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REMEMBER WHERE WE CAME FROM: GLOBALIZATION AND ENVIRONMENTAL DISCOURSE IN THE ARAUCANIA REGION OF CHILE.

A dissertation presented

by

NIALL STEPHENS

Submitted to the Graduate School of the

University of Massachusetts Amherst in partial fulfillment

of the requirements for the degree of

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

February 2013

Communication

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REMEMBER WHERE WE CAME FROM:
GLOBALIZATION AND ENVIRONMENTAL DISCOURSE IN THE ARAUCANIA REGION OF CHILE.

A dissertation presented

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NIALL STEPHENS

Approved as to style and content by:

_____
Henry Geddes, Chair

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DEDICATION

To

my Mapuche friends and my Chilean friends.

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Thanks to Henry Geddes, the chair of my dissertation committee, who was extremely generous with his time, and who always listened to my ideas patiently and took them seriously. Thanks also to committee members Emily West, and Sonia Alvarez, both of whom have been extremely supportive. Thanks to Paula Chakravartty, who helped me get this project off the ground, and to the other faculty in the Communication department who worked with me and encouraged me.

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ABSTRACT

REMEMBER WHERE WE CAME FROM:
GLOBALIZATION AND ENVIRONMENTAL DISCOURSE
IN THE ARAUCANIA REGION OF CHILE.

FEBRUARY 2013

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Based on an ethnographic investigation, the dissertation examines the emergence and significance of discourses around "the environment" in the Lake District of the Araucanía region of Chile (*Araucanía Lacustre*). These are understood as part of the discursive aspect of globalization – the process by which the territory and its population are integrated ever more tightly into the networks of global market society – and considered in conjunction with discourses around Mapuche indigenous identity. Drawing on media-cultural studies, actor network theory, and medium theory, the analysis seeks to advance an ecological concept of communication that does not privilege human consciousness and agency. Communication is argued to be the principle by which space (physical and metaphysical) is configured and connected. Through a discussion of the physical and human geography of the territory it is argued that discourse is mutually immanent with material realities, including human practice and pre-discursive, nonhuman elements (chapter 3). The connection between environmental discourse and Mapuche culture is examined through the stereotype of the ecologically virtuous indigenous subject – a stereotype whose significance is changing as parallel neoliberal multicultural and

sustainable development discourses boost the prestige of both Mapuche culture and ecological responsibility, even as the steady expansion of market society undermines both (Chapter 2). A program run by an NGO, funded by the Chilean state, and intended to market the agro-ecological produce of Mapuche small farmers to tourists, provides a concrete case of the intersection of neoliberal multiculturalism with environmental discourse (Chapter 4). The concept of "postmaterialism" is adapted, with a critical edge, in an exploration of the environmental activism and a certain dissatisfaction with modernity among college educated immigrants to the District from Santiago, North America and Europe (chapter 5). The process of globalization, through which Mapuche *campesinos* come to use environmentalist discourses, involves interactions among old and new information technologies, transportation technologies, and the non-anthropogenic realities of physical space-time and geography (chapter 6). The dissertation concludes with a normative argument about the ethical and epistemological inadequacy of globalizing market society.

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

On August 5, 2010 over a hundred people gathered at the exclusive Hotel Park Lake, on the shores of Lake Villarrica, in the southeast corner of the Araucanía region of Chile, to mark the launch of the Mapuche Agro-gastronomic Program (Programa Territorial Agrogastronómico Mapuche). The Programa, referred to in what follows as the PTAM, is the latest iteration of an ongoing alliance between a Chilean Non-Governmental Organization (NGO), CET SUR, and a local indigenous Mapuche organization, the Corporación Kom Kelluhayin. The purpose of this alliance is to foster autonomy for Mapuche small farmers and gatherers of wild forest products, and to sustain Mapuche identity, local biodiversity, and ecologically sustainable food provisioning systems. Specifically, the program aims to help indigenous Mapuche small farmers make their small-scale, agro-ecological agriculture pay, by selling their produce to the Park Lake and other hotels in the district, and by introducing Mapuche cuisine to the menus of the restaurants in those hotels.

The event began with a short Mapuche ceremony in the gardens outside the hotel, and ended with a buffet prepared by the chefs of the Hotel and the Mapuche cooks in the PTAM. In the middle, there was more than an hour of speeches from local politicians, officials of the Fundación de Innovación Agraria (FIA), the Chilean government agency funding the PTAM, and other key figures. This was a rare moment in which the diverse participants and stakeholders in the PTAM were all together in the same place: staff of the NGO Cet Sur; Mapuche small farmers; managers and owners of participating restaurants and hotels; politicians and civil servants; journalists from Santiago whom a

staff member of the NGO had managed to attract to the event; the author of this dissertation. Several attendees commented that the event was remarkable in bringing together such a diverse group of people, something that is suggestive of the way the PTAM reflects a certain multiculturalism that has emerged in Chile (and elsewhere) in the 21st century.

The dissertation looks at the "social space" (Bourdieu; 1989) together with the "envelope of space-time" (Massey, 1995) in which the PTAM is being executed. That is, it looks at the humanly inhabited territorio signaled by the "T" in PTAM, the Lake District ("Zona Lacustre") of the Araucanía region, and the symbolic space this territory is bound to. It offers a narrative of the space associated with this territory, a space that is both material and discursive, both physical and metaphysical, both objective and inter-subjective. This is a contested space. What I mean to evoke by this is a contest – a race as much as a confrontation – over how and under what signs this territory will be integrated into the extensive anthropogenic networks of the 21st century. An important aspect of this contest is a regime that seeks to figure this territory ("nature"), along with its Mapuche heritage ("culture"), as resources for sale. However, even those most committed to this regime must, at some point, take the world on terms other than those of the accountant's balance sheet. In this sense, there is always an "outside" to market society. Here, as elsewhere, there is a host of non-capitalist meanings – discursive "externalities," if you will – in play in the contest in question.

Ultimately, this dissertation seeks to contribute to a non-anthropocentric, materialist and non-media centric (Morley, 2009; Moores 2012) conception of communication by looking at the multi-mediated configuration of organizations,

demographic groups, and discourses that are brought together in the territory of the Lake District. In particular, it looks at the convergence or intersection of practices and discourse invoking Mapuche identity and "the environment," both of which are understood as instantiations of the contemporary global conjuncture, as both are invoked by promoters and critics of neoliberal development alike. This conception of communication offers a new set of frames for studying environmental politics, shifting attention away from the discursive-material dimension, and on to the more ecological and ethical dimension of the relationship between self and other.

Remember Where We Came From

The title of the dissertation comes from a man I met while sitting with a friend in a ruka – a traditional Mapuche structure – in the center of Villarrica. The man came in looking for the president of Kom Kelluhayin, the farmers' organization in the PTAM. Finding the president not there, he sat down and talked to my friend and me. He was only interested in hearing what he had to say – he was not a listener – and so we were not inclined to take him very seriously. But in a litany of prescriptions for Mapuche unity and advancement, he said one thing that I remember very well. Given my interest in environmental discourse, I pricked up my ears when he declared, "we need to take care of nature." I met his eyes. "We have to remember where we came from," he said.

Perhaps because he was directly addressing me, a winka (a non-Mapuche) and a gringo foreigner, it seemed to me that the "we" he was using was ambiguous – that it could refer to the Mapuche, or that it could refer to others as well. As a colonized people, it is clear remembering is a different exercise from the Mapuche position than from the

white, Anglophone, bourgeois position in which I find myself. But in the sense that we all come from "nature," his comment could be understood as an invitation to winkas as well as Mapuche to question what Arturo Escobar (2007; 2008) identifies as modernity's separation between human, natural and supernatural. The possibility of reading his comment as an ecumenical exhortation – of reading the first person plural pronoun as referring to me as well as to the Mapuche – is not only attributable to the fact that the man made eye contact with me as he invoked "we." It also reflects the convergence of our historical-geographical contexts – a ceaselessly expanding capitalist modernity – from which the notions of indigeneity, of "the environment," and of course my own and this man's identity emerge.

To the extent that the man's comment was invoking the Mapuche people, it evokes the specificity of this territory as identified with his ancestors. The Mapuche are an original, first, or "indigenous" people, and as such this territory is where they "came from." Mapuche means something like "people of the land" (Mapu=land; che=person). In a mythical way, the Mapuche "we" invokes a connection to this territory that is "timeless" – a connection that stretches back in time to generations long dead, to a prehistory of which there is almost no positive knowledge. If, on the other hand, we take the "we" the man used as a universalizing first person plural, referring to global society, we could say that he was referring to an equally mythical connection across space.

Theoretical Framework

Communication

The word "mythical" begs explanation. Let me defer this explanation momentarily, and lay out a theoretical framework beginning with the concept of communication. Take John Durham Peters' definition of communication: "the project of reconciling self and other." (1999, p 9). With two provisos, this is an adequate starting point for approaching how communication is understood here. The two provisos are: 1. the categories of "self" and "other" must be open to nonhumans as well as humans; also (this could be understood as following from the first proviso); 2. communication is not necessarily a "project." Following Peters, I do not use communication to denote the effort to connect separate mental interiorities. Instead, I think of it as a matter of connection that configures material and discursive realities, both physical-objective and metaphysical-subjective dispositions. As the reconciliation of self and other, communication is the reconciliation through (re)configuration of diverse elements, diverse selves, that are constituted in their relations with one another.

The idea of communication as configuring through establishing connections comes from the tradition of thinking about communication associated with Harold Innis and Marshall McLuhan, a tradition Joshua Meyrowitz (2008) called medium theory, and which Neil Postman dubbed "media ecology" (Man Kong Lum, 2006). Media are not only of interest here for their symbolic "content", but also for the forms or configurations that they generate around and through themselves. This is a matter of what Innis called the "bias" of a medium – its tendency to configure relationships in a specific way. I understand these relationships as at once physical or material and metaphysical or discursive. In James Carey's paraphrasing of Innis: "structures of consciousness parallel structures of communication." (Carey, 1989: 161). This formulation approximates my

understanding, but it implies that communication is separate from consciousness. I would suggest that sometimes – as when the cells of our body communicate with one another through hormones, for example – this is indeed the case. But sometimes – as you read these words, for example – it is not the case. Communication is always, however, a material process. In this, my understanding of communication aims to be non-modern, harking back to the materialist conception of communication – that began to be displaced, in the English language, by the contemporary "mentalist" conception in the seventeenth century (Peters, 1999).

McLuhan (1964) argued that the content of a medium is always another medium; an observation that suggests the distinction between medium and content is not always meaningful. Accordingly, this account aims to avoid "media-tropism" (Mattelart 1996. p. x) or media-centrism (Morley, 2009), and focuses as much on the forms of mediation as on the discourses that emerge with them. Mediation is more important than any specific medium. Mediation is "a turn towards what emerges, what is shaped and composed, what cannot be reduced to an intersection of causal objects and intentional persons" (Gomertt and Hennion in Couldry 2008, p 103; c.f. Martín Barbero 1993[1987]; c.f. Silverstone 2005). Media technologies are conceived broadly, as anything that configures connections. Chain saws, music, the modular shipping container, and hydroelectric dams: are all media of communication, just like cell phones and the internet.

William Kuhn paraphrases Innis and McLuhan with the maxim that "Media Dictates Culture" (in Man Kom Lum 2006; 16). This reflects an understanding of media ecology as the study of environments constituted by the media, a perspective that has

rightly been criticized for technological determinism. Here, by contrast, I aim to live up to the term "ecology" in "media ecology," by taking seriously what I suggest is the mutual immanence of technology and culture, of the physical and metaphysical, of the material and the discursive, of media and content. To the extent that subjectivity and consciousness (human or nonhuman) are involved in communication, I would suggest adjusting Carey's formulation thus: structures of consciousness are not "parallel to" but mutually immanent with structures of communication. The notion of mutual immanence represents a humble attempt to go beyond the artificial and misleading dualism that has persisted in western thinking from Plato to Marx. It implies that reality is inherently mysterious and only partly knowable. It implies epistemological relativism and a non-modern epistemological humility. As discussed below, I hope that it is a move towards an ecological and de-colonial epistemology and ethics.

A perspective of mutual immanence is "ecological" in a very straightforward way. It recognizes that information technologies are not only significant for their discursive, abstract, or virtual aspects. They are eminently material realities embodying choices about how to use the limited resources of a delicate ecosphere. The media I pay most attention to here (transportation technologies and new Information and Communication Technologies) use large amounts of energy and have destabilizing consequences for the ecology of the planet (Couldry and McCarthy, 2004; Parks 2004; Maxwell & Miller, 2008). These media configure ecological relations not only in their use as symbol-carrying technologies for human subjects, but in their production, maintenance, and disposal within the biosphere.

Mediation and Space

A particular space, or a particular region of space, is at the center of this narrative. Here the narrative has been inspired by Andre Jansson's (2007) efforts to bring Henri Lefebvre's thinking into communication studies, and a "geography of communication." As Jansson argues, spatial practices are communicative practices and communicative practices are spatial practices. This is only to say that, as I hope to show (see especially chapter 3), communication configures space and vice-versa. My thinking is also inspired by Doreen Massey (1995; 2005) who thinks of space (a) not in contrast to "place," and (b) as open or unbounded, which is to say not divided into discrete, self-contained places. Massey writes that "the particularity of any place is…constructed not by placing boundaries around it and defining its identity through counterposition to the other which lies beyond, but precisely (in part) through the specificity of the mix of links and interconnections to that beyond" (Massey, 1995, 5).

The particularity of geographical space is not only tied to other geographical spaces, I argue, but also to discursive and metaphysical space. Here an insight from media studies is useful. Daniel Miller and Don Slater argue that the Internet and the "virtual" space it creates extend and augment already existing physical space (Miller and Slater, 2000). To be sure, digital media and the Internet are a new and distinctive aspect of contemporary life, but my point of view is that there is nothing radically new in the way they extend space or expand space. While the possibilities these new technologies offer for interaction and instantaneous communication across extensive physical space are unquestionably novel, cave paintings and every human technological form of media since have opened up and extended space in a similar way. This is partly a matter of the

physics of tying specific "envelopes" of space-time to one another – Neolithic cave paintings connect the present to an ancient past. But it is also about the metaphysics of what we have come to call, with the emergence of new technologies, "virtuality." I would argue that the simulacra of the cave paintings generate the quality of virtuality in the same way, if not to the same extent or with the same intensity, as the most sophisticated virtual reality consoles of today.

Geographical space extends beyond the physical and into the metaphysical when it comes into contact with life and with old and new human technologies of communication. Therefore, I would suggest that I understand such terms as "social space" (Bourdieu, 1997) and "discursive field," which are often referred to as "metaphors" (Foucault, 1972: p 63-77; Smith & Katz in Morley, 2000; 7-8), not as metaphors but as evocations of a reality, of a space – an "ontological field" (Bennett, 2010) – of which the physical here and now is but one region. This is a recognition of the mutual immanence of materiality and discourse, of the physical and the metaphysical, of the very significant reaches of reality that are, as Massey suggests beyond: beyond the space and time one occupies, beyond empirical verification, beyond quantification and measurement, beyond comprehensive comprehension.

Critical Realism

This brings us to questions of ontology and epistemology. Here this narrative is informed by Bruno Latour's accounts of actor network theory (2005) and modernity's incoherence (1993), by the non-anthropocentric monist materialism of Jane Bennett (2010) and the panpsychism of Freya Matthews (2003), as well as by a school of thought

associated with the Indian-British philosopher Roy Bhaskar and known as critical realism (Bhaskar, 1978; Collier, 1994; Toynbee, 2008). Critical realism argues that there are three levels of reality. The most fundamental is the real. This includes causal mechanisms such as the structures that sociologists and linguists like to invoke. It also includes the next level, which emerges out of it, the actual. The actual refers to all of the manifest events and elements that are, in principle, observable in the world. Just as the actual is part of the real from which it emerges, so the final level is nested within the actual. This last level is the level of the empirical, which refers, in my reading at least, to actual experiences of specific subjects.

For example, in the case at hand the real includes Mapuche and Chilean "cultures," as well as the gravity that pulls the water down the mountainsides into Lake Villarrica. The actual would include the signing of a treaty in 1883 by the Mapuche cacique Saturnino Epulef, which accepted Chilean sovereignty over this territory. The actual would also include factories in Shenzhen, China where the electronics used in the District today were manufactured, as well as a host of elements that have no immediate or obvious bearing on the District. Finally, the empirical refers to the author's experience and observations in the envelope of space-time that is "the Lake District" in this narrative. Note that the empirical here, contrary to the way the word is generally understood, is distinct and specific to every subject.

The vocabulary of critical realism allows me to explain how I am using "space." I am using space to refer to the real, particularly as it is connected to the actual and empirical space of the Lake District. The vocabulary also helps me to specify how I am thinking of communication and knowledge. I suggest that there are two forms of

communication: one immediate and direct, and another involving indirect or mediated connections that extend beyond this frontier to spaces where the self is not immediately present. Our knowledge or understanding of the world rests on these two forms of communication. The first is an immediate, phenomenological communication with the space we inhabit, the realities at the frontier between ourselves and everything that is (that we deem to be) not ourselves. This kind of communication is direct or immediate: the catalyzing of a protein by a hormone; the erosion of the soil by rain; the tactile, visual, auditory and olfactory sensations of ethnographic observation. It gives rise to first-hand, "eyewitness" knowledge.

The second, indirect form of communication involves mediation, or strings of connections between elements that are not directly connected. When it involves subjectivity, this form of communication is semiotic, involving the reading of signs, or deduction about the actual and the real from the empirical. This form of communication takes place when one learns (from smoke over the horizon, from the internet, from a conversation) about elements oneself does not have immediate knowledge of. The collective memory of families and communities, scientific facts, and other constructed knowledge is achieved this way. When it involves subjectivity, it is discursive, involving symbols and simulacra. It leads to knowledge of what is beyond the immediately present by introducing imagination and interpretation into one's knowledge of the world. It is because "Mapuche culture" and "global society" arise out of this kind of communication that I described them as "mythical."

Communication and Power

Power connects to communication as the ability to influence or shape configurations around oneself. Also, since communication – the principle of configuration – is not an exclusively human or necessarily discursive process, it is worth noting that the most powerful forces in the world are not human. That said, this dissertation is focused on the sphere of human activity, in which humans exercise power over one another. At this level, and along with numerous other authors, I find Michel Foucault's (1991) governmentality especially useful in analyzing contemporary, neoliberal configurations of power.

Governmentality refers to the preeminence of a specific form of power, which emerges with modernity, and which Foucault calls "government." Foucault distinguishes government from "disciplinary" and especially "sovereign" power. It is distinguishable from these other two forms of power, I will suggest, by its reliance on indirect, discursive communication (the second of the two forms of communication just discussed). The goal of sovereign power is simply its own exercise and perpetuation. Sovereign power exists outside that which it rules. It communicates or configures things by decree and coercion: law is backed up with the bomb, the bullet, and the truncheon. Disciplinary power, which constrains, similarly communicates mainly through the configuration of material reality: handcuffs, jail cells, and the shape of the physical structures put in place by institutions (buildings, roads, etc.). Finally, government, which Foucault describes as a matter of techniques and tactics, can be understood partly as an effort to streamline and economize on the exercise of the other two forms of power. Of course, just as sovereign and disciplinary power employ discursive communication in making their non-discursive physical interventions, governmental power also uses the non-discursive forms of

communication deployed by sovereign and disciplinary power. It is nonetheless distinctive for the extent to which it relies on indirect or discursive communication.

The reliance of government on indirect communication exists at two levels. On the first level – the level of technique – Foucault associates governmental power with knowledge constructed through a specific kind of mediated communication, namely the technocratic quantification that makes possible a modern, statistical understanding of population and economy. It is these realities – realities known through the mediation of statistical techniques – that government seeks to regulate and optimize for their own sake. At the second level, the level of tactics, governmental power is distinctive for the extent to which it relies on suasion and discourse to influence subjectivity, in order that subjects (unlike the subjects of sovereign power) invest themselves willingly, even enthusiastically in the configuration of "things."

If governmentality is the "right disposition of things," what counts as "right"? That is, what is the end of governmental power? According to Foucault: "the finality of government resides in the things it manages and in the pursuit of the perfection and intensification of the processes which it directs" (1991, p.95). For governmentality, there is no higher principle than the economy and the population it regulates. Thus wisdom, Foucault says, comes to be understood not as "knowledge of divine and human laws, of justice and equality, but rather as the knowledge of things" (ibid p.96). We can see in this evolution of the understanding of "wisdom" the instrumental reason criticized so bitterly by the Frankfurt school and many ecologists. Indeed, governmentality helps account for global society's unsustainability. By seeking "the perfection and intensification" of the processes it regulates – that is, a capitalist economy, propelled by

the quest for accumulation and growth – it loses sight of externalities such as the stability of the biosphere.

The notion of "externalities" resonates with another concept that needs introduction. This is Walter Mignolo's concept of the coloniality of knowledge (Mignolo 2007; c.f. Quijano 2000). The coloniality of knowledge is the epistemic dimension of coloniality, which is "the invisible and constitutive side of modernity." (2007, p 451). Coloniality is a reminder that modernity achieves what may appear to many as its universal validity by violence and exclusion. The coloniality of knowledge is simply the epistemic aspect of this. It evokes an episteme that is outside modernity, a set of knowledges that are not recognized or validated by modernity. Mignolo writes that we should try "to avoid the 'modern expectation' that there is a word that carries the true meaning of the thing instead of the form of consciousness and the universe of meaning in which the word means" (Mignolo, 2007, 476). This "modern expectation" is the coloniality of knowledge. Avoiding it is the way to decolonize knowledge, our hope for putting into practice genuinely sustainable ways of life. This epistemic-ethical goal is part of this account, which explores a space that is both material and discursive, both physical and metaphysical, and which in its unity constitutes a universe in which diverse subjectivities understand such terms as "the environment" and "Mapuche" as meaningful.

There is a way in which actualities described by statistics (population and economy), and more generally all realities beyond the empirical here and now, are myths. That is, realities and actualities beyond the empirical here and now have an ineluctable element of mystery directly connected to the fact that they are not experienced but imagined. Mystery also arises from the contingency and indeterminacy in the mutual

immanence of physical and metaphysical. Shakespeare's Hamlet enjoins the actors he instructs to "Suit the action to the word, the word to the action." This in the interest of verisimilitude, of holding "a mirror up to nature." Note that words themselves are not the mirror, and that "nature" – what the mirror reflects – is the interplay between words and action, representation and material fact, the metaphysical and the physical. The word does not correspond to the action in a straightforward, one-to-one way.

The contingent and mysterious relation between words and action, or between discursive and material aspects, finds expression in this case in two apparent paradoxes, both of which have already been introduced. The first paradox is the way neoliberal multiculturalism manifests assimilationist or "monocultural" goals. This is described by Walter Mignolo as "the paradox between the denial of indigenous identity, on the one hand, and its reinforcement, on the other." (Mignolo, 2009, np). The second paradox is identified by Ingolfur Blüdhorn: "the curious simultaneity of an unprecedented recognition of the urgency of radical ecological policy change, on one hand, and an equally unprecedented unwillingness and inability to perform such change, on the other" (Bluhdorn, 2010, p 36). I refer to this paradox, with Bluhdorn, as "the ecological paradox," or alternatively "the politics of unsustainability."

These paradoxes can both be explained by neoliberal governmentality and its overriding commitment to economic growth. In material and practical terms, this is a commitment to unsustainable and "monocultural" practices. But in much the same way that it gives rise to the promotional discourse of advertising, the commitment to economic growth also gives rise to discursive commitments to both cultural pluralism and sustainability. In a sense, this is only paradoxical to the extent that we expect actions and

representations, materiality and discourse, to squarely align, so that what is said is what is done. It is hardly a surprise that this is not what happens. At the same time, while it is always possible to make a post-hoc accounting, it is impossible to predict exactly how discourse and practice, in their mutual immanence, will (appear to) diverge at any given moment. They are of a piece, but we cannot read one off the other.

The Case

The colonial encounter, which in a sense is what this dissertation is about, began with Spanish conquistadores, who appeared this far south in the middle of the 16th century. The town of Villarrica was founded in 1552 at the entrance of a valley that led up to a strategic mountain pass over the Cordillera and into the pampas east of the cordillera (contemporary Argentina). The establishment of a settlement entailed not only settling people and building them homes, but also giving the place a name, Villarrica. The name, "rich town," reflects the hopes and the mercantile cupidity of the conquistadores. Along with other Spanish settlements south of the Bio Bio River and north of the city of Valdivia (named after the leader of the conquistadores), Villarrica was destroyed half a century after its founding by indigenous fighters, and became a symbol of a Mapuche resistance over the next several centuries (Bengoa in Gedda Ortiz, p 158). The history of the town is, in these broad strokes, representative of the entire region, from which the Mapuche expelled the Spanish in 1598, and which was only effectively colonized by the Chilean state (Chile declared its independence in from Spain in 1810), after a process of ethnocidal war officially referred to as the "pacification" of Araucanía. Villarrica was conquered by Chile in 1883.

During the three centuries between the destruction of Villarrica and its re-founding at the end of the 19th century, the Mapuche enjoyed a political independence recognized in treaties with the Spanish crown – something that makes them unique among the first peoples in Spanish America. Under these conditions they adopted – and their societies were transformed by – many elements of European culture (sheep, goats, barley, but above all wheat, cattle and horses). This period has been described as a "golden age" for Mapuche culture (Ray, 2007). It has also been described as the moment of Mapuche "ethnogenesis," when the diverse peoples inhabiting this region began to understand themselves as Mapuche (Bocarra, 1999). The Mapuche were a linguistic-cultural group before the arrival of the Spanish (Millalén Paillal, 2006), but the way of life that emerged after the Iberian invasion was clearly different from earlier ways of life. It was mobile and extensive, fostering the accumulation of wealth in the form of cattle, and an expansion of Mapuche influence and commerce across the Andes into what is today the Argentinean pampa (Bello, 2011).

After 1883, as part of the colonization of the territory, the Mapuche were "radicados" (rooted) and forced onto "reductions," which is to say they were obliged to live on reduced plots of land to which kin groups were given legal title (estimates vary: collectively, the Mapuche received between five and ten percent of the land that they had previously occupied; the last reducción was officially established in 1927). They were, in essence, forced to become campesinos, and the way of life that developed on the reducciones in the 20th century was in many ways much the same as that of non-Mapuche campesinos (Saavedra, 2002). At the same time, a specifically Mapuche identity

continued, sustained by practices like the Nguillatun ceremony and the game palín, and reinforced by violence and a position of alterity with respect to the new dominant society.

If the immediate effect of the radicación was the "campesinización" of the Mapuche in the early 20th century, this can be understood as "ethnocide" (Saavedra, 2002), "integration" (Gedda Ortiz, 2010), or "colonization" (Marimán et al, 2006). Distinctively Mapuche culture was systematically undermined by a relentless evangelization, and by the destruction of the Mapuche language. Today evangelical Christianity is not only more aggressive in its proselytizing than the Catholic church, but is perceived as less compatible with, more hostile to, Mapuche religious rites. But it was Catholics, specifically, in Villarrica, Capuchin monks, who established a monastery there in 1901, and the Sisters of the Holy Cross, arriving shortly afterward (Gedda Ortiz, 2010), who initially took charge of this cultural side of modernization.

Modernization was also facilitated by a process of "proletariatization," (Saavedra, 2002), which followed rapidly on the heels of "campesinización," as the meager land left to the Mapuche failed to support a growing population, and younger generations were drawn and driven into the urban money economy. If we understand proletariatization as a process by which the Mapuche become urban or metropolitan subjects, the process is still ongoing. Indeed Mapuche participants in the Programa Territorial Agrogastronómico Mapuche (PTAM) described its purpose as resisting the imperative that younger generations migrate to the cities. While the majority of people identifying as Mapuche now live in urban centers like Temuco and Santiago (Bello, 2002), rural communities remain a focus for Mapuche identity.

The settlement of the Lake District by Europeans and Chilean creoles, a process of dispossession in which colonists had to complete the violent work that the Chilean army only began for them, really got under way in the Lake District at the turn of the century, and took off in the 1920s and 1930s, as a wave of colonists arrived from Europe (especially Germany and Switzerland) and from within Chile too. Some land in the region was auctioned off by the state, but in this District it was granted, typically in lots of around 100 hectares, to colonists who could show that they were living there, clearing the forest, and working the land. Some who lived through this process are still alive today, and remember the murderous violence behind the wealth of local elites, as intimated to me in several conversations with Mapuche and creole subjects alike.

In the first decades of colonization, the formal economy of the District – as opposed to more autarkic "informal" and "campesina" economies – centered around timber harvesting complemented by wheat and livestock cultivation (Zuñiga, 2011). The seeds of the tourist industry were also planted in the District in this period, with tourists initially attracted to the space for fishing (Gedda Ortiz, 2010). The building of the Gran Hotél Pucón by the National Railway (Ferrocarriles del Estado) in 1934, with the express purpose of fostering tourism (and rail travel), seems to be the foundational moment for the local tourism industry, but it was in the late 1980s that this industry began to emerge as fundamental to the local economy.

With the restoration of civilian government in 1990, Chilean society began to partake of a contemporary pattern described by Rob Shields as "the incorporation of the 'marginal' into a de-politicizing framework that co-opts it" (in Berland 2009, 67). The new government did not restore collective ownership of land, which the dictatorship had

dismantled (i.e. it remained neoliberal). With a lot of fanfare, however, and a new indigenous law, it has recognized indigenous peoples, and since the turn of the millennium has engaged in a series of programs to promote Mapuche identity. The PTAM is a small, localized example, with the emblematic and foundational program being the Orígenes program, initiated in 2001 by the government of president Ricardo Lagos. Orígenes is a national program offering funds to indigenous communities for health, commerce, education, and various cultural projects. This kind of recognition marks a significant change from past regimes, in which Mapuche identity was a mark of exclusion rather than of inclusion.

Hardly surprisingly, however, the Mapuche are recognized on terms dictated by the state, not on their own terms. Mapuche identity has been incorporated as a governmental tactic, as the state aims to articulate Mapuche identity with the kind of neoliberal subjectivity it seeks to promote: the Mapuche entrepreneur; the Mapuche acquisitive individual. Meanwhile, Mapuche political claims (most fundamentally about land rights) are ignored, or worse, figured as criminal or terrorist affronts to the order of market society. This state of affairs has been identified by Mapuche, Chilean and North American authors as neoliberal multiculturalism (Hale 2002; Hale & Millamán 2006; Marimán & Aylwin, 2008; Park & Richards, 2007) a "pro-active recognition of a minimal package of cultural rights, and an equally vigorous rejection of the rest." (Hale, 2002, 485). It is easy to understand the verdict of several Mapuche intellectuals that Chilean society, despite its multi- or inter-cultural pretensions, remains "monocultural" (Marimán et al. 2006, p16).

Multiculturalism has emerged in the legacy of the dictatorship, along with plantation forestry, which has become a major industry in the region at large. Both developments have significant, often severe ecological consequences. In the northwest of the region (the District is in the southeast corner of the region), monoculture plantation forestry has dramatically lowered the water table, with devastating effects for small-scale agriculture of neighboring Mapuche campesinos. It is not a coincidence that this territory is at the center of the most serious conflicts between Mapuche campesinos on the one hand, and landholders and the armed forces of the Chilean government on the other.

Because the tourist industry, rather than forestry or agro-business, has become the motor of the District's economy, the Lake District has evolved differently. Although it is home to several large fish hatcheries, including one that an official from the national forest service (CONAF) described to me as the largest freshwater fish farm in Latin America, the Lake District has a relatively low level of monoculture tree plantations – the entire District has less than 10,000 hectares under such cultivation, according to the same official. In July 2012 "secondary norms" were passed by the central government specifically to regulate water quality in Villarrica basin. The tourist industry is also especially suited to a neoliberal multicultural model, as Mapuche identity becomes a resource to differentiate oneself in the market. As a representative of the PTAM's funder, the Fundación de Innovación Agraria (FIA), a man with his eye on macroeconomic growth, put it: "With the Mapuche what you can do with them is work tourism. Because that is something that doesn't make them change what they are. On the contrary, you strengthen what they are."

The foregoing brief historical narrative is intended to orient the reader in the space discussed in what follows. It is also an opportunity to think of communication as configuring connection. Consider how the narrative connects the reader and the author to all the things that actually happened in this space over the several centuries and thousands of human lives the narrative encompasses. Consider that the ideas evoked in the reader's mind are connected to, not separate from, what has been lived in the Lake District over the past several centuries. The narrative is a simulacra – a series of signs – but this does not mean that it transcends or exists separately from material reality. Rather, I would argue, it extends material-discursive space. It emerges from and adds to all the non-discursive connections between the realities it describes and the spaces occupied by the author and the reader.

At the material level, the territory of the District is a part of the biosphere and has thus always been tied to the rest of the planet – through hydrological, atmospheric, and other non-human connections. The specifically anthropogenic connections evoked by "globalization" and crystallized in the historical narrative offered above can be seen in the sheer mass of matter arriving in the District today from elsewhere on the planet: steel in cars, trucks, and building materials; gasoline, the "fuel of modernity" (Watts 2004, 177); heavy metals in the batteries of cars, cell phones and computers; the bodies of new immigrants to the District; plastics in all manner of consumer goods etc. There are also flows out from and through the District: timber, farmed fish, emigrants, tourists and their appurtenances and waste. These material (physical) changes are of a piece with a range of discursive (metaphysical) changes, including the multicultural discourse discussed above.

Even more than this multicultural discourse, this dissertation is interested in the emergence of what I will call "environmental discourse," by which I mean a range of discourses around "the environment," "ecology," "biodiversity" and related terms. That environmental discourse emerges as an aspect of globalization is suggested by the term "anthropocene," which some scientists have suggested as a name for a new geological age defined by human activity and its consequences (Crutzen & Stoermer, 2000). The anthropocene, as a concept, signals a new, modern awareness of modern humanity's impact and indeed protagonizing role not only in local ecosystems, but in the biosphere as a whole. Awareness of this has intensified moderns' awareness of the importance of ecology. If humanity has always shared a destiny in our connection to the biosphere, "global" awareness is partly an awareness that this destiny, this biosphere, is now decisively shaped by human activity. "Society," and it's opposite, "nature," become awkward terms as modernity's pretense that the two spheres are unequivocally distinct becomes increasingly implausible (Latour, 1993).

Thus, although they are deployed by all manner of actors with little or no interest in critique or in social change, I view discourses around "the environment" as fundamentally critical. That is, I understand them as reflecting an awareness of what Escobar calls "the limits of modern, instrumental rationality" (Escobar, 2007, 197). Even as it continues to advance apace, modernity no longer promises emancipation and an uncomplicated progress, but risk and an uncertain future. Discourses around the environment evoke (even as they often attempt to downplay) this new uncertainty. These discourses, in short, are discourses arising in response to the ambivalence, uncertainty, and risk of contemporary ("late" or "reflexive") modernity.

Method

The method used here, as I understand it, is an ethnographic textual analysis of the Lake District. That is, I read this humanly inhabited territory and material-discursive space as a text. I pay attention to the topography of the territory, which has a prediscursive existence, but which informs discourse by shaping lines of human communication and settlement. In the final chapter, for example, I treat a protest as a text, arguing that the incorporation into the protest of travel through the territory on horseback, and of a Mapuche religious ceremony on a particular site, have specific semiotic significance. This reflects my understanding of (metaphysical) content as not entirely distinct from the (physical) medium.

Thus, in what follows I treat communication – transportation and information – technologies not as texts in themselves, but as part of the process generating the larger text of interest – the configuration of the material-discursive space of the District. As discussed in chapter 3, where I link the mountainous topography of the District to social and semiotic configurations, this text is only partly authored by human beings.

The inhabited territory-as-text, particularly understood as defined by territories and spaces beyond, is vast and dynamic. The text emerges from spaces beyond the physical space-time accessible to the ethnographer's senses, from a realm of mythological (i.e. understood via socially constructed knowledge) realities of global society and its metaphysics (the subjectivities through which these discourses flow). In critical realism's terms, I understand myself to be reading from empirical text and making deductions through "transcendental" reasoning – that is, by asking what the pre-

conditions for the empirical text must be (Toynbee, 2010; 266) – about the actualities and realities beyond the empirical. The empirical textual aspects I examine are: the author's ethnographic observations (every chapter), statements made by public speakers, interviewees or participants (every chapter); a journalistic account of the PTAM (Ch 2); Commercial billboards and billboards mounted by the Chilean government; signs advertizing and identifying tourist attractions, graffiti, bumper stickers, and messages on tote bags (chapter 3); the grant proposal for the PTAM (chapter 4); Social media, and television advertisements (chapter 6); Protests (chapter 7).

My reading of this territory-as-text is focused by attention to the intersection of Mapuche and environmental issues, and by my entry point, the PTAM. Only one of the following chapters is specifically and exclusively about the PTAM. This is partly because from the beginning I was interested in connections, relationships, and the diversity of the players brought together by the PTAM. It is also because of the slow progress of the PTAM in its first year. As a result of legal problems, there was a long delay in the construction of the centerpiece of the program, a management and processing center. Construction did not start until more than a year after the PTAM's inauguration, after I had left the District. Additionally, early on, one of the key groups I followed, the Red de Ferias de Curarrehue, dropped out of the PTAM.

For these reasons, the dissertation is not so much about the PTAM itself, as about the context in which the PTAM is located. The PTAM brought together three main groups of people. (a) Owners and managers of restaurants and hotels in the tourist business (a high proportion of these were European or North American, and they were often involved in environmental activism.); (b) College educated professionals with a

progressive political commitment; (c) Mapuche campesinos. These are the three groups that get the most attention in what follows, although I will cite people from other backgrounds whom I met along the way – several of whom I interviewed formally, and all of whom, of course, enriched my perspective and, therefore, this account.

With regard to this kind of "enrichment," I should say that the experience of living in the District for a year and a half is important to this account. Living there – sending my 4-year old to school, dealing with landlords, neighbors, and others – gives me an emic sense of the space. Moreover, I had the privilege of having the time/money and the car (a 4x4 would have been better), to make it my business to get to know the District. I attended meetings and public events of various kinds – especially when they had to do with environment. I played palin, a Mapuche game similar to field hockey, with the Mapuche community of Curarrehue. We played, about once a month, against other communities in Curarrehue, Pucón and, once, Mapuche students at the Universidad de la Frontera in the regional capital, Temuco. I joined a citizen's group in Villarrica, which aimed to foster engagement between city hall and the residents of the town, and to involve citizens in local and national politics. I participated in the Slow Food convivium in Pucón (everybody in that group was connected to the PTAM). I also got to know the community of gringos and expatriates in the District – a large community, for such a small space.

Data Collection: Observation

I spent time in the administrative offices of the PTAM in Villarrica, going over a large volume of documents that Kom Kelluhayin provided to me so that I could write an

account of their organization for them. Two CET Sur staff members were usually at the office, and other people, including the leaders of Kom Kelluhayin would come and go. I also spent many hours over the 17-month period at the stall Kom Kelluhayin has set up in a market near the center of Villarrica, run under the name Wemapu ("new earth" in Mapuche). I sat with the women – the stall was usually staffed by two women at a time – drank mate, and talked with them about the PTAM and about their lives and my own.

Public events are another source of data. These events include protests against a multi-billion dollar hydroelectric project planned in Patagonia, several hundred kilometers south of the District, protests against smaller mining and hydroelectric projects within the District itself, public lectures or presentations offered at various locations, and public meetings of citizens with one another and with officials from the public and private sectors. I frequently used a small flip camera to videotape public events for later review. In some cases, I could revisit them in video recordings others had posted online. Additionally, I photographed several of the signs and graffiti messages I discuss in chapter three.

Data Collection: Interviews

I formally interviewed 60 people, all of whom were either affiliated with the PTAM or else residents of the District (most were both). Interviews were loosely structured around the following questions: What does the environment mean to you?; what is the significance of Mapuche culture to you?; (if the subject was affiliated with the PTAM) what has been your experience of the PTAM?; (if the subject was not from the District) Why do you live here? These questions were intended to illuminate the role of

discourses around the environment and around Mapuche identity in the configuration of the material-discursive space of the District. I also used a more extensive interview schedule (see Appendix) to interview 16 people about their use of social networking sites. Information from these interviews is included in the discussion in chapter 6. With subjects' permission, interviews were recorded with a digital audio recording device for later transcription. Extensive quotations of interviewees appearing in the text were transcribed from these recordings.

Overview of Chapters

In chapter 2, I discuss the rhetoric that figures indigenous people, and the Mapuche in particular, as environmentally noble or virtuous, a discourse that inevitably emerged in connection with the PTAM. I point to a universe of meaning in which "ecological native" *means*, in which it is coherent for people from different positions, and therefore with different meanings to equate "Mapuche" to "ecological." This is a mythological discourse if ever there was one, and is both true and false – or if you prefer, neither true nor false. The chapter offers a more extended discussion of the coloniality of knowledge and especially of the phenomenon of neoliberal multiculturalism: how it has changed the way people see one another and themselves, and the way it opens up narrow opportunities in discursive-material reality, particularly as it coincides with the emergence of serious concern over "the environment."

In chapter 3, I discuss the material-discursive "envelope of space-time" that is the District, by looking at the oppositional and promotional-governmental messages found engraved on signs, billboards, and graffiti in the District and in the regional capital

Temuco. I describe the District as a physical space configured in geological and celestial time as well as in discourse. It is easy to grasp how discourse figures and configures human settlements on the land and human knowledge of the land. I attempt to show, too, that the land configures discourse. This happens indirectly, as discourse follows patterns of settlement and mobility, which respond to both topography and to the rhythms of the seasons. The land also shapes discourse directly, I argue, as Villarrica volcano imposes itself on the consciousness of those who inhabit this space. The chapter makes a "transcendental argument" that the District is tightly bound up with actual realities that extend beyond its (fuzzy) boundaries – the commercial networks of global capitalism, the history of colonization, the position of the District in relation to the sun (i.e. seasonality), etc.

Whereas chapter 3 points to how universes of meaning emerge from worlds not of human making, chapter 4 shows a universe of meaning emerging from networks of human relationships – specifically from the negotiation between oppositional actors and governmental power. The chapter discusses the role of the NGO administering CET SUR in translating between Mapuche campesino realities and what, speaking mythically, we could call global forces. It discusses the histories of the NGO and the Mapuche farmers' organization, Kom Kelluhayin, that have come together in the PTAM, and shows how they fit into a larger pattern of neoliberal governmentality. On one hand, the collaboration between the NGO CET Sur and the Mapuche farmers of Kom Kelluhayin, has connected the farmers in new and meaningful ways to global environmental discourses and activist networks. At the same time, the PTAM translates the oppositional goals of the NGO into language that is consonant with the goals of neoliberal

governmentality. The negotiation over words is tied to material reality by money: funds for the program were contingent upon dropping the name proposed by the NGO in favor of a name chosen by the funding agency.

In chapter 5, I discuss "amenity migrants," (Moss, 2006), the privileged people who are moving to the District by choice, and several of whom have ties to the PTAM. This group is helping to bring global culture – most specifically here, environmental discourse – to the District. I characterize its members as "postmaterialist," a term coined by Ronald Inglehart. I am skeptical of Inglehart's interpretation of postmaterialism, but I argue for re-thinking rather than abandoning it. This group, with their high ecological footprint and interest in environmental protection, seems to embody the ecological paradox in a particularly vivid way, but I point out that others share their skepticism toward modernity. It is not just a luxury afforded by their privilege.

In chapter 6 I explore the globalization of the District as a process effected via a multiplicity of communication media, and in which transportation remains fundamental. Given the mutual immanence of discourse and material reality, I argue that the use of environmental discourse by Mapuche campesinos is an aspect of the globalization of their space, entailing a change in subjectivity. Contra a discourse-dominated perspective, this is more than the articulation of an "empty signifier" with a "chain of equivalences" (LaClau & Mouffe, 2001). Emphasis is put on the way various media, especially transportation technologies and new ICTs, interact with one another and with already existing historical and cultural realities. I call these "mediating technologies" to call attention to the way they both mediate and are mediated by the space in which they are deployed.

In the final chapter, chapter 7, I wrap it up by calling attention to two contrasts that run through the entire dissertation. The first of these is the contrast between promotional and governmental discourse on the one had, and oppositional or critical discourse on the other. I plump for the latter, arguing that promotional and governmental discourse is associated with modern proceduralism and a failure to take the world seriously in a substantive way. The second contrast is a somewhat reductive one between, on the one hand, the subjectivity and knowledge of the more privileged activists whom I associate with (my own) position within modernity, and on the other hand, the subjectivity and knowledge of Mapuche campesinos whom I associate with modernity-coloniality on the other. I argue that in order to take the world seriously, modernity needs to make room for nonmodern and local knowledge.

The reader may or may not have noted irony in the way my declaration of de-colonial aspirations above was followed immediately by a quotation from Shakespeare, one of the big cannons of the "western canon," one of modernity's "universal" touchstones. While de-colonization is no reason to deny Shakespeare's brilliance, my familiarity with Shakespeare does reflect of my own Euro-centered and Anglophone habitus, a reality that is obviously relevant here. If I aim to promote decolonization, the first step is to acknowledge that I cannot speak for the position of coloniality. I can only speak from a position of disillusionment within modernity, add my voice to the various voices documented here that to greater and lesser degrees, and always in ambivalent and contradictory ways, seek to challenge modernity's enormously powerful and destructive colonizing drive.

CHAPTER 2

MYTH IS REALITY: THE ECOLOGICAL NATIVE

The inauguration of the PTAM, described in the introduction, was covered by Chile's conservative broadsheet newspaper, El Mercurio. In a 1,500 word article that appeared in the newspaper's weekend (wikén) magazine, the newspaper reported the following:

> The Mapuches' relationship with nature is so profound, that not only do they pray and ask permission when they harvest fruit or vegetables, but they never harvest in excess. Isolde Pérez, a teacher at the NGO Cet Sur who specializes in the topic, explains: "For them, the most important thing is to eat to be healthy and well, in equilibrium. That is why the dishes are always accompanied by medicinal herbs. The medicine (los remedios) is in the food itself." (Muñoz S. 13).

The familiar trope appearing here – the "ecological native", the indigenous person who is closer to the land, more in touch with extra-human nature, and an especially trustworthy custodian of biodiversity (Ulloa) – is the topic of this chapter, a kind of abstract starting point for the dissertation as a whole. This old notion has gained a new resonance as modernity's ecological destructiveness has become evident, and discourses around the environment have gained currency. The trope is evoked, as the newspaper story suggests, by the PTAM, which makes explicit links between Mapuche cuisine and agro-ecological methods.

This chapter discusses the trope of the ecological native in the context of a shifting universe of meaning. Through a discussion of the ecological Mapuche idea, it illustrates the significance of the shift from what I call an ethnocidal discursive regime that sought to erase Mapuche identity, to the current multicultural regime that seeks to

incorporate an attenuated or neoliberalized Mapuche culture into market society. It shows how the trope of the ecological native is used by Mapuche and winka (non-Mapuche) activists, discusses how this represents a change from the past, and elaborates on the concepts of neoliberal multiculturalism and the coloniality of knowledge introduced earlier.

The chapter also introduces a theme that runs through the chapters that follow: our discourse and subjectivities – our discursive and inter-subjective realities – are bound – in mysterious and slippery ways – to physical space-time. I associate this with an epistemological relativism and, here, with an agnosticism as to the "truth" of the ecological Mapuche trope. The ecological Mapuche is undoubtedly a myth, but to say this is not to say that it is necessarily false. To claim that this trope – in its generality, and in its specifically modern terms – is either true or false is to renounce a philosophical agnosticism that recognizes the limits of knowledge and discourse for the certainties of politics. Philosophically speaking, the trope is both true and false, both an accurate and an inaccurate representation of reality. Most importantly, however, it is more than a representation of reality. It is part of reality, part of the configuration in which it is invoked, and it takes advantage of a multicultural discursive field to construct or instantiate an outside to modernity-coloniality.

History of the Trope

At least Since the Convention Concerning the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage (1972), a special connection between nonhuman nature and indigenous peoples has become standard in international law. This has involved dialogue

between indigenous peoples and members of global civil society, as in the case of an alliance in the 1980s between the Kayapo people of the Brazilian Amazon and environmentalist NGOs (Conklin & Graham 1995). Subsequent alliances and ongoing dialogue have solidified a set of hegemonic "framing norms" (Tilley in Ulloa) in which indigenous people have come to stand in international or global civil society for the possibility of a relationship of harmony between humanity and the rest of nature (see also Bengoa 2002). Indeed, the trope of ecological wisdom can be seen as intrinsic to the concept of indigeneity itself – a concept that is bound up with modern (Hirtz, 2003), global (Niezen, 2005) realities.

The idea of the ecological native has historical roots that extend back far beyond the United Nations framework and the concept of indigeneity. It is clearly part of the genealogy of the 'noble savage,' having been a part of Western Culture at least since John Dryden's, 1670 play The Conquest of Granada (Francis) and even earlier in the writings of a French explorer, Lescarbot (Hames, 2007). In North America it is popularly known, for example, in the work of James Fennimore Cooper, and in a popular bumper-sticker that quotes – or misquotes (Francis, 1992) – chief Seattle as saying, "the earth does not belong to us, we belong to the earth". The notion is rooted in Latin America and Chile as well. It appears, for example, in the context of the Argentinian author Adolfo Colombres' (2004) plea for a distinctively Latin American social movement, as well as in the buen vivir discourse emerging from Ecuador and Bolivia (Fatheuer, 2011). In Chile, the historian Jose Bengoa describes how the Mapuche were understood by the founding fathers of Chile as noble savages, the "Greeks of southern Chile," possessing "wisdom of nature." "The fact of being indigenous," Bengoa writes, "for intellectuals of

those times, guaranteed a kind of wise and profound naturalist thought." (Bengoa,1999, 27).

El Mercurio is a conservative, even reactionary newspaper, famously involved in an information campaign adding to the instability and crisis leading up to the 1973 coup that brought down the elected government of Salvador Allende and brought Pinochet to power. It has been denounced by Mapuche journalists as actively hostile to Mapuche political projects (Cayuqueo, 2008), and has consistently promoted the uncorroborated idea that Mapuche activists have ties to terrorist groups like the FARC in Colombia and ETA in Spain. The image offered in the paper is the opposite of this: the Mapuche are portrayed as wholesome (not to say quaint) and virtuous, not politically mobilized, and not threatening. Juxtaposed with El Mercurio's other representations of Mapuche (as terrorists), the article evokes a familiar binary of colonial discourse – the native as either "noble savage" or "barbarian" – and points to the awkward association of the ecological native trope with colonial discourse.

As the Mapuche historian Sergio Caniuqueo (2006) points out, the image of the Mapuche as "the original ecologists" is a stereotype. At the same time, the Mapuche poet Elicura Chihuailaf (1999) suggests that the Mapuche have more legitimacy than others as protectors of the environment. These differing takes on the trope from Mapuche intellectuals are mirrored in scientific debates, where attempts to marshal evidence supporting the validity of the ecological native trope (Posey, 1985) have drawn controversy (Krech, 1999). These arguments themselves were largely in response to a more negative Malthussian interpretation in which environmental destruction was blamed on (indigenous and non-indigenous) poverty, technological backwardness, and population

growth. If this "blame the poor" argument is no longer given the credit it once was (Dove 2006), this may clear the air somewhat to allow us to examine the persistent trope anew.

There is what Dove (2006. p. 197) calls a "glaring lacuna" in earlier scientific debates about the ecological native: culture. The debates tend to ignore a gap between the indigenous cultures and knowledge systems being described or evaluated and the modern, scientific knowledge system or culture that is doing the describing. The question of consciousness and intention is a central one in these debates (Stearman, 1994; Dove, 2006): were practices that were more "ecological" by the standards of modernity understood or intended to be "ecological" by non-modern subjects? The question betrays an ethnocentric or orientalist blindness to the meaning of cultural difference, something that is perhaps more easily understood if we rephrase it: Do (or did) non-modern cultures understand their practices by modern standards?

Ultimately, the question of whether or not the Mapuche, or indigenous people are more "ecological" is not a scientific question. It is worth looking at not as a falsifiable proposition, but as an element of the universe of meaning that has emerged in the colonial encounter. In this chapter I discuss how this universe of meaning has shifted recently, giving rise to the twin discourses of inter- or multiculturalism and ecological responsibility. Together these shifts make the ecological Mapuche discourse more salient than ever. The first gives a new prestige to the Mapuche identity, even as the Mapuche continue to suffer often violent attacks from the Chilean state. The second gives urgency to all questions "ecological."

Positive Content

Before illustrating the shift from an ethnocidal to the multicultural regime, observe that there is, by most accounts, what we could call a "positive content" of the ecological Mapuche trope. That is, the trope evokes a cultural perspective that, in comparison to the modern perspective, offers a less instrumental and more holistic understanding of humans' position in the cosmos. One such account was offered by Manuela Alchao, a Mapuche university teacher trained in intercultural education at a public presentation in Pucón in August, 2010. Alchao explained to her audience that Mapuche old timers ("nuestros viejitos") lived in a state of "equilibrium" with nature. "People are not considered owners of the land, they are part of the land. And that is one of the big differences we have with other cultures. We are part of the land." (Seminar, ITUR, Pucón August 20, 2010). Note that by figuring Mapuche culture as singular – apart from "other cultures," this discourse does not square exactly with modernity's ecological auto-critique, which tends to figure the tradition of Descartes, Newton and Bacon as setting modernity apart from other cultures which are, by implication, less anti-ecological in general (Deluca, 2002; Plumwood 2002; Merchant, 1989). That is, this discourse sets Mapuche culture, rather than Western culture, apart from other cultures.

CET Sur, one of whose staff members is cited in the Mercurio article, has decades of experience pursuing an intercultural "dialogue of knowledges," preserving, recovering, and applying traditional knowledge of biodiversity all over the region. When I asked the staff of CET Sur whether the Mercurio article fairly represented their perspective, they said that it did. They consider, it is clear, that there is something to the "ecological native" discourse. One staff member tells me that her experience has taught her that the

Mapuche have "another way of looking at nature… a much more local point of view." Others tell me that Mapuche campesinos have a stronger commitment to the agro-ecological protocols CET promotes than non-Mapuches. The sense of ownership and identification that has emerged in Kom Kelluhayin contrasts with the experience in implementing a similar agro-ecological protocol with non-Mapuche farmers in the Bio Bio region. For the creole farmers the protocol was simply a technical document that existed for the purpose of adding commercial value to their produce. In Kom Kelluhayin, by contrast, the additional political and cultural significance of the protocol seems to have made people invest in it more fully.

The CET SUR staffers' comments point to the reality that genuine cultural differences persist, just as Alchao's invocation of "our old timers" points to the way these differences are endangered. The fact is that distinctively Mapuche forms of knowledge and practice endure. And they are, the CET SUR staff believe, more sensitive than modern praxis to the ecosystem from which they emerge. The goal of this chapter, however, is not to explore this positive content of the ecological Mapuche trope. Rather, it is to explore the trope in the context of discursive politics, specifically the shift brought by neoliberalism, in the universe of meaning in which the trope is located.

Begin by considering that fluency with environmental discourse is a characteristic of contemporary modern subjectivity. Consider how one campesina woman whom I interviewed responded when I asked her if she knew what I was getting at when I used the term "environment." She said she was not really sure, but she thought it had something to do with nature and what surrounds us. Her tentative response seems apt, a reflection of her position (marginal, but not unequivocally outside) in relation to

modernity. Unlike this woman, the leaders of the different Mapuche organizations I got to know, the bourgeois immigrants to the District, the staff of CET Sur, and young people in general, all had a kind of fluency and comfort with environmental discourse that this woman did not have. They had no doubt about what it meant and felt confident invoking the environment if it suited them. They were, in this sense, global citizens.

The ecological Mapuche identity is affirmed, at least implicitly, in the production protocol at the center of the PTAM, which commits farmers to chemical-free and agro-ecological methods. Farmers in Kom Kelluhayin, the Mapuche organization at the center of the PTAM, and especially the women who run the "New Earth" (Wemapu) stall where the produce is sold, are committed to this protocol. There is a conviction that while chemical agriculture is easier, what it produces is neither tastier nor as healthy. Members use words like "pure" and "natural" to describe agro-ecology and agro-ecological produce, while "poison" and "artificial" are associated with chemical agriculture. The health issue is not only a matter of human health, but about ecosystems. One woman tells me that all the birds in Italy are dead because so many chemicals had been used in Italy.

It would be too much to say, however, that the members of Kom Kelluhayin are actively engaged in constructing an "ecological" identity for themselves. When I asked the women of Wemapu about agro-ecology and its relation to their Mapuche identity, they did not reproduce the ecological native discourse. Rather than speaking of how, as Mapuche, they have a "profound" relationship with nature, they invoked the past, and spoke of the experience of their parents, grandparents and great-grandparents of the reducciones and of how easy it was to grow on land that was fertile after first being cleared, but gradually became exhausted. This connection with the past is also drawn via

the notions of wholesomeness and health. The world was less polluted in the time of their ancestors, they tell me, and their ancestors were more healthy and lived longer than people do today. By contrast with today, one members told me, "the old men were cutting firewood and the old women cultivating their vegetable gardens" well into their nineties.

This discourse, invoking the past and ancestors, corresponds to the universe of meaning in which these members – most of them over 40 – grew up. It can be contrasted with a cosmopolitan discourse, corresponding to the new discursive regime, which I encountered mainly among the leaders and the younger members of Kom Kelluhayin. One of the young leaders in the group told me this:

> It is not only about having a last name and saying yes I am Mapuche because I have a last name. It goes way beyond that. It means respect. Respect between people, for animals, for nature, everything. So it isn't something you take lightly…. As I see it, among the meanings it [the term Mapuche] has, is 'people of the earth'… I may feel privileged to have the pure blood of my ancestors, but in that sense I think all of us in the world, all humans are Mapuche in a way. We all live in a specific place, and we should all have the same respect for nature… So I don't think this [respect for nature] is only a thing for the Mapuche people. I think it's, it's human. In fact I've seen much better behavior in people who aren't Mapuche, who practice what I was telling you, as a lifestyle, our culture, our form of being. So it goes beyond having a last name."

What is most striking about this discourse, in contrast to the discourse of the older members of the organization, is the different relationship between the past – one's ancestors – and Mapuche identity. Whereas for the older respondents, mapuchicidad always came back to the past, this discourse looks elsewhere. The past is acknowledged, but it is not the only thing defining mapuchicidad. In this discourse, the Mapuche as a

group are only partly defined by tradition and blood. They are also defined, ecumenically, as people who know they are of the land, and who behave accordingly.

What we see in the Mapuche participants in the PTAM reflects a larger cultural shift from a context of uncontested racism to a multicultural regime of truth. The earlier, ethnocidal regime understood progress as the displacement or elimination of Mapuche culture by a Euro-centered mestizo culture. Mapuche culture was understood as a threat or impediment to modernization and development. The ethnocidal regime was explicitly monocultural, resting on an essentializing distinction between civilized and uncivilized cultures (or phenotypes). Ethnocide involved not only physical violence, but also indoctrination and education.

An important aspect of the ethnocidal regime were the disciplinary institutions of education. Echoing an account given by Elicura Chihuailaf (179-180) of his father's experience in school, informants told me of schoolteachers who ridiculed the Mapuche language, of children (now parents and grandparents themselves) ashamed to speak Mapuche, of parents determined that their children speak Spanish so as not to put them through the ridicule and shame their parents had suffered. This was, it is clear, a generalized experience, whose legacy is alienation from Mapuche culture. Interviewees, particularly older people, frequently represented their culture to me as connected with bygone times, as against a modern reality they share with the interviewer. We have lost much of our identity, one woman in her 50s told me, because we have become "too modern." Mapuche culture is in the past, this discourse suggests, defined more by our ancestors than by ourselves, and separate from who we are now. As another woman put it to me, "I did not grow up with my culture."

In the 1990s the universe in which "Mapuche" means began to change. This must be understood in terms of broad developments. The end of the Cold War and, in Chile, the end of the Pinochet dictatorship coincided with the re-emergence of indigenous identity in Latin America (Bengoa, 2000). The transition to civilian rule required governmental as well as sovereign power. Whereas under Pinochet the implementation of neoliberal policy was a purely technical matter – the famous neoliberal "shock therapy" Pinochet imposed could only be implemented by an authoritarian regime – under democracy, neoliberalism became a cultural as well as an institutional project. The state began actively promoting entrepreneurial, individualistic subjects along the lines of the neoclassical homo economicus (Paley, 2001. Cf. Peck and Tickel, 2002). Mapuche identity became a "resource" for this cultural governance (Yudice, 2003).

The dictatorship had demonstrated contempt for indigenous peoples, denying them recognition, moving to dissolve all forms of collective land ownership, and turning large tracts of Mapuche land over to forestry companies. In 1989, in a climate of optimism at the end of the Dictatorship, president-elect Patricio Aylwin made a point of recognizing indigenous peoples, meeting with indigenous leaders at Nueva Imperial in the southern hemisphere spring of 1989. Aylwin signed an agreement that was the blueprint for what became the new indigenous law 19.253, which decreed the non-alienability of indigenous land, and established the National Corporation for Indigenous Development (CONADI) which would have the authority to authorize or veto all transfer of indigenous lands. Notwithstanding this recognition of indigenous peoples, the law did not restore collective ownership of land (i.e. it remained neoliberal). The Chilean state has since engaged in a whole series of programs to promote Mapuche identity. The

PTAM is a small example of such programs. The emblematic and foundational program is the Orígenes program, initiated in 2001 by the government of Ricardo Lagos. This national program offers funds to indigenous communities for health, commerce, education, and other projects.

A significant cultural and discursive change is associated with these institutional developments. It can be seen in the way Mapuche schoolchildren today are actively being taught about their culture and language. Take a student-made poster I came across on the walls of a school in rural Curarrehue, where most students are Mapuche. It was written in Spanish interspersed with Mapuche words. It began with the heading, "The Importance of Nature":

> For the Mapuche, the earth, with all its goods and riches, is a unity. Mapuche wisdom teaches us that everything has force and value, newen-falintu, which people must respect. People are not its owners or proprietors, but it is used for their needs (se usa en un sentido de funcionalidad). The earth is called mother or ñuke mapu, because we are her children, we are shoots or choyun, and this indicates where we were born. I was born of the earth. She feeds me, she gives me shelter and receives my material body when it has completed its life cycle. The az mapu is the set of norms by which the Mapuche people were governed. In nature there are entities that act as protectors of the environment or ecosystem which we call gen, or owners. For example, the gen mapu, gen lawen, gen co, gen mawida and others. Their mission is to protect the life of the flora and fauna. When a force, or newen dies, nature enters a state of disequilibrium, resulting in things that affect us and which we qualify as negative.

We see here the shift from the ethnocidal project to multiculturalism, a change from complete rejection and scorn for the Mapuche language and all things Mapuche, to a respectful and celebratory study, in the language of the colonizer.

The shift to the new multicultural rationality is recounted in the first person by a Pucón 'townie' in his twenties. As a child, he says, when he saw Mapuche, "I used to

laugh. I'd see that it was an Indian, without even knowing what an Indian was, because in truth an Indian is from India, and our ancestors were all Mapuche. Mestizaje." The comment suggests not only a movement from scorn to acceptance on the side of the colonizer, but a shift from denial to recognition, to an understanding of mestizaje as an intercultural process rather than a process of whitening or European-ization: "our ancestors were all Mapuche." Correspondingly, on the Mapuche side, a woman from outside Villarrica, in a conversation about schoolchildren, told me "people used to mock us and call us 'indios' and we would have to shut up, hang our heads, and be ashamed. But now if somebody calls us an indian now we say no, Indians are from India. I'm Mapuche. What is there to laugh about?" In light of these comments, neoliberal multiculturalism seems to be a positive development. Open and explicit racism is less prevalent than in the past, and the new regime does open up certain opportunities, even as it maintains underlying colonial dynamics (Hale and Millamán 2006; Park and Richards 2007).

In younger generations there is a renewed interest in Mapuche heritage. Some of the younger people I met, who identify as Mapuche and who actively participate in Mapuche rites, were raised by parents or grandparents who reject Mapuche religious practices and who identify themselves as Catholics, (evangelical) Christians, or Chileans before they identify themselves as Mapuche – if they identify themselves as Mapuche at all. One interviewee in his 20s described to me how he had never identified as Mapuche while growing up (poor), and that his identity had been activated when he went to Temuco to study in the University and had stayed in state-supported housing for

Mapuche students. Another young woman told me that while she would like to, she does not participate in Mapuche rites because her (Mapuche) grandmother does not approve.

Within the District, census data is consistent with a trend toward a resurgence of Mapuche identity. The population of the District identifying as Mapuche grew by almost 200% between the census of 1992 and 2002 (from 4,732 to 14,788), whereas the population as a whole grew by less than 30%. Although such a pattern did not hold at the national level, conclusions drawn from these data are muddled by differently worded questions in the 1992 and 2002 censuses (Haughney, 2006). A Chilean anthropologist I talked to predicted that the census currently being taken will register larger numbers of Mapuche than the last, although, once again, the wording in 2012 is different from the previous two censuses (1992 was the first time the census included questions about indigenous identity – a datum that itself points to the novelty of multicultural constructions of the population).

We see here a comprehensive discursive change. The change means the end of uncontested racism and a genuine interest, in many quarters (including among Mapuche themselves) in Mapuche culture and customs. It also means that more grant money is now available for people like me to study "Mapuche" issues. Most notably, perhaps, it entails a shift in progressive-left sectors of Chilean society. Today actors from this sector tend to express sympathy and solidarity with Mapuche political claims and rejection of the violent repression with which these claims are often met. As just one example, the Chilean actor and comedian Daniel Alcaíno can be found on youtube, declaring:

> As a chileno… I say that I share your struggle, and I think that you have a different culture, a different language, a different cosmovision, a different way of treating family… and I have always been clear that your struggle is just and I want to

> demonstrate my admiration for your rebelliousness and your integrity… That is what the Mapuche people defend. The earth, the river, the water, the essential, life, human being, and I am with their struggle." (Daniel Alcaíno, 2012.)

Before the multicultural era, by contrast, the Chilean left had little time for political claims organized around Mapuche identity. As occurred throughout Latin America, the left considered indigenous identity as subordinate to campesino identity for most of the twentieth century. Thus, in the heady days of Salvador Allende's Unión Popular government, before a coup installed Pinochet to the presidency for 17 years, Mapuche who refused to organize themselves into cooperatives were accused by the left, quite absurdly, of being "bourgeois Indians" (Toledo Llancaqueo, 37). The Mapuche anthropologist Rosamel Millamán also recalls the racism he experienced in these times from leftist activists (Hale and Millamán).

Very much like sustainability discourse, multicultural discourse is not just mystification. It is a significant political-cultural development, going deeper than mere promotional window dressing. At the same time, just as discourses about sustainability exist side by side with a configuration that by most meaningful measures is moving away from rather than closer to sustainability, so the multicultural discourse exists in a political-economic situation in which the colonization and dispossession of the Mapuche, complete with violent repression by the police, is an ongoing process.

Ralco Dam Controversy

This contradictory aspect, as well as the convergence of multiculturalism with environmental discourse can be seen in the controversy over the Ralco dam, which was

built a decade ago on the northern edge of the Araucanía region. In broad contours, this controversy is a familiar one, pitting globalization or "development" against those who bear its costs directly (in this case, Mapuche families who had to move to make way for the dam's floodwaters) and environmentalists or human rights activists who are not directly affected, and whose opposition tends to be rooted in philosophical-political considerations. Reflecting the shift from the ethnocidal regime to multiculturalism, these activists did not dismiss Mapuche culture or identity in the Ralco case. Instead they sought to use their identity as a resource to make their claims (Latta, 2007).

The struggle over the Ralco dam brought the coincidences and divergences between the interests of environmentalists and Mapuche indigenous people into sharp relief (Aylwin, Latta). It was also a defining moment in the indigenous and environmental politics of post-Pinochet Chile, making it clear that for the civilian government, as much as for the military government it replaced in 1990, economic growth and the interests of "big capital" would continue to override legal niceties such as the principle of prior informed consent. This was a poignant development given the hope after the dictatorship for a new relationship between the state and indigenous people (Bengoa 1999).

CONADI, the institution established by the indigenous law to provide representation of indigenous interests, had the power to veto the transfer of Mapuche land to be flooded by the dam. President Eduardo Frei fired two successive indigenous directors of the agency, who refused to accept moving unwilling Mapuche families off their land. Frei finally installed a more compliant non-indigenous director. Such maneuvers were part of a broader pattern in the Ralco episode, which the Center for

International Environmental Law argues was marked by multiple violations of the indigenous law and other Chilean laws. As one of the Center's lawyers put it, the case demonstrated that "the rule of law may not hold when the interests of powerful domestic elites, transnational corporations, and international financial institutions collude to achieve a particular development objective" (Orellana, 10). For the state as much as for the Spanish-owned Endessa company that built the dam (formerly owned by the Chilean state, and privatized under Pinochet), economic growth trumped the indigenous law.

The Ralco episode was thus an early signal – since confirmed many times over – that the new civilian government would respect indigenous rights on its own terms. So it has come to pass that the latest iteration of coloniality – and an important aspect of neoliberal governmentality – has been identified by numerous authors as "neoliberal multiculturalism" (Hale; Hale and Millaman; Marimán & Aylwin; Park & Richards), a "pro-active recognition of a minimal package of cultural rights, and an equally vigorous rejection of the rest." (Hale, 2002, 485). We can understand this as an effort to assimilate the Mapuche (and other indigenous groups, although the Mapuche are by far the largest indigenous group in Chile) into modernity, not by persuading them to give up their "traditional" culture, but by positing that there is room for their culture under the umbrella of modern market society. This follows a familiar contemporary pattern: "the incorporation of the 'marginal' into a de-politicizing framework that co-opts it" (Shields in Berland 1997, 57).

The Neoliberal Multicultural Regime

The neoliberal multicultural regime can be understood in the following terms. Rather than offering a cultural or racial essentialism, neoliberalism offers a neoclassical economic essentialism, suggesting that people everywhere are essentially utility maximizing individuals. It does not set up one group of people as civilized, and others as uncivilized, but instead offers no position outside of "the market" from which to recognize that viewing the essence of human being as individualistic utility maximization is itself an ethnocentric position. Under this regime of truth, Mapuche culture can be welcomed as compatible with market society, because a priori, no culture is incompatible with the market. This entails a set of non-negotiable culturally specific precepts (private property, individualism, land and labor as commodities, etc.). Meanwhile, Mapuche political claims – the most critical issue is the maldistribution of land – are figured as terrorist affronts to the natural and just order of the market (a configuration built, in this territory, on the dispossession of the Mapuche). Hence the verdict of several Mapuche intellectuals is that Chilean society, despite its multi- or inter-cultural pretensions, remains "monocultural" (Marimán et al. 2006, p16).

The significance of neoliberal multiculturalism, then, is a discursive change overlaying and inflecting a deeper continuity: the colonization of this space by modernity, and the ongoing assimilation of Mapuche campesinos into modern ways of being and knowing. Alternative economies – local barter economies, subsistence farming – are fast being marginalized and undermined by the market. Neoliberalism is a regime of truth, a "strong discourse" (Bourdieu 1998; Peck & Tickel 2002) whose strength derives above all from its complicity with political and economic power. It represents the latest iteration of the epistemic "coloniality" denounced by Walter Mignolo. Unlike in

Mignolo's account – this is the significance of neoliberal multiculturalism – this latest iteration of coloniality is distinguished by the way it has renounced an explicit commitment to the "universality of a particular ethnicity," instead seeking to include and assimilate everybody – unequally, to be sure – under a minimal set of basic cultural tenets (i.e. the axioms of neoclassical economics: private property, land and labor as commodities, utilitarian individualism etc).

Public Rhetoric

I offer two examples – one from a winka, and one from a Mapuche, that show that the rhetoric of the ecological native is not only alive, but has broad appeal in the District. The first example comes from a protest in the town of Pucón against the Hidroaysén hydroelectric project in May 2011. Hidroaysén, is a joint multi-billion dollar project proposed by a Chilean-Spanish-Italian consortium to build five hydroelectric dams on the Baker and Pascua rivers, more than 400 miles south of the District. The project has become perhaps the highest profile environmental controversy in the history of Chile. It is one of the foci of environmentalist critiques of the government's energy policy, and more broadly, the dominant vision of development-as-economic growth. Opinion polls suggest that a majority of Chileans do not agree with it, and protests against the project became part of an internationally publicized climate of discontent centered around the student protests of 2011.

At a protest held just as the student protests were gaining momentum, a North American immigrant to the District gave a short speech denouncing the addiction to growth behind the "need" to build the dams. In the speech he acknowledged the

Mapuche in the crowd – they were highly visible participants, with multiple Mapuche flags, musical instruments, men and women in traditional dress, and a giant white-on-black banner that read, in Mapuche, "Marrichiweo" (we will be ten times victorious). To cheers from the crowd, the North American speaker said "There in the bosom of the first peoples is all the wisdom that our dinosaur businessmen ["empresaurios"] should have."

A similar idea was expressed at a public meeting to discuss environmental issues in Pucón on March 22, 2011. A well-dressed young man with a pony tail stood up and said:

> I invite you, as the Mapuche that I am, to get to know our culture. You will realize that we Mapuche are ecologists and environmentalists by nature, as well as being an utterly horizontal society. So you will realize that if you get to know our beliefs, what our ancestors left us, you are going to find many answers to many problems about how to live with the environment [el entorno]. Asking permission of the water to enter ... Permission of the mountain to enter. Permission to cut the wood necessary for firewood. If I have ten hectares I work one because that is what I need: only to live… The vision of neoliberalism is take from the earth until it will give no more. Like when you go to the eighth region where you see thousands of hectares of eucalyptus and they are drying up the water tables. You have do things moderately [en la justa medida]

The two examples illustrate that the discourse is used by both Mapuche and non-Mapuche in the District. In both speeches, Mapuche culture stands in opposition to neoliberal modernity, offering a more conscious, respectful, and conservationist stance with respect to nonhuman nature.

Alex Latta (2007) recounts how proponents of the Ralco dam cast the Mapuche families that the dam displaced "as creatures of a fallen nature of poor and eroded soils, a people long separated from the traditional ways that once guaranteed harmony between humans and the landscape." (234) That is, for the dam builders, it was necessary to

address the ecological native trope. In the rhetoric of the proponents of the Ralco dam, the ecological native – "harmony between humans and the landscape" – is located in the past, while in the rhetoric of the speakers in Pucón, ecological "wisdom" and practices are part of the present. The location of indigenous other-ness in the past is characteristic of colonizing discourses, while affirming this otherness in the present has become – in the context of neoliberal multiculturalism – an oppositional or de-colonizing move.

The coloniality concept points to an outside of modernity that continues to exist in subjective space, the space of knowledge and of the intimate, marginal spaces where nonmodern subjectivity is shared. The ecological native trope, as deployed by those cited above, who one way or another oppose neoliberal capitalism, is an assertion that this outside is valid. In the ethnocidal regime, affirming Mapuche culture as opposed to capitalist modernity might have been an expression of common sense. Given the way Mapuche identity was despised, however, it likely would not have been broadly resonant as a rhetorical strategy. In the neoliberal multicultural regime, Mapuche culture has acquired a more positive valence, and is figured as a viable identity for the present and the future. In this context, invoking Mapuche culture to denounce the unsustainabiltiy of modernity is a more effective strategy than it would have been in the earlier regime.

Private Comments

Public, rhetorical declarations of the ecological virtue of Mapuche can be juxtaposed with a more nuanced and ambivalent discourse in private. Almost all the Mapuche and winkas I interviewed manifested at least some ambivalence toward the trope, arising from a gap between the ecological Mapuche discourse and contemporary

realities. While multiple Mapuche informants told me that their ancestors were more ecologically responsible than contemporaries, they all concurred that the Mapuche today are no more ecologically responsible than anybody else. "If anything, they are worse," one Mapuche woman in her thirties told me.

A winka woman in Pucón, a fluent English speaker with a masters degree from a European university responded thus upon being asked about the ecological Mapuche trope:

> It is a cliché, an illusion…. But then there's the Mapuche cosmovision. The very few who really live it, I think – I think – that there you find a little of… how we are part of nature and so you can't destroy nature because at bottom you are destroying yourself and your loved ones. That is a cosmovision that does not separate the individual from the land and is unavoidably ecological

Another interviewee, a poor creole campesino whose discourse is suggestive of the way in which his reality is similar to that of Mapuche campesinos, told me this:

> I think they [Mapuche] take care of the land as best they can but only if the conditions are right... I myself as a colono also try to take care, but it turns out that to survive we have to lay hands on nature. So I understand them when they talk about 'mother earth' and all that, but when you have to destroy you have to destroy… I understand and I like hearing about mother earth, but they can't live up to it because they need to survive… Somebody who needs to live, if he has little kids he has to educate them. What is he going to lay hands on? On the land! One needs the land to live, and take care of it, protect and all, but in the end there is no way to do it. There's no way.

Perhaps the most interesting commentary comes from the daughter of a different breed of colono, a wealthy European with a large fundo in a nearby comuna. The woman was married with two children to a rural Mapuche man. Her father, true to the spirit of the original colonizing enterprise, refuses to meet his grandchildren because they are

half-Mapuche. The woman complained about the destructive practices of her neighbors. Some sell topsoil to people who come with dumptrucks to haul it away, she told me, leaving dangerous holes in the fields, selling the fertility of the land for short-term gain. Others allow people to dump waste from septic tanks in their fields. "And these people are Mapuche!" she exclaimed, as if this intensified the outrage. In each of these cases, we see both an awareness or perception that Mapuche subjects in the contemporary context are not necessarily especially good custodians of the land and, simultaneously a sense that there is something to the ecological native idea.

This is a universe in which the ecological native means. Nobody knows exactly what it means, but it is both true and false. It is useful for political speeches, but not necessarily useful for knowing how your neighbors are or are not going to behave. It is about the past and about the present. It has a positive content

Conclusion

The Mercurio story would have been read mainly in Santiago, where the majority of Mercurio readers reside. For a reader in Santiago, the Mapuche represented in the story are, like the Colombian campesinos in a coffee commercial described by Henry Geddes Gonzalez, "literally suspended in a different spatial and temporal dimension" (Geddes Gonzalez 1999, p44). This suspension in another dimension, it is clear, obscures rather than illuminates, undermines rather than fosters cross-cultural understanding. I have argued that the shift from an ethnocidal regime to a regime of multiculturalism helps bring Mapuche culture into the same spatial and temporal dimension as modern consumers, albeit on its own terms. On the one hand, these terms

can be seen to encourage the essentialization or folklorization of Mapuche culture that Geddes is concerned with. On the other hand, by endowing the signifier "Mapuche" with a new positive valence, multiculturalism changes material-discursive reality. It shifts the universe of meaning in which the trope of the ecological native exists.

I explain this shift in the universe of meaning in terms of neoliberal governmentality. Neoliberalism seeks to include everybody under the ecumenical umbrella of a universal human essence defined by homo economicus. Promoting an ahistorical and depoliticized form of Mapuche identity, oblivious of the way the injustices of the present are connected to the violations of the past, neoliberalism offers inclusion where earlier regimes excluded. This entails investing money, through numerous programs like PTAM, in promoting rural Mapuche identity and harnessing distinctively Mapuche customs for the tourist industry. It also entails repressive police actions and an "anti-terrorism" law put on the books by the dictatorship to silence Mapuche claims to land (especially in the northwest of the Araucanía region). These tactics are deployed in a universe of meaning characterized by resurgent indigenous identity at a regional and global level. Additionally, there is growing general awareness of "the environment" as a problem, and a coincidence of the interests of environmentalists and Mapuche people in the face of development projects such as Ralco.

There are three points to make about the recent shift in this universe of meaning from an ethnocidal to a multicultural regime. First, the multicultural regime undermines racism and the barbarian/noble savage dichotomy. This is not to paint a rosy picture in which modernity-coloniality and the legacy of at least a century of ethnocide and

coloniality is about to be overcome. It is to point out however, that while discourse is certainly more fluid than material conditions, it cannot but have material effects. Multicultural discourse is connected to substantive changes in patterns of expression and behavior, including a clear decline in explicit racism, greater pride in Mapuche culture, and greater solidarity with Mapuche from winkas. Second, to the extent that the barbarian/noble savage dichotomy persists in popular discourse, multiculturalism's positive inflection of Mapuche identity means that it is more likely to be expressed in terms of its positive side, as the "noble savage." Finally, given the old association of the ecological Mapuche with the "wisdom of nature," the increasing salience of environmental discourse is also likely to increase the chances that Mapuche identity will be portrayed positively.

Material realities flow through the discourse of the ecological native: it represents and instantiates or constructs. It represents, at least in the activist discourse we have seen, the juxtaposition of a massively ecologically destructive modernity and a "more local," less resource intensive way of life. At the same time, it constructs or instantiates an outside to modernity, an assertion of a subjectivity that does not accept that the world as it exists is the best of all possible worlds.

CHAPTER 3

THE DISTRICT: TOPOGRAPHY, NAMES, HISTORY

Shortly after I arrived in the Lake District in May 2010, on a large road sign giving the distances to Pucón, Curarrehue and the Argentinian border a message appeared in neat, black spraypainted block capitals: "Nación Mapuche." This was not the only such spraypainted message in the District, but in its position in physical space, on a government sign greeting travelers arriving to the space, it was the most eloquent. It offered an alternative name and an alternative definition of this territory than the official one, which is represented on other signs portraying hiking, fishing and skiing, and by the officially sanctioned place names Villarrica, Pucón and Curarrehue, and by multiple commercial billboards aimed at visitors to the District. In its invocation of "territory," this spray-painted message is also a link to discourses articulated around "nature," "ecology" and "the environment," which are at least as conspicuous in the District as Mapuche culture.

The Lake District, which has always been global in the sense that it is an integral part of the biosphere, is becoming increasingly global in the sense of being integrated into the anthropogenic networks of global market society. One of the principal media for this process are the roads along which trucks and automobiles travel in and out of the District. These roads, and the vehicles they carry, reconfigure this space and its relation to other spaces. So, I argue, do the engraved signs – billboards, graffiti, and other messages – that line them. Advertising and promotional discourse, as John K. Galbraith (1958) recognized, is an integral part of the material configuration of capitalism. The oppositional message of graffiti may be too, if we consider that there will always be an

outside of capitalism – always subjective space, if not a material space, that capitalist modernity has not colonized.

This chapter introduces the Lake District, the space in which the PTAM takes place, and of which engraved communication such as graffiti and road signs are an integral part. The space is an "envelope" of space defined by names, topography and history. Theoretically, this chapter is an attempt to illustrate the argument I made in the introduction for thinking of space as physical, geographical, objective and at the same time metaphysical, abstract, subjective. The chapter suggests how geography and topography interact with culture, politics and discursive communication. The discursive and material come together in the historical and spatial texture of this space. The discursive position of diverse people here is connected to geographical configuration. It is not a coincidence, for instance, that Villarrica's municipal dump is located in a Mapuche community (like roughly 70% of trash dumps in the Araucanía region), or that the prime real estate on the southern shore of lake Villarrica is controlled by wealthy winkas. These material features are connected, of course, to the discursive present, but also to the material-discursive past and to material-discursive "global society."

The chapter begins by describing the topography of the District. It then goes on to describe discourses about Mapuche culture and "nature" and "ecology" that are glimpsed in various forms of engraved communication (i.e. road signs, graffiti etc) in the District and in Temuco. The chapter makes the case that geographical space shapes discourse and history just as discourse and history configure space. It is indebted to Andre Jansson (2007) and ultimately to Henry Lefebvre (1991), whose concept of spatial "texture" calls attention to the fact that physical space is a medium for, a constituent

element in, culture and communication. Texture, as Jansson suggests, is the "spatial materialization of culture" (2007; 195).

An "envelope of space-time"

Above all, preceding people and their symbolic representations of this space, there are the mountains. Just as the border of the contemporary Chilean republic follows the ridge of the Andes cordillera, the ecological and political qualities of the space in question here are decisively shaped by topography. Lakes and rivers follow the contours of the land, and the prehistoric and distinctive Araucaria trees – native to no other place on earth (Gedda Ortiz, 2010) – thrive at altitude. The Andes cordillera, oscillating around 3,000 meters, is relatively low here compared to farther north, but plenty imposing all the same. A Volcano – Rukapillán (in Mapuche) or Villarrica (in Spanish) – stands apart from the cordillera, and even though it does not quite reach the same heights as the cordillera (it stands at 2,847 meters), it dominates this space as one approaches it from the west. The mountains have defined this space as a geographical expanse and as a place in which telluric forces act for far longer than humans have lived here, but they are not eternal. They appear timeless in the context of human history, and they are decisive elements of the envelope of the material-discursive ontological field I am calling "space".

The spinal column of Chile, along which in the past there was a trunk railroad, and along which today the Pan-American Highway stretches, is the central valley between the cordillera proper and a secondary, lower range of mountains toward the coast. If one moves, in this most longitudinal of countries, from this north-south artery to

the east, toward the cordillera, one quickly finds oneself in a maze of steep-walled valleys in which a flat, two-dimensional geography is ceaselessly interrupted by massive vertical obstacles. These foothills of the Andes would be mountains in their own right in most contexts, and a traveler here is obliged to orient herself according to their contours. The ramifying valleys they define, gigantic wrinkles in the earth, rise twistingly up to the highest ridge of the Andes that is the Argentinean border.

The Lake District is the English translation of the informal name recently given to one of these valleys – la Zona Lacustre de la Araucanía. The valley contains three municipalities (comunas), tucked into the southeastern corner of the of the Araucanía region. This region, unlike the "District", is a political-administrative unit (Chile is divided into 15 such regions), and it takes its name from the Ibero-American word for the Mapuche indigenous people, (Araucano), with whom it is closely identified. It shares its name with the distinctive, prehistoric Araucaria tree, which is emblematic of the southern Chilean cordillera, and which is native to no other place on earth (Gedda Ortiz, 2010). The District – which should not be confused with the region of the lakes several hundred miles to the south, although the landscapes in both places are very similar, features three large lakes, Villarrica, Caburgua, and (in a separate watershed) Calafquén, as well as a large number of smaller and more remote lakes.

The boundaries of the three comunas – Villarrica, Pucón, and Curarrehue – map closely (but not exactly) to the natural boundaries that define the watershed of Lake Villarrica, from which the waters of the valley empty into the river Toltén, passing under a bridge that constitutes the main entrance by road to the District. Lake Villarrica itself, which extends from here to the town of Pucón, about 25 kilometers east, is the lowest

elevation in the district, at 250 meters above sea level. Crossing the bridge, one comes to the town of Villarrica, the largest town in the District, which extends east through Pucón, and up into Curarrehue, from where one can continue up to pass over the cordillera and into Argentina. The lower part of the district (Villarrica and Pucón) is dominated by the Villarrica Volcano, which rises above the smaller mountains all around it.

Each of the three comunas has at its center a city or town with the same name as the comuna at large, but each comuna contains multiple other conurbations of varying sizes. Villarrica, the lowest and most central of the three municipalities, is also the most urban and the largest in terms of population (roughly 50,000 year-round residents, of whom a little less than half live in the countryside outside the town). The seat of Curarrehue, the highest and most remote of the three municipalities, past which the paved road leading up the valley and into the cordillera ends (it continues on, unpaved, to the border with Argentina), is by contrast a small town. The entire comuna has a population of about 7 thousand people. Pucón, in the middle – both geographically and in terms of the size of its population – is distinctive for having become, in the past three decades (although the process can be traced back farther than that), a high-end tourist destination, with boutique shops and restaurants and an airport to which, during the summer, passenger jets travel to and fro from Santiago.

The District is home to the first national park in Chile (founded 1940), and part of it was incorporated into a world heritage Biosphere Reserve by UNESCO in 2010 (an extension of a reserve that was first declared in 1983). The landscape, with a striking contrast between wide, flat lakes and steep mountainous forests, makes for breathtaking scenery and is one of the principal attractions for tourists. The volcano and the higher

peaks past Curarrehue are capped by snow even in the summer, and on the ridges of the lower mountains, one can see from below the distinctive shapes of araucaria trees against the sky. The topography also makes for great "adventure sports" (whitewater kayaking, skiing, hiking) for which the area is known. The volcano is the prime tourist attraction, with thousands of tourists climbing to its summit and skiing on its slopes every year. The fast moving mountain rivers are used for whitewater kayaking and rafting. In the steep forested slopes, networks of cables are hung for people to zip through the canopy of the forest (the activity is referred to and advertised as "canopy"). Much of the area is protected territory, with the Villarrica national park extending through all three comunas. The terrain of the national park is excellent territory for hiking, mountaineering, and horseback riding. Finally, hot water springs are a common occurrence throughout the seismic valley, and there are numerous spas built up around them hidden away off the main roads. In all of this, we begin to see a relationship between the geographical features of the territory and its use by – and therefore significance in – global market society.

Configuration of Space-Time

Just as it is not a coincidence that the border of the contemporary Chilean state follows the ridge of the Andes cordillera, it is not a coincidence that the main roads in the District tend to conform to the shape of the valleys. Roads, one of the most basic technologies of pre-telegraphic communication, are shaped by a pre-discursive reality. The mountains make some routes for travel utterly impractical, while others are easy and direct. So it is that the main roads of today and the cattle paths of yesterday follow

contours drawn by the land. If one were to drive through the district to Argentina, for example, one would drive along the rim of lake Villarrica from the town of Villarrica to Pucón, and from there follow the road that goes along the southern bank of the Trancura river up the valley through Curarrehue, and on to the Maluilmalal border crossing, the main point for crossing the Andes used by Mapuche cattle traders in the 18th and 19th century (Gedda Ortíz, 2010; Bello, 2011).

This configuration of space-time is not only "social". Marx's famous phrase, "not in conditions of his own making" refers to accomplished (we could call them post-discursive) facts in human history but also to non-human, pre-discursive facts like mountains. Mountainous spaces like the Lake District make it clear how, if a medium is a mode of organization, geographical space itself is a medium. As with any other medium, it must be analyzed in relation to the whole environment (in space, time and discourse) in which it operates. For example, the location of the first bridge over the Toltén river in 1924 (Gonzalez Díaz, 1986) – what has become today the main entrance to the District – was, we can be certain, dictated partly by the topographical and geological considerations (i.e. the convenience of civil engineers). But it was also clearly dictated by a pattern of settlement (the town of Villarrica) that predated it by centuries, and which was not originally undertaken with bridge-building foremost in the mind.

If communication as a mode of organization responds to pre-discursive organizations in space, we can also see in the District how it responds to such aspects in time. I have in mind here the seasonal rhythm of tourism, which corresponds to the celestial rhythm of the seasons. In the summer the District, and especially the towns of Villarrica and Pucón, takes on a carnivalesque feel. The streets fill with performers,

vendors and promoters of all kinds. Circuses and marquee music acts come. Clowns on stilts, jugglers, and fire-breathers perform short acts for spare change for audiences held captive in their cars, as traffic gets backed up (a recent phenomenon – there used to be far fewer cars). Musical bands play on street corners or march through the streets passing their hats as they go. Inflatable amusements, artificial climbing walls, mini-golf courses, music stages, trampolines equipped with bungee harnesses, and signs advertising tourist accommodation go up on the beaches and the streets of the two towns. The restaurants in Pucón fill with customers, and sailboats, kayaks, paddleboats, water-skiers, jet skis and swimmers take to the water in Lake Villarrica. Food stands and discos spring up where in the winter there are only empty lots. Restaurants and cafes in both towns extend the sidewalks in front of them with wooden platforms to accommodate umbrella-equipped tables. The plazas or town squares in both towns become ferias, filling with stalls selling handcrafts, books, and other products of interest to tourists. A boat trawls the waters off the beach in Pucón, dragging billboard advertisements. Pick up trucks or vans equipped with loudspeakers crawl through the streets promoting the circuses and music acts with looped recorded messages.

All of this activity has a semiotic aspect. Note, for one thing, the distinction between texts that are mobile in space and those that are fixed. The mobile texts make the human activity behind them more visible, and indeed are sometimes closely associated with human bodies. The summer architectural transformations, new billboard advertisements and banners as well as many posters and handwritten or homemade signs are "fixed" in space. On the mobile side are signs borne by pickup trucks, barges, or other vehicles, as well as handheld signs, which are frequently used to advertise lodging

("cabañas," "casas," "hospedaje.") People bearing such signs are common on the streets of Villarrica and all along the road from Villarrica to Pucón. Sometimes the signs are dispensed with altogether and the hawkers simply dangle keys at motorists from the sidewalk while calling "cabañas!"

This seasonal rhythm illustrates how human communication – configurations of space, time, and discourse – does not take place in a space isolated from nonhuman factors, but responds to material, pre-discursive conditions of space-time (the seasons are of course a manifestation of movement through space time), even as it constructs new ones. In this case, the population of the District grows as tourists locate themselves there in order to enjoy the outdoors and fresh air while the summer weather lasts. The built environment changes in order to accommodate and appeal to them. Similarly, to advertise activities and accommodation for the tourists, signs are mounted – or carried by machines or people – in strategic locations in time and space.

Reflecting the centrality of tourism to the life of the District, the vast majority of billboard ads appear in the summer, whereas during the winter months, a large proportion of the billboards bear a blank, aluminum face, devoid of any deliberate message at all. This not only a matter of when the ads go up, but of their content as well. Many of the billboards explicitly invoke summer or vacation (e.g. "es verano, protégé tus labios"; "I ❤ verano Claro" ; "Estoy de vacaciones con lo que ahorré en Cuentados"; "Qué rico veranear con San Jorge"). There is, without any doubt, a certain "social construction" of reality going on here in these media, but it is obviously no accident that this periodicity – Paddy Scannell (1996) talks about "dailiness," we are talking about seasonality – of these media coincides with the movement of the planet through space.

Billboards are almost all in Pucón and Villarrica, and seem to be aimed at tourists headed out to vacation in Pucón: driving from Temuco to Pucón (passing through Villarrica) one encounters approximately 30 commercial billboards (not counting a handful of billboards within the town of Villarrica). Driving the same road in the other direction, one meets only about 10 billboards. If one passes through Pucón out towards Curarrehue, one encounters only one or two billboards all the way to Argentina. The billboards advertise either global brands (Blistex, Ford) or major national brands (Claro, Entel, Escudo, Falabella, San Jorge). Local brands owned by national and transnational capital are also represented (the casino in Pucón, the Hotel Green Park).

Immediately after crossing the border from Argentina, on the road descending into Curarrehue, one encounters several billboards advertising hotels in Temuco, although in Curarrehue, Pucón and Villarrica, one sees no such advertisements. For advertisers targeting customers, the road above Curarehue belongs exclusively to the space of long-distance, trans-national and inter-city travel, while the rest of the Lake District is mainly a space of vacationers.

Where large billboards tend to represent the largest forces in national and world consumer culture (i.e. national or multinational companies, the Chilean state), local businesses – whether advertising to tourists or residents – tend to advertise on smaller signs. These signs range from sophisticated, colorful glossy signs that emulate the larger billboards, to handwritten (on paper) or hand-carved (on wood) signs with no images at all. A large proportion of this more local signage is related to real estate – seeking to rent accommodation or to sell plots of land – often in "communities" or "condominiums" in which services are paid for by a private collective. It is worth noting that vacation homes

and bed and breakfasts are often identified with wooden signs engraved with names, often Mapuche names. This is particularly visible along the road following the lakeshore between Pucón and Villarrica, which is lined with vacation homes and expensive tourist facilities.

Apart from commercial billboards (including here signs promoting real estate development), the only signs of comparable size in the district are government-sponsored billboards, usually put up by the ministry of public works (Ministerio de Obras Publicas, or MOP). These billboards announce road building and other civil engineering projects, often with a phrase familiar to Chileans, "Mira coMOProgresa Chile" (Look at Chile's Progress), or perhaps "+calidad de vida" (more quality of life). What is striking about these billboards is that they are liable to be located in spots that are improbable, to say the least, for commercial billboards. Once you enter the Lake District, the vast majority of outdoor commercial advertising is either in the towns of Villarrica or Pucón, or along the lakeshore road between them. The government civil engineering billboards are as likely to be located along dirt roads in the middle of a Mapuche community, as they are to be located on the tourist trail.

All this reflects globalization. Although it is less clear now than it might have been a couple of decades ago that this momentum represents "progress," as the Ministry of Public Works billboards suggest, these billboards are bound up in multiple ways with a specific, neoliberal, global capitalist configuration of this space. The real estate and Ministry of Public Works signs are a reminder of how fast this space is being built up and populated and of the pattern of state-stimulated development that goes back to the colonization of this territory at the end of the 19th century. They speak of the

government's role as a facilitator and provider of infrastructure, and of how the private sector is building on top of this infrastructure. The wooden signs naming houses are suggestive of affection and Arcadian nostalgia that owners project onto their vacation homes, or of the way hoteliers and bed and breakfast owners seek to appeal to a similar sentiment. The fact that so many of the names are Mapuche – most of the owners certainly are not – is also suggestive, both of the Mapuche heritage of this space, and of the association of a positively inflected Mapuche identity with this place.

The Discursive-Material Volcano

A vivid illustration of the mutual immanence of discourse and material reality is found in Rukapillán, or the Villarrica volcano. The volcano defines this space both as a material reality and a discursive sign. Images of the volcano are ubiquitous in the District. They recur in various stylized forms (rooftops, and one conical building on Arauco Street in Pucón, are decorated to resemble the snow-capped volcano), as well as in more realistic representations. Araucaria trees, lakes, and the Mapuche kultrun symbol are also emblematic, but the volcano is unquestionably the main symbol of the area, an apparently uncontroversial and largely uncontested symbol of the District. The volcano appears in the logos of the municipalities of both Villarrica and Pucón, as well as in the advertising and marketing for local enterprises of all kinds, from hotels to shoe stores to hairdressers to schools. Particularly in its stylized representation, the symbol is a reminder of the human appropriation and transformation of this "nature." The image is sometimes so stylized (as a triangle or an inverted, swooshing V) as to be unrecognizable as a representation of a volcano, except for the context in which it is located. Thus,

through a kind of visual onomatopoeia, the volcano becomes a symbol for specific human enterprises or organizations based in this place. Nonhuman nature here becomes part of human symbol systems, of the cultural dimension of nature-culture.

Of course there is a choice involved here: other symbols could be used to represent the District. But it is far from an accident or random association that the volcano is symbolically identified with the towns of Villarrica and Pucón. It is a massive (not to mention seismically active) pre-discursive presence that tends to impress itself upon the consciousness of anybody in this space. Unless the weather is overcast, it is impossible to ignore the volcano's presence. If you are positioned on the ground in Villarrica or Pucón, it is almost obvious that the volcano should represent or be identified with this place: it is a giant presence, dwarfing absolutely everything around, except perhaps the lake, whose horizontal extension is not as highly visible or striking as the vertical extension of the Volcano. The use of the image of a volcano to represent or evoke the lower part of the District is a local phenomenon. It enables us to see how subjective, discursive, or phenomenological space merges with geographical or physical space.

While this dissertation is concerned with struggles over the meaning of this territory, the representation of the territory by the volcano is not, at this time, central to these contests. It simply makes sense to use the volcano as a symbol of the District, and this form of representation, in itself, is largely uncontested. I emphasize this in order to avoid the pitfall of an approach that sees discourse as a purified or separate realm unconnected to the material world, in which it is too easy to see everything as contested. Politics is fairly remote from this common representational practice.

Neoliberal Multiculturalism in Geographical Space

There are quite vivid examples of when the configuration of physical space follows the logic of discourse, rather than the other way around. Here I point to a spatial phenomenon that arises from neoliberal multiculturalism. I am referring to the location of rukas – traditional Mapuche structures – in the space of the District. In a transformation that speaks both to the advance of modernity and to the new ethos of multiculturalism, these structures – emblems of Mapuche identity – have undergone a change in function: in the twentieth century they were homes and dwellings of an excluded and marginalized culture. In the twenty-first century, nobody, or almost nobody in the District lives in such structures anymore. They have gone from being homes and emblems of marginalization to being museums and folkloric tourist attractions. In the process, their location in space has changed. Whereas during the twentieth century, they would have been located in marginal spaces, for about the past half-decade, a ruka has stood in the heart of Villarrica, the centerpiece of a Mapuche cultural center, on the site of the old city hall. Another ruka stands in another tourist destination in the town, in the market where famers of the PTAM sell their produce. This spatial change reflects how, under neoliberal multiculturalism, symbols of mapuchicidad have become attractions to be displayed for tourists.

In addition to the configuration of elements within it, material-discursive spaces like this one are defined, as Massey (1995) reminds us, by their position in more extensive configurations. This space is connected to times and territories beyond this envelope. The connection to a past when this was Mapuche territory, comes through to

the contemporary visitor in place names. Villarrica is a Spanish name, but the names of the two other municipalities in the District, Pucón – "entrance" [to the cordillera] – and Curarrehue – "stone altar" –, are Mapuche. Many other Mapuche proper names are in general use. Many expensive residential properties, hotels and hostels have Mapuche names that they display on signs along the road. Streets in the towns of the District bear the names of conquistadores and Chilean military men who spearheaded the colonization in the 19th century, but also of the last Mapuche leader, Saturnino Epulef, to officially accept Chilean sovereignty over this territory (Luna, 2007). Postcards in shops, in addition to showing pictures of the Volcano, and Creole folkloric images, bear century-old photographs of Mapuche men and women. Mapuche-themed monuments and statues stand in public places. For the Chilean bicentennial, an unobtrusive wooden plaque was placed in the square in Pucón commemorating an agreement made on that spot (says the plaque) in 1883, between Mapuche caciques and General Gregorio Urrutia, establishing the military fort that became the town of Pucón.

As for connections to other geographic spaces, this narrative goes as far as the city of Temuco (approximate population 400,000). Although it lies beyond the geographical territory, in its tight connection to the District, it is part of the territory's specificity. Most people and goods arriving in the District pass through Temuco. As the regional capital and the closest major city to the District, it is an important link, the main gateway between the District and global market society. In Temuco one can find emblems of global market society that have not arrived in the District as of yet: McDonalds, Pizza Hut, and other chain restaurants, as well as several big department stores. In 2005 a shopping mall, the "Portal Temuco" opened there. Complete with a

multiplex movie theater and food court, in its layout, ambience, and the behavior of the people within it, it is a strikingly generic or global space: change a few very minor details, and it could as easily be in Dublin or Hong Kong as in Temuco. Here is the semiotic message I report from a visit to the mall in September 2011: banners hanging in standardized intervals from the balconies and walls, announced that the mall has "everything that makes you happy" (todo lo que te hace feliz).

Other instances of this promotional discourse invoke – directly or indirectly – Mapuche identity. In this discourse, Mapuche culture is figured in a multicultural register as a source of value. An example of this is the motto "Temuco ciudad intercultural" on buses circulating in the city. Another example is one of the only few of local color in the portal mall, a store selling a variety of goods, from canned fish to traditional woolen blankets, packaged or elaborated by Mapuche communities adjacent to Temuco. Perhaps the most interesting example is a billboard-mounted beer advertisement that appeared outside a large box store on Caupolicán in the spring of 2010. The advertisement, for Escudo brand beer – a brand owned by the Chilean brewing conglomerate Compañia de Cervezerías Unidas or CCU – read "En mapuzugun cerveza se dice Escudo" (The Mapuche word for beer is Escudo). This advertisement was part of a narrowcast campaign, in which different towns or areas in Chile got their own tailored billboards. The fact that this narrowcast was in Temuco, rather than anywhere else, is suggestive of how Temuco is a cultural center of the region, and the way the Mapuche are not an exception in the global trend towards urbanization. That is, an ever increasing number of Mapuche subjects live in cities, definitively outnumbering Mapuche in the countryside (Bello 2002; 2004).

Graffiti

As a relatively large city, the space of Temuco is textured by many more such marketing messages than the District. Similarly, it is high density of political graffiti offering a discourse that is opposed to the regime of truth promoted by the marketers. This radical alternative medium (Downing et al. 2001) offers anti-systemic, anti-capitalist and anarchist messages, which as frequently as not invoke Mapuche identity and Mapuche political struggles. Such graffiti is ubiquitous in the center of Temuco, and along the main avenue, Caupolicán, named after the 16th century Mapuche hero who expelled the Spanish invaders from Gulumapu. Any pedestrian with the slightest inclination to pay attention to such things would be hard pressed to miss it. In addition to the Mapuche symbol of the kultrun, most of the graffiti bore messages along these lines:

"Matias lives."

In reference to Matias Catrileo, a young Mapuche student who was killed by police in 2008 while participating in a land occupation in central Araucanía.

"Liberty to Mapuche political prisoners."

In reference to the 28 Mapuche prisoners who went on hunger strike during my stay in Chile, from July to October 2010.

"*Pacos asesinos*" (murderer cops!)

Vague, but pointed in its rhetorical punch, this slogan could be in reference to Matias Catrileo, as well as other Mapuche activists killed by the police. It resonates especially given the history of extrajudicial killings carried out under the Pinochet

regime, as well as the violence of the colonization of Araucanía, a history whose memory is revived by more recent killings.

"Without land there will be war":

In reference to the maldistribution of land that Matias Catrileo was protesting against when he was killed. Mapuche communities have about 5% of the land in Araucanía. While, according to the 2002 census, the Mapuche represent 23% of the population of the Region.

In addition to calling attention to the most violent and conflictive aspect of Mapuche-state relations, this graffiti speaks to the urban dimension of the Mapuche movement. Temuco is the (unofficial) capital of the Mapuche movement, home to a vanguard of urban Mapuche and Mapuche-sympathizing intellectuals. With their high levels of formal education, intellectual and modern cultural capital, and with a correspondingly high level of symbolic power (a lot more than the power to write slogans on walls), they have a certain authority when it comes to defining to the world of policymakers and Santiago elites what Mapuche identity is and what the Mapuche want. According to one Anglophone author (Andersen, 2010), "the large number of Mapuche scholars and activists make [the Mapuche] one of the most articulate and vocal of the hemisphere's indigenous peoples" (154). Many of these intellectuals have one foot in the rural world as well as one foot in the city, traveling regularly (every weekend, for example) to the campo.

<u>Association of District With "Nature"</u>

In February 2011, I spent a few hours on the beach in Pucón. It was teeming with tourists in bathing suits and all kinds of hawkers. I asked a young tourist why he was here. He gestured toward a platform nearby, where a DJ was pumping high-decibel music into the air, and said:

> Apart from the music that's here on the beach and all that, still you have, you can go a little way and be alone. That's it, you have contact with nature, unlike going to someplace like Viña [del Mar], you know, which is full of buildings. Here no. Here you have mountains and the volcano.

The comment points to a tension between a restful "being alone" in "nature," and the desire to party, a tension that could be seen to parallel that between the desire to preserve and protect and the drive to consume resources. Both the association of the District with "nature" and the fact of environmental discourse emerging from a global society that is consuming resources and destroying biodiversity at an accelerating rate, are of interest here.

Discourse Around "Nature"

This section focuses on the association of the District with nature as it appears in engraved communication. It appears, first, on signs advertising real estate. "Disfruta la naturaleza y… ¡Vive Villarrica!" reads one sign advertising housing units. A second, somewhat drab sign, which like the first one bears a stylized image of a volcano, offers "sitios en plena naturaleza" for sale. Yet another expression of the way the District itself connotes "nature" is seen in the phrase "por naturaleza" which has a slightly ambiguous meaning: it does not only mean by nature, but also because of, and for the sake of nature. The phrase appears in tourist maps mounted on large roadside signs by the regional

government, under the slogan "Fascinante por Naturaleza", as well as in promotional material for the post-secondary tourism institute located on the plaza in Pucón: "Emprendedores [enterprising/entrepreneurs] por naturaleza".

When it comes to billboard advertising, the already-noted seasonality of these signs means that they often establish a link between summer vacation and "nature." In the summer of 2011, "nature" was sometimes explicitly invoked in this connection. For example a billboard that went up in January 2011, advertising a new high-end hotel in Pucón, bore a stylized image of the volcano, and offered the imperative "Vive la naturaleza" ("live/experience nature"). Other campaigns invoked nature, without linking it exclusively to the District. For example the "nature is watching you" (la naturaleza te está mirando) campaign for Rockford (shoes and clothing), was a national campaign, appearing in other cities in Chile and in national magazines as well. But of course it was not a coincidence that well-heeled Pucón – where a Rockford store is located, and where multiple such ads appeared on the small, pedestrian-sized billboards in the town – was a focus of the campaign.

Another highly visible advertising campaign invoking nature was for mobile internet service delivered by the company Entel. In this campaign the word naturaleza did not appear, but the idea of retreating into the mountains or woods (while at the same time remaining wirelessly wired) was clear: under a photograph of a volcano by a lake (an image highly evocative of the Lake District) one piece offered the caption, "chat and tweet wherever". Another spot read "www, where nobody can see you", under a picture taken under the canopy of old growth woods. These two pieces were part of a larger campaign based on often nonsensical rhyming slogans (in Spanish the two cited captions

rhyme), all of which played on the (supposed) boon of (supposedly) being able to connect to the internet wherever. However, in Pucón, the two slogans just mentioned – highly evocative of the kind of wilderness the District offers tourists – dominated, appearing more frequently than the other slogans on smaller billboards in town and on the beach in the summer of 2011. These two pieces were also mounted on the quadruple bank of billboards at the entrance to Pucón, where the road leading up the volcano meets the Vilarrica-Pucón road. The first – bearing the Volcano and lake image – was also tugged on a raft along the coast of Pucón beach, for the benefit of the thousands of people who visit the beach daily during the summer.

These messages re-construct a strong association of nature-as-wilderness with the District and Pucón and the summer season. They evoke this specific local space, and associate it with an a-social "nature." In the real estate signs, the meme "nature" was accompanied by images of the volcano. Similarly, the entel advertisements, with their images of volcanos and forests, clearly evoked the space of the District. In the Rockford campaign, "nature" was also associated with the District – one billboard was an aerial view of a lake like Villarrica in the shape of Rockford's duck mascot. Rockford's "nature is watching you" campaign, however, invoked a more exotic nature, giant close ups of animal eyes staring out at passersby. Again, a pristine "wilderness" is evoked here, a world completely separate from human beings. All of this despite the fact that the fundamental message of all commercial advertising – "consume!" – is an imperative that demands increasingly intensive human interventions in the nonhuman world.

This irony is even stronger when we turn to a discourse in numerous signs in the District announcing "eco-villas," "eco-camping," "parques ecológicos," "eco-termas"

and a "basurero[s] (trash can) ecólogico[s]." These invocations of "ecology" seem to reflect the recent emergence of a concern, at a global level, for nature's vulnerability and fragility. In a sense, the frame of reference for "ecology" is not the District, but the planet as a whole. In Mignolo's terms, the universe of meaning in which "ecology" means is the anthropocene, the global space made volatile by human action. Discourse invoking "ecology" or the "defense and protection of nature" is thus part of the symbolic side of the globalization of this space, while discourses invoking "nature" by itself – at least as seen here – are not.

Discourse around "Ecology"

If "ecology" connotes the protection of "nature," it does not necessarily denote it. That is to say, these signs are more evocative than they are informative. We get a sense of this from one of the hotels participating in the PTAM as buyers of the farmers' agro-ecological produce. The hotel is called a "parque ecológico." Its owners are committed to local food, buying produce from the Mapuche farmers in the PTAM and growing some of their own herbs and vegetables on their premises. They seek in various ways to minimize the hotel's ecological footprint. However, their business model, because it caters to people who drove the 25 odd miles out into the mountains above Pucón, because it requires the owners themselves to do this drive both ways almost every day, because it uses electricity from the Chilean grid, and because it used the internet for advertising and marketing, clearly has a fairly substantial ecological footprint all the same. I gathered from conversations with various Puconinos that the "eco" prefix in the case of other eco-

parques and eco-campings often did not mean that special steps were being taken to protect or preserve the ecology of the space so named.

This is significant as part of the larger, global pattern, that I referred to in the introduction as the "ecological paradox" or the politics of unsustainabilty (Blühdorn, 2010). Of interest here is one last billboard that went up in Villarrica in the summer of 2011 and came down after the summer had ended. The billboard promoted the Hidroaysen hydroelectric project, and appeared in other cities around Chile. Like other billboard campaigns, it was part of a coordinated publicity campaign including radio and television spots, and a website (www.hidroaysen.cl), bore the following message: "Limpia. Renovable. Chilena. A Favor del Agua. hidroaysén. Chile con energía" (Clean. Renewable. Chilean. Pro-Water. Hidroaysén. Chile energized). The billboard's claims are not, in a way, far-fetched. Hydro power is clean and renewable, at least as compared with alternatives. However, as environmentalists point out, the project is only justifiable if one accepts the premise that progress, development, or improvement requires increasing energy consumption. It is this assumption that the billboard invokes – "Chile energized" – while suggesting – "clean, renewable" – that there are no ecological costs to the project whatsoever. It does not entertain the possibility that development as economic growth be re-thought, but takes "energy" as in itself a good thing.

Whereas in the Mapuche case the oppositional perspective is most visible in graffiti, opposition to Hidroaysén is most visible on bumper stickers with the phrase "Patagonia Sin Represas" (No dams in Patagonia). These stickers are a fairly common sight in the District – probably more frequent here than in Temuco or Santiago. They are a different media from graffiti in that they require a certain amount of capital (an

automobile), are less clandestine, and more mobile. Their position in space is influenced by different factors than those that influence graffiti and billboards. They go wherever the vehicle on which they are mounted happens to go. They are also mounted on specific vehicles and associated with a specific demographic (see chapter 5). For example, the pick up trucks and jeeps used by whitewater kayakers – a group with an obvious interest in undammed rivers – frequently sported such stickers.

Conclusion

The Mapuche poet Elicura Chihuailaf argues that the Mapuche language, and language in general, emerged from onomatopoeia, as human beings mimicked the sounds they heard in the world to reflect and represent the world to one another. This view of language is consistent with the way we have seen the volcano enter this material-discursive space, and with the theoretical point I am trying to make here: our discursive world is bound up in a mutually immanent relationship with nondiscursive realities. We have seen this here in the interplay between topography and (a) material lines of communication (roads), and (b) discourse itself in images of the volcano. As Jansson suggests, spatial practices are communicative practices and communicative practices are spatial practices (Jansson, 2007). Discourse inserts billboards and rukas into geographical space. Geographical space inserts mountains into configurations of discourse.

Consider a billboard advertising mobile internet connections through USB modems. It connects the Lake District, via long networks, with boardrooms in Santiago, factories in Asia, and nickel mines in Russia and Canada. These connections run through

both the semiotic message of the advertising the billboards carry, and the physical structure of the boards themselves – boards whose location is partly determined by the topography of the District. One can trace the symbolic or discursive connection directly: 6-foot image of cell phone modem on the road between Villarrica and Pucón represents the two-inch cell phone modems for sale in the center of Villarrica. Alternatively, one can trace the connection materially through the global network of administration and production – through the boardrooms, the mines, the factories, and the transportation and information networks – in which both the product itself and the marketing campaign to sell it are produced.

The spray-painted resistance messages – crude, small, monotone, and anarchic – stand in stark contrast to the billboards' commercial messages – massive, colorful, strategically located for high visibility, and coordinated in sophisticated ways with national campaigns and other media. The bumper stickers are more "civil" – involving nothing clandestine and no unauthorized use of property and seem to represent somewhat less marginal voices than the graffiti. However, a similar contrast can be drawn between them and the Hidroaysén billboard. These messages, like the ecological Mapuche discourse used by activists in the previous chapter, invoke an outside to the discursive-material reality of global capitalism. Indeed, because discourse and material realities are mutually immanent, these messages do not just invoke such an outside. They instantiate such an outside.

The passionate intensity of the oppositional discourse calls attention to the colonial exclusions and environmental concerns that market society generates and must – one way or another – deal with. That is, the multicultural and environmentally-friendly

discourse seen on the billboards is one aspect of the way political-economic power has chosen to engage with specific material-discursive realities. Multicultural and environmentally-friendly discourse originating from nodes of political-economic power is not, in other words, a discourse that appears out of nowhere "from above." To be sure, it comes "from above," and has a clear (neo)colonial agenda, but it is consciously constructed and carefully calibrated in response to the realities and concerns expressed in the graffiti and the bumper stickers.

What the tourist-eye view presented here reveals, then, is a material-discursive space that is becoming increasingly bound up in the networks of global market society. We see the configuration of geographic and discursive space, as market society expands it seeks to institute the truth that both Mapuche culture and "ecology" are compatible with its expansionary, colonizing drive. The alternative messages in the graffiti and bumper stickers are materially insignificant next to the splashy, massive and expensive messages of commercial billboards. But this does not mean they are necessarily overwhelmed. In fact their effectiveness or symbolic power is greater because they go against the mainstream. That is, another billboard would not have the same effect in terms of adding to the capitalist texture of this space. Whereas a few more such well-placed graffiti messages would be very effective in changing the texture of this space, a few more billboards would not qualitatively change things that much. Graffiti, that is, may be more powerful than commercial advertizing. In its incivility (i.e. its law-breaking, clandestine aspect), the medium itself, not just its content, is subversive. The bumper stickers have a clear message, but also a routine aura of mechanical reproduction that recall the billboards.

Like the mountains, such messages will persist in one form or another, a reminder that the expansionary colonizing drive can never fill space. The success of market society's rhetoric will always be limited, and its success in upholding the capitalist configuration is a perennially open question. The oppositional messages are an instantiation of a subjective or metaphysical beyond, an outside to global capitalist modernity. They are a reminder of the fact that people – Mapuche and winka alike – will never entirely forget that the mall in Temuco does not, in fact, have everything that makes you happy.

CHAPTER 4

TRANSLATIONS

The women of Wemapu, a branch of the Mapuche organization at the center of the PTAM, sell their produce in a stall in Villarrica. Some of the women who work at the stall also sell Avon products, participating in a business model that on one hand is antithetical to the local, cooperative model of Wemapu, and on the other hand quite similar, in the way it generates low levels of income through the sale of relatively low-cost items. Selling Avon products is a manner of generating income that is at once accessible and flexible for these women – they decide how much energy they will dedicate to it. One of the women showed up at the cooperative's market stall one day with a bag bearing the English language slogan "Hello Green Tomorrow/Avon." The "o" in hello was a little image of planet earth, and on the back of the bag, in Spanish, were the following five imperatives: "1. Replant; 2. Reduce; 3. Reuse; 4. Recycle; 5. Rethink." For each bag sold, Avon planted a tree, the woman told me, although she considered this a gimmick and was not entirely convinced that the trees were actually being planted. In any case, she said, they were not being planted locally, nor even in Chile. As the months went by, I saw other women in the organization using identical Avon bags. These Avon bags are one instance of how discourse around the environment is becoming an increasingly prevalent feature of the space in which these women live.

Globalization, Government and Communication

In the previous chapter we saw a universe of meaning influenced by non- or pre-discursive realities. In this chapter, we see how the configuration of the universe of

meaning is influenced by political and human projects. The chapter introduces the Programa Territorial Agrogastronomico Mapuche (PTAM), which unlike Avon Products Inc., is not a private enterprise. It is, however, one small moment in the process of the globalization of the District, and like the Avon enterprise, a site where globalizing processes have brought environmental discourse to this territory. A centerpiece of the PTAM is a production protocol that commits Mapuche farmers to agro-ecological methods, sustainability, and biodiversity. By contrast with the "hello green tomorrow" message introduced by Avon – greeted with skepticism and a sense that it had little to do with the lives of Mapuche farmers – the production protocol is taken very seriously by the women associated with Kom Kelluhayin.

The PTAM positions an NGO, CET SUR, as the mediator or translator between the Chilean state and a Mapuche small farmers' collective. CET SUR is a "third sector" enterprise, an undertaking that is neither of the state nor of the market, neither part of the public nor the private sector, but intimately connected to both. At the same time its goals are what an official from the PTAM's semi-state funding agency, the Fundación de Inovación Agraria ("FIA": Foundation for Agricultural Innovation), calls, frankly "anti-systemic." This state of affairs is familiar to analysts of neoliberalism, and the PTAM can be understood as part of a broader pattern described by Julie Hemment in her discussion of Russian NGOs organized around women's issues. NGOs with progressive agendas find that their interventions are "nested within the complex logics they seek to resist" (Hemment, 2007; 3), obliged to align themselves with forces whose scope and power far exceed their own.

The chapter interprets this situation by employing the concept of neoliberal governmentality. It argues that the NGOs translations serve the immanent ends of neoliberal governmental (Foucault). Governmentality has two features: one is the administration of population, territory, and economy. This entails technocratic and "panoptic" knowledge of these features. The other feature is the diffuse nature of political-economic power: the way population and economy are regulated not only by well-defined institutions and their specific efficacies, but also by subjects' dispositions: a knowledge and understanding of the world in which their interests and goals are aligned with those of the state. CET SUR, we could say is implicated in both forms of governmentality, drawing on and producing technocratic knowledge on the one hand, and helping to engage Mapuche small farmers with the market on the other. At the same time, I argue that CET SUR's translations also serve its own "anti-systemic" ends. The first translation helps to make "the environment," and ecological discourse more generally, intelligible and relevant to the *campesinos* in the farmers' collective, connecting them to an extensive network of small farmers and food sovereignty activists. The second translation brings the organization funds for its "movement building" (Alvarez) activities, through which it works to promote a critical subjective space outside capitalist modernity. Before making this argument, the chapter does some descriptive work, explaining the organizational history behind the PTAM. At the very end, I offer an example of the limitations of translation – a reminder that the universe is not entirely discursive.

Description of the PTAM

The PTAM (Programa Territorial Agrogastronómico Mapuche) is a three-year project (2010-2013), funded by the unelected regional government through the Fundación de Innovación Agraria (Foundation for Agricultural Innovation) or FIA – a quasi-governmental agency supervised by the ministry of agriculture. It is administered by a non-governmental organization (NGO), CET Sur, in collaboration with a Mapuche small farmers' organization, Kom Kelluhayin. Originally, the Red de Ferias de Curarrehue, an all-women's organization of mostly Mapuche artisans and cooks, also participated. Eleven other organizations are involved in different ways. These include several restaurants in the District who buy the farmers' produce, the Universidad de la Frontera in Temuco, the Chilean branch of the international NGO Slow Food, the Chilean branch of the international chef's club les Toques Blanches, and two other Mapuche grassroots organizations, both of which were tightly connected to Kom Kelluhayin.

The goal of the PTAM, according to the October-November 2010 newsletter of the funding agency, FIA, is "to recuperate and position traditional Mapuche cuisine in the Lake District of Araucanía, incorporating it into the menus of hotels and restaurants of the area, where it will be especially welcome by Chilean and international tourists." As a pamphlet produced by the PTAM itself explains, the point of this is to "give new actors access to the profits generated by the tourist industry." Officially, then, the main goal behind the PTAM, conceived originally by the leaders of the Corporación Kom Kelluhayin, is to give Mapuche farmers affiliated with that organization a new, viable avenue for marketing their produce via hotels and restaurants in the District. This is to be accomplished by establishing enduring commercial links between the farmers and local restaurants, and by ensuring that the farmers offer these customers a reliable supply of

produce. The emphasis on cuisine is intended to differentiate their produce in the market, taking advantage of the growing reputation of the District as a center of Mapuche cuisine. This is why the Red de Ferias, whose members have established successful small businesses selling distinctively Mapuche cuisine, was initially included in the PTAM.

As mentioned above, a central element of the PTAM is a process of certification, based on a protocol committing the Mapuche farmers to agro-ecological methods as part of a framework of progressive social-environmental goals. This certification process was developed before the PTAM itself came into existence – a reminder that the PTAM is part of larger networks and processes. In terms of its own history, the PTAM is seen as a continuation of the certification process, an initiative that established the relationship between the NGO and the farmer's organization, and which was sponsored by the same funding agency (FIA) now sponsoring the PTAM. While the production protocol serves progressive ends, it can also be seen as part of a broad neoliberal trend away from direct state regulation and towards self-regulation. Privatized "food audit" arrangements in particular are characteristic of neoliberal governance (Busch & Bain, 2004).

CET: Of NGOs, Neoliberalism, and Governmentality

The "NGO boom" of the 1990s – the decade of neoliberalism's triumph and the "end of history" – saw a proliferation of Non Governmental Organizations worldwide, a development met with skepticism by many. Critical scholars saw civil society being channeled into a "rhetorically constrained, politically collaborative, and technically proficient" world of professionalized NGOs, and feminists described this as the problem of NGO-ization (Alvarez 2009, 176; cf Alvarez 1998). Concerns were raised about the

co-optation or de-politicization of civil society (Schmit, 1996; Schild 1998; Posner, 2004) and about breakdowns in trust and solidarity as some within it became professionalized and others did not (Hemment, 2007). Others criticized the shifting of the burden of the state's responsibilities onto NGOs and civil society (Paley, 2001; Dolinhow, 2005). NGOs were seen to facilitate the shaping of neoliberal subjects through their interventions (Bryant, 2002; Lazar, 2004), and some argued that the technocratic and micro-emphasis of NGOs obscured and thereby sustained broader structural injustices (Cooke & Kothari, 2001). These criticisms – which resonate with and often draw on Foucault's theories of governmentality – are associated with a suspicion of such neoliberal desiderata as "participation" (Cooke & Kothari) and "empowerment" (Cruikshank, 1999).

In Chile, NGOs as a group were an important element of the "civil society" opposition to the dictatorship that emerged in Chile during the 1980s (Zuñiga, 2002). With the transition to civilian rule in 1990, the opposition lost momentum and civil society became less rather than more dynamic under institutional democracy than it had been under the dictatorship (Paley, 2001; Schild). This seemingly paradoxical development lends force to the critiques discussed in the previous paragraph. In crude terms, this was a process in which the opposition (or a substantial segment thereof) became the establishment, and opposition leaders became government officials. Moreover, as we saw in chapter two, the transition to institutional democracy led to a situation in which political power necessarily was exercised by paying close attention to discourse, ideology, and subjectivity. Whereas the dictator had been a sovereign Machiavellian Prince, using his absolute power over the Chilean territory to put a

neoliberal state in place, it was with the transition to civilian rule that the active production of a specific form of subjectivity in regulating the "the conduct of conduct" became a decisive part of how the neoliberal order was sustained. (cf. Paley).

Background of CET Sur

CET Sur is part of this history. Founded in 1981 by a group of agronomists and other professionals in Santiago as the "Center for Education and Technology," CET's original principles were a synthesis between Freire's pedagogy of the oppressed and the founders' goals of facilitating the autonomy of the rural and urban poor by encouraging the development and preservation of appropriate local technologies and practices (Zuñiga 2002, p. 49). More concretely, it sought to foster organic agriculture in family vegetable gardens, or "home gardens" (huertas familiares), as a strategy for meeting basic needs and promoting food security. Beginning from the premise that no technology is neutral, the founders of CET saw their mission as social as much as technical, and saw vegetable gardens not only as a survival strategy in themselves, but as a means to build family and community ties and the kind of solidarity and extra-institutional knowledge that would help families and communities confront the pressures brought by capitalist modernity, especially food dependence and scarcity. As CET matured, its leaders came to see family vegetable gardens, food sovereignty, and clean agricultural technologies as tools for promoting grassroots development: reinforcing local knowledge, building community organization, and fostering social consciousness. CET sought "a climate favorable to grassroots development, such that new actors who value ecology and equality will enrich society, and these values will have

a chance of becoming dominant in the kind of development our society chooses." (Zuñiga, 56).

Under the dictatorship, CET had presented itself as a technical organization, although its goals were ultimately social and political. As one of CET's original founders told me, there was no tolerance for political organizations or political organizing when CET began, but "starting from a technical conversation you could perfectly well end up in a political conversation." With civilian rule, the organization's social-political goals could be made more explicit. At the same time, however, the organization began to receive funds from the Chilean government. CET's position in Chilean society, like that of many other NGOs, was thus transformed, and indeed a tension developed within the organization between a technical approach and a more political approach. This led to a split in the organization in 2000, at which point CET SUR continued with a political commitment to promote food sovereignty with campesino organizations and movements, while the group that remained as simply "CET" assumed a strictly technical role promoting and advising on organic agriculture. In effect, CET Sur chose to work with the contradiction that had emerged in the world of Chilean NGOs between a deliberate and committed politics, a vision of a non-neoliberal society, and a very tangible material entanglement with the neoliberal project of the Chilean state.

Today, CET Sur is a small, but well-established NGO with offices in Temuco and a few hundred kilometers north, near Concepción, the second largest city in Chile. It employs 18 people, mostly professionals and technicians: agronomists, anthropologists, business administrators. Its goal, in broad terms, is to protect and promote diversity. Biodiversity, cultural diversity, and epistemological diversity are seen as tightly

interrelated, as are the ultimate goals of social justice and sustainability. CET works to preserve biodiversity and agro-ecology in southern Chile. It has recovered a variety of products distinctive to the Mapuche and the region, including a Mapuche variety of quinoa, and a breed of chicken that lays distinctive blue eggs – these are among the products cultivated and marketed by the PTAM. As an integral part of these efforts, CET Sur works to preserve and promote knowledge about chemical-free forms of cultivating harvesting and preparing such species.

CET's political project can be seen as a challenge (from within modernity) to modernity-coloniality, the coloniality of knowledge, and what Tania Murray Li calls, in a phrase that is evocative of a persistent self-assurance within modernity, "the will to improve." Li's concept connects technical knowledge with "the claim to know how others should live, to know what is best for them, to know what they need" (4). By contrast, CET calls into question the exclusive validity of technical knowledge, seeking to complement technical knowledge with practical, local knowledge. A key member of the organization put it thus:

> We do not do science for science's sake. In one way or another what we have done, our methods, are scientific. But in some way they permit dialogue with the indigenous world, the campesino world that uses another form of knowledge. So I think that one of the forms of human capital that exists within CET is a way of working that allows us to move between the two cosmovisions, the two paradigms….We always talk about an approach we call 'dialogue of knowledges' [diálogo de saberes]. I don't know if it is really a dialogue, but at least it is a little softer than the approach of conventional science."

This is the aim of inter-culturality:

> By interculturality one understands a horizontal relationship. Today, the Mapuche people are in an unequal position with respect

> to global society, so we can't really talk about interculturality. But I think that in some areas we have come close to achieving a horizontal relationship with our counterparts.

The CET official evokes both aspirations and hard realities here. The kind of interculturality sought by CET SUR is a more radical and authentic version than that advertized and sought by neoliberal governance. But it is not necessarily possible under the conditions – not of its own making – under which CET works.

Even as it aims for epistemological pluralism, CET is part of what Analise Riles (2000), called "the Network": the third sector as a global information-generating and fund-winning industry. CET Sur has active ties to organizations that share many of its goals, for example the Asociación Nacional de Mujeres Rurales e Indigenas (ANAMURI), and the Temuco-based Observatorio Ciudadano (formerly Observatorio de Derechos Indigenas). It was instrumental in establishing a master's degree program in agro-ecology at the Catholic University in Temuco. Internationally, CET Sur is a protagonist in a movement linking socio-environmental justice to food and agriculture, a global agro-ecological movement whose most visible and well-known exponents in the international sphere are Via Campesina and, in Latin America, the Consoricio Latinoamericano de Agricultura y Desarrollo (CLADES), as well as the Barcelona-based organization GRAIN, where a former CET leader now works. It has informal and indirect ties to universities in Peru, Colombia, and California and it has coordinated work with the Brazilian NGO AS-PTA, and the Jesuit Insituto Mayor Campesino in Colombia. Funding increasingly comes from within Chile (as in the case of the PTAM), but it has come from agencies in Holland (Hivos), Sweden (Swedish International Development Cooperation Agency), France (Catholic Committee of France), Switzerland (Avina Foundation),

Norway (The Development Fund), Germany (Misereor), Canada (International Development Research Center), the United States (The Kellog Foundation), and the European Union (the large van that CET uses for various purposes bears the circle-of-stars emblem of the European Union).

The Protocol Comes Through the Network

The agro-ecological certification process used by the PTAM can be traced back into this network of international organizations, specifically to CET's contact with the Italian-based Slow Food organization.

> One of the things that we liked most about Slowfood, this movement, is that they were promoting … the construction of a protocol. And that clicked with us, so to speak… We thought it was really powerful, I think Slowfood didn't even know the weight it carried, that the campesinos themselves or the producers themselves made their own rules. That was an element that we took from that experience [with Slowfood] and we began to contextualize it.

Note that initial contact with Slow Food was made through a representative of Slow Food who travelled to Chile from Europe, and who established relationships with Chilean chefs and with people in CET Sur. To explain how one of the locally-developed protocols that resulted has been incorporated into the PTAM, I turn now to the farmers' organization Kom Kelluhayin, out of whose experience the PTAM has really grown.

Kom Kelluhayin

Kom Kelluhayin is an association of small farmers that brings together eleven Mapuche communities – technically one community is itself a member; the other ten communities are represented by "Comités de Pequeños Agricultores" from each community – from the area around the city of Villarrica (all but one of these communities

are located in the comuna of Villarrica, and the other is located near the town of Coñaripe in the adjacent comuna of Panguipulli). The organization's genesis goes back to the late 1970s, a period in which the Mapuche communities were extremely isolated and had recently had their legal status and collective land titles dissolved by the Pinochet regime. An individual from the prestigious Pontificia Universidad Católica, which has a small campus in Villarrica (the only such campus outside Santiago), arrived in the communities – several were only accessible on horseback at the time – and told them that he and the university wanted to work with them to help them develop.

Thus, in 1979 members of the various communities in Kom Kelluhayin were first brought together in the Programa de Educación de Adultos y Desarrollo en Comunidades de Concentración Mapuche, administered by the University. This program was funded in its first six years by the Organization of American States, through its "Programa de Educación y Desarrollo Rural Integrado" (PEDRI, 1979-1985), and later by the governments of Chile, the European Union, and of Navarra and the Basque country in Spain. It brought Mapuche communities in the area together through a series of training and demonstration courses designed with the intention of supporting and improving agricultural and livestock management techniques and strengthening cultural identity. The former, more technical goal involved the introduction of the very modern techniques that CET Sur seeks to resist, while the latter more "social" goal was inspired by liberation theology, a movement in which the leaders at the Catholic University were deeply involved.

PEDRI also offered rotating credit to participants, as well as a "sheep bank" and "cow bank," which lent people livestock long enough for them to breed, before passing

them on to other members of the circle (de la Maza). The PEDRI continued for more than twenty years, in which time a close relationship was established between the Mapuche communities and the University. In addition to conducting ongoing training workshops in agricultural methods and organizational skills, through PEDRI the University acquired equipment (tractors and processing equipment including a portable flour mill and a cheese-making facility), livestock, and perhaps most importantly, land (including 22 hectares in Afunalhue, one of the 11 communities ultimately in the program, and in Máfil, a distant site far removed from any of the communities; and a small plot in the Hualapulli are of Villarrica – which has been transferred to Kom Kelluhayin, and which the PTAM has designated for the construction of its centerpiece, a storage and processing center from which to market the farmers' produce with "value added."

Most significant here is the way Kom Kelluhayin did not grow out of a grassroots process. It resulted from the intervention of the University rather than from a set of spontaneous or urgent demands at the level of the communities. As a professional who had worked on one of the later grant projects executed by the University told me: "I have the impression that the University made the organization, it created the organization. This is an organization whose function was to make it possible [for the University] to present grant proposals." The conditions of its genesis still loom large in the experience of the organization, which even today does not seem to have the same energy and initiative one would expect in an organization that emerged more spontaneously or directly from the needs or conditions among the population it represents.

In 1999, that Kom Kelluhayin was conceived as an independent organization, a milestone that marked a decisive change in the relationship between the communities and the University (Luna, 2007). The move fits with broader trends: when the first contact was made between the University and the communities, at the end of the 1970s, this Latin America indigenous re-awakening had not made itself felt. It had crystallized however, by the late 1990s, after the commemoration of the "discovery" of Latin America in 1992. In Chile itself, the end of the 1990s saw the beginning of ongoing protests by the Mapuche in the northeast of the Region, voicing claims to land ceded by Pinochet to forestry companies, as well as the Ralco dam controversy mentioned in the introduction. But the desire for autonomy at this point is not only attributable to larger historical forces. A level of skepticism and mistrust toward the University had begun to develop among some of the program participants. There were two reasons behind this. First, after twenty years, the beneficiaries of the program had not experienced a significant change in their circumstances. They had begun to feel that the program was not leading to anything except, as one member put it, "relations of dependence." Second, members felt they had been promised more than they had received. Here the laboratory and demonstration farm in Afunalhue, one of the communities in Kom Kelluhayin, which includes a large three-story classroom and office building in the form of a Mapuche ruka, is undoubtedly the most monumental problem. The demonstration farm was built with funds from Spain, with the understanding (on the part of the Mapuche communities, and possibly also the funders as well) that it would be owned and run by the communities. This never came to pass.

In any case, the process of gaining formal autonomy from the University took place over the years 2000-2003 (Silva), and was complicated by administrative and legal difficulties as well as interpersonal conflicts. The organization's most important accomplishment has been establishing a permanent point of sale for the produce of corporation members. This was first achieved in 2005 in a stall beside Villarrica city hall, and later in an indoor shopping center a few blocks west of the Municipalidad. The stall I got to know is in the Mercado Fritz, a few blocks to the east, has been in operation since 2009. It is run by Wemapu (in the Mapuche language "new earth" or "new land"), yet another overlapping legally constituted organization, whose purpose is to make it possible for the members of Kom Kelluhayin to legally sell their wares in a stationary locale (as opposed to on the street). Wemapu is a self-sustaining cooperative enterprise, with 14 farmer-members rotating responsibility for attending to customers. Its members are, with the exception of their young male president, older women (from late thirties to seventies). Although I met and talked to various people who had been involved in Kom Kelluhayin's complex and eventful history during my research year, the active core of the organization, as I came to know it, were the women of Wemapu and Kom Kelluhayin's male-dominated board of directors.

First Translation: the Elaboration of the Protocol

Kom Kelluhayin was introduced to the NGO CET Sur in the process of the last project undertaken by Kom Kelluyin and administered by the University. This project, also funded by FIA, and undertaken in 2004-2006, was called "Chapen" (chain in Mapuche), and was conceived by the leaders of Kom Kelluhayin in collaboration with a trusted contact in the University. It was intended as a first, decisive step in breaking the

"relations of dependence" with the university. The goal was for the farmers to elaborate, and to begin to work toward, a vision of their own for their newly autonomous organization. The idea of a "chain" – chapen – was intended to reflect the necessity of securing various interlinked elements – biodiversity, family labor, technical assistance, learning, processing and packaging, certification, development of markets – to meet the challenge of establishing material and cultural viability for the livelihoods of Kom Kelluhayin's members. Indeed, it was from this project that a strong awareness of the link between culture/identity and economic/material interests was made explicit, the idea of marketing differentiated produce "with identity" and without chemical inputs first emerged, and the production protocol and corresponding seal of quality were developed.

CET SUR, with its recent experience of seals and protocols, was introduced to Kom Kelluhayin at this point. The NGO was brought in to consult and help the members of Kom Kelluhayin develop the seal, by an agronomist the university had hired to execute the project. The protocol, developed by Kom Kelluhayin's members in workshops facilitated by CET-Sur, contains the following 12 points:

- The farmers are organized in the Corporación
- Farmers and campesinos are part of the Mapuche Culture.
- The territory where they live and produce is Villarrica and Panguipulli [only one of the 11 communities is located in Panguipulli].
- Their forms of production conserve biodiversity in their territory.
- Human health is protected, rejecting agro-chemicals and genetically modified seeds.
- Products are the fruit of family work that generates equality, recognizes the role of campesina women, and generates social movement.

- The produce and products are sold under the parameters of solidary economy and fair trade.
- The farmers actively exchange experiences, keeping education alive.
- Food preparation forms are recreated, putting food sovereignty into practice.
- The rights of the farmers are recognized, promoting sustainable public policies.
- Natural techniques and practices are used, in order to improve the quality of the produce.
- An ethical commitment by all members of the Corporación to adhere to the agreements between the farmers in the organization.

This document articulates several worthy political commitments. To the extent that such commitments are formed in discourse, these commitments are global. That is, the protocol represents a translation (Tsing, 2005) of the concerns of the members of Kom Kelluhayin into a language that is intelligible to "the network," and to global audiences more generally. The language connects to global activist discourses around rights, sustainability, gender equality, biodiversity, fair trade, food sovereignty and solidary economy.

In this process of translation, it is clear that the translator has a certain influence. To be sure, CET Sur's agenda comes through in the protocol. In one sense the protocol is as much CET's as it is the farmers'. But by the same token it is the farmers' at least as much as it is CET's. This was a translation, not an imposition. The members of Kom Kelluhayin feel that the protocol is theirs. As one member told me, they identify with it "de corazon." Although many people have come and gone over the years, none of the members of Kom Kelluhayin that I spoke with betrayed any sense that the protocol has

been dictated to them. Rather, as one member recounted at a workshop about the protocol, when the protocol was put in writing, its affirmation of solidarity and shared responsibility made him say to himself, "That is us!" CET's contribution, then, was to make the aspirations of the campesinos in Kom Kelluhayin – for autonomy, economic viability, and cultural continuity – explicit and intelligible to one another and to a wider audience. The NGO articulated the aspirations of the campesinos with a series of global social and environmental justice concerns. The process of developing the protocol brought environmental questions to the critical attention of the campesinos, stimulating them to think critically about how these and other questions about the world beyond their immediate experience mattered for their lives.

Second Translation: the Grant Proposal

The PTAM itself got off the ground thanks to another exercise in translation carried out by CET SUR: a grant proposal. Here the staff of CET SUR translated their organization's goals into language intelligible and appealing to the funder – "project-speak," as Hemment (2007) calls it. The goal of the funder – FIA, ultimately the Chilean state – was government, "the right disposition of things." As a representative of FIA put it, the point of the PTAM is "to try to make the most of what we've got today, in the dominant system [el sistema que nos impera], so to speak." The funding agency, that is, seeks to foster and encourage an optimal configuration of population and economy, for their own sake. The interesting thing about this second translation is that CET SUR's goals are quite explicitly against the market configuration sought by the state and by promoted by the neoliberal regime. The NGOs agenda contrasts with, even contradicts, the agenda of the government funders. CET SUR's vision is of a society in which

knowledge, practice, and technology are not standardized for an extensive and generic market, but specifically adapted to local spaces. It is one in which knowledge is shared rather than monopolized through intellectual property agreements; and one in which social justice and the rights of small farmers are taken more seriously.

Much literature on neoliberal governmentality treats it mainly as a matter of producing subjects, or of promoting a specific form of subjectivity. I emphasize that "population" – the object of government – is only partly a matter of subjectivity. Population is the "imbrication of men [sic] with things" – a whole ensemble of things to be ordered, organized, regulated. First and foremost in this ensemble, Foucault enumerates "wealth, resources, means of subsistence, the territory with its specific qualities, climate, irrigation, fertility, etc." he also refers to "accidents and misfortunes such as famine, epidemics, death, etc.". Subjectivity – "customs, habits, ways of acting and thinking, etc." – is just one aspect among others. In all of this, Foucault argues "I do not think this is a matter of opposing things to men [sic]." (Foucault, 93)

The proposal written by the CET SUR presents the PTAM as furthering these governmental aims, as fostering a specific, advantageous relationships between a territory and its population; and the representation of these relationships, or the subjectivity associated with these relationships. The PTAM and the protocol are presented as a means of "making the most of what we've got." In the first place, this entails knowledge of "what we've got" – that is, of the population and economy. Thus the proposal enumerates statistics and knowledge, complete with citations, often of state agencies. The knowledge presented in the proposal includes data about: the growing preference among consumers for "organic, clean and environmentally friendly products"; the

volume (in currency units) and growth rate (in percent) of sales of high-quality agrogastronomic products in Santiago; the growing number of tourists visiting the Araucanía region; a survey conducted of tourists in the region that showed 27% of them were attracted by "culture," while 60% were attracted by "nature." (Gobierno de Chile, 2008).

This knowledge is presented as part of an argument, of course, about what to do with "what we've got." The grant writers know that there is a general orientation toward a market economy as the fundamental organizing principle of neoliberalism, as the end of government. The proposal presents the project accordingly. It argues that the project will:

1. help to meet growing demand for organic, clean and environmentally friendly products;
2. help to attract more foreign tourists to the District (foreign tourists have been found to demand organic food more than domestic tourists);
3. differentiate the District (and the PTAM's produce and cuisine) in the tourist market by using Mapuche identity, with the "absolute" distinctiveness of Mapuche identity and the feature of agro-ecological production mutually reinforcing one another;
4. establish a steady supply of organic ingredients for local chefs
5. establish a product of reliable quality for local chefs.

These goals are all clearly oriented to the development of the market and the integration of the campesino producers into the tourist economy of the District.

Before ratifying the proposal, the funding agency required a few minor adjustments. At this point we find an interesting instance of a kind of discursive

disciplining, the policing of terminology that shapes power-knowledge. The original proposal was titled:"Food Sovereignty: from field to table in the Wenteche territory of Villarrica, Coñaripe, and Curarrehue." The funding agency accepted the project, but rejected the name, suggesting "Programa Territorial Agrogastronómico Mapuche" instead. Especially in matters to do with its Mapuche subjects, the Chilean state is jealous of its own sovereignty. Also, food sovereignty suggests autonomy from the market, a goal that is not consistent with the neoliberal disposition of things.

This episode can be seen in the context of a larger discursive contest. Activists and NGOs like CET around the world are seeking to promote "food sovereignty" as a concept (Pimbert, 2008), arguing that it is complementary, not threatening to the paradigm of "food security" used by such influential organizations as USAID (Altieri, 2009). In a move that activists see as co-optation, the term has been used by some governments (Pimbert, page 50), and it may be on its way to becoming "mainstreamed." This would alter the discursive opportunity structures faced by organizations like CET, who seek to promote small scale, ecological agriculture as an alternative to industrial farming. If this happens, we can expect that food sovereignty will be articulated, as for example the concept of "fair trade" has been, with neoliberal structures (Fridell, 2006). In any case, the episode is a revealing moment in the global contest or game CET Sur is involved in: concepts or terms open opportunities in material-discursive configurations to promote progressive change, or to slow the process of colonization and dispossession accompanying the expansion of global market society.

Note here specific aspects of the content and the form of this process that conform to a pattern of neoliberal government. First of all, one of the main points of

governmentality and Foucault's theory in general is the diffuse nature of power. The outsourcing, so to speak, of the administration of a state-funded initiative – a typically neoliberal move – highlights such diffusion of power. It calls attention to the way in which, as Mitchell puts it, the "boundary of the state does not mark the limits of the processes of regulation." (84). This is seen again, in the way the PTAM draws on the certification process that NGO and the farmers have drawn up together. As noted above, this is a form of self-regulation, and a shift of control away from the state, closely associated with neoliberalism.

For our purposes, what is of interest here is the way the language of the grant proposal and the protocol is agreed upon by actors with very different goals. The language, and discourses of environmental sustainability and multiculturalism, help to configure networks of neoliberal governmentality. Mapuche identity and environmental responsibility are figured as resources in the market – i.e. to differentiate a product, and the District or region as a whole as a tourist destination. This not only serves the post-Fordist purpose of differentiating products in the market, but facilitates the governmental goal of assimilating Mapuche campesinos into global market society.

CET Sur: the subversive goal

If the protocol is a disciplinary mechanism for self-regulation and neoliberal governmentality, that is okay for CET Sur so long as self regulation also runs towards agro-biological methods and other progressive ends. To this end, the protocol established a formal enforcement mechanism, a four-person commission from among organization's members that visits each member's farm and evaluates compliance. There is also the informal but very significant pressure of discrediting not only oneself, but one's partners,

if one is found not to be following the protocol. Perhaps the best way of building commitment, however, is the process by which the protocol was established in the first place – by talking about it together and building mutual understanding. The PTAM gave CET the opportunity to reinforce this process by conducting further workshops on the protocol, its purpose, and its usefulness.

All of these are very recognizable as ways of promoting self-regulation, and in that sense they clearly fit into the pattern of neoliberal governmentality. If in practice the protocol guarantees mainly that the farmers' produce is free from chemicals and is locally grown, it also promotes solidary economy and food sovereignty – goals that are not entirely theoretical and that are, at least as CET interprets them, actually at odds with neoliberalism's market fundamentalism. Moreover, the fact that CET Sur is not an organ of the state, means that it has a certain degree of leeway both in its execution of the PTAM, and in being able to pursue activities that are not part of the PTAM at all. This freedom facilitates what Sonia Álvarez (2009) refers to as "movement building" activities.

In the category of movement building activities specified in the proposal, CET Sur uses the PTAM as a platform to organize trafkintus. Trafkintu is the Mapuche word for exchange, and is used to designate seed exchanges, a ritual used by activists in the anti-agribusiness cause all over the world. Trafkintu or seed exchanges are partly symbolic statements that participants do not want to buy their seed from multinational corporations – no money changes hands in the exchange. They are also a substantive way, rooted in local traditions, to preserve the viability and genetic diversity of local seed stocks. These events often attract a multicultural crowd – which is to say both Mapuche

campesinos and more affluent and urban types from the demographic discussed in the next chapter. They connect their participants to a global social movement associated with Via Campesina and other organizations mentioned earlier. Members of Kom Kelluhayin participated in several Trafkintus during my stay in the District, and have been participating in them several times a year since 2004.

The PTAM proposal seems to refer to such meetings when it refers to "relationships of exchange, cooperation and reciprocity carried out by actors from different cultures in the territory." Note the translation here from international movement building to the governmental goal of conviviality and multiculturalism. The project speak of the proposal does not refer to the goal of organizing or raising consciousness against the threat to small farmers posed by agribusiness – something that these Trafkintus are definitely intended to do.

Other movement building activities appear not to be mentioned, even vaguely, in the Program proposal. CET is active in mobilizations against agribusiness and the international regime on which it rests – activity that intensified during my research year after the ratification by the Chilean senate of the International Convention for the Protection of New Varieties of Plants (UPOV '91), which clears the way for the introduction of genetically modified crops into the Chilean market, in May 2011. CET Sur leaders appeared on radio programs, detailing the law's negative effects for small farmers, and at least one member of CET travelled to Valparaiso to participate in a national-level discussion with other activists and with legislators. In the District itself, CET, together with other NGOs and community organizations, organized a well-attended meeting that August to raise awareness and organize opposition to the law, which has yet

to be approved by the President of the republic. It is worth noting that one of the strongest arguments activists have here is that the law conflicts with the rights and autonomy of indigenous campesinos established under another international law that is already fully in force in Chile (International Labor Organization Convention 169)

This activity is neither prescribed nor proscribed by the PTAM, but it is made possible by funds CET receives from the Chilean government and other sources. It puts a wrinkle in any narrative that portrays NGOs as mere tools of neoliberal globalization. It points to the slippery connection between language and material practices and the way this is an integral part of government and politics. The PTAM helps CET SUR continue to pursue its mission of promoting local agricultural knowledge and practices, agroecology, agro-biodiversity, and social justice. This mission is pursued both through technical and territorially specific activities of the PTAM and through the more political, movement building activities just outlined.

Implementation: Unsuccessful Translation

A key element of the PTAM is, as its name suggests, gastronomy or cuisine. Where Kom Kelluhayin is an agricultural organization, the Programa aims to go "from field to table", incorporating the preparation of food as well as the cultivation of ingredients. This is where an organization I have hardly discussed so far, the Red de Ferias from Curarrehue, comes in. The Red de Ferias has many members who are cooks (or as the Programa designates them, maestras de cocina), and in theory (in the grant) took Kom Kelluhayin's "field" to the "tables" of better-financed and higher-end participating local restaurants and hotels. The idea was to promote Mapuche cuisine in the area as a whole, and thereby to differentiate the cuisine of the area from the cuisine of

other areas of Chile, especially, according to a FIA official, the resort town of Puerto Varas, which competes with Pucón in the tourist market, in a territory with no Mapuche presence.

Shortly after the program began the Red de Ferias stopped actively participating, and by the end of the first year they had formally left the program. When I asked a CET staffer what the folks in Curarrehue had been expected to get out of the PTAM, he suggested two benefits: raising the profile of Mapuche cuisine and microcredits to facilitate investment in their gardens and kitchens. In practice, neither of these benefits accrued. If anything, with respect to the first, intangible benefit, one member of the Red was said to have expressed concern that rather than help her restaurant business, the only thing the Programa had been good for was so that the chefs in the five-star Hotel Park Lake could learn her recipes. With respect to the more material and tangible second benefit, only one member of the Red de Ferias ever received a microloan, leaving multiple members who had taken the trouble to apply for credits frustrated and angry (the microloan component of the PTAM, another neoliberal aspect, never really got off the ground). Thus, the Red de Ferias got almost no assistance, financial or otherwise, from the PTAM, while its members were asked to sacrifice time and money to travel to Villarrica for meetings and workshops.

There were numerous factors, including a highly contingent aspect of interpersonal relationships, that worked against the success of the incorporation of the Red de Ferias into the PTAM. What I highlight here is geography. The centerpiece of the PTAM, an Administrative and Processing Center, a processing and distribution facility for the farmers' produce, is being built in Villarrica. The fact that it was to be

built far from Curarrehue, in a location central to the communities in Kom Kelluhayin, is a clear indicator of the secondary position of the Red de Ferias in the PTAM, and was not lost on the Red's members. If the translations of CET served to establish connections – among campesinos and CET, among campesinos in different parts of the region and the world, between campesinos and the Slow Food organization, between high-end restaurants in the District and local Mapuche farmers – it could not bring Curarrehue closer to Villarrica. The language of the PTAM's proposal is a blueprint for action, and served to foster certain configurations, but it could not bring Curarrehue closer to Villarrica. Translation helps transform reality through discourse, but there are important aspects of reality that cannot be changed by discourse.

Conclusion

Jose Bengoa (2000) observes that NGOs and liberation theology played important roles in the "reemergence" of Latin American indigenous politics in the neoliberal era, a historical movement that has also been articulated with new discourses around the environment (Bengoa 2000, Ulloa 2005). These trends, along with familiar patterns of neoliberal governmentality, are visible in the history of the PTAM. Of course the story of the PTAM is not caused by such broad patterns any more than its history is crucial to the existence of the trends themselves. But what happens here is clearly part of a much larger picture and cannot be separated from what happens elsewhere. It is in this light that we should see the PTAM, whether we are focusing on its potential and actual accomplishments in mitigating the anti-ecological and monocultural drives of

neoliberalism, or on the way it serves the immanent finalities of neoliberal governmentality.

I conclude by returning to the environmental discourse on the Avon tote bags. Its significance is, on the one hand, as a reflection of a broad recognition that "the environment" is a problem. On the other hand, from the perspective of the woman whom I first saw using the bag, it is as a gimmick. According to Avon's website, the "hello green tomorrow" slogan refers to a corporate responsibility program involving, in 2010, a reduction in its greenhouse gas emissions from 2005 levels, zero landfill use, raising money for the World Wildlife Fund and the Nature Conservancy, as well as other undertakings. These are concrete measures, but from a radical environmental perspective, the woman is right: they are gimmicks, undertaken within a logic (the logic of capital accumulation and growth) that seems to be antithetical to a "green tomorrow."

The PTAM, and the process of which it is a part, is an effort to translate aspirations that go beyond spinning money (M) into more money (M') into a discursive field – that of neoliberal governance – in which nothing is more important that this goal. In the process, the PTAM serves the means/ends of neoliberal governmentality, and reproduces relationships of class and privilege; it is true that it facilitates, or at least is intended to facilitate, the growth of the tourist industry in the District (with its attendant commodification of nature and local cultural heritage), the cultivation of entrepreneurial neoliberal subjects, and the assimilation of Mapuche campesinos into the market economy. But at the same time, it sustains biodiversity and local knowledge. Most importantly, I suggest, the PTAM helps to make environmental discourse mean something to the farmers of Kom Kelluhayin and Wemapu, beyond the level of

gimmicks. It turns environmental discourse not into an opportunity to consume, or to raise more money "for the environment," but into an opportunity to think about the world beyond the campo, about industrial agriculture and market society more broadly.

CHAPTER 5

AMENITY MIGRANTS

Recall from chapter 3 the way Mapuche oppositional discourse appeared in the District in the form of graffiti, while environmentalist opposition to the Hidroaysén project was most visible in bumper stickers. The contrast is suggestive, among other things, of the different provenances of these discourses. Although the Mapuche discourse can be located in a global indigenous movement, it invokes a deep connection to this territory and is literally, materially, fixed in this territory. The anti-dam message, in contrast, does not have this association and is affixed to gas fueled emblems of mobile modernity. The stickers are used all over Chile and, undoubtedly, beyond. Moreover they are seen in the District on cars belonging to people who come from outside the District, the Region, or even the country. I mentioned, for example, that several vehicles used by whitewater kayakers are adorned with these stickers. The kayakers – who have an obvious interest in untamed, undammed rivers – are an international crowd, as well as a relatively privileged group, with the time and the money to dedicate to a travel- and equipment-intensive sport.

This chapter is about such privileged people – both Chilean and foreign – who are migrating into the District. Marcelo Zunino & Rodrigo Hidalgo (2010), following Laurence Moss (2006), call these people "amenity migrants," in reference to the fact that their motivations for migrating are a matter of choice rather than political-economic necessity or pressure. The motives of these amenity migrants are, in this sense, "postmaterialist" – a well-known term coined by Ronald Inglehart (1995, 2000), which I take up for discussion in this chapter. If embodiment, emplacement, and mobility are

fundamental aspects of globalization and the information age, we have seen so far how governmental programs, commercial advertising and other inscribed signs carry environmental discourse. This chapter is focused on how embodied human subjects themselves bring modern ways of life and environmental discourse with them to the District. Especially when they engage in environmental activism, these immigrants are particularly vivid avatars of the politics of unsustainability.

Tinquilco Case

Begin with an anecdote. A conflict over water rights that took place in the Tinquilco district, directly next to Huerquehue national park, close to lake Caburgua, the lake by which I am told the current president of Chile, a former president (Michelle Bachellet), and a critical economist cited in this dissertation (Manfred Max-Neef) have vacation homes. Almost all, if not all, of the homes in the Tinquilco district are second homes, vacation homes for people who obviously have a relatively high level of economic capital, as well as education and cultural capital. When the property owners here realized that a developer was seeking water rights in order to build a small hydroelectric facility on the Quinchol river, they mobilized to stop it. Led by an anthropologist based in Santiago, and a forestry engineer who moved to Pucón from Santiago in 2002, they hired a hydraulic engineer to advise them, and submitted their own competing application for the water rights to the Ministry of Public Works, in order to force the rights to go to auction. Before the auction went forward, they managed to persuade the developer to sell them the water rights for the relatively low price of ch$4.5 million (about US$9,000).

A certain amount of cultural capital, not to mention a substantial amount of economic capital, was required to carry out these maneuvers. The strategy used, which would be far more difficult for less privileged actors to follow, is emblematic of a phenomenon that has become common in Chile: the deployment of private funds for conservation. An informant active in the Chilean environmentalist organization CODEF, estimates that there are about 220 private preserves in the country, ranging from very small plots to the vast swathes of Patagonian rain forest bought up by Douglas Tompkins, a North American deep ecologist and millionaire who infuriated Chilean nationalists, and the right, by buying up land stretching from the Pacific to the Argentinean border, and insisting on virtually no "development" of the land. Through an accord with the government of Ricardo Lagos in 2005, Tompkins converted the land he bought into Pumalin National Sanctuary, and Corcovado National Park.

The District itself is home to several private preserves. The largest and most well-known is El Cañi, a 12,000 acre mountain (cerro) covered in old growth forest bought by a consortium of North Americans and Chileans in 1990. The consortium also bought a hotel in the town of Pucón. Buying the hotel was, as one of the consortium members described it to me, a fairly spontaneous idea, in order to make it easy for people in the group to have a place to stay when they came to Pucón, but the hotel has become a meeting place for environmentalists and vegetarians (the hotel's restaurant is one of the participants in the PTAM). Tompkins makes a cameo in the story of El Cañi, since his efforts to identify land for conservation were instrumental in introducing some of the Chileans and North American environmentalists who later formed the consortium to one another. According to one of the consortium members, Tompkins even provided some of

the money with which the consortium bought its preserve (this account was contradicted by another member of the consortium – but this is a group of more than 30 people, so its story is surely complicated). The Pucón hostel was established shortly after another hotel that is also connected to the PTAM – a hotel started by a couple of North Americans in Villarrica who, like the owners of the Pucón hostel, are involved in environmental activism, and are acquainted with Douglas Tompkins.

The Pucón hostel, which in addition to being involved in the PTAM, also hosts meetings for activists, and provides a base for its activist owners, is not the only environmentalist thing to have grown out of the El Cañi private preserve initiative. For example, another hotel has been built, by a British man married to a Chilean woman, right next to the preserve. It serves in the winter as a research station for biological researchers and in the summer as a tourist facility and meeting place for local activists. The successful campaign to incorporate part of the District into the already-existing Araucarias UNESCO world biosphere preserve was spearheaded by people involved in the original El Cañi project. A Chilean anthropologist who had first come to the District to work on the private preserve project in its early days, described to me the good times and hippie vibe of the whole thing. She offered an image of parties punctuated by cheers of "salvemos el planeta!" [let's save the planet!]. This aspect is still visible, even as a new generation of environmentalist immigrants has joined what has become the older generation. I attended two meetings on environmental issues at which deep-breathing, eye-closing, and handholding activities were on the agenda. Appropriately enough, the meeting whose theme was "change starts with you" was heavier on these activities than

the meeting whose theme was "how are we going to protect this area from destructive development."

Change starts with you raises the question of the potential for radical change. The change starts with you crowd, with their deep breathing and visualization exercises, might be easy to dismiss. But they speak to a desire for a fundamentally different way of life, a dissatisfaction or lack in modernity and the life it offers, as well as the difficulty of achieving change – both within and without. Their failure to find full satisfaction in the modern way of life speaks, I argue, to an "outside" of modernity in the center as well as at the margins. Their dissatisfaction or unease is important to recognize as a material or real basis for environmentalist discourse.

Who Are The Amenity Migrants?

Because of net immigration, the population of the District grew by about 17,000 persons between 1992 and 2002, and it is clear that the population has continued to grow in the decade since. 2012 census data will soon be available to quantify this growth. There are thus thousands of recent immigrants to the District from the rest of Chile and beyond. Among these people is a group with high levels of cultural and (directly associated with this, economic) capital. Among immigrants to the District, I counted anyone from outside Chile or with higher-level education as an amenity migrant. I did not ask informants about their wealth or income, but these people were in general, and particularly relative to their new campesino neighbors, materially comfortable.

Most of the amenity migrants are involved in the tourist industry, often starting their own businesses – restaurants, hotels, adventure tourism centers, or consultancies.

Others are retired or work in information age jobs that can be done from any geographical location with a good internet connection. They are often bi- or multi-lingual, speaking European languages in addition to Spanish (usually English and sometimes also French or German). In addition to language skills, they are likely to share or at least understand the tastes of tourists in a way that is difficult for a campesino. Of the three comunas in the District, upscale and metropolitan Pucón (sometimes joked about as "Cuicón", a play on "cuico:" posh or stuck up) is the most popular destination for these newcomers.

Foreigners are a highly visible contingent among the amenity migrants. There are married couples as well as single people, and also foreigners married to Chileans. According to the Chilean census, in 2002 there were 235 residents in the District from outside Latin America (the largest group by far was from Germany, with the United States coming a distant second). The census administered in April and May, 2012 is certain to register further growth in the population of foreigners in the District. A North American couple who settled in the District in 1989 told me that on their arrival the only other English speakers in the District were a pair of New Zealanders living in Villarrica. Today, there is a substantial English speaking expatriate community estimated somewhere around 200 people, along with about 100 natives of countries where French, German, Hebrew, Portuguese or other languages are spoken (the upcoming census will give more precise numbers). The expatriate "community" is of course an entirely different group than a Mapuche "community," and the difference is evocative of the changes the amenity migrants are bringing with them.

Environmental Activism

As a group, the amenity migrants are active participants in local movements and initiatives for the environment, although they come to these activities with diverse viewpoints. On this point it is important to account for an apparent discrepancy with the research of Zunino & Hidalgo (2010), who first brought my attention to the literature on amenity migrants. These authors find that the group they label "green amenity migrants" to Pucón tends not to be engaged in local politics and activism, a finding that points to the definitively incorrect conclusion that amenity immigrants do not contribute to the local environmental movement.

This misleading depiction can perhaps be partly explained by the fact that Zunino and Hidalgo's research began half a decade ago, at a time when the initiatives for the environment that I observed during my research were not underway. However, as just discussed, migration into the District has been associated with environmental activism for decades, so this does not entirely explain their findings. The most important factor seems to be methodological. The method used here began by approaching local environmental organizations and organizers, among whom I found a disproportionate number of immigrants. Zunino and Hidalgo (2010), by contrast, began by approaching immigrants and classifying them as "green" if they came to the District "to live in harmony with nature, to construct a collective, symbolic imaginary that highlights the symbiosis between society and nature and to create alternative ways of life to that which modernity suggests." (n.p.[my translation]). This is a restrictive definition, reflecting the authors' interest in radical alternative projects. By contrast, the central interest of this research is discourse around the environment.

Zunino and Hidalgo's findings notwithstanding, anybody approaching civic and political action around the environment in the District in 2010-2011, would find a strong presence of immigrants. In Pucón in particular, people originally from elsewhere (in Chile or the world) are an active and difficult-to-miss presence in civic and political efforts around the environment. While the specific attitudes and practices of amenity migrants with respect to the environment and ecology vary widely, it is hard not to conclude that this group is a crucial part of the environmental movement in the District. Indeed, a Chilean resident of Pucón active in local environmental politics suggested that the dynamism and effectiveness of the environmental movement in Pucón might be due to the presence of Europeans and Norht Americans who were, he speculated, more accustomed to having their voices heard, or playing an active role in politics.

Zunino and Hidalgo's definition of "green amenity migrants" excludes several of the participants in the most conspicuous public green initiative that took place in Pucón in 2010, a project that put seven recycling bins around the town and got a private contractor to haul their contents away to be sold in Temuco. Several protagonists of this initiative – most notably members of the group Pucón Verde – did not seem interested in "alternative ways of life." For example, one of them dismissed opponents of the Hidroaysén hydroelectric project, saying that Chile needed energy and it had to come from somewhere. That is, she considered an alternative to the way of life that requires Chile to produce many more megawatts of electricity to be unrealistic. Another of these activists, a businessman who spoke to me energetically about how he is making money in a green way, enthused about Paul Hawken et al's (1999) book Natural Capitalism, a volume that

argues capitalism (not alternatives to capitalism) offers "solutions" to environmental problems.

Perhaps the most noteworthy group involved in the recycling initiative is the Consejo Ambiental de Pucón (CAP), or Pucón Enviromental Council, which has office space in city hall (nobody in the group draws a salary from the city, but the organization is close to the mayor). The leaders of the group are mostly immigrants from Santiago and other cities in Chile. One is from France. During my research year, the CAP won and began to implement a 10-million peso (roughly US$20,000) grant from the Ministry of Environment for a project called "Pucón in Transition: Tools for a sustainable culture." The name comes from the Transition movement – a movement with roots in the United Kingdom, which focuses on making communities resilient and self-sufficient in the face of impending environmental crisis. At the official launch of Pucón in Transition (the event discussed in Chapter 2, where a Mapuche speaker identified the Mapuche as "ecologists and environmentalists by nature"), a speaker came from England to elaborate on the Transition movement. The grant itself funded the implementation and documentation (a book and a movie) of a series of environmental education initiatives around ten separate themes (including ecological agriculture). The grant is a recognition of the importance of Environmental concerns by the government, as well as the strength (and cultural capital) of the environmental movement in Pucón.

The transition movement is closely associated with permaculture, and there is a burgeoning permaculture movement focused around Pucón. Permaculture is an integral system of design for sustainable living, described by one of its originators, Bill Mollison as a system of "working with rather than against nature" (Mollison, 2004). There is a

small, active community seeking to develop permaculture in Pucón. One of them showed me some of the agricultural and construction projects his and other young families had completed collectively. He tells me that the path to sustainable cultural change lies in working with your friends. That is, for him, "affective ties" are an important part of his political agenda. He is partial to the "change starts with you" ethos. There is still a long way to go towards creating a community to work with rather than against nature, though. One of the challenges is that people do not live close together, and for the moment, they drive around in pickup trucks and SUVs.

I met another permaculture practitioner at the Wemapu stall one day, when she came to buy seeds. She is also an amenity immigrant (a Chilean who emigrated decades ago and has raised several children in Europe), more senior than the young man and his friends. She invited me to see her efforts to practice permaculture. I visited her farm and saw how far she had to go before her project pays off as a low-impact way of life. Her impression of the permaculture group in Pucón is that there is a not enough practical action – a lot of talk, a lot of theory, and not enough practice – among many of the people involved in the permaculture movement here.

There is also a sustainable tourism movement, which is quite small considering the size of the tourist industry in the district. A common complaint among environmentalists who work in the tourist industry is that very few of those in the business are interested in conservation or ecology, a sign of serious short-sightedness as far as the environmentalists are concerned. It is telling that almost everybody in the tourist business who is active in environmental initiatives is from outside. The first business in Chile to be certified by the Smart Voyager sustainable tourism certification

organization, for example, is the hotel by the El Cañi preserve in Pucón, owned by the British-Chilean couple mentioned at the beginning of this chapter.

One final, visible and public indication of the important role the migrants play in environmental activism is their high visibility in protests against the Hidroaysén dam project in Pucón in May 2011. Here the immigrants were clearly over-represented both in numerical proportions and in terms of the leading roles they played in organizing, giving speeches, and positioning themselves with banners or signs. In fact, several immigrants I had interviewed, who had not portrayed themselves in interviews as committed to environmental or political causes, attended these events. It is telling too that protests against Hidroaysén did not take place in Villarrica, which is a larger town, but less of a center for tourism and for the activities of the amenity migrants.

The smaller of these two rallies, or at least the series of speeches outside Pucón City Hall with which it ended, was led by North Americans. The French CAP member also spoke at this rally, as did an amenity migrant from Northern Chile. At the larger rally, a North American man gave another speech mentioned in chapter 2, denouncing the economic model that put growth before everything else and arguing that the "dinosaur" businessmen could learn something from indigenous culture. It is important to note that this radical systemic critique – a critique of the neoliberal model of development – is made by the national leaders of the movement against Hidroaysén[1]. That is the movement against the Hidroaysen project is not just about one project, but is explicitly framed by activists as a movement against the neoliberal development-as-growth (as M-C-M') model.

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[1] see www.patagoniasinrepresas.cl/final/contenido.php?seccion=problema_modelo

Modernity-Coloniality

Immigrants to the District obviously come into close and constant contact with their new Mapuche neighbors through business, residential, and other arrangements. The exchange occasioned by this contact is not entirely one sided, but the greater symbolic and economic power of the immigrants has consequences. As discussed below, the migrants are attracted to a certain simplicity and to rural life, and frequently express a degree of vague dissatisfaction with modern life, but most of them do not appear interested in emulating or in befriending campesinos in general, or Mapuche *campesinos* in particular. What the immigrants are mainly seeking, it seems, is a metropolitan experience without the Santiago smog or the California taxes. They want iphones, they just do not want traffic. Like amenity migrants in other places, many of them seem to seek a lifestyle that allows "both city-located culture and rural-located natural environment to be virtually simultaneously enjoyed." (Moss, 2006, 9). As one immigrant from the U.S. told me:

> There aren't, I think, for foreigners, outside of Santiago… a whole lot of options, places you'd want to live [in Chile], just because it's too small town, too narrow minded, you know, too Chilean... So I think you have Pucón, Puerto Varas, maybe San Pedro, Viña. You know – those places. But other than that not too many places that I feel are stimulating enough. And you know I guess it's a bit of a debate whether it is stimulating enough here.

While two immigrant families that I got to know – both Chilean, not foreign – were fairly deeply involved with Mapuche organizations and friends, it is safe to say that the vast majority of amenity immigrants do not seem strongly attracted to the Mapuche presence in the District. In December 2010, I climbed the Villarrica Volcano with a group of

North Americans and Australians. Some Anglophone immigrants had family visiting from Australia (and my sister was visiting me). We were guided by three Chilean tour guides. The leading guide was a Santiaguino migrant to the District. He and his Canadian wife are friends with the people in the group. When we got to the top, he broke out a flask of wine, and said that he wanted to honor the mountain in the way the Mapuches did, with a sip of wine. As he told me later, this ceremony was his own interpretation, a very loose interpretation of Mapuche ceremonies. Just how loose is reflected in the fact that he invoked the Aymara "pachamama" rather than the Mapuche "ñuke mapu." It was a multicultural gesture that my Mapuche friends appreciated when they heard about it. The guide told me, however, that he thinks he is the only guide on the mountain who does anything like it. Also, in its loose connection to Mapuche traditions, the rite can be seen as speaking to the weakness of the connections between the amenity migrants and the Mapuche residents of the District. It speaks, perhaps, to the monoculturality of multiculturalism, to the isolation of the discursive space of modernity from coloniality.

The overt and violent racism of the early days of colonization has ended. Many, but far from most, migrants professed an interest in Mapuche culture. It is perfectly possible for people in different positions to establish close relationships, but the process here is one of ongoing colonization, and the conditions of inequality between the immigrants and the *campesinos* (Mapuche and winka alike), make inter-culturality, as the member of CET SUR mentioned in the chapter 2, a difficult proposition. The interviewee cited above may not have an interest in anything "too Chilean," but this lack of interest is not only a personal disposition. It – and by extension a lack of interest in

Mapuche ways of life – is in an important way woven into the texture of this historical-geographic-discursive space. In the same way that an unsustainable way of life – the politics of unsustainability – is being brought to the District by the immigrants.

So it is that migrants' presence and their environmentalist activism seems to have a greater impact on how Mapuche *campesinos* (as well, undoubtedly, as other locals) see their territory and the environment than on the migrant's world-view. The *campesinos*, obviously, have a very different relationship to the land from their new bourgeois neighbors, and do not see it in the same way as the immigrants. A sort of temporary amenity migrant myself, one day I visited a Mapuche family living in what I found to be a stunningly beautiful setting, tucked between two ridges of steep snow-capped mountains. I commented on how beautiful I thought the place was, and asked the woman of the house, who had arrived here from farther down in the valley when she was married about 30 years ago, what it was like to live in this setting. I'm not sure she heard the part about how beautiful I thought it was. What she said was, "You have to get used to it. When I first arrived I thought it was like a desert, but now I like it." This entirely different attitude towards this landscape is not surprising, especially among people in this older generation of campesinos. It reflects a different way of valuing or respecting "nature." This same woman told me that when she participates in Mapuche religious ceremonies she prays to the spirits of the mountains to take care of her and her family.

The lack of interest in scenery evinced by this older woman seems likely to change, as immigrants drive up the price of land. A young Mapuche woman, who lived in a spot with a spectacular view, high above the Trancura river, commanding a vista down the valley to Villarrica Volcano, told me how in the past ten years, her family had

grown used to people coming and asking to buy their land. "If I had a peso for every person who has asked…" she said. But her family does not want to sell, and in any case the 1993 indigenous law makes it difficult to sell indigenous land to non-indigenous buyers. This is one way that relatively privileged outsiders – whether immigrants or people looking for a vacation home, are transforming how people see the land. This is one way they are bringing modernity, modern subjectivity with them.

Environmental discourse, I argue, is integral to this process. Three of the four hotels participating in the PTAM are owned and run by amenity migrants. One, as already mentioned, is the hotel associated with the El Cañi private park. Another, located in Villarrica, is owned by a North American couple who have lived in the district since 1989. A third establishment, recently installed in the mountains above Pucón, is owned and run by a married couple, both Chefs. One chef is Chilean and the other is French. The PTAM is thus one direct link between the world of these immigrants and Mapuche campesinos. The most fundamental link between these two groups, however, is that they share the space of the Lake District. Of course they experience the space in which they live, and modernity more generally, from different positions, but sharing the same space they have opportunities – such as the PTAM – for exchange. To the District, the amenity migrants represent (and are part of) a dimension of globalization that involves physical presence and mobility in the homogenizing spread of world culture, including its paradoxical discourse of diversity and ecology – the politics of unsustainability.

Another example is a "green" store opened in Pucón by one of the North American environmentalists involved in the private nature preserve. The store sells recycled, biodegradable, energy saving, certified organic, locally-produced and otherwise

"ecological" products, and was opened with financial support from the Chilean government's Corporación de Fomento (CORFO). It is suggestive of the times and of governmentality: the state assisting consumer-led environmental initiatives. Anyway, a member of the Red de Ferias sells her line of soaps and shampoo and "body products" at the new store. While she was already marketing her soaps as all-natural, selling them in this store obviously reinforced the "green" marketing angle. She attended the grand opening of the store, and as she was leaving, a two-person video crew who had come to the event (at least one crewmember was an immigrant from elsewhere in Chile), stopped her to interview her for the Pucón in Transition project – reinforcing for her the broad appeal of "the environment."

The woman demonstrated that all this environmental discourse was not lost on her when she addressed the roughly 40 people in attendance at the grand opening. First she explained how she made her products and what they meant. She then addressed herself directly to the Regional Minister for the Environment (SEREMI) who had come for the occasion.

> Since the SEREMI is here, I'd like to say something to her. Right now the indigenous communities in Curarrehue are being invaded by all kinds of projects, by mining permit requests, hydroelectric projects, and fish farms. Right now we Mapuche are fighting so that these companies don't install themselves in our communities. Because I think that we Mapuche are capable of doing things, and we don't need people from outside coming to pollute us and give jobs to a few of us. What we in Curarrehue have, generally the women, are small businesses, principally Mapuche cuisine. And that Mapuche cuisine depends on ingredients gathered in the forest. Mainly piñones [fruit of the Araucaria tree], maqui [berries] and nalca [rhubarb-like plant with gigantic leaves]. So I want to suggest that when these projects come to the [ministry of] environment, that consideration be given to the fact that there are people who live in the indigenous communities and that we depend very much on our environment. That's it. Thank you.

The basic message here seems to be, "we Mapuche are capable of doing things, and we don't need people from outside coming to pollute us and give jobs to a few of us." The framing of this message as an environmental one is hardly forced, but it is significant that the occasion arose from the "green" initiative of an amenity migrant. Here we see how the market-oriented environmental initiative of an amenity migrant provided a forum for a Mapuche woman to express her concerns – concerning both the environment and her cultural identity – directly and publicly to a government official.

Postmaterialism

It is clear that the amenity migrants have symbolic power and cultural capital. This helped them to get the recycling initiative off the ground, and to win the Pucón in Transition grant from the national government. Their economic capital makes it easier for them to experiment with permaculture and other alternative lifestyles, and the fact that many of them have businesses in the District gives them political influence at the local level. Apart from their material and symbolic power, the relative privilege of people in this group sets them apart in their tastes and aspirations. There is, to be sure, a discernible and distinct bourgeois ethos and habitus among this group. Certainly, against less privileged people, this group is less preoccupied with material survival.

In this section I discuss this subjectivity in terms of "postmaterialism," a key concept in Ronald Inglehart's highly influential quantitative analysis "culture shift," arising from the post World War II "economic miracle" (Inglehart 1971; 2000). Generalized affluence, the argument goes, meant that concerns of material security were increasingly taken for granted, leading to a postmaterialist concern for less urgent issues.

On the basis of Abraham Maslow's hierarchical theory of human needs (1975), Inglehart argues that postmaterialist "values" emerge after the more basic needs for food and shelter come to be taken for granted. The basic attribute of postmaterialism, as Inglehart understands it, is a greater emphasis put on "quality of life" as opposed to economic and physical security concerns.

I use "postmaterialism" differently from Inglehart. Inglehart's model sets the affluent apart, in a separate tier in a hierarchy of needs, separate from those of us who must constantly focus on material survival. In his maslovian model, "quality of life" is something subsequent to one's needs for physical sustenance and security. In fact, as we will see, interviews with the amenity migrants suggest that we should think of postmaterialism as a concern for how needs are met, rather than what to do with oneself once physical needs are taken for granted. With this in mind, postmaterialism as I understand it is not, as for Inglehart, a sign of modernity's success in freeing up people to think about "higher" immaterial concerns. Rather, it is a sign of modernity's failure to take seriously anything but specific quantitative, economic indicators in its measure of progress and success.

Inglehart argued that postmaterialist "values" help to account for environmentalist ethos. This thesis, which implies that the environment is an immaterial concern, is far less compelling today than it may have been at first, since "the environment" is now generally recognized as a material problem to be taken plenty seriously. The thesis implies that concern for the environment is only for the rich, and this is contradicted by "environmentalism of the poor" (Guha & Martínez Alier; Martínez Alier), which has been brought to the attention of the privileged by high profile cases like

the Brazilian rubber tappers, the Chipko movement, and the Kayapo indigenous people in Brazil (Conklin and Graham). Inglehart himself (1995) has recognized that postmaterialism can be only a partial explanation of environmental "values."

The environmentalism-as-postmaterialist value thesis resonates with anti-environmentalist discourses that remain current, notably those that figure environmental protection as a trade-off with "development," and with an associated rhetoric that portrays environmentalists as hypocritical elitists. Consider the anti-environmentalist discourse of Bernardo Matte, president of the Chilean energy company behind the Hidroaysen project, and one of the richest people in Chile.

> I always say that there is no such thing as a poor environmentalist and for them it is very easy to say 'let's put and end to growth.' Like Tompkins, who has $300 million in his pocket. I don't know if a student in Puente Alto [a lower-middle class neighborhood in Santiago] would agree with that theory. It's normal for them to try this. But if you think that the gringos can stop the project, I think not. (Zambra B. 2007).

In this discourse, environmentalism is identified with rich foreigners, and dismissed out of hand as an elitist (and imperialist) impulse. The comments appear cynical when one is aware of the interests behind them. However, considering the prominent role played by amenity migrants, especially "gringos" in the protests that took place in Pucón, and how anti-hidroaysen protests took place in upscale Pucón and not the larger but more workaday Villarrica (major protests took place all over the country, including a 30-thousand strong protest in Santiago), this discourse is hardly detached from reality.

Recall the comments of the campesino in second chapter: "Somebody who needs to live, if they have little kids and they have to educate them. What are they going to lay

hands on? On the land!" If we juxtapose private conservation initiatives with these comments, we are reminded that buying land for the sake of conserving it is a form of engagement with the world that is available only to a privileged few. Indeed, if shelling out cash is the only way to conserve, conservation is something only the privileged can do. But then a contradiction arises when one asks where the wealth comes from for these projects in the first place. Tompkins' money, for example, comes from the clothing companies The North Face and Esprit. These enterprises may not be comparable to Monsanto or British Petroleum in their contribution to the "war on the environment," but they are complicit all the same in global capitalism's ever accelerating consumption of the world's resources.

We can leave charges of hypocrisy to the Mattes of the world. However, I would suggest that the amenity migrants – at least those with a strong commitment to an environmentalist agenda – embody more vividly than anyone else the politics of unsustainability. They are accustomed to certain modern conveniences, and they do not want to give them up. At the same time, many of them (although not all) believe that the contemporary system is hopelessly unsustainable, and are interested in finding alternative ways of life. In what remains of this chapter I step back somewhat from environmental activism per se and look at a deeper structure of feeling underlying the amenity migrant phenomenon/the motivations amenity migrants – many of whom do not identify themselves as environmentalists and most of whom are not activists. I argue that with the revision I have suggested, the "postmaterialist" idea is useful in understanding the phenomenon of amenity migration and its close association with environmental activism in the District.

Why do the amenity migrants come? According to Moss "amenity migration" is characterized above all by the search for "distinctive culture" and "natural" environments (Moss et al. 2006, page 3). Moss argues that amenity migrants seek "leisure, learning or, more generally, quality of life experiences." (Moss et al., 2006, 7). My interviews confirm the importance of "nature" to the newcomers I met. They also point to the conclusion that the "distinctive culture" that is of interest to most of them is a variation on metropolitan or world culture. One Englishman in his early 30s who has been here for seven years and who owns a business that takes tourists on Kayak and rafting trips on the rivers of the area, describes his decision to live in the District as follows: "Chile was the right balance of cleanliness, environment, and still modernized standards of living compared to other places I've been to." The motivations of any individual are complex of course, but this statement of what attracted one migrant to the District corresponds closely to Moss's (2006) argument that both landscape and "culture" attract migrants to mountain areas like the District. "Modernized standards of living" seems to correspond to what Moss (2006) calls the "Comfort and convenience amenities typically available to the middle-to upper income urban dweller in late modern economies" (13). To people with the means to pay, the area offers reliable electricity, running water, sanitation, and communication infrastructure, automated teller machines and credit card infrastructure, supermarkets, and in Pucón particularly, sushi restaurants, cafés and boutiques that cater to an upscale clientele. Villarrica and (especially) Pucón, contrast with towns and cities of comparable size in Chile in this concentration of retail outlets, banks, accommodation, and what we could call modern conveniences. This level of infrastructure was put in place as the area became a national and international tourist hub, but has contributed to it

simultaneously becoming a hub for national and international amenity migrants who live here year-round.

For foreigners, the national context also matters. As a Russian immigrant reminded me, Chile is a country with strong institutions and low levels of corruption. While some Europeans and North Americans complained of delays, informality, arbitrariness, or unnecessary paperwork in their dealings with officials, the Chilean government bureaucracy and police generally work smoothly, without the lubrication of informal cash payments that are routine in Russia or many other Latin American countries. In addition to this aspect, in which Chile offers a kind of European and North American modern rationality, we might also include among the amenities one that is attributable to an aspect of Chile's economy that reminds us of coloniality: full-time domestic help, at less than $400/month, is affordable to people whose income, in Europe or North America, would not allow them to pay for it.

Turning to the "cleanliness, environment" aspect mentioned by the kayaker, access to the outdoors and "nature" is the common denominator in the decision by migrants to come to this territory. In Zunino & Hidalgo's survey of the migrants in Pucón, 64% cited connection with nature as a motive for moving to Pucón. As one North American migrant described it to me: "it's just stunning. I mean it's kind of amazing because you don't really feel it until, I think you just past Villarrica and all of a sudden you get in and all these trees and the volcano and it's just a really beautiful place, naturally." A striking number of migrants were explicit in stating that "nature" and the outdoors was the reason they moved to the area. As the kayaker said, the outdoors is "where I spend most of my time. It's my business. It's why I moved here." Or another

foreigner (a North-American) in the tourist industry: "we pretty much came for the natural beauty… the big trees and the clean water. The great parks… [are] the reason we're in Chile"; or a young professional from Santiago, with a wife and two children: "Nature above all. Looking for nature. That was a factor that made us decide on here, on Pucón, and not Temuco for example"; and finally, a young German woman who also owns a business offering tourists guided tours, climbing to the summit of the volcano, among other things:

> I was just fascinated by these mountains, and the volcano, the smoke [from wood-burning stoves], the lake – there was water close – just the whole setting. And I got into it and for me it was this mixture of, like having all the elements here…I was attracted to Pucón because of the nature basically.

The attraction to "nature" does not automatically make one a committed or politically active environmentalist, and it is manifest or expressed differently by different people. The kayaker, for example, has little to no interest in organized politics or alternative ways of life. He had been coming to Chile (and Pucón) for several years as a stop on the international whitewater kayaking circuit, before he finally decided to stay and take over the business of a North American he had worked with as a guide. Of his interest in nature and the environment, he says simply, "I don't like being in cities with lots of people and craziness. I like being outside in the sun, or even in the rain or the snow or whatever. I enjoy being outside."

A more reflective and introspective appreciation comes from a young, single graphic artist from a well-to-do neighborhood of Santiago who has been living and working as a waiter for two years in Villarrica. He described his move in these terms: "I

wanted to leave Santiago for a while. It is a drag [me da lata] to live in the same city your whole life." As far as his decision to come to this specific place, the artist says,

> It's a lot cheaper to live here. It's more peaceful, it's more beautiful. That's it. I mean those are I think kind of external factors. Also, because it's a more peaceful place, with fewer stimuli than big cities, that means that you grow internally, or it can help you. It has helped me at least… Every day you wake up here in the morning and you see the volcano and you see the lake, and you see the city has very well-defined limits, that it's defined more by nature, and for me, this produces a feeling of well-being. Or sometimes, I don't know, you're walking home from work, you're going home and the day is nice or there's a beautiful sunset, or birds in the lake. I don't know, there are lots of things. In Santiago there is also plenty of nature, I mean there's the cordillera and all that, but obviously there you're more oriented to the city, and the city interrupts it much more.

The comments about "fewer stimuli" point to the way in which, while the appeal of this place can be understood as closeness to "nature," it can also be understood as distance from the urban context, with its hustle and pressure, and its barrage of marketing and all-out consumerism.

A North American woman elaborates on how living in the Lake District brings her and her children closer to natural rhythms:

> Moving here you learn to live with the seasons a lot more… I love the fact that my kids, starting in September, they start to eat the diguenes that grow on the trees. And now [October]…we're planting the garden but then, then come all the berries. The wild blackberries are everywhere and then the murtas [another kind of berry]… they're fantastic these little murtas. And then come the castañas – the chestnuts – and the avellanas. And… there's a season of six months where they can go out and pick something to eat everyday… They can find … watercress. It grows wild here. And I love that because…what a great thing to know how to do and experience!… I love the seasonality that you kind of lose, certainly in the States – although it's coming back – but Santiago as well. You can get anything at any time there and so you never think about it.

Quality of Life and a Different Kind of Postmaterialism

As if to confirm the appropriateness of designating them "postmaterialists," several amenity migrants used the phrase "quality of life" when explaining to me why they had moved to the District (e.g. "the quality of life is higher here"). This corroborates Zunino & Hidalgo's findings (2010), although it is not clear if their respondents spontaneously used the phrase "quality of life." If for most (in Zunino and Hidalgo's estimation, 64%) of them, part of this quality of life is the landscape of the District, for the North Americans especially, it also often had to do with a modicum of material simplicity. Several immigrants from the U.S. told me that they appreciated having less of what we might call "consumer choice." One North American, whose sentiments were echoed by her North American husband, presented fewer brands to choose from and fewer material goods as making life easier and simpler. Another told me that he was glad to have removed his children from an environment in which they would be bombarded by marketing messages all the time (although as we have seen, his children are hardly completely sheltered where they are). Another North American, a mother of two with an advanced degree from a prestigious American university, described how:

> I like having just [the local supermarket] Eltit. You know? And if it's not there I don't have it. And if I can't get it I have to make it. I mean the cooking thing for me is a big thing. I can't get good chicken stock. In the States you can go and buy a hundred different brands of organic blah blah blah, so you would never, ever think of making your own. Whereas here you've got to make it… It kind of grounds you… You have to do a lot more for yourself but at the same time it's much more satisfying. So the things that you eat are much more simple but they're all homemade.

Here we find a lack of "consumer choice" being interpreted as positive in a complex and telling way. The speaker recognizes that she would be inclined to avail herself of the kind of pre-processed food available in the U.S., if it were available to her here. And yet, she says, she likes the fact that the products she would choose are not available. The fact that she is obliged to make them herself "grounds" her. Having to make her own organic chicken stock, we might say, alleviates a little the alienation of modernity. Meanwhile the implication that she would not bother to do so if she lived in a place where she could buy it as a commodity points to the way people are drawn into what they recognize as less "satisfying" ways of life as the easier option. The woman's comment is intriguing for this reason: the path to alienation and the commodity fetish is not false consciousness, but something like a path of least resistance. When it is easy to get chicken stock off the shelf instead of making it yourself, that's what you do, even though it isn't as tasty or satisfying ("grounding").

The comments thus point to the seductive power of capitalist modernity, and the enormous challenges of resisting its power, of making change start with you. To reinforce this point, I cite a Chilean woman who had taken the highly unusual step of pursuing dialogue with rural Mapuche populations for its own sake, and on her own initiative. Today, she is a housewife married to a schoolteacher and raising two children in Villarrica. In the 1990s, before she got married, and before multiculturalism came into vogue – before what she described as the Mapuche "boom" – she had secured grants from multiple foundations and had spent several years travelling around the region on buses, oxcarts and on foot, going to Mapuche communities and putting on puppet shows that she herself had developed based on Mapuche tales. She said:

> The current economic model is not compatible with a simple, communitarian form of life. It isn't compatible. It's a dream. I was involved in that for a long time, but then… you realize that you cannot follow a lifestyle, because it would hurt you in the long run. The person who loses is you. [Interviewer: What kind of lifestyle do you mean?]… I don't know, a lifestyle more like the Mapuche philosophy. [Interviewer: It hurts you in the end?] The way the system is now, yes, I think so. You have to pay attention to what is going on. Especially when you have kids. Because maybe for me, if I'm going to die of old age in a [Mapuche] community, it doesn't matter. But I can't let that happen to my children for the sake of my idea, I think. I mean, later, when they are grown they can choose among the possibilities, but I can't be denying them the possibility of participating in this model. It's contradictory, but… [she trails off]

These words are suggestive of how our conduct is channeled by a web of forces that has become global; a network of pressures and persuasion that is shepherding us all – metropolitan and campesino – into a way of life that depends upon this network and feeds into its logic of surplus, accumulation and waste. In important ways this pressure may be greater for moderns like the migrants, who know no other way of life, than for those who live in a context where another way of life is to some extent still intact. Privilege makes it easy to expend resources, and it makes it easier to protest against anti-ecological modernity, but it does not make it easier to find another way to live.

Conclusion

A Mapuche woman who rents cabins in the campo to tourists told me that her clients are profligate with electricity, leaving lights on when they are not being used. They take fifteen minute showers, and they throw away perfectly good uneaten food. All of these things were, to this woman, galling. They were certainly not, it was clear, things that she wanted to emulate. The amenity migrants and the postmaterialist

environmentalists (like the author), are members of this group, and without any doubt, they use far more resources than the less privileged residents of the District. Their large cars, their computers, their large houses, their frequent plane travel, and the wasteful habits that so struck the guest house owner: all of these things mean that they are bringing ecologically destructive practice as well as environmentalist discourse and activism with them to the District. That is, they bring the politics of unsustainability, the ecological paradox to this space.

Integral to the ecological paradox is a recent realization in the heart of modernity itself, that modernity's emancipatory promises have been, to say the least, overblown. Postmaterialism, as I have used it here, is a name for this realization. Whereas Inglehart sees postmaterialism as the product of an achieved affluence – his invocation of an "economic miracle" underlines his own detachment from material realities – postmaterialism as I use it refers to an unease or dissatisfaction that results from a configuration aimed at producing and consuming in ever-increasing quantity. That is, postmaterialism here does not refer to the success of capitalism in making it possible to leave concerns of quantity behind and focus instead on quality; rather it evokes a disillusionment with capitalism's obsessive focus on quantity. It evokes, I would say, the inadequacy of a practical approach that ignores the metaphysical or qualitative aspect immanent in any material configuration, including that of capitalist modernity.

Postmaterialist disillusionment is perhaps most eloquent when it is articulated by the rich, but it is crucial to recognize that it is by no means limited to the rich. The buen vivir movement, enshrined in the constitutions of Bolivia and Ecuador, is a clear manifestation, from quarters not identified with those privileged by modernity, of

skepticism towards the modern, capitalist fixation on quantity to the exclusion of quality (Fatheuer). The rhetoric of the buen vivir movement was echoed by Mapuche campesinos I met. For example a young Mapuche man told me that Chile's leaders need to abandon their ambition for the country to be rich, and makes it clear that he believes he is privileged to live at a distance from what in English we call the rat race. A campesino who has recently acquired a pickup truck lamented to me that he was more autonomous when he used horses instead. You do not need to buy fuel for a horse, he tells me, you just have to let it loose to graze. Moreover, he adds, he had a lot more fun (read: quality of life) riding horses than driving the truck.

There is, then, a possibility for a shared ethics and politics. A degree of intercultural exchange means that this possibility is beginning to be realized, as the example of the Mapuche woman addressing the regional minister at the amenity migrant's new store suggests. The PTAM itself is establishing connections between Mapuche campesinos and the amenity migrants. The trafkintu (seed exchanges) organized by CET SUR and campesinos are another forum that brings the two groups together. Perhaps most importantly, mobilizations against development projects in the area also lead to intercultural dialogue around specific, material environmental threats to the District. These mobilizations are discussed in the next chapter and in the conclusion. While environmental threats to this territory do not mean the same thing to these different groups, they are perhaps the most compelling reason for making the effort to reach across cultural and colonial gaps, to grapple with the contradictions that the amenity migrants so vividly embody.

CHAPTER 6

MEDIATING TECHNOLOGIES AND ECOLOGICAL DISCOURSES

This chapter addresses the ways in which discourses around "the environment" are coming to be meaningful to Mapuche campesinos. In this respect it broadens the discussion in chapter four, where we saw how contact between CET SUR (the NGO) and Kom Kelluhayin (the Mapuche small farmers' group) led to an embrace of environmental discourse on the part of the campesinos. I described that process, which I discuss further in this chapter, as part of a larger process of the globalization of the space inhabited by Mapuche campesinos, and this chapter as a whole is an effort to make more explicit what that process entails. This chapter also helps to contextualize the discussion in the previous chapter, and complements the previous chapter's discussion of why "the environment" means for the amenity migrants with a discussion of how it is coming to mean to the Mapuche campesinos in the District.

Globalization is manifest in this chapter as a process by which transportation and information technologies are changing the space of the Lake District and of Mapuche campesinos who live there. In interaction with one another, these technologies are reconfiguring the relationships of inhabitants of the District not only to the rest of the world, but to one another as well. I bring this process into focus by looking at environmental discourse, and most specifically the way Mapuche campesinos are increasingly invoking terms like "ecology" and "the environment" in their discourses.

The growing salience of global realities in the District entails mediation and communication, travel and information transmission in various forms. Paying attention

to the interaction between these various technological forms helps us to recognize the specificity of different spaces. For example, mobile phones are becoming part of life in the campo before landlines are available – a common enough pattern. But when this pattern interacts with the patterns of adoption and use of other media – for example transportation technologies – as well other specific characteristics of this space, a more distinctive picture begins to emerge. This is part of the meaning of "mediating technologies" in the title of this chapter. As suggested by Bolter and Grusin's Remediation (1999), communication technologies not only mediate between different positions in space-time, they also mediate one another. They interact to transform this space, its significance, and the discourses that texture territory. In complex ways they position the territory and its diverse populations with respect to other populations and to territory, both in and beyond the District.

The chapter begins by discussing a case in which the Internet helped the Mapuche and non-Mapuche residents of Curarrehue to organize against a hydroelectric project planned in their comuna. It contrasts the activist discourse found online with the promotional discourse of a Coca Cola commercial that I saw on television in Curarrehue. The chapter then revisits the experience of Kom Kelluhayin and their production protocol as it points to the continuing importance of mobility and physical presence in the globalization of this space. Next, the chapter reviews the various media that mediate life in the District, before showing how environmental discourse does not emerge from any single medium, but from interaction of various informational media and transportation technologies.

No to Hydroelectric Projects

In August, 2011, shortly before I left the District, it came to the attention of the residents of Curarrehue that an Austria-based hydro- and wind- energy company is seeking to build a small hydroelectric project on the Panqui river above Curarrehue. The company had already begun surveying for the project, and it appeared that the mayor of Curarrehue was facilitating the project's progress. The company had elaborated an environmental impact statement which it hoped would be sufficient to secure the final approval of the project from the national government. The members of the community mobilized, holding demonstrations: one along the route of an annual car racing rally that goes through Pucón and Curarrehue, and which attracts attention to the District; and another on the town square, disrupting an official ceremony for the national holiday at which the mayor and the head of the regional government were present. In response to the concerns voiced in these protests, a meeting was called in the open air on a site near the planned project. The mayor was there, as were officials from the national government, and representatives from the Austrian company. The company's representatives – one Austrian and one Chilean man – were met with deep suspicion and hostility. In response to the protests and the broad-based skepticism towards the project expressed at the meeting – and in an apparent about-face – the mayor decided to request that the national government require that the company conduct a formal environmental impact study – a longer process requiring consultation, in contrast with the statement the company had already prepared – before giving final approval. That is where the project stands now.

In this flurry of activity, a facebook group was opened on September 1. This group is a local forum with connections to a national and international network of environmental, civic, and Mapuche activists. The group has been used principally as a forum for the neighbors opposed to the project to coordinate and discuss their meetings and other activities. For example, the group was used to discuss the wording of a letter composed to the regional Environmental Evaluation Service (SEA). Meetings to coordinate and organize the campaign were announced on the site. Advice was given: one post warned against signing anything that the company presented, another advised property owners that they had the right to refuse surveyors access to their land. Another contributor wrote: "lets approach our neighbors who see this as a good deal, without realizing the damage that they will cause by accepting money to let them lay the duct in their fields lets convince them that that is not the way to protect our children's future." Local cultural events – one with a "no to hydropower in Curarrehue" theme – were advertised.

While the discussion in the group was almost exclusively about local issues and local events, links were constantly made to the broader national context and, mainly through references to the exploitative relationship between the north and the south, to the international context. People posted links to coverage of the protest and the issue by alternative and local news media, as well as a story prepared by the national television channel's (TVN) regional service. Another way links were established was by the posting of stories about other communities in southern Chile facing a similar situation. These links made clear, for example, that the company's stratagem of using a unilateral statement to avoid conducting an environmental evaluation and consulting the people and

communities to be affected is common. In this way, the page constituted and connected itself to the "counter-public spheres" (Fraser, 1993) whose growth the internet has facilitated (Dahlgren, 2005; Salazar, 2003; 2010; Downey & Fenton, 2003). The site constitutes one among many points of interconnection between various counter-public spheres, with web-links to oppositional movements organized around human rights (observatorio.cl), the Mapuche struggle for recognition and justice (mapuexpress.cl), and the environment (ecosistemas.cl; codeff.cl; rbaraucarias.cl)

The rhetoric in this forum was organized around both the "environment," "nature," "ecology," etc., as well as the strongly Mapuche identity of the territory in question (The majority of the population of Curarrehue identifies as Mapuche). References were consistently made to things like "our Curarrehue's pure nature," "ecological disaster," "biodiversity," "contaminating the environment," as well as invocations of Mapuche culture through Mapuche language phrases and words. Mapuche "ñuke mapu" (or mother earth) was frequently used: "defend our ñuke mapu." This language evoked history: "ñuke mapu needs us say no to the invaders." The battlecry "Marichiweu" – we will be ten times victorious – appeared repeatedly as well. The connection between environmental and Mapuche discourses could not be more clear. Moreover, the palpable intensity of feeling at the meeting with company officials comes through here too: "no to their damn projects of progress and development that just make foreign companies grow, exploiting the riches of our territory."

<u>Coca Cola: "reasons to believe in a better world"</u>

It is worth juxtaposing the activist's use of the Internet with a high-production value television commercial that takes the message that the mall has "everything that makes you happy" to perverse poetic heights. I have in mind a Coca Cola spot that came on the television one rainy afternoon while I was sitting with the members of the Red de Ferias in the municipal building in Curarrrehue, where they were selling food and handcrafts. The commercial alluded to the environment, as well as other serious problems facing global society. Accompanying the image of newscasters over the banner "global warming" the commercial offered the message, "For every person that says everything is going to get worse, there are 100 thousand couples trying to have a baby." This was paralleled by a series of similar juxtapositions, such as "for every weapon that is sold in the world, 20 thousand people share a Coca Cola." And the logical conclusion: "There are reasons to believe in a better world."

The point of juxtaposing the commercial with the anti-dam facebook page is not to affirm the image of the internet as a democratizing medium against "old" broadcast media as a vehicle for ruling ideas of the ruling classes. After all, the Coca Cola commercial can be found on the Internet – that's how I transcribed its voice-over. And the online anti-dam discussion took place offline as well, even getting a limited amount of publicity beyond the District in the mainstream news media as well as in counter-public spheres. Rather than the differences between broadcast media and social networks, we can just as easily think of the audiovisual format of television as integral to the Internet (videos, photos are posted), and of broadcast television as a basic, early version of the same technology. In that case we can compare the substance and the production value of similar media used for promotional and oppositional purposes, much

as was done with engraved communication in chapter 3. Considering that facebook is a for-profit company, deeply entangled in the complex of promotion, consumerism, and surveillance, the parallel with chapter 2 is apt: facebook's privately owned electronic wall (on which users 'write') is, except for the fact that facebook is happy to have users write on its "walls," analogous to the physical walls on which the anti-systemic graffiti is inscribed.

An important feature of global space is the fact of accelerating environmental degradation, a fact that shapes both the governmental and alternative discourses here, although in very different ways. In the promotional discourse, the environment lurks in the background as an important source of risk and anxiety in the contemporary global space. In explicit terms, the environment features as global warming, something to be acknowledged in a subtle, un-alarming way, before getting to the punch line that the product being sold is a "reason to believe" (… that global warming is not really a serious problem if we accentuate the positive and enjoy Coca Cola). If we take Coca Cola metonymically, as representing consumer capitalism as a whole, we can say that the commercial performs a standard maneuver of consumer promotion: it offers itself as the solution to the very problems it creates (Slater). Considering that advertizing is an integral part of market society (Galbraith; Smith and Max-Neef), we can understand this commercial as an illustration of how bullshit – by which I mean a form of communication unconcerned with truth and falsity (Frankfurt), antithetical to Habermas's "communicative rationality" – is an integral part of the configuration of global capitalism. The fact that the commercial was utterly unremarkable to the people I was

with is a testament to how well the commercial/promotional culture, and the political-economic configuration it helps to constitute, has permeated the reality of this territory.

The promotional Coca Cola discourse is by intention a deterritorialized discourse, artfully avoiding substantive and meaningful engagement with the material problems it alludes to. By contrast, in the discourse of the activists on the anti-dam facebook page, the environment is a specific territory, a call to action, something to be defended, a reason for struggling. As an instance of the internet being used as a site for the construction of a counter-public sphere, the facebook page is an instance of the internet as an extension or continuation of social space (Miller and Slater 2000). Inherent in the notion of the internet as a site for building Counter-public spheres (Fraser, 1993) – or for that matter, the (singular) public sphere (Habermas) – is an understanding of "cyberspace" as connected to other spaces (as in Miller and Slater, 2000). This example – in which people who lived within a few kilometers of one another used the internet to organize and build political will in their community – makes clear that these geographic spaces are not necessarily more physically extensive than the spaces people inhabited in the pre-telegraphic age.

By the same token, as I will show below, transportation, the original, pre-telegraphic form of communication, remains fundamental in the diffusion of environmental discourse – a global phenomenon, a phenomenon of global space. This is not, however, to privilege any single medium, or credit any single medium with bringing environmental discourse to the District. Rather, I want to point to some of the many ways different technologies – not just the internet – interact in the mediation of this

territory, and how this "ecosystem" of technologies is part of an even larger ecosystem from which environmental discourse emerges and is articulated with local realities here.

Kom Kelluhayin's Production Protocol

The first thing to say, as a corrective to "information society" rhetoric, is that transportation, manufacturing, migration and, in general embodied material remains fundamental. To make this point, consider more closely the story of Kom Kelluhayin's agro-ecological production protocol, which was first elaborated in 2004, in the process of translation discussed in Chapter four. This process integrated Mapuche campesinos into a global discursive space via signifiers such as biodiversity and sustainability. The elaboration of the protocol was an intensive process, involving a series of long meetings that went on for several hours at a time, building consensus on how to express the aspirations, needs, and difficulties shared by the farmers. These large meetings, involving on average about 30 farmers at a time (the Farmers' Collective had 80 members at that point), were significant for the way they involved exactly the kind of deliberative, consensus-building communication that is virtually impossible in anything but a face-to-face context. The role of information technologies here, then, was mainly to coordinate and organize meetings to which people traveled from the campo.

At the end of this series of intense discussions CET Sur and Kom Kelluhayin had a document, the protocol described in chapter four, which committed the farmers of Kom Kelluhayin to grow organic produce. As discussed, the protocol uses terms that link the farmers to a global network of food and agriculture activists. At the end of this process of translation and consensus building a group of farmers was not only committed to

growing organic food, but had a new perspective on their role in the world, could articulate a critique of industrial agriculture as it affected their interests, and were actively participating in a global movement against industrial agriculture. It is not incidental that this arose through intensive face-to-face group discussion rather than through the direct mediation of information technologies. There is nothing like face-to-face communication and physical presence for negotiating, understanding. Sharing the same physical space facilitates recognition and understanding. It allows for an intensity and intimacy that is difficult to achieve with holographs: breaking bread together, having sex, shooting when you see the whites of their eyes. These are meaningful things that cannot be phoned in. This is why governments and corporations send emissaries and establish offices in far-flung locations. And of course the same principle applies to the third sector.

The permeation of campesino spaces by global universes of meaning has continued through further face-to-face meetings, specifically forums sponsored by the Slow Food or Terra Madre organization. During my stay a group of them travelled to the 2010 Terra Madre conference in Turin, Italy, the third time this had occurred since members of Kom Kelluhayin travelled to the second Terra Madre conference in 2006. Although one of Kom Kelluhayin's leaders had travelled to Canada for a meeting of indigenous peoples, the Terra Madre trips were the first time most of the travelers from Kom Kelluhayin had left Chile (except on trips over the cordillera to Argentina). Connected with this, a Mapuche Slow Food group (or "convivium") has been established in Villarrica, by Kom Kelluhayin leaders and their associates. Another, more recently convened group, brings together members of Red de Ferias with amenity migrants from Pucón.

In June the leader of the Red de Ferias travelled to Jokkmokk, Sweden, for another Terra Madre-sponsored event, the "1st Indigenous Terra Madre Conference," explicitly and exclusively for indigenous peoples. One of the things that came out of this was a declaration[2] seeking to build on the 2007 UN Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples (UNDRIP), for the sake of "sustainable local food systems and food sovereignty." For this trip, the leader of the Red de Ferias borrowed a digital camera from her sister, and took many pictures of the meeting. At a gathering at her home on her return, she used a borrowed laptop to show the pictures to her friends. The slideshow was an occasion for her to tell us about the different people she had met and about her experiences – she was impressed by some of the musical performances offered by attendees and by the midnight sun of the far north in June.

The travel for Slow Food goes in two directions, as representatives from Slowfood travel to the District frequently. On March, 2011, for example, two representatives from Italy visited. The Slowfood group associated with Kom Kelluhayin held an event in the ruka in the Mapuche cultural center in Villarrica to share a slow meal with them. The event began with a formal welcome, as a group of about 30 people, including members and associates of Kom Kelluhayin, A CET Sur staffer who had helped coordinate the visit, and a representative from Villarrica city hall, stood in a circle inside the ruka. The older delegate from Slow Food, a heavy smoker, told the gathering:

> Biodiversity is the possibility of life. It is life. And our job in this story is really very important… We have a lot to learn from the

[2] available at http://www.indigenouspeoplesissues.com/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=11172:international-the-jokkmokk-agreement-indigenous-terra-madre-conference&catid=65:indigenous-peoples-general&Itemid=92

> indigenous communities. For the conservation of biodiversity and for the hope of life… I am here because we need to strengthen this network. In the end Slow Food is a network… it is a network that seems weak, but this network is not easy to break, because it is a network that begins in the heart. That is our effort here, to meet all the communities… and strengthen this network, and learn together with you.

As the man says, physical presence – being able to share slow food and conversation – strengthens this network.

"Biodiversity" was invoked by the Kom Kelluhayin leader who welcomed the delegation as well, saying that the agenda of Slow Food "coincides with our ancestral culture… It is good that people come to visit us from elsewhere. We feel supported and valued in the work we are doing." Other attendees had made the trip to Italy, and expressed their appreciation in similar terms of validation, and affirmation. One woman said that after meeting people from so many other indigenous groups, "I have learned to value my culture." A fairly young man, who joked that he is not so young any more, said that travelling to Italy and meeting people from all over the world encouraged him to come back to Villarrica and volunteer in Mapuche schools:

> showing that there is another vision of the world. Being able to be more sustainable in the communities and to re-value everything that is our ancestral knowledge, which is a great tool for being able to continue and to show the children, the grandchildren everything that is in this case our people.

Another woman:

> Going to Italy was a wonderful thing… Because we have been working on organic food for years. And we can see how it has grown. That we are not the only people who want to go back to all the healthy food. Because there was a time when all the food was from outside, in which one could not cook if it was not German, or Italian [she laughed, in the presence of the Italian visitor]. We had

> forgotten our own food. So... this gives you more strength to continue working.

These comments suggest that the visits to Italy, as much as this visit from the Europeans, strengthened this network, giving people a sense that they are not alone, that they are in fact part of a global movement. The hub and spoke pattern of travel is evident, though: a network, but a Eurocentric network. The fact that Slow Food meetings are in Europe, and that the money comes mostly from Europe is suggestive of the ways in which the "global" space continues to be dominated by Euro-centric modernity. Nonetheless, this network – which exists thanks to travel technologies as much as to information technologies – promotes an identification of Mapuche identity with "healthy food," and also with "biodiversity" and other terms of environmental discourse.

Another aspect of this same network, where the influence of Europe is not so indelibly manifest, is the seed exchange events, Trafkintu, that the PTAM and others organize in the District and around the region. These events, at their best, show that counter-public spheres exist offline as well as online. The largest one I attended, in Curarrehue, brought together all the diverse groups discussed in this dissertation: several NGOs, including CET SUR, a number of amenity migrants, including one north American (apart from myself), Mapuche campesinos, and urban activists from Temuco, who later extended the event into the online counter-public sphere (Salazar) of mapuexpress.com.

A declaration elaborated at this Trafkintu stated "that seeds are the ancestral heritage of first peoples and of campesinos, and therefore are an integral part of our culture" (Declaración de Curarrehue, June 9, 2011). The declaration invokes "our" culture in the name of campesinos and first peoples everywhere, but the context in which

the declaration was made – a gathering denominated with a Mapuche word, Trafkintu – was clearly a space in which Mapuche culture was being invoked and reconstructed. The declaration invokes a universal, but this is a heterogeneous, networked universal: the universal value of distinct, diverse, local cultures, rather than a totalizing, colonizing, homogenous universal. These are the material processes, the face to face communication, and mobility of "Trafkintu," a local word, thus comes to be connected to global discourses about biodiversity, food sovereignty, etc., evoking both Mapuche culture and a diverse and plural global movement.

Mediation of Everything

The discussion so far emphasizes the way mobility sustains environmental discourse and its articulation with Mapuche and indigenous identity. Obviously, the problems the declarations cited above challenge – agribusiness, chemical dependent agriculture, and even the entire complex of capitalist modernity – are entirely material, and have been part of the world of small farmers in the Araucanía Region since the "green revolution" (Stephens & Montalba, forthcoming). However, particularly if we understand them as the "entire complex of capitalist modernity," these problems are a diffuse, generalized, and creeping threat. The introduction of artificial chemicals and genetically modified seeds to agriculture, for example, can take place in an understated way, and can be smoothly integrated into already existing practices. It may lead to profound transformations, but it presents itself at first as simply a better, easier, and (symbolic power makes it appear) more "advanced" way of doing what farmers are already doing.

Other manifestations of capitalism's unending expansion are less understated. For example the mines, hydroelectric projects, fish farms and forestry plantations that are being installed all over the region are much more spectacular invasions of territory. They turn the land over to an entirely new purpose, utterly unlike any it has previously served. They are a jarring manifestation of global market society in a space that still retains memories and traces of practical independence from the logic of global markets, and which until very recently existed at a significant remove from them. It is probably not a coincidence that the resistance to mines and hydroelectric dams that I saw in the District was quite spontaneous and "grass-roots," while the agro-ecological program of Kom Kelluhayin, as seriously as it was taken by its participants, was catalyzed by an outside NGO.

Organizations like CET SUR, SlowFood, and the Austrian company seeking to build the hydroelectric facility in Curarrehue are part of a broader context and process by which this space is being incorporated into global space. In the rest of this chapter I attempt to contextualize what has been discussed so far. In the process I aim to offer a more complete explanation of (a) how environmental discourse emerges (b) from a world characterized by the "mediation of everything," (Livingstone, 2008) and the interaction of multiple forms of media. This is an effort to respond to the need, suggested by Bolter's and Grusin's (1999) "remediation," to think of the interaction among numerous different media simultaneously, and also about the interactions among these various media and diverse human-geographical contexts.

Technologies

The Chilean historian Jose Bengoa talks about how mediating technologies are transforming the meaning of campesino migration in Bolivia. His comments are pertinent to understanding a much more general change in the meaning of space and migration, including in the District. Bengoa writes:

> It is no longer the migration of forty or thirty years ago, when the campesinos went crying to the city, leaving their parents behind and thinking they would never return. Today it is a migration of round trips, with a home in the country and the city, combining agricultural activities with urban commercial activities, and with urban employment if possible. (Bengoa 2000, 57.)

In this section I illustrate what this means for rural residents of the District, and give an idea of how the connections between the country and the city are mediated by numerous technologies in addition to transportation.

Transportation

Increased access to transportation technologies has made it easier for migrants to and from the District to maintain strong ties between the District and the rest of the world. In the course of my stay I met several young emigrants from the District who were on visits home: one who worked on cruise ships, and another worked as a professional soldier (not a conscript) in the Chilean army and was stationed, he told me, in Peru. One weekend an emigrant brother visited my friends in Curarrehue from Santiago, travelling by bus. This lightning visit (Santiago is 700 kilometers away) is a reminder of the ease of travel in the twenty-first century, an ease that clearly strengthens the connection between the residents of the District and their family and friends who have emigrated. The growing wealth and population of the District are directly tied to increased access to transportation technologies, which make travel both within the District and from rural

areas of the District to urban centers like Villarrica, Temuco and Santiago easier than they were in the past. Today buses serve almost every road-accessible part of the District. More remote places are served once a day, while buses run between Villarrica, Pucón, and Curarrehue several times an hour.

In the 1920s, roads in and out of the District were usually just cart-tracks and were not passable during much of the year (Zuñiga, 2011). Around 1934 Villarrica was connected to the rest of the country by railroad (the railroad was dismantled under Pinochet). The road to Villarrica (from the town of Freire, near Temuco), was paved in the 1960s, and in the 1980s roads within the District began to be paved. The road as far as Curarrehue has been paved within the past 20 years, and by the end of 2012, the ministry of public works plans to extend the pavement all the way to the border with Argentina. Apart from the streets in the centers of Villarrica and Pucón, and the main road linking the three municipalities in the District, most roads are still unpaved. Some of the unpaved roads are still cart tracks, but many are wide, graded, and gravelled. A road bypassing Pucón on the way out to Curarrehue and Caburgua is currently being finished, and the pavement of a second road between Villarrica and Pucon is being planned (Ministry of Public Works). The ministry of public works and the municipalities together are steadily improving and paving more roads throughout the District. The construction of roads obviously facilitates buses and trucks entering and circulating within the District. That is, it eases connections between the District to territories beyond, and also changes the configuration and significance of the territory of the District itself.

A retired Chilean banker told me that fifteen years ago it would have been "unthinkable" for a member of the working or campesino classes to have a car. Now, as

he and other informants tell me, and as anyone can observe for themselves, it is not unusual for people in these groups to have their own motorized vehicles. And the use of private automobiles has increased dramatically: the grandson of a swiss colonist told me that twenty years ago he could drive from Pucón to Villarrica and not encounter any other cars on the road. Today this is hard to imagine. The road is fairly heavily trafficked at all times of day, especially in the summer. According to two Chilean researchers, from 2002 to 2008, the number of cars registered in Pucón increased by more than 50%, from 2769 to 4357 (Zunino & Hidalgo, 2010) – a trend that almost certainly has continued since 2008.

The Internet

The internet is, definitively, a part of life for the people of the District. Access here is more restricted than in higher income countries, but by the same token, less restricted than in lower income countries. About half of all Chileans use the internet (Godoy, 2010), and it is used by the vast majority of young people in the District. Moreover, a growing number of people in the working or campesino sectors have computers of their own. Thus, virtually everybody living in the District, it is safe to say, has regular and close contact with people (relatives, associates, friends) who use the internet. Indeed several informants (two of whom were over 40) reported that younger relatives helped them use the internet, setting up and maintaining facebook accounts (uploading material, posting statuses) for them.

Except for in the towns of Villarrica and Pucón, access to the Internet in the District is available exclusively via mobile broadband modems, which cost about US$30

monthly. All six of the amenity migrants interviewed about their internet and social networking habits had direct, personal access to at least one of these devices. Among the 10 people from Curarrehue I interviewed, five did not have access at home, although several said they accessed the internet at relatives' houses: aunts and siblings were specifically cited by diverse interviewees. Another interviewee explained to me that while as a rule she did not have access at home, she sometimes borrowed a mobile USB modem from friends. Some interviewees had access at work or in offices. The other option, of course, is access at cybercafés, or "cibers" as they are known here. Villarrica, Pucón and even Curarrehue have such facilities. Several informants reported using these facilities to access the internet, and others reported regularly using them in the past (before they found other ways to get access). One informant from Curarrehue, for whom cibers were his standard place of access, and who reported that facebook was essentially what he used the internet for, preferred to take the bus (a 40 minute journey, costing about US$1.50) to Pucón once a week, where the connections were faster, to do this.

Mobile Phones

By 2010, mobile phones had become a fact of daily life of all social strata in Chile (Godoy). As among other marginal rural populations, mobile phones were the first telephone technology to be widely adopted by the campesinos in Kom Kelluhayin. Virtually all adults I came into contact with, including the members of Wemapu, had mobile phones. According to the members of Wemapu, near-universal phone ownership is a phenomenon of the past five or six years. It is worth mentioning that the use of mobile phones is facilitated by the connection of rural homes to the electric grid.

Different communities have been connected at different times, and there remain some remote homes and communities that are not connected, but in the past ten years connection to the grid has become the rule rather than the exception for people living in Mapuche communities in the District.

While phone ownership is almost universal, people do not talk for extended periods because of the cost. Members of Wemapu told me that they spend between US$4-10/month charging their prepaid phones. This amount does not allow for long conversations, and conversations are brief and to the point. Phones are not used much for small talk. Rather they are used, as will be seen, for making plans and coordinating action with people in the District and beyond. In Chile as in other countries, one does not pay for incoming phone calls, and phones have changed the way Kom Kelluhayin and other campesino organizations function in at least one very concrete way: instead of convening meetings by announcements on the radio, organizers make phone calls to members. The ensuing change is reflected in a comment made by one member of Wemapu to another in the context of a conversation about this: "Remember when you used to have to hang on what the radio was saying so you wouldn't miss the meeting?"

Print and Broadcast Media

A variety of national newspapers, magazines, and other publications are available in Pucón, Villarrica, and to a lesser extent, Curarrehue. There is a well-established daily newspaper for the District, Correo del Lago, published in Villarrica, and out of Pucón the weekly news-letter style weekly Weekend Pucón. At the national level, the printed press is dominated by a duopoly comprising the Mercurio and Copesa groups, which publish

newspapers in most major cities of the country. The past decade has seen an expansion of options, with the emergence of alternative publications like the humorous The Clinic, the independent and eclectic El Mostrador and the more politically committed and leftist El Ciudadano.

Since the 1950s, radios have been common in the homes of campesinos in the region, and even with the rapid changes documented in this chapter, continue to be an important connection between the campo and the rest of the world (Bohoslavsky). Radio continues to be a decentralized medium, with stations broadcasting from Curarrehue, Pucón and Villarrica. In general, however, radio has become more centralized in Chile since the transition to civilian rule, as restrictive policies have limited the possibilities for grassroots groups to use this medium (Bresnahan, 2003). Television has been highly centralized in Chile, since its inception in the 1950s. Since the return to civilian rule it has become increasingly commercial, with even the state-owned national channel, TVN, supporting itself through commercial advertising (Fuenzalida, 2002).

The Internet and associated technologies are transforming this landscape in predictable and familiar ways. Critical print content online – from radical counter-public sphere activity to blogs more directly engaged with the established press – can be associated one way or another with the diversification of voices in the print media, with which it has coincided. Although podcasts are usually not available, many radio stations have begun to stream their broadcasts online. Television viewers can now get cable (in the towns of Villarrica and Pucón) or satellite programming, which means access to international broadcasts from outside Chile.

Mediating Technologies

As each of the various technologies just discussed connect the District more tightly to the rest of the world, they do so together, in coordination, not in isolation from one another. If transportation technology is the most fundamental technology for connecting the District to territories beyond, its embodied connections are generally coordinated and complemented by information technologies. A woman in Wemapu, for example, sends bottles of water, by bus, to her son in Santiago – her son finds the tap water in Santiago undrinkable. When she sends the water, she calls him with her mobile phone – an artifact that comes into her hands through a multitude of transportation-connections – so that he knows to go to the bus-station to look for the bottles. The movement of matter tends to happen in conjunction with separate information communication – inventories and balance sheets are consulted, orders are placed, notice is given. In the information age, it is clear, the transportation of matter (including human bodies) enables and is coordinated by information technologies; and information technologies are made possible by the movement of matter: materials are mined, devices are manufactured, networks are built, satellites are launched; radio waves and electrons are manipulated.

More examples: two interviewees in Curarrehue told me about how facebook had enabled them to maintain contact with cousins who had migrated to Argentina, and about the pleasure of being able to stay on top of important developments in their cousins' lives, and of seeing pictures of their children. In one of these cases, the interviewee described the situation as one in which the families had lost contact until they re-contacted one another by facebook. In the other case the cousins had maintained contact

and had returned to the District twice since leaving twenty years ago. One interviewee told me that she uses facebook to maintain close contact with her sister in Santiago. Her sister visits at least once a year, she told me, but they use instant messaging (on facebook) several times a week. "The phone is too expensive," she said, "but we can talk online as long as we want… So we call each other up and say, 'hey get online,' and then we chat." Here two information communication technologies interact: the phone is good for making the initial contact, but the internet is more economical for maintaining dialogue.

Amenity immigrants to the District said the same thing, as in a comment from a North American woman:

> My favorite thing about facebook is, living here, is that I'm in touch with all my friends around the world, especially back home. You know, I get to see baby pictures and weddings and just how friends are doing and stay in touch with my friends. It makes it a lot easier to live here. A lot easier I find.

This interviewee – like another North American who commented that information technologies eased the stress of living so far from North America – travelled to the US during my stay in the District. Again: both information and transportation technologies are used to maintain contact with their place of origin.

In the information age, migration does not mean cutting off contact as people move away to perhaps never be heard from again. Instead, it leads to the extension of ties – symbolic and material – across space. This means connecting the District in very concrete ways to other territories around the world, integrating the spaces of these territories into the same global space. No matter how they are mediated – and they are mediated in a variety of interacting ways – these migration-led connections outside the District are an important link between the space of this territory and other territories, and

an important means by which this space is integrated into the space of global society and the anthropocene. They are complemented by and bound up with commercial ties – the movement of merchandise as well as people. They are thus part of the same process that connects Slowfood to the Mapuche campesinos, the same process that brings the Coca Cola commercial and the discourse that consumer goods are "everything that makes you happy." This process, which brings the anthropocene and environmental discourse to the territory and its residents, is a material process, to which mobility and material geography are fundamental.

Online virtual counter-public spheres and offline, embodied counter-public spheres are not separate realms, but rather extensions of the same space. The intercultural reality seen in various face-to-face encounters among Mapuche campesinos, Europeans from Slow Food, amenity immigrants to the District, and professional Chileans working for NGOs, extends to online space. At the same time, it is easy to appreciate that some of the connections made online would not have been made if the online space was not available, and that this is as true of the territorially-based counterpublic organized against the hydroelectric project in Curarrehue as it is of larger national and global counterpublics. Thus, the process I am sketching here entails a reconfiguration of this space, not only with respect to other territories, but within itself. This reconfiguration includes changes in rural Mapuche society and culture – changes that are only glimpsed here, but are real nonetheless. My discussion of this process of internal reconfiguration is where the idea of mediating technologies – technologies that mediate one another as well as the world beyond – finally comes into focus.

Environmental Discourse in Response to "Development"

Environmental discourse reflects changing material realities and changing subjectivity. As an environmentally destructive cultural configuration spreads around the world, it is accompanied by a growing awareness of why "the environment" has value and of what is implied by the threat of environmental destruction. The comments of the leader of the Red de Ferias are suggestive of how increasing contact with "development," or "the will to improve" (Li) is changing people's attitudes:

> Nobody asks us how we envision development, what it means for us. So they just come and do things that they think are going to be good for us… and I think people at some point find themselves in a position where they see no other possibilities, and they just accept this… but there are more and more people thinking about what this means, where it will lead, if it is well adapted to the space where you live.

This thinking about the meaning of "development" occurs, I argue, in response to actual experiences of development. This experience is mediated partly by information technologies, to be sure, but it is primarily a matter of embodied, emplaced presence made possible, one way or another, by transportation technologies.

First, transportation technologies bring into the District the materials and personnel used in environmentally destructive projects that bring costs as well as benefits to residents. Transportation is essential for the globalization of this space in material terms – as a material transformation of this space, a transformation that gives rise to a growing awareness that "development" in the form of hydroelectric projects, fish farms, plantation forestry, or mines, has a downside. The District has been spared much such development, but it is home to several fish farms, as well as a few isolated and relatively small forestry plantations. [It was recently declared a special protection area (see tercera

article)]. But it is under continual pressure for more such projects. The fish farms are understood by some locals (including at least one of the women in Wemapu) as a source of jobs. At the same time, those who live next to them know that they are a source of contamination – one man told me how the water in the river near his home has become undrinkable since a fish farm was built there several years ago. These lived experiences prepare the ground for the emergence or adoption of ecological discourse, even as they bring money and consumerism to the District. In short, they help integrate the District more tightly into market society.

Second, and directly related to the previous point, increased access to transportation technologies and rapid transportation between the District and the rest of the world changes subjectivity. It facilitates greater contact not only between this space and a wider space, but also between different locales within the District. With respect to spaces beyond the District, in the autumn of 2011, the women of the Red de Ferias toured the Araucanía region, sponsored by the Chilean government in order to promote the development of Mapuche tourism. Two of them related to me how impactful the sight of monoculture plantation forestry had been for them on this trip. As one said:

> Everybody was saying 'is this really true?'… They almost didn't believe that what we were seeing was true. 'How could things get this bad?' [name redacted to comply with UMass IRB protocol] said to me. You hear this on the radio but people don't manage to understand what the radio says as long as you don't see it.

This account suggests an interaction between information technologies (radio, newspapers, television, internet, and cell phones) and transportation technologies – between metaphysical and physical existence. If understanding comes from seeing something first hand, having information, or knowing something, comes from such media

as the radio. From now on, the comment suggests, whenever these women hear about environmental degradation, either real or potential, they will have a different awareness of what it means because they have a better understanding of what it is, having seen the destruction of monoculture forestry plantations in person. Moreover, this comment suggests that environmental discourse is not an empty signifier, but rather reflects an awareness – part socially constructed, mediated, abstract or mythical knowledge (reflected in generic or global discourses around the environment), but given meaning by personal, experiential understanding.

Turning to the question of the configuration of the District itself, consider a conversation I had with a woman in Curarrehue regarding a fish farm installed a decade ago in the rural sector of Loncofilo, about fifteen kilometers from the town of Curarrehue. The woman is a leader in the efforts of the people of Curarrehue to develop their comuna according to their priorities rather than the priorities of investors and government officials from outside. She had helped organize a protest against a pumice mine in Curarrehue, and is also a leader in an ongoing mobilization to oppose the hydroelectric project no the Panqui river above Curarrehue. When the fish farm was installed in Loncofilo ten years ago, she tells me, organizing this kind of mobilization was hardly possible. On top of the fact that there was less awareness of the costs of such development schemes ten years ago, there was the difficulty of communication:

> Back then people saw from far off that there was a fish farm being built in Loncofilo. But how would you get to Loncofilo? But In the last two years I see that the matter of transportation has grown a lot. Everybody has a vehicle, and there are about seven vehicles for hire, and that makes covering distances a lot easier. If something is happening now in Loncofilo it is not the same as hearing ten years ago that something is happening in Loncofilo. [Ten years ago]

> How would you get there? Who would you talk to? [¿con quién te comunicas?]

Implicit in the rhetorical question "who would you talk to?" is an awareness that mobile phones have become ubiquitous in the past six years (something corroborated, again, by multiple other interviews), as well as the way cell phones and the internet have enabled new communicative connections between people living in different parts of the District. A hugely significant change has thus taken place over the past decade. A distance of 15 kilometers means something very different today from what it meant just ten years ago, and this has effects in stimulating conversation, dialogue and mobilization around questions of development, the use of natural resources, and the environment.

Implicit in the rhetorical question "how would you get there?" is the reality that changes in access to transportation technologies are, as I have been arguing, equally significant. Ten years ago the trip to Loncofilo would have been either on foot (part of the trip could have been done by bus) or on horseback. It would have been an all-day trip to go and come back. And once you got there, the woman explained, you would have to talk to the head-man, the lonko, but you could not trust that the lonko would relate to the community that you had come, or your interest in discussing the fish farm. And you could not trust that he would tell you how people in the community felt. If you wanted to talk to people in the community directly you would have had to find out when the community as a whole was to meet next, and return again – another day's journey – to attend the meeting. Today, as she says, in a comment corroborated by numerous other interviewees, it is far easier than it was ten years ago to get access to motorized transportation to take you to Loncofilo. The question, "How would you get there?" has a

fairly straightforward answer: if you don't have a car yourself, you can pay one of your neighbors a few thousand pesos to drive you there. The trip would take less than an hour.

The changes wrought by mediating technologies obviously have implications beyond being able to organize to oppose environmentally dubious development projects. The woman is pointing to significant changes not only in the experience of space and time, but in the power of the rural lonko as a gatekeeper in his community. Both the fact that it is easier to go and come from Loncofilo, and that it is easier to talk to a range of people there, mean a change in the role of the lonko. Niezen (2005) suggests that the internet is likely to transfer the power of representation away from more traditional cultural authorities to a younger and more computer literate group. This woman's comments make clear that other mediating technologies (including transportation technologies) are also effecting such change. Modern mediated existence means changes in the relationships among people within the same local space, as well as between geographically dispersed territories.

The leader's comments suggest that the impact of new ICTs, as well as new access to transportation technologies, is greater on remote rural communities than on communities in which direct connections to the circuits of global capital are already well-established. What we see is not only a tighter integration of this space and its population to networks that extend far beyond the Lake District, but what we could call a thickening of connection within the District itself, a thickening that undermines – for better and worse – social arrangements that arose under conditions of relative isolation from global market society. These new connections make possible a discussion of the meaning of development, the territory in which people live, their relationships to one another and to

the world beyond. They are, it seems clear, part of what is making environmental discourse meaningful to the population of Mapuche campesinos.

Conclusion

In the various examples offered in this chapter, "the environment" or "biodiversity" are not just words that people are learning to throw around. They are not empty signifiers, but rather refer to meaningful issues in this particular space – the invocations of "ñuke mapu," "my culture," and "the invaders" are suggestive of the resonance of environmental discourse with coloniality and the Mapuche experience. The space of the District, and of the campesinos themselves is increasingly integrated with a "global" discursive space in which the "environment" has become a ubiquitous theme. This is partly a matter of information technologies – of old radio and print technology are complemented by the internet, cell phones and television – but it is also a result of the immigration of a large number of metropolitan subjects to the District and stronger contact between those who emigrate from the District and their families and friends who stay. At the same time, development projects in the District – realized or proposed – give a concrete referent to environmental discourse.

The connection between these two aspects is indirect – i.e. the proliferation of environmental discourse is not identical with the geographical changes the District is undergoing. They are, however, clearly part of one larger process, one in which the role of transportation technologies is at least as significant as the role of information technologies. The discussion here has attempted to illustrate the many ways in which transportation and information technologies interact as the District becomes more tightly

integrated into global market society. It aims to suggest the mutual immanence of this material process with the subjective process by which environmental discourse comes to be meaningful. Environmental discourse may respond to affirmations from chain-smoking Italians and be connected to a valorization of non-modern Mapuche ways, and/or it may respond to threats from Austrian engineers. And of course, it may respond to North American graduate students asking people what they think about the environment.

In addition to finding concrete referents in local development projects or a recent increase in plastic bags littering fields and roads, environmental discourse may also correspond to reflection on or discussion of more global environmental problems, and of their connection to more quotidian reality, as in the protocol used in the PTAM. Here we have seen this reflection reinforced by an engagement with international legal and activist discourses, in the PTAM's protocol, and in the two separate formal declarations mentioned above. Both declarations invoke international treaty obligations (e.g. International Labor Organization convention 169 and the UN Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples) as they link biodiversity, and in the case of the Jokkmokk declaration, climate change and "environmental contamination," with indigenous rights. In short, Mapuche campesinos are adopting environmental discourse as mediating technologies (which in the final analysis should include development projects themselves) connect the space they inhabit with the discursive-material realities of global market society.

CHAPTER 7

CONCLUSION

Knowing that I was interested in communication, one of my Mapuche informants told me that instead of the internet, the old timers (los antiguos) had another system. As a child, he said, he had seen "elemental beings" who could transform themselves in and out of human form.

> I don't know, you're thirty kilometers away and you need to speak urgently with someone. You can change into a bird and go and the other person knows that you're coming as a bird and opens their house for you and inside you can turn back into a person again.

Even stranger things used to happen in the old days, he suggested, and all these things happen less today than they used to. I interpret this as suggestive of the mutual immanence of "structures of communication" and "structures of consciousness." As the configuration of the world changes, so do the universes of meaning of those who live within it. Thus, our understanding of the world – especially as it exists beyond our immediate experience – is more or less plausible depending upon the configuration in which we live. The modern configuration, as the comments suggest, is not conducive to an understanding in which people turn themselves into birds.

What I argue in this concluding chapter, as I attempt to bring together the multiple strands of preceding chapters, is that sustainability requires a certain re-enchantment of the world. I argue that this entails admitting multiple substantive rationalities missing from modernity, instead of basing the world upon a formal rationality that does not take the world seriously. There needs to be room for other forms of understanding and other

principles of configuration. We need to incorporate "worlds and knowledges otherwise" (Escobar 2007) into the material configuration of our collective life. In other words, genuine sustainability requires decolonization: a configuration of relations among humans and between humans and the nonhuman world that is not exclusively or overwhelmingly modern. Many of the activists seen in the previous chapters are attempting to incorporate non-modern knowledge into the contemporary configuration. In the case of the staff of CET SUR, this is an explicit and deliberate project. In the case of the activists in Curarrehue, it is simply an integral aspect of their effort to have their voices heard when it comes to deciding what the "development" of their territory will mean.

Review

The previous chapters offered an account of a heterogeneous space that is becoming globalized, being caught up in an ever expanding capitalist modernity that is saturating and transforming the biosphere. As new connections between the Lake District and other territories on the planet are constructed, this District is changing. It is becoming a "global" space, or part of the anthropocene. Part of this process is the emergence of environmental discourse, or a universe of meaning in which terms like "biodiversity," "sustainability," "nature," and "the earth" come to mean. The theme of this dissertation is convergence or meeting of two different subject positions – inside modernity, and at the margins in modernity-coloniality – this universe of meaning, and the space of the Lake District.

I have approached the Lake District as Escobar suggests, as a human, natural and supernatural space: or as I have been saying, as a physical and metaphysical space. It is a space in which there are still traces of nonmodern ways of life, and where globalization – the term used by apologists and critics alike for the colonizing drive of neoliberal capitalism – is particularly evident. The colonial dynamic is also put into relief by the presence of the Mapuche, who for more than a century have lived with an ethnocidal effort to transform them from Mapuche into mestizos or criollos. The strange new multiculturalism with which the Mapuche live now, suddenly embraced and celebrated as Mapuche, even as their claims to land, justice, and autonomy go as unheeded as ever, is also part of the universe of meaning at hand. In its combination of recognition and denial, it resembles the sustainability discourse that is likewise associated with neoliberal globalization. Both discourses remind us of the slippery correspondence between words and deeds, between the natural and the supernatural, the physical and the metaphysical. This nexus is the site of politics and governmental power (as opposed to disciplinary and sovereign power). It is the most indeterminate and vague aspect of "communication," which I have defined as the process of reconciliation of self with other (Peters, 1999), the principle of connection and configuration (Innis, 2007) that is both material and discursive, both physical and metaphysical.

Globalization is heavily mediated by electronic information technologies. I have emphasized, however, that migration, transportation, and physical presence continue to play a fundamental role in globalization. I have been arguing that the discursive and the material are mutually immanent. I have offered a perspective in which discourse and knowledge infuse, in indeterminate and mysterious but entirely real ways, material

configurations involving human and nonhuman subjects. Just as Mapuche identity is tied to realities past, present, and future, environmental discourse does not arise separately from environmental destruction, as in Inglehart's account of its emergence. It can and does, however, emerge at a distance from environmental destruction, a distance that must be bridged or mediated by semiotic communication, a process by which contingency, mystery and metaphysics enter the picture.

Although, following John D. Peters (2001), I prefer a materialist to a "mentalist" conception of communication, I argue that to the extent that communication intersects with subjectivity, it inevitably gives rise to a mythical or metaphysical aspect. Subjectivity itself, as I suggested in the introduction, is inherently metaphysical. As a presence in the material world, subjectivity is also a locus of knowledge that exceeds its own direct experience. This is the significance of the metaphysical: our mental maps of the space we inhabit exceed all that with which we ourselves are in physical contact. This abstract type of knowledge (as distinct from Bordieu's habitus, or unreflective, muscle memory knowledge) entails imagination. It requires us to make a cognitive reduction to theory, mythology, theology, narrative, science, history – in short, to abstract ideas.

With this in mind, we can say that the thousands of different subject positions I have shoehorned into the categories of modernity and modernity-coloniality, are experienced through mythology. They involve ngen, or Mapuche spirits, the Christian god, the dead, and other ghosts; they involve global market society and global climate change, hydrogen atoms and the genomes of the seeds farmers plant in the District. These myths are not false. They reflect realities and refer to things that are, one way or

another, manifest in the world. All of them ultimately seek to reconcile the visible with the invisible, the small empirical space of the subject with the actual and real that lie beyond: an iniquitous and unsustainable society, a past that weighs on the present; a vast and apparently infinite expanse of physical space-time and metaphysical being.

We do not need to deconstruct these concepts. Rather we need to use them. To make them work together, it is helpful to recognize that they are inevitably partial, indeterminate, and imperfect reflections of a reality that is both social and natural – or, another way of saying the same thing, neither exclusively social nor exclusively natural. This is the hub of my argument in this concluding chapter. All knowledge of the world as an inhabited space beyond phenomenological experience has a metaphysical and mythical aspect. In this respect, modern knowledge is no different from – no better and no more valid than – non-modern knowledge. Decolonial or inter-cultural communication of the kind being sought by CET SUR and by the movement in Curarrehue to challenge development schemes can only happen when this proposition is taken to heart. An inter-cultural perspective, while recognizing the merits and advantages of modern forms of knowledge, takes this proposition completely seriously, and likewise recognizes the merits and advantages of nonmodern forms of knowledge. On the one hand, modernity and modern knowledge are spectacularly effective when it comes to understanding and manipulating the physical configurations of the world. On the other hand, and there is no better indicator of this than the failure of global society to effectively address environmental crisis, modernity is incapable of taking seriously the mysterious value of life.

Anti-Mine Protest

At the very beginning of this dissertation I recounted the inauguration, in a 5 star hotel, of the Programa Territorial Agrogastronómico Mapuche (PTAM), a government-funded, NGO-led initiative to connect Mapuche campesinos to market society. I end with a discussion of a different kind of event at which many of the same people were in attendance. This was a protest against a proposed pumice mine that took place on a cold mountainside 45 kilometers above the town of Curarrehue, near the village of Reigolil. The demonstration took place the morning after many of its participants spent the previous day riding on horseback up to the village from the town of Curarrehue.

On the spot where the mine is proposed, a long Mapuche ceremony was held. The strategy was to make a cultural claim, to identify this spot with Mapuche culture, to say that putting a mine here would be an affront or attack on Mapuche culture. (As of now, the proposed mine has not been installed). Unlike the PTAM inauguration at the five star Hotel Park Lake, this event was organized outside the circuits of government power. But it did not escape the government's knowledge. Police stood off at a distance, not interacting with the other participants in this performance. They took photographs of the attendees and drove off in their green and white 4x4 before the event ended. Their surveillance activities are a reminder that government of this territory depends upon knowledge of its population and what it is getting up to. Their presence is also a reminder that governmental power is underwritten by sovereign power (of which no better emblem than uniformed, armed men), which to the maximum extent possible remains latent.

This protest event was explicitly organized as a horseback ride, or cabalgata. The idea behind the ride was to raise awareness in the territory, not just about the proposed mine, but about the implications of similar development schemes for the District and its inhabitants. As one participant explained it to me, the idea of riding in a large group from Curarrehue to Reigolil was that the riders could talk to their neighbors as they rode through the territory. Horses, we could say, were consciously used as both an alternative medium of communication, and also as "content," as emblems of an alternative, slower and less ecologically destructive configuration of space-time than the modern one.

A group of amenity migrants to the District, as well as a contingent from CET Sur and other NGOs with ties to the territory, participated in the protest and the ceremony. Most of them (including me) arrived in motorized vehicles rather than on horseback. By attending, we joined in a rhetorical strategy by which the protection of this place was connected to the protection of Mapuche culture and identity. We also brought with us global discourses around the environment. Thus two Galician tourists appeared at the protest bearing a banner reading, in Galician, "Galicia with the Mapuche people for the defense of the earth". This rhetoric was echoed in banner displayed by locals invoking Mapuche culture: "Centro Cultural Trawupeyum in defense of biodiversity." Both the Galicians and the Mapuche used similar vocabularies, the same discourse – "the earth," "biodiversity." They were sharing a universe of meaning, we could say, using the same terms or signifiers, in reference to what cannot but be different (abstract, mythical) referents or signifieds.

Universe of Meaning produced by Modernity

This protest can be seen as crystallizing the larger situation underlying the accounts of the foregoing chapters. The "global" is arriving in this space in the form of environmentalist activism and in the form of development; in critical and in promotional discourse; in the bodies, habits, and aspirations of amenity migrants and in the persons of engineers who appear on people's land, with no prior and informed consent to survey for development projects. It comes with foreign graduate students who seek to see and say something new about it all, and with government schemes that aim at a specific, neoliberal configuration of territory and geography, population and subjectivity.

Both the activists and the development schemes they decry embody the ecological paradox. The activists bring:

(a) subjective dispositions and a habitus formed in the belly of consumer capitalism.

(b) environmentalist discourse critical, to varying degrees, of consumer capitalism; a discourse in which Mapuche culture is regularly invoked as an emblem of a more sustainable way of life.

The mines, fish farms, and hydroelectric projects opposed by the activists bring:

(a) low-wage jobs, consumer capitalism, and ecological destruction.

(b) a discourse that figures all this as "sustainable development," a "better world," and as offering "everything that makes you happy."

These are two slightly different aspects of the material-discursive reality that is transforming this space, helping to shape a universe of meaning shared by bourgeois activists and Mapuche campesinos.

A Reductive Binary

How can we characterize the different meanings of this territory, "biodiversity" and "the earth" for the residents of this space and the more privileged activists from outside? We can approach the difference by considering how one Mapuche-identifying man, a participant in both the protest against the mine and in the mobilization against the hydroelectric project, said that he was acting "to defend our territory." The idea of defending our territory resonates with the memory of colonization. Given this memory, it is easy to see how the dam project engendered passionate rejection. Recall from the last chapter the language of "invaders," language that reflects a common discourse among those opposing the dam, about foreigners coming to profit from them and their land. There is something deeply personal at stake here. What concerned the people mobilizing against the mine was the exploitation of land with which they identify intimately, an exploitation of themselves.

In another vein, their intimate identification with the territory is related to a certain form of knowledge and a nonmodern configuration of the relationships between humans and the land. We can recall from chapter 5 that natives of this territory do not necessarily appreciate this mountainous landscape in terms of beauty, but that the monumental presence of the mountains is by no means ignored. As mentioned in that chapter, the mountains have metaphysical meaning in the Mapuche cosmovision. The mountains also have a very physical meaning in the nonmodern campesino relationship to the land. A Mapuche farmer I was with one day pointed to the summit of Villarrica volcano, where its plume of smoke mingled with the clouds. "You can see that rain is coming," he said. In fact, I could not see this, but the man was right: that evening it rained. This is knowledge – a kind of literacy, we could say – that modernity

marginalizes, knowledge that is part of a non-modern configuration of the relationship between humans and the land. It recalls what the CET SUR staffer cited in chapter one called "a much more local point of view."

The connection of the more privileged subjects to the land is more diffuse, and mediated by extensive modern anthropogenic networks. They are not familiar with forecasting the weather by means such as looking at the cloud formations around the summit of the volcano. They are accustomed to predicting the weather through forecasts on T.V. or perhaps on their iphones. These are methods that rely not on an intimate knowledge of this territory, but on far-flung observation stations, satellites, specially trained meteorologists, and networks of information-communication technologies.

When asked, campesinos could point to specific instances of changes in the biosphere that they had lived and experienced first hand (shifting seasons for harvesting various wild mushrooms, the scarcity of fish in the past ten years, declining bird populations). When I asked the president of one of the District's environmental activist groups, a metropolitan Chilean who had lived in the area for about three years, if he had witnessed environmental change in his lifetime, his response was different from the campesinos. Rather than directly observing biological changes, what he had noticed, he said, was increased traffic in the northern Chilean city where he grew up. At another point in our conversation he pointed to the non-native pines growing on the side of the hills near his apartment building in Pucón and said they were spreading. I asked him how fast they were spreading and he did not know because he had not lived in the apartment long enough to have observed this (he moved out of the apartment a few months after our conversation).

Another way to contrast the more privileged group with Mapuche campesinos is to think of the conservation methods described in chapter 4. These methods involve buying land and other fictitious commodities (i.e. water rights), something that involves economic as well as a certain amount of cultural capital. The conservationists who bought the El Cañi preserve, at least two of whom attended the protest against the mine, were not born or raised in this territory. They made it theirs by the logic or symbolic power of market society, by putting money down to become its legal owners. The man who spoke of mobilizing "to defend our territory," on the other hand, used a possessive adjective not to refer to legal ownership, but to deep connection and identification. Nor did the defense he had in mind involve taking legal ownership. Such a strategy was not only infeasible, it was not necessarily seen as desirable. When I suggested to him and others that the people of Curarrehue could potentially share the proceeds from a hydroelectric dam – I had in mind some kind of community ownership and the experience of the Tinquilco community mentioned in the beginning of chapter 4 – their response was cold and unreceptive. We don't need more electricity, somebody said.

In effect, the postmaterialists have a thoroughly modern relationship and modern disposition towards the land and "the environment," one shared with the purveyors of "sustainable development." For example, the Austrian company that has proposed to build the hydroelectric project in Curarrehue, RP power, presents itself as offering sustainable and environmentally friendly energy production. Considering fossil fuel and nuclear alternatives, this is a credible claim. But the environment invoked in such claims is not the "environment" of the residents of Curarrehue. It is the environment of people in Austria and wherever else investors in the project may abide. That is to say, it is an

abstract and global "third nature," rather than a concrete "second" nature in which one lives (Cronon 1991; Wark 1994).

The meaning of this territory, and of "defending the earth," are thus different for the two different groups, a distinction that reflects different configurations or relationships between human being and the land, self and other. The land for campesinos is a local space with which they are intimately connected and familiar. It is a part of the mythologies of their families and communities, and also of their Mapuche identity. The land for the more privileged activists is something else, a more abstract and isolated entity, a commodity at a greater distance both physically and metaphysically from the self. The knowledge associated with the first configuration is intimately connected to a specific territory, attentive to its particularities and the subtleties of its sights, sounds, and atmosphere. The knowledge associated with the second configuration is, we could say: cut off (de-territorialized) from the specificities of any particular territory and attached instead (re-territorialized) to a global network mediated by technical and technocratic rather than local knowledge.

There are of course as many different meanings of this territory and of "the earth," as there are subjects. To acknowledge the plurality of meanings here, I point out that some Mapuche campesinos and long-time residents of the District, like a woman I stopped and talked to on the road up to Reigolil, are resigned to development projects. The powerful do what they want, what can we do about it? This was in effect what the woman said to me. Others, like the neighbor who accosted one of the protestors against the hydroelectric dam mentioned in the previous chapter, believe development projects are positive and desirable. But nobody can doubt that hydroelectric projects and mines

would bring big changes with them: the mine would be a massive intervention, and would entail a traffic of heavy trucks in and out of the quiet village of Reigolil, as well as the paving of the road to the village (something that will likely happen anyway in the next few years). The hydroelectric plant threatens to deprive people and their livestock of drinking water. For the people living near these developments, the costs are high, and the benefits are uncertain.

By contrast, the postmaterialists are defending something much less concrete than "our territory." Most of them have real ties to the District, spending some or even most of their time here. But this "spending time," with its vaguely aristocratic ring, is evocative of their privilege, and of the differences in question. Their connections are thin compared to the born and raised, a matter of choice rather than an integral part of their habitus. In any case, privilege protects one from the worst environmental effects. It tends to mean one's home is less likely to be compromised by environmental "externalities," in the first place (privilege makes one an "insider"), and it makes it easier to move one's home if necessary. For these reasons, even in cases such as these – where potential environmental destruction will be concentrated in a specific place – "nature" and "biodiversity" are likely to have a less direct and personal implication for the more privileged than for the marginal.

A Shared Universe

Notwithstanding these differences, and especially because neither the mine nor the hydroelectric installation have actually been built, everybody involved in the mobilizations against them manifests an appreciation of the world beyond their

immediate experience. How does such understanding come about? It comes about through the use of one's imagination to understand the world in which one lives. It is the product of deduction: a triangulation between one's own immediate experience and what one learns through semiotic communication with other people. One understands the world – for subjects competent or literate in the discourses of contemporary modernity, this understanding includes "global society" and "the environment" – through these two forms of communication: communication as immediate phenomenological experience, and communication as information exchange with others. One triangulates and deduces from both forms of communication about the world beyond: One asks oneself: what is plausible? One must judge how to imagine the world that extends beyond immediate experience. Through such triangulation we come to believe (or not) in all kinds of narratives about the past, present and future: in spirits, in science, in "the environment," in mitochondria, and in the ability to communicate with distant people by turning oneself into a bird and flying to their home.

Knowledge

A modern sensibility is incredulous in front of claims that people turn themselves into birds. It may be that the modern understanding of the realm beyond direct experiences – both at the macro and micro levels – is more successful at accurately representing physical realities than premodern understandings. Modern science's commitment to exclude metaphysics is epistemologically productive, to be sure, but it is a methodological procedure. Turning science's methodological commitment into an ontological commitment leads ineluctably to an impoverished worldview, one with no

substantive grounding, and one with no way of accommodating the subjective and metaphysical. Such an ontological commitment and worldview is implicit in the modern configuration, which works through bureaucratic, technocratic, or formal rationality. It not only excludes much knowledge of the physical world, but as the discussion of neoliberal "multiculturalism" in chapter 2 suggests, it forecloses on meaning, pretending that its formality and procedure are the substance or essence of human being.

Regarding the way modernity excludes practical knowledge, consider the frustration of a Mapuche woman in Pucón who told me she was angry that government officials had recently been in Pucón working on evacuation and preparedness for the next eruption of the volcano (it has had two major eruptions in living memory, in 1964 and 1971), and had neglected to consult with indigenous leaders as they worked on their plan. This was not only a matter of etiquette. It was a matter of knowledge. Her father, for example, had shown her how the river behind their house sounded before seismic events, and so she told me, she had anticipated the earthquake that had recently shaken southern Chile in February 2010. She had been very anxious, keeping her incredulous (university educated) daughter up late into the night, she told me, waiting for the earthquake to arrive.

Government experts and bureaucrats are not, of course, interested in this kind of local, "indigenous" knowledge about the District's seismicity. It has no place in their modern schemes. Modern knowledge – the knowledge drawn on by government to seek the "right disposition of things" in this territory – is universal and standardized. It is based on generalizable principles and metrics that render difference commensurable. Its producers are technical specialists, experts qualified as such not by virtue of deep

knowledge of a specific territory, but rather by virtue of deep knowledge of a specific set of universalizing principles, and productive perhaps of what Thorsten Veblen called "trained incapacity" (Wais, 2005), and an inability to recognize the value or validity of other forms of knowledge. The kind of knowledge that allows one to perceive incipient seismic activity by listening closely to the sound of a particular stream in a particular spot is not recognized as valid or useful within their system. This is the coloniality of knowledge (Mignolo), the epistemic content of modernity's colonizing (globalizing, totalizing) drive, the imposition of a perspective incapable of contemplating perspectives from outside itself.

The coloniality of knowledge is at the root of the dysfunction and unsustainability of modernity, its inability to engage substantively with the problems it has created. Thus, for example, "sustainability" in Michael Goldman's (2005) account of World Bank's environmental governance, becomes a question of narrow, technocratic criteria, the fulfillment of which by no means guarantees that a development project is not ecologically destructive. At a more general level, those aiming at the procedural goal of improving "sustainability governance" acknowledge the "daunting challenges of sustainability" (Abbot, 2012; 543), but do not squarely confront the fact that proceduralism is not working. Meanwhile, the global market continues to grow: to emit more greenhouse gasses, to consume steadily increasing amounts of energy and other resources. The fact that the world is moving towards increasingly unsustainable configuration is almost beside the point in "sustainable development" and "sustainability governance."

Meaning

In its heavy reliance on technocratic administration, modern political power not only excludes much knowledge of the physical world. More fundamentally, it refuses to engage with particularity, mystery, and the substantive question of modernity's own failures. Modernity engages human beings with the world at the level of procedures and formal rationality, a set of representations that quantify, reduce and exclude subtleties and specificities. Through procedure and formal rationality, we could say, modernity "demystifies" in the sense of reducing a mysterious metaphysical reality to a limited and standardized set of empirical, physical indicators.

Ironically, this demystification is a form of mystification in the Marxian sense of obscuring something important about reality. However, what is obscured is not so much "real relations" or, more generally, positive truths that can be cognitively grasped. Rather, the modernist faith in demystifying positive knowledge is itself mystifying. That is, by excluding the subjective, metaphysical realm from which value and substantive rationality emerge, it obscures what is important and valuable about the world and about life. Thus modern knowledge produces a false view of the world not in an epistemic sense (although as we have seen modern knowledge is incomplete and limited), but in an ethical sense. Modern rationality promotes an ethically impaired engagement with the world.

There is no more eloquent expression of this than the fact that the "bullshit" (Frankfurt, 2005) promotional discourses we have seen on the Avon totebags, in the banners promising "everything that makes you happy," and the Coca Cola commercial discussed in the last chapter, are accepted as routine and harmless. Advertizing, I have

emphasized, is an integral part of the configuration of capitalist modernity (Galbraith; Smith and Max-Neef). The fact that its non-sequiturs and insincere suggestions are taken seriously as not only legitimate and acceptable but important and even essential is, I would suggest, one of the most compelling signs of the dysfunction and substantive irrationality of the modern systems world. Advertizing seeks to distract us. It wants us to seek substance in bullshit.

Frankfurt observes that "one of the most salient things about our culture is that there is so much bullshit" (loc 33). He shies away, however, from arguing that there is more bullshit today than there has been in the past. Let me suggest that there may in fact be more bullshit now than ever before. This is not a romantic or fanciful claim, but rather a conclusion drawn from Foucault's observations on the rise of governmental as against sovereign power. Sovereign power, as Foucault's writings make clear, in its direct coercive communication with the human body, is brutal and cruel. Governmental power, with its reliance on indirect communication, is full of bullshit. Coca Cola's obfuscations may be less compelling than the ostentatious display of blood and violence portrayed at the beginning of Foucault's Discipline and Punish, but along with neoliberal "multiculturalism" and "sustainable development," we could describe them as part of a big mound of bullshit.

Intercultural Ecology?

The point of this argument is to call for a configuration of the world that takes the world more seriously. Such a configuration would begin by taking the world's (biological, cultural, epistemic) diversity seriously. The account I cited above as an

instance of the procedural stance (Abbot, 2012), argues for opening up procedures and institutions to new actors. This might be a positive step, but it would almost certainly be inadequate for achieving sustainable practices. The opening needs to be more than procedural. If it is not, the substantive fact that "sustainability governance" is unsustainable is likely never to be addressed. Nonmodern knowledges recommend themselves. "Pluriversality as a universal project" recommends itself (Mignolo, 2007, 453). Genuine inter-culturality recommends itself. This means admitting diverse substantive rationalities, renouncing modernity's epistemology of certainty and absolute knowledge, and embracing instead epistemological relativism and plural substantive rationalities whose criteria are not formalized and universal, but rather personal and plural.

The young man who told me about the magical realities of Mapuche old timers also told me he believed the modern way of life will soon come to an end. He employed both modern and non-modern rationalities as he explained this to me. He began in a modern register: this is not a question of environmentalist "ideology," he told me. Then he justified this by switching to a nonmodern register. He believed in an impending change because he has talked to people who go to other planes and talk to the water, the cordillera, and the earth. These people tell him that a reconfiguration (reordenamiento) is coming. Anybody who has ever camped in the "wilderness," or contemplated the stars from a place where there is no light pollution in the night sky, will appreciate that it is easier to conceive of talking to mountains when one is alone with them than when one is immersed in modern society. This is a matter of the configuration of relations.

At the Trafkintu in Curarrehue in June 2010, a Mapuche woman spoke to the assembled group of about 100 people. She invoked the 2010 earthquake and a more recent volcanic eruption that had filled the air with ash and given a lunar aura to the light in Curarrehue for a day or two. "The earth is trying to tell us something" she said. I would suggest that this statement, which invokes a nonmodern perspective in which the Earth can speak, is a valid statement reflecting the reality underlying environmental discourse. With post- and de-colonial critics I would say that it is vital that the regime in which we live incorporate and act on knowledge or understanding formulated and articulated in this non-modern form. The earth speaks, and modern knowledge is only one way of listening, a way that is deaf to much of what is said.

As the amenity migrants' disillusionment with modernity suggests, modern subjects can recognize the need for alternatives as well as anybody else. From the beginning of modernity – the era of the emergence of Enlightenment, "population" and "economy" – critics from within have recognized that, "To objectify our own nature and to try to bring it under the control of reason is to divide what should be a living unity." (Taylor, 1984, 159). This critique (the quotation paraphrases 18th century German philosopher Friedrich Schiller) has come down through the Frankfurt school and has become urgent today with the environmental crisis. Versions of it are offered today by a variety of academic and nonacademic authors, as well as by many of the Mapuche and winka subjects of this research.

The Coca Cola advertisement, as part of a system that is highly rational along one single dimension, discourages us from taking the human, natural and supernatural space we inhabit seriously. But this system, the environmental crisis shows, is not rational in

the sense of allowing us to achieve a healthy relationship with our world. We should be able to recognize the truth in the statement that the Earth is trying to tell us something. We should be able to recognize that human beings, when we speak, are not speaking from a position that is separate from the Earth. By thinking of communication as a material as well as a discursive phenomenon, as fundamentally about connection and configuration rather than about semiotics, I mean to move in this direction.

APPENDIX

SOCIAL NETWORKING INTERVIEW SCHEDULE

How often do you:

go online?

Use facebook [or other social networking sites]?

Use email?

Do you have an Internet connection at home?

Where do you usually connect to the internet?

On facebook do you post

POLITICAL MESSAGES?

PHOTOS?

VIDEO?

MUSIC?

LINKS?

How often?

How much time do you spend on the internet?

How many hours each day?

How many days each week?

Why do you use Facebook?

Do you use Facebook for

Personal purposes?

Professional purposes?

When did you start using Facebook?

How many friends do you have?

Do you have friends on facebook from outside Chile?

Where are most of your friends from?

What is the most important or memorable thing you have done on facebook?

Do you ever refuse friend requests?

Have you ever de-friended anybody?

How has facebook changed

Your social life?

Your professional life?

Can you remember any advertisements you have seen online? Please list them.

Are you Mapuche?

Do you post Mapuche political stuff?

Do you have any friends who post a lot of Mapuche political stuff?

Do you post a lot of environmental political stuff?

Do you have any friends who post a lot of environmental political stuff?

Do you have close friends outside of Chile?

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