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6 **Abstract**

7 The present work and the themes expressed here are the result of experience plus studies done
8 in different research projects and extra-curricular university activities, in which have been
9 addressed the tourism development and its socio-cultural and economic impact on mapuche
10 communities of the Patagonian region in the provinces of Neuquén and Río Negro. With the
11 support of qualitative methods, such as the ethnographic records, the axes that have guided
12 the field work over the last decade and a half were: characterize and explain the historical and
13 social processes that shaped mapuche communities, their vindictive and concrete actions, plus
14 representations and stigmatization of the rest of society in tourism contexts.

15

16 **Index terms**— tourist development - mapuche communities - territorial revindication

17 With the support of qualitative methods, such as the ethnographic records, the axes that have guided the
18 field work over the last decade and a half were: characterize and explain the historical and social processes that
19 shaped mapuche communities, their vindictive and concrete actions, plus representations and stigmatization of
20 the rest of society in tourism contexts.

21 As a result of the so-called "Campaña del Desierto", these background move across time-space categories,
22 setting up a complex social space that allows us to study and analyze, critically, the different forms that exchange
23 strategies can take -submission -survival, and the building of interethnic relations crossed by the reality of tourism.

24 From a tourism field perspective, the town of San Martín de los Andes has been taken as a case study, which
25 is the most important tourist center of the Province of Neuquén and one of the most recognized of the Patagonia
26 at both, national and international levels, particularly for its winter season and the activities developed in its
27 Cerro Chapelco Ski Center.

28 Keywords: tourist developmentmapuche communities -territorial revindication. In the second half of the
29 20 th century, after the territory of Neuquén became a Province in 1958 1 , especially since the early '70s,
30 Neuquén State intervention became sustained in this town and in the region by implementing developmentalism
31 public policies, while transforming San Martín de los Andes City in a touristic place. These policies orientated
32 to promote tourism were mainly supported by important infrastructure work, from state and central planning
33 through centralized state planning, as a tool for consolidating this service center, based in an enclave economy 2
34 .

35 Consequently, the territorial spaces that were assigned to the mapuche people, previously conceived as
36 unproductive by the State, began to have a great landscape and natural value and, therefore, a touristic one
37 -real-estate -becoming the nature and the landscape, together with its inhabitants, in touristic attractions and
38 economic resources.

39 This territory, that for decades was limited by aspects especially related to the production, governance and
40 the distribution of resources (agricultural, forestry and others), acquires a new "value" and linking from the
41 development of the tourism activity.

42 Since the social shaping of borders in this region of Argentinean Patagonia, which occurred at the end of the
43 19 th century, inhabitants of mapuche origin are denied as members of the society. As a consequence, they have
44 been suffering an immersion to an inter-ethnic system that has been subordinating them during the past 120
45 years.

1 II. ETHNIC AND DISPUTED TERRITORIES IN TOURIST CONTEXTS

46 San Martín de los Andes is the county town, in this economic and political center relations between mapuche
47 social sectors and not mapuche people were built on the basis of group homogenization, based on domination in
48 its commercial, educational and touristic aspects.

49 Members of almost all the indigenous communities in the south of the Province of Neuquén have a work
50 relationship with the nearby urban centers, while this represents a major source of income the majority of these
51 off-farm jobs 3 are precarious. The community members incorporate to the labor market of San Martín de los
52 Andes as paid employees and/or independent workers, jobs that are generally informal 4 . Also, members of the
53 mapuche communities maintain relationships with certain social sectors of this locality due to the need for food
54 and everyday supplies, plus those exchanges as a result of handicrafts sales to various businesses dedicated to
55 this type of "regional" products.

56 Despite of its proximity to the town center, the mapuche villager's are not part of everyday life in this city
57 when it comes to shaping, participating or integrating those political bodies -economic or administrative-of San
58 Martín de los Andes.

59 Although there is a daily human movement of residents in various urban journeys, when they "come down"
60 -as it is used in everyday language, because they live in the nearly foothills-for administrative proceedings before
61 government agencies, medical care, attending schools, visiting relatives or even for their participation in the labor
62 market and in the economic life of the town as products suppliers and crafts sellers at craft shows; persist an
63 invisibility towards the "other", in this case the Mapuche people.

64 Being outside the social reality of this frontier society -transformed into a tourist mountain range town during
65 the 20 th century, under a tourist model of European villages-enable the indigenous being part only as another
66 landscape feature of excursions, adding an exotic touch when circulating near the properties of mapuche people.

67 When mapuche attributes become a tourism resource, it indicates that there are fragments making reference to
68 a culture of the past, placed on the market to be consumed for their folk and traditional features. This reduction
69 does not include conflicting aspects, such as the cultural and territorial claims of the last decade.

70 This Patagonian town, which has built a pro-European tourist image, has been gradually and steadily
71 incorporating "the mapuche" as a tourist resource, appropriating this culture from an "a-historical" vision,
72 deprived of any social and political connotation.

73 Then, under such conditions, the visibility or invisibility of the mapuche people, mediated by the field of
74 tourism, depends on the dimensions and characteristics of the economic and symbolic dispute at stake. This
75 aims, among other purposes, to sustain the own history of San Martín de los Andes, -'whites and Europeans'
76 hard-working pioneers who have lived with the primitive Mapuche, a sort of peaceful coexistence with mutual
77 benefits, in a remote village of border-.

78 When in the fields of tourism they talk about valuing 5 , in this case an ethnic tourism product 6 of mapuche
79 origin, they are trying to turn it into an economic resource to be placed on the market. In this way, the cultural
80 is defined by its monetary value: by adapting the product to tourists' tastes and needs, the ways to expose a
81 heterogeneous group of people called mapuche community there are finally established. With its ethno-political
82 and social repositioning since the end of the last century, and in favor of greater acceptance of difference like
83 gender, sexual, religious and ethnic diversity, indigenous communities, in our case mapuche people, have obtained
84 a more assertive presence and recognition in the territorial-cultural area and visibility, product of the expansion
85 of tourism on their territory and the dispute over the ownership of the tourism general incomes.

86 In contemporary historical contexts, as Bartolomé, M (2003) notes, there are social processes of identification
87 developing that express emerging identities (re-ethnicisation), related to experiences of political participation
88 acquired in ethno-political organizations. The question that arises is: in favorable contexts of social openness
89 to rescue and dignify ethnicity, which is the role that is going to play tourism regarding the generation and
90 validation of these new ethnic positions, trying to modify the consolidated asymmetrical power relations.

91 Wracked by political and economic hegemonic structures, regarding tourism development of the culture
92 and mapuche vision of world, traditional forms of tourism deny the status of "otherness" and the culturally
93 contemporary social subject of mapuche inhabitant.

94 On the contrary, requires for its promotion based on the market, a local mapuche dweller that references
95 constantly for a western and Christian version of the original peoples past, without questioning the reasons and
96 consequences of a genocide and subsequent dispersion, plus cultural annihilation that lasted and was accentuated
97 during the entire 20 th century, a past that is present in every ethnic claim.

98 At last, the conventional and massive forms where tourism activity laid on, takes and processes the ethnic
99 question as bounded and functional to the process of taking ownership of the tourism income, "valuing" a
100 reinvented tradition.

101 1 II. Ethnic and Disputed Territories in Tourist Contexts

102 In the present century, the tourist story built about San Martín de los Andes has been registering in the precepts of
103 recognition, respect, diversity and integration of a locality self-proclaimed as "intercultural" in the first paragraphs
104 of its Organic Charter 7 .

105 However, the field of tourism continued the appropriation of isolated and striped elements of the "mapuche"
106 -symbols, names, "myths and legends" -for promotional purposes, aiming to give native and exotic features to
107 various ethnical products offered.

108 The interethnic relations, that cross social and political life of this town, hold those arguments that defined
109 identities and otherness of indigenous groups in the last century: the homogeneous prevails over the Mapuche
110 under a concept based on the submission by the different stakeholders of the public and private sectors, in this
111 context mediated by tourism, replicating stereotypes and prejudices, that become visible in times of stress to
112 ethnic-identity repositioning of territorial basis.

113 In this context, the Cerro Chapelco and its ski center 8 , the most important in the province of Neuquén and
114 one of the most recognized in Latin America, constitutes an enabling environment to discuss about the dispute
115 over territory, where the ethnic dimension acquires a greater significance.

116 For 14 years now, in each winter tourist season has been renewed a controversial and conflictive situation, which
117 requires a historical, social and political analysis about those aspects related to rights, property and usufruct of a
118 complex territorial space, such as the one that currently represents the base of the ski resort of Cerro Chapelco.

119 Chapelco is a territory where the mapuche populations were relocated after the foundation of San Martín de
120 los Andes. These lands of little or none productive value in the past, after the change in its economic logic toward
121 tourism, currently have a very high tourist real estate value.

122 With the beginning of this century, first as a rejection of the extension of the skiable area on lands claimed
123 as their own, and then by the successive complaints about discharges from the various endeavors grantees of the
124 ski center in water courses on which they depend to survive, mapuche communities began a journey that allows
125 us deepen the analysis on the territorial conflict derived from the territorial claims mediated by tourism..

126 The last installment of this whole process, Mapuche communities named Vera and Curruhuinca, together
127 or separately, with the Provincial Government and by extension, with the concessionaire of the ski center, are
128 claiming portions of its territory that overlap with the base of the ski center, that is to say, the center of operations
129 and production with the private properties located there.

130 During the last ski season in 2014, the news over the local and regional media emphasized the conflict on the
131 development of a snow park by the Mapuche community Curruhuinca in the entrance to the winter sports center,
132 disputing a portion of the territory and the income to the concessionary company Nieves of Chapelco.

133 Once again, the consequences of the sociohistorical process about constitution and location of the mapuche
134 communities Post-Campaña del Desierto and the foundation of a military detachment undercover as a frontier
135 town called San Martín de los Andes at the end of the 19 th century are updated.

136 In these moments, their vindictive actions renew the outpourings of the rest of society from the perspective
137 and look of the field of tourism, where it is expressed in a symbolic way the violence of the ethnic and class
138 conflict.

139 Mapuche populations are presented before public opinion associated with situations of conflict -land takeover,
140 territorial recovery, strikes-. Before this ahistorical, and loaded with prejudice, vision on one of the marginalized
141 sectors of their society, takes as a response to this practice of stigmatization, that mapuche populations opposed
142 its struggle for the full recognition of their rights and autonomy.

143 Two realities coexist and are rejected in this tourist town. One intended to show an image free from problems,
144 prepared to meet the visitor in harmony with nature. On the contrary, other formed by an invisible and refused
145 social sector, belonging to the mapuche, competing for the participation and management of resources and tourist
146 income.

147 The members of the first sector focused their interest on the economic consequences of a strike in the peak
148 season, and the "other invisible" implement such a measure as a way to draw attention to their needs, making
149 their claim effective by pressuring to be listened and have access to the media. Now we are facing a new scenario,
150 where the tension occurs between sectors that are vying for the exclusivity in the exploitation of a mountain range
151 that already had an ancestral use by mapuche communities, when these social actors express their intentions to
152 join the tourism market with equal participation.

153 In this regard, the conflict derived from the distribution of the tourism income acquired an ethnic dimension
154 in San Martín de los Andes. This stigmatization of the mapuche, unknown and denies the adaptive strategies
155 of subordinate societies, which are indispensable to survive in certain discriminatory and racist contexts like the
156 one developed here.

157 The already mentioned ethno-political repositioning of mapuche communities, has promoted the inclusion of
158 the "mapuche issue" in the political agenda. The conflicts that emerged in the various seasons in San Martín
159 de los Andes did not impacted as much on the tourist season, as they did on the diagrams where inter-ethnic
160 relations over the past century were consolidated, and where was evidenced the organizational capacity of the
161 mapuche communities to use experiences of struggle carried out by indigenous communities of the country and
162 from various points of Latin America.

163 The reaction through its multiple networks and folds of the political and economic power resulted in the
164 development of complex strategies aimed at reducing the clashes and neutralize conflictive situations.

165 On one hand, practices vary between cooptation by political parties offering advisement, or the drafting and
166 signing of agreements that several times has a difficult or null compliance, with the aim to postpone and delay
167 the decision-making processes to finish each tourist season. Those strategies have also been implemented to
168 capture some members of the mapuche communities, time-bound goals patterns and conditions to carry out
169 activities related to the business of tourism, with the consequent discretionary funding for endeavors in their
170 current territories or in the process of mapuche claim.

1 II. ETHNIC AND DISPUTED TERRITORIES IN TOURIST CONTEXTS

171 Even from an ethnical staging, one of the consequences of the tourist exploitation in indigenous territories
172 was, on one hand to facilitate its growing visibility as social subjects, in our case of the mapuche people.

173 As has been happening with native peoples throughout Latin America, the conflicts resulting from disputes
174 over access and ownership of the resources and identity resulted in the strengthening of practices of resistance
175 that allowed them to be social, cultural, economic and politically positioned, in a process of consolidation of the
176 ethnic identity and its political expression -ethnicity-.

177 The different claims and mobilizations in tourist contexts generated, directly and indirectly, the acquisition of
178 rights from the disputes that are derived by access to resources, as well as the consequent public visibility.

179 Due to the increasing territories' value, product of the advance of various tourist undertakings-real estates, in
180 the settlement and/or claim areas of these populations, has resulted in varied mobilizations and litigation, some
181 of them still pending. This context has led to the constitution as political subjects, to the extent which allows
182 them (and in many cases forced them) to dispute their positioning in political, economic and symbolic terms.

183 Indeed, from the expansion of tourism activity, there has been a greater indigenous presence and mobilization.
184 Also it emerged the feeling of being part of a native people group (made invisible until that moment).

185 In this way, it turns out that the tourism represents on one hand, a factor that plays, the inevitable clash of
186 two cultures and two classes: dominant -subordinate, as in other areas, one that is prevailing, sets out the criteria
187 and, in the final analysis, the game rules which the others should follow. These others have built a Mapuche
188 identity linked to rural life, dedicated to goats and sheep farming.

189 San Martin de los Andes faces the contradiction of a marketing strategy that promotes the staging of a life built
190 over an image of unspoiled nature, in which mapuche people is part of its tourist attractions with a landscape
191 free of interethnic conflicts and class.

192 In a binding manner but at the same time competing, in this dialectical process by incorporating the image
193 of the Mapuche peoples and ethnicity as an integral part of the landscape, at the same time and unintentionally
194 the field of tourism gives existence to those who denied, favoring its reformulation as public group, as individuals
195 and active subjects and contemporary.

196 As stated throughout this work, a social vision of tourism and the critical analysis of the structural conditions
197 of the consequences generated by this activity in populations originating in, lets us explore and deepen a social
198 phenomenon of multiple implications, in the framework of the development models and the resulting intervention
199 strategies and imposed, as an extension of the relations of subordination and subjugation, contextualizing space
tourism and historically in relation to minority communities. ^{1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8}

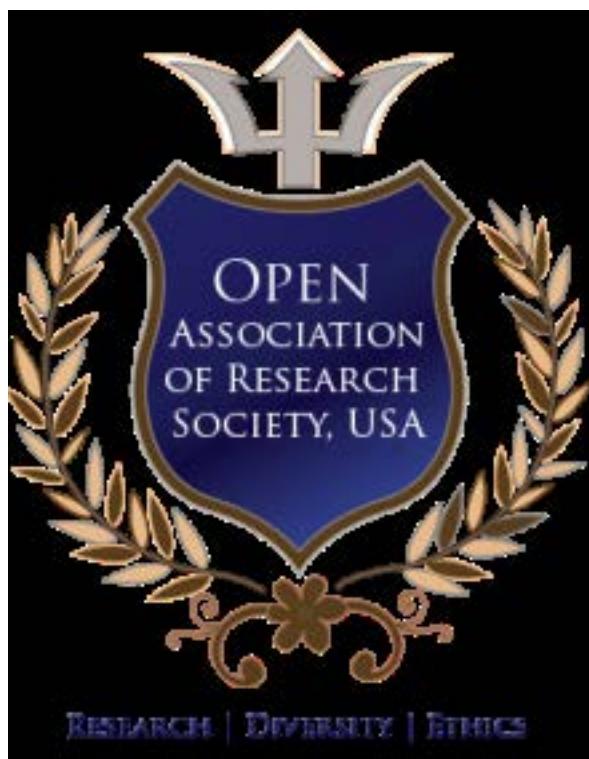


Figure 1:

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Figure 2:

¹The sanction of law 14.408, by which the territories until that moment of Neuquén, Río Negro, Chubut, Santa Cruz and Formosa was passed to province on 15 July 1955, but newly come into effect in 1958, as a result of the self-styled Revolución Libertadora that in the month of September of the same year overthrew the general Juan Perón.² With the creation and institutional consolidation of a provincial government, regions were defined different socioeconomic areas that persist until today. Divides the province into poles of economic enclave on the basis of specialization, San Martín de los Andes has the pole of tourism development throughout the southern region.

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³Those jobs, salaried or not, are made outside the community and the majority of these are temporary jobs in urban areas.⁷ Men hold most jobs in construction and women in domestic service, category extending to gastronomic sectors, especially tourist accommodation. During the peak season, a higher percentage of workers are hired, particularly for rooms and cabins cleaning. Besides being employed in hotels and restaurants, a large number joined the State as public employees.

⁴"This usually requires, at least, the conservation of these elements and provides, moreover, to political power, fast and secure way to consensual action. Activation, rather than the enhancement is related discourses "(Prats, Ll. 2005: 3).⁶ It is understood by Tourism Product the set of natural, cultural and human resources with the ability to attract visitors that an area can offer supplemented by infrastructure and support equipment, promoted by a sales organization. Tourism in mapuche communities is a tourist product within the classification of Cultural Tourism. (Plan Maestro de Turismo 2003-2007: 21).

⁵© 2015 Global Journals Inc. (US) 1Processes of Territorial Revindication in the Context of Tourism: The Conflict of "Cerro Chapelco" (San Martín De Los Andes, Patagonia Argentina)

⁶Until the decade of the '70s of the 20 th century, San Martín de los Andes had few communications, presented a moderate population growth and limited movement of visitors. It is based on the development of the skiing over winter season and the subsequent arrival of large contingents of tourists, when there is a significant change in the patterns and characteristics of our everyday lives, and is referenced as a tourist destination for a differential and more exclusive social sector.

⁷Processes of Territorial Revindication in the Context of Tourism: The Conflict of "Cerro Chapelco" (San Martín De Los Andes, Patagonia Argentina)

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