protection of their traditions and their historical and cultural heritage have been especially relevant (Greene 2003).

The goal of their attempts has been to "secure" natural resources and indigenous development within the constraints of the national laws and procedures (Becker, 2003; Bonham et al., 2008). Indigenous organizations are carrying out land titling projects in exchange for agreements to

¹ Consejo de Pueblos Lican Antay and CONADI, for example.

maintain the natural biodiversity of the forest ecosystems (Bonham et al., 2008). Without a local institution representing the community, a collective tradition of consensus decision-making, and support for a forest reserve from the many different families and forest users, this would have been difficult to achieve. In that context, conservation is less a solution to land insecurity and more an ongoing and contingent site of struggle. Traditional indigenous societies claims is a fight for their ability to determine their own path to development, which depends largely on flexible property rights and political alliances (Gardner, 2012).

Co-management is a contingent institution that minimizes transaction costs, depending on two elements: state capacity and community social capital. State capacity requires capabilities of the government to monitor and to control natural resources on communal lands, and to impose its rules and regulations on biodiversity utilization. Costly exclusion occurs in the context of de facto legal framework where state owns communal lands but it has limited financial capacity to monitor resources on such a large territory. The situation is a de facto open-access situation as outsiders can use the resource without exclusion.

The process of Lican Antay's recognition and patrimonialization was partially promoted by the state and was coupled with outstanding socioethnic demands due to the installation and expansion of mining and a transnational tourism in the area of the Salar de Atacama since the 1990s (Bolados, 2014). The first demand to manage a heritage site in Chile, the village of Tulo² was carried out by the Ayllu community of Coyo in 1995. At the beginning, the great motivation was the state of deterioration of this important archaeological site and the need to take measures for its conservation (Bustos, TTTT). A similar phenomenon has been developed since 1999 in the Community of Quito with the homonymous Pukara and more recently in Peine with its cave paintings and in the town of Toconao, which although it manages a protected wild area (Laguna de Chaxa). In 1997, the ADI "Atacama La Grande" is declared to the whole municipality of San Pedro de Atacama where are placed the seven independent sectors of Los Flamencos National Reserve. The document that create the municipality recognizes the need for State protection of the territory and the territorial claims made by the Lican Antay in relation to the protected area. The co-management model allowed increasing territorial protection coverage, installing integrated tourist control systems, providing opportunities for environmental and cultural education, and developing ethno-environmental interpretation. This model was later replicated by other communities with the support of CONADI in other tourist attractions outside of SNASPE, in Valle de Jere, Cejas Laggon, Pukara de Quito, among others.

Moreover, the archaeological heritage has a territorial value for the Lican Antay since the sites are used to delimit the territories of their communities. Moreover, Lican Antay claim ownership and control over their cultural heritage using the Indigenous Law to request the management and protection of archaeological sites for tourism purposes. At the same time, there is a wide opposition among the Lican Antay communities to the excavation of the pre-Hispanic remains and its exhibition in museums. Conflicts between archaeologists and the Lican Antay have emerged as the

² Tulo date between 800 BC and 500 AD which represents one of the oldest sedentary settlements in northern Chile and one of the first vestiges of village life in San Pedro de Atacama.

former seek to safeguard the integrity and potential of their object of study and the latter want that its heritage to be respected.

VI. Development and Conflict

Often, developing countries experience powerful economic incentives to develop tourism rapidly and with as few constraints as possible to cede control to public and private elites or foreign interests through both legal and illegal means (Duffy, 2000 and Griffin, 2002). For instance, the majority of economic benefits go to stakeholders outside the local community such that a low proportion of total gross revenues stays in the communities, meanwhile tour operators, both inbound and outbound, control most tourist flows (He et al., 2008; Mowforth and Munt, 2003; and Lapeyre, 2010). The capacity of indigenous communities to generate tourism revenues depends largely on the extent to which the association is able to build commercial links with tour operators and travel agents. In such sense, the relationship between tourism operators and indigenous communities is both symbiotic and antagonistic (Lapeyre, 2010; Stronza and Gordillo, 2008). Tour operators obtain the cooperation of indigenous individuals or communities by paying user fees, providing occasional gifts, renting indigenous-built huts for overnight stays, and preferential hiring and gifts to oblige surrounding indigenous communities to refrain from unsightly land clearing and from decimating the animal populations that lodge visitors come to see. Lican Antay increasing indigenous organization perceive that their relationship with tourism operators is prejudicial (Morales, 2006). Tourism operators and indigenous populations compete among themselves for resource access. For example, several tourism operators have purchased or occupied sites that indigenous communities consider their traditional territory (Weshe, 1993). Secure land rights enhance participation of indigenous communities in the conservation of protected areas and ecotourism (Haller et al., 2008) and favor a long-term outlook toward common property management (Becker, 2003). The goal of their attempts has been to “secure” natural resources and indigenous development within the constraints of the national laws and procedures (Becker, 2003; Bonham et al., 2008). Indigenous organizations are carrying out land titling projects in exchange for agreements to maintain the natural biodiversity of the forest ecosystems (Bonham et al., 2008).

Direct benefit of the community in cultural and social aspects such as health, sports or education, restoration of churches and temples or archaeological sites, or scholarships for young people from the contracting communities. The State benefits from co-management in different ways. First, improvements on the area's management and control capacities due to the incorporation of community members as guides to the control of the visitors. Second, Lican Antay administration reinforces the work of the park rangers of the institution. Finally, by reinvesting in infrastructure directly by the communities in the sites, recovering and strengthening places that were in a state of practical abandonment. According to the diagnosis of CONAF, tourism was an activity that could be considered as traditional, it was on the horizon in all the development plans prepared by the different public services, and also because it could constitute a source of income, without generating harmful impacts on the natural environment and therefore be sustainable (Avendaño, 2009). The reinvestment of the profits from co-management has allow to implement three environmental information centers in the Soncor, Tulor and Valle de la Luna sectors, six control booths equipped, 10 hygienic services, over 5,000 meters of observation paths, among other

infrastructure plus to contract 36 semi-permanent Lican Antay park guides who have received training and permanent technical advice. There are 4 sites management plans carried out with the participation of the indigenous communities. In each of these sites, a co-management structure between the communities and CONAF is under operation, which that ensures the compliance of the administrative systems, the technical and financial operation, the risk prevention plans, the patrols systems and the monitoring of resources. An indigenous association called "Valle de la Luna" was formed, bringing together six indigenous communities for the administration of the Valle de la Luna sector of the National Reserve. The achievements related to the management of priority wetlands are highlighted, through the development of ecotourism projects with indigenous communities in the Salar de Atacama, Miscati and Meñiques, Salar de Pujsa (in the implementation phase), of agreements with the guidelines of the Convention Ramsar on wetlands of international importance, pending the Salar de Tara and Aguas Calientes project.

Despite the presence of external tour operators, the process of building an ethno-political awareness by the Lican Antay people has promoted an increasing participation of the communities in tourism. For example, the community of Coyo was able to initiate an ethnotourism model during 2010 taking advantage of funding provided by the State to the development of tourism sector. The tourism initiative consisted of three tourist-cultural attractions: "Ancestral Caravan" – a rescue of the old caravan routes; "Routes and Roads of Coyo" –the observation of the traditional life of the Lican Antay, and "Andean Astronomy" that explains traditional Lican Antay nocturnal orientation systems based on solar and lunar cycles. Sadly, the initiative faced several difficulties during its implementation and functioning due to lack of marketing and cohesiveness within the community (Bustos, 2011).

Tourism has also affected negatively over the Lican Antay people, not only on their heritage but also on their lifestyle. Several examples account for this perception. Cejar Lagoon was open to visitors until the year 2000, but its access was restricted due to problems associated to the unregulated entrance of tourist to the site. The community of Solor reduced the access and charged an entrance fee to the Lagoon. Later, the State transferred site to the community of Solor through a concession. The increase in the number of visitors motivated the indigenous community to rise the charge. However, the State and tour operators were quick to define that the fee's change was illegal; questioning the community of Solor's property rights and establishing that Cejar Lagoon was the heritage of all Chileans, so there should be a fee for domestic tourists. What is at the center of the discussion is that the territory gave to the indigenous people is to be taken care of, not to make money with it. This episode became a political dispute between the Lican Antay and the State. Although later the State and the community of Solor reached an agreement to limit the number of visitors and to increase the entrance fee, the Ministry of Health in January 2016 adopted measures to ban bathing in the Cejar lagoon due to the existence of high concentrations of arsenic in the water (Lemus, 2017).

More recently, the arrivals of balloons companies has disturbed Lican Antay people in communities' oasis near the town of San Pedro de Atacama. Initially, these companies approached the indigenous communities trying to get through free flights and exhibitions. However, the Lican Antay people never accepted the overflights due to the invasion of the privacy, the noise produced by the injection of hot air to the balloon, and the landing in any point of the communities' territory.

This affected particularly to those living from traditional agriculture as the noise and the shadow have frightened and injured their animals when trying to tear off the balloons. The tourism sector of San Pedro de Atacama celebrated the arrival of balloons, as many tour operators and visitors were invited to try the experience of overflying. The balloon tours were also considered a sample of the modernization of the tourism in the area (Lemus, 2017).

Although Lican Antay communities expressed their rejection of the flight of balloons, these actions did not have any impact, until a fight occurred between workers of a balloon company and Lican Antay shepherds. The episode finished with the detention of only the pastors who before were repeatedly calling the police to report the violation of their heritage. The CLAP presented a law restriction petition against the balloons and the Dirección General de Aeronautica (DGAC), the latter being the governmental organism who granted the permits to fly. The courts found that the indigenous communities were not consulted about the permits and flights according to what was established in the Prior Consultation Law. The municipality of San Pedro de Atacama indicated that a regulation would be made to regulate balloon issues, but the Supreme Court pointed out that the municipality's response is not sufficient to face conflict between indigenous and balloon companies (Lemus, 2017).

The hotel expansion is especially observed in the town of San Pedro de Atacama, Yaye, Sequitor, Larache and Quitar. In these places, the transfer of property from Atacama to private individuals has been intensified and consequently the change of use from agricultural to residential-tourist land (Bolados 2014). This expansion has been possible because the Atacameño lands were left unprotected by the Indigenous Law 19,253 of 1995. This law did not consider indigenous lands to the properties constituted under titles of domains of the Ministry of Lands and Colonization that granted to those places during the years 1964 to 1966. The formation of a land market has favored the disposals of Lican Antay properties and the increase in the value of the land and the selling of land for the installation of hotels and apart hotels by local and foreign entrepreneurs. The National Tourism Service indicated that in 2012 there were 98 hotel and lodging establishments for tourists in San Pedro de Atacama. We must add the numerous hostels, hostels, residences, cabins and similar accommodations (Molina, 2018). These hotels and accommodations, and the constant growth and inauguration of these, have allowed the increasingly massive arrival of domestic and foreign tourists. This floating population surpassed the local population by almost 135% each month of 2016.

Beyond the conflicts related to natural resources and territory, Lican Antay people have also struggled for the defense of their spiritual and aesthetic considerations associated to the territory. In one case, CODELCO installed a radio communication antenna on a mountain that the mining company realized was sacred to the Lican Antay people only after the installation of the antenna was completed (Carrasco, 2010). Representatives of the indigenous communities pointed out the disrespect to their culture that was implied by the presence of an antenna for radio communications on Mount Quimal, which they identified as sacred and ritually connected to their communities (Carrasco 2003). Sacred mountains have played an important role in the Lican Antay's life and history since they are considered living entities that many times represent the duality associated with the indigenous Cosmo-vision. In the Lican Antay cosmo-vision, Mount Quimal symbolizes the women, the rainwater and fertility that provides support to their livelihood in a desert

environment and is invoked with prayers to beg for rain in the ceremony of the cleaning of canals (Carrasco, 2010). CODELCO made a mistake not approaching local communities before developing their mining project Gaby. Finally, indigenous communities suggested removing the antenna and performing a ceremony to apologize to the mountain for the sacrilege. The company agreed and discussed with the communities a new place where to install the antenna without interference on the Lican Antay's religious belief.

However, the examples shown above are not the only ones. Two of the most important environmental conflicts emerged during the first decade of the new millennium. In 2007, Lican Antay communities rejected the water extraction project in the Pampa Colorada sector requested by the Australian transnational mining company BHP Billiton, controlling of Minera Escondida, the main private mining operation of copper in the World. In 2009, three of the most important private and public companies in Chile, the Italian company ENEL and national state enterprises CODELCO (Corporacion del Cobre) and ENAP (Empresa Nacional del Petroleo) made geothermal exploration near the sacred and tourist site the Tatio geysers, which were braked when decompensation occurred in one of its fumaroles. These episodes formed a scenario of unprecedented political positioning marked by the rejection of indigenous communities and other groups to the energy policy imposed by the national government, which until then had marginalized indigenous agents and non-indigenous inhabitants directly affected by transnational development interventions (2014).

VII. Cross-Scalar Politics

Each partnership, contractual relationship, and alliance affects the villages differently and allows for variable levels of agency, empowerment, diplomacy, and contestation. Bureaucratic relationships, like federally sanctioned administrative partnerships give local communities some room to negotiate the terms of the alliance. However, these types of relationships are often top-down partnerships where officials direct, rather than co-manage, the type and kind of administrative and monetary support given to the communities. Other types of partnerships are more cooperative and crafted in the spirit of comanagement.

On at least two recent occasions – the cases of Tatio Geiser and Pampa Colorada- there have been joint actions between various communities and associations for the defence of the Lican Antay patrimony or heritage. On these occasions, the deployment of alliances become spurious, not only because of the pressures made by the private companies but also because of the conflict between and within communities based on definitions and representativeness. During the development of this conflict, positions for and against negotiation were played by the leaders of indigenous communities. The case of Pampa Colorada can be considered out of the ordinary since it involved a strategy from a specific community (Peine) that through the judicialization of its demand and the concatenation of actions and alliances with indigenous and environmentalist NGOs and other communities. The deployment of horizontal linkages and networks provided an opportunity to achieve a triumph over Minera Escondida appealing to the customary law on water resources.

Conflicts encouraged the mining's discourses and practices of social responsibility, community development and sustainability through corporate areas focused on contributing to the rescue and strengthening of the Lican Antay culture and the protection of the environment. Mining companies have tried to reach out to the indigenous people, in different ways. In the community of Peine, Minera Escondida created a fund to compensate for the water rights the mining company acquired. In addition, mining companies have been seen as a good steward of wealth by investing in the community. CODELCO is continually investing large sums into local community development and has implemented programmes with indigenous and agricultural communities. Local communities, local non-profit organisations and NGOs possess active participation channels. Local communities, for example, can go directly to the company with their complaints via contact centres like the Office of Indigenous Issue of the Foundation Minera Escondida in San Pedro de Atacama. These interventions provoked divisions within the Lican Antay communities and organizations between sectors that rejected and others willing to establish a negotiating framework with restrictions and direct participation of the community in the monitoring processes of the projects developed in its territory (Bolados, 2014). Mining corporate areas have traditionally focused on proposals in the productive area with strong emphasis on business logic and self-entrepreneurship, offering compensations aimed to reduce tensions and conflicts related to the control of the territory and their resources, especially water. Communities have begun to negotiate direct agreements that progressively have spoiled the importance of indigenous organizations such as the CLAP. Although the indigenous voices about the presence and actions of mining companies are quite critical, the leaders tend to favor an attitude of negotiation and compensation for activities carried out in indigenous territory.

It should be noted that Fundación Minera Escondida was invited to participate in the ADI Atacama La Grande shortly after it was set up. However, during 2008, at the ADI meeting held in the community of Larache, and at the request of some representatives of the indigenous communities, mining representatives were expelled from the ADI. The main reasons for his departure, the conflict over the request for water rights between Minera Escondida and the community of Socaire, in the Pampa Colorada sector and secondly, the progressive incorporation into the ADI of smaller, related private companies with the tourist sector, who in some way would have instigated the indigenous representatives so that the companies were expelled. Some of these tour operators were part of environmentalist groups.

Indigenous rights were strengthened when the National Tourism Service declared San Pedro de Atacama as a Tourist Area of Interest in 2009. This declaration was particularly useful for indigenous communities, touristic organizations and NGOs in the "Defense of the Tatio" to stop the project of geothermal exploration in the delicate site of the Tatio geysers. The State and the Lican Antay organizations favored the emergence of experiences of cultural, ethnic or ecotourism in which the communities were incorporated in a leading role and managed to become co-administrators of emblematic sites such as the Los Flamencos National Reserve and community museums such as the communities of Tulo and Quitor. However, despite the enormous communication efforts that the companies are fostering in favor of their activity as a source of Chilean development, they were not been able to appease the discontent expressed in the protests and mobilizations that took place in the last period. These protests have as a main background the perception of negative externalities over the positive ones of mining. Nonetheless, the regional

press insists on highlighting the positive economic impacts of mining, such as the huge investments, the variety of project portfolios and the potential associated businesses. Since the Indigenous Law weakened the traditional organizations by raising each community as an independent legal unit, in the case of the Tatio conflict, Geotermia del Norte Consortium deployed direct actions with the communities of Toconce and Caspana, who were in charge of the administration of the site Geysers del Tatio, provoking a rupture within the CLAP.

Moreover, under the administration of the center-left government of the Concertation at the beginning of the 2000s, the regional government provided the ADI with a consultative role - not mandatory - in relation to regional investment. In the second half of the first decade of the 2000, the same coalition implemented a more diversified participation scheme involving other transversal actors (women, parents) that reduced the influence of Lican Antay organizations in the discussion about governmental investment (Avendaño, 2009).

The Ministry of National Assets has worked on land issues mainly through the processing of indigenous demand together with CONADI. This ministry together with CONADI and the indigenous people inhabiting San Pedro de Atacama have defined an area of effective occupation and a horizon to comply with the indigenous law and respond to the indigenous territorial claims. On the other hand, the state agents of CONAF maintain a conception of territoriality that differs from other public services, depending on the thematic area they handle and the more constant involvement they have with certain indigenous communities. The same agents consider that territory of protected areas should be managed by the indigenous communities for tourism purposes, since in this way a double purpose would be fulfilled: firstly, the conservation of the patrimonial and natural sites, and on the other hand, the economic benefit of the communities through the development of sustainable tourism. They have a very critical vision of the process of regularization of indigenous property carried out by CONADI, since this would have encouraged the division between the communities and placed obstacles to a comprehensive vision from the indigenous people regarding the territory.

VIII. Conclusions

We have study the political economy and cross-scalar politics associated to tourism and the indigenous Lican Antay people in the municipality of San Pedro de Atacama, a geographical area that stands out as the main tourist destination of Chile in number of visitors. Although during the last two decades tourism has been developed based on demand, with little planning and high presence of external entrepreneurs, progressively Lican-antay communities have obtained the administration of places of natural and cultural attractions around the wide extension of San Pedro de Atacama. The presence of massive tourism and mining generates conflicts linked to land, to the access to water, to the control of heritage sites, and to the management of protected wildlife areas. At the same time, Lican Antay people have been developed forms of tourism that pursuit demands for recognition of historical, territorial and cultural claims. It is stressed how productive vocation of the territories, processes of ethnicity associated with cultural valuation and patrimonialization, and the role of the state and the private sector have shaped the types of empowerment that Lican-antay people have developed to cope with external threats. The control and legitimation of

indigenous heritage and patrimony are always a political strategy. In such as sense, Lican Antay demands are not only related to the redistributive problem associated with the exploitation and depletion of their natural resources, but also to marginalization in the processes of participation and decision making about the projects that are installed locally.

We emphasises the contradictions and trade-offs faced by indigenous people in the process of building their economic and social development throughout the role of different indigenous political organization, networks and leaders. On the one side, tourism and mining produce negative effects on the environment -mainly through the depletion of water-, on the traditional indigenous livelihoods of the Lican Antay, on the control of tourism, and on the unity among different communities. However, it also be pointed out that these two productive activities provide economic benefits that allow indigenous communities to survive in the most arid desert in the World. Moreover, the flexibility observed by the Lican Antay representative and governance institutions, each one fulfilling objectives and goals at different hierarchical levels or linkages is a perfect example of adaptive capacity. Since it has argued that sustainable development requires that indigenous, government and extractive industries should share landscape in a mutually beneficial way – that requires a congruence of interest between disparate actors (McDermott, 2014). We will see in the future whether the governance system of the Lican Antay communities in San Pedro de Atacama will be able to contain the pressure of external agents, such as the State and private companies, or will end in the kind of conflict many times seen in Latin America (Bebbington et al. 2008).

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