A Contra corriente
Una revista de historia social y literatura de América Latina
A Contra corriente
A Journal on Social History and Literature in Latin America
Vol. 8, No. 2, Winter 2011, 197-223
www.ncsu.edu/project/acontracorriente

Globalizing Tradition: New Styles of Leadership and New Organizational Forms in Pehuenche Communities in Chile[1]

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Introduction

Most indigenous societies have lived and continue to live in a tension-filled relation with the government that rules over their territory. Due to the greater global awareness that recognizes the universal nature of human rights and the equality of all persons, including indigenous peoples, most governments have at least played lip service to the need to develop policies that respect to rights of the indigenous peoples living within their borders, and Chile after 1990 is no exception. These new policies imply increased intervention by both the Chilean government and non-indigenous Chilean society in the indigenous world, which has produced important changes on the political structure within the indigenous communities.

[1] This paper was originally presented at the 50th Annual Meeting International Studies Association. New York, NY. February 15-18, 2009. The research is financed by Fondecyt Grant No. 1011601, granted by CONICYT.

The Pehuenche who live in the Bíobío Highlands and have been interacting with the Chilean military and other Chilean governmental institutions (such as educational and health establishments) as well as with private actors looking for economic gain since they settled in the Bíobío Highlands more than 100 years ago (González et al, 2003). Still, despite these multiple interactions in the past, Pehuenche traditional political structure has remained virtually unchanged until the end of the 20th Century. In this article we argue that to understand this change three principal factors need to be considered.

The first factor is the increased state intervention in indigenous communities. The new democratic government, after the exclusion experienced by important sectors under the military regime, wanted to *include all* Chilean citizens in the new government. Consequently, the center-left coalition, *La Concertación,* during their initial campaigns met with indigenous leaders to design a new indigenous policy to protect and promote indigenous culture and development. The second factor is the increased globalization due to neoliberal economic policies. These economic policies directly affected the Pehuenche with the construction of at least two hydroelectric dams, and one of whose consequences has been the abrupt insertion of the Pehuenche into Chilean and global society and economy.[2] The third change is the weakening (de-socialization) of community ties (implanted by the colonial power), which has resulted in the creation of new boundaries to the reservation system, transforming it into a type of apartheid.

These three changes, the democratization, globalization and de-socialization, have created both opportunities and challenges. The opportunities include increased economic and educational possibilities, while the principal challenge has been how to maintain Pehuenche identity in a globalization process that encourages increasing uniformity. The objective of this paper is to analyze the impacts produced on the traditional political structures of the Pehuenche living in the Bíobío Highlands (Alto Bío bío) in Southern Chile, and to determine if these changes are related to the new indigenous policy or the globalization process.

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[2] This theme has been discussed and analyzed in a series of papers that form part of FONDECYT grant 1000540.

Before considering the influence of the democratization and the globalization process on Pehuenche political structures, we present a brief summary of Pehuenche culture, history and political structure.

The Pehuenche of the Bíobío Highlands

The Pehuenche have lived centuries in the Andes Mountains between the Bíobío and Queco Rivers. They are principally small subsistence cattle raisers who complement their cattle activities with gardens, small agriculture and gathering of wild fruits and nuts, especially the pine nut (Pehuen). Due to their history of isolation, they have maintained various characteristics that differentiate them from the Mapuche groups (González-Parra and Simon, 2001).[3]

One of these characteristics is their vertical migration of 2,000 meters: they have a summer home (veranada) and a winter home (invernada) (Figure 1). In summer, they live high in the Andes Mountains with their animals, where there is an abundance of wild grasses and shrubs. Before the winter arrives, they descend to live in a more protected area near the river Queuco o Bíobío.

The Pehuenche, like the Mapuche and other indigenous peoples, have a strong, "live" connection with the land. For them, the land is the source (mother) of all life and provides them with all they need to live. Furthermore, the Pehuenche, like the Mapuche, believe that each natural element has a being, an *ngen*. The mountains, the springs, animals, and swamps—each one has a being and special powers. Consequently, the Pehuenche must ask permission to pass through or to use an *ngen*. If they do not, bad things could happen to them. The well being of the Pehuenche and their land requires equilibrium based on the respect for others and of nature.

The Nguillatún ceremony is a three-day community ritual that is used to communication the human to the spiritual world and with the sacred world in order to maintain the equilibrium of the Universe. In the Ngillatun, Chao Nguenechén is thanked for giving us the seasons and a good harvest, which enable them to continue living and reproducing life and to remember that the land really only belongs to

[3] The Pehuenche were originally a separate ethnic group, but in the 18th century they merged with Mapuche families who were escaping from Spanish colonization.

Chao Nguenechén.[4] The Pehuenche also have a one-day ceremony that is called *travún*, which is a special meeting with god Chachao and the community, where friends share food and seeds.

When the Spanish arrived in Chile, the Pehuenche were a nomad group, which lived in the Eastern slopes of the Andes Mountains between Chillán and Antuco. In the second half of the 17th Century, they established their homes high in the Andes Mountains. At the end of the 19th Century, the Pehuenche settled definitively in the valleys of the Andes Mountains due to their war with the Chilean and Argentinean armies known in Chilean history as the "Pacification of the Araucanía." During this period, the Pehuenche and Mapuche lived in a community, where each community preserved it's autonomy and independence without a central authority.

Traditional Pehuenche Organization Structure

The traditional Pehuenche organizational structure is a representative pyramid-type structure where the smallest political social unit is a *Lof*.[5] Within each lof, there is a natural leader, *lonco* (or Logko).[6] The Lof are not related to other lofs (up to nine) through patrilineal relations. The alliance of these lofs is referred to as the Rewe Mapu. The loncos of each lof would then select one lonco, the most capable, to govern the Rewe Mapu and he was referred to as the Ülmen Logko. Finally, in some cases, the Rewe Mapu could associate in a federation of up to nine Rewe, forming Fütalmapu or Ayllarewe7.

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[4] The Pehuenche people from Malla Malla, Trapa Trapa, Butalelbun, and some sectors of Callaqui Volcano did not accept the division of their land into private parcels during the military government. See González et al., 1996.

[5] The Lof is formed by a single group of families under the same authority.

[6] The term Logko or Lonko—spelling varies from one territory to the next—usually means «head» and conveys the idea of intelligence and wisdom that coemes from a leader. The Lonko is the political leader of a Lof whose importance increases in times of crisis. However, the Lonko's authority was limited, never some authority to be obeyed but mostly regarded as a strategist. Currently, most traditional Mapuche communities have a Lonko, while other types of authorities are less common,

[7] The origen of this idea about the Fütalmapu, or Butalmapus, explains Bengoa (1985, 27), "parece provenir de los Parlamentos. En esas reuniones todos los caciques quieren decir sus discursos, lo que a los españoles les resultaba insoportable. Para eso agrupaban a los caciques de una parte en el lado derecho del campo, a los otros en otro lado, y los fueron obligando a ponerse de acuerdo en un orador que los representara. El orador hablaba en representación de los caciques de una determinada región. El mismo hecho de nombrar representantes fue otorgando realidad a estas divisiones, que en un

Similarly, the Ulmen Logkos of the Fütalmapu would then select a leader known as a Ülmen Fütxa Logko."[8]

According to the All Lands Council (*Consejo de Todas las Tierras*)[9]

> ...the Lof is a group of families who are settled in a well-defined space of land on which they base their individual and collective identity. The identity of each member of a Lof is based in two elements: the tuwun (home location) and the kupalme (family tree). These two elements define each person's social and territorial identity. Pehuenche social organization is structured around its member families, where the right to acquire, possess and pass on land is defined by the Lof as a family unit band based in justice and reciprocity.

For conflict resolution, respected community members ("wise men and women") play a crucial role, giving advice and seeking justice. In times of peace, they are called *toquis* and their power is based on respect for their opinions. In times of war or collective economic activities, a *toqui* is chosen by the community to lead and organize the activities, where the permanent alliances are sealed by family relations.[10]

As can be seen in this brief description, Pehuenche social structure was complex. They lived in autonomous units that are united by diverse tasks, had instances of temporary unions, and did not require the confirmation of centralized power.[11]

The Pehuenche and the Chilean State

Beginning with the "pacification of the Araucanía," the Pehuenche and Mapuche were "incorporated" into the Chilean State, opening up their territory to external intervention by the Chilean State (especially the military) and private speculators.

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comienzo solo eran funcionales. A fines de la colonia el sistema de Butalmapus era una realidad organizativa; había embajadores de los Butalmapus que viajaban a Santiago, solían reunirse en juntas, etc. Fueron la base de las organizaciones de fines del siglo XVIII y XIX."

[8] Sánchez Curihuentro, op cit. 34.

[9] Aukiñ Wallmapu Ngulam, "El Pueblo Mapuche y sus Derechos Fundamentales", Wallmapuche, Temuco, Chile. The All Lands Council's origen can be traced back to the Ad Mapu that emerged in the 1970s and whose name reassured the same Mapuche order that would be divided as a consequence of sectarian struggles. It was in April 1990, at the campus of the Universidad de la Frontera at Temuco, when Aukan Wilkaman and others that separated from the Ad Mapu as well as Domingo Coliloi constituted the first organization that put forward the necessity for a Mapuche territory : Aukiñ Wall Mapu Ngulan. E

[10] Bengoa 2004, 278.

[11] Idem.

State intervention immediately defined (and decreased) the boundaries of Pehuenche Territory. Once the Pehuenche were "pacified", the Chilean State grouped them into "Indigenous Communities" defined by the Merced Titles that were awarded in the mid-19th Century. These communities were given property titles awarded in the name of the actual lonko[12], and do not necessarily have any relationship with previously existing communities.

These communities developed over time in with the lonko of the community being legally responsible in eyes of the Chilean State for the community. Since the land of the community was held in common, the lonko as legal representative had the power, for example, to give or sell part of the community's land to non-indigenous people. It was in this way that many portions of indigenous land were "legally" stolen from the Pehuenche, and is one of the principal causes of present land disputes in the Bíobío Highlands. Additionally, large tracts of Pehuenche and Mapuche land were awarded to Chilean heroes of the Pacification of the Araucanía, reducing Pehuenche and Mapuche land to their minimal expression.

In the 1979, the military government decreed the law to facilitate the division of communal lands into individual land titles. Only four communities in Alto Bíobío maintained their community property titles, while the other communities changed to individual titles. Various authors have suggested that this change in property titles contributed to dividing the community (Bengoa 1999 ; Aylwin 1993; Villalobos 1989).

Democratization

Since the re-democratization of Chile in 1990, the new democratic governments have sought to create new, more cooperative relations between the Chilean State and the indigenous communities. Yet, these changes, based on demands emerging from the grassroots, have been changed when made into law. Many of the changes have been important and rather than improving the situation of the communities, these changes have created other problems.

A modified indigenous law (Ley No. 19.253) was finally approved by the Chilean Legislature in 1993. Among the most important aspects

[12] Lonko literally means head in Chedugun, and is used by the Mapuche and Pehuenche o refer to the political and spiritual community leader.

of this law were: the creation of the National Corporation for Indigenous Development (CONADI), legal protection of indigenous property, and the legal creation of "Indigenous Communities." The following is a brief description of these three aspects.

CONADI forms part of the Ministry of Development and Planning[13], and its objective is to "promote, coordinate and implement State action in favor of the integral development of indigenous persons and communities, especially in economic, social and cultural areas, and to encourage their participation in national life" (CONADI, Law 19.253). Offices were established in the regions with important indigenous populations. These offices have small budgets designed to purchase land as well as finance cultural, educational, and productive development programs.

The Indigenous Law also contains an article (13) that provides legal protection of property obtained as "indigenous land" based on indigenous rights. This type of property ownership cannot be sold, and can only be transferred for better or more property. The CONADI's advisory council must approve all ownership transfers of indigenous property.[14]

The Indigenous Law also legally creates the "indigenous community" and the "indigenous association" (Article 9 and 36, respectively). Neither the "indigenous communities" nor the "indigenous associations" necessarily correspond to actual communities, but rather are legal forms imposed by the Chilean State in order to have "formal entities" with which to act and interact. The communities and the associations need to be registered with CONADI, and government officials are obligated to "listen and consider the opinion of the legally recognized indigenous organizations" (Art. 34).

The "indigenous community" bears greater similarity to the neighborhood association "*Junta de Vecinos*" than to the traditional indigenous organizations in Chile. They must have organizational

[13] The Ministry of Planning (MIDEPLAN) in Chile is responsible for the majority of programs designed to improve the quality of life for people living in poverty. Other programs designed to address vulnerable sectors, such as women, elderly, and youth, are also located in this Ministry. Of these programs, only the National Women's Service has status of Minister.

[14] This approval is not without problems since the majority of the members of the council are non-indigenous. The most notorious instance was the approval of land transfer to ENDESA for dam construction. See Namancura for a detailed discussion.

statutes approved by the entire organization. In general, the "indigenous community organization" has a president, a secretary and a treasurer, rather than a lonko and secretary. In this sense, the new democratic government did not introduce the recommendations made by indigenous communities in the Indigenous Law approved with the return to democratic government.

In general in Chilean society, there exists confusion over the different roles of two types of formal leaders: the lonko and the community president. Indeed, public authorities believe that the two terms can be used interchangeably and refer to the same authority structure. However, actually these two leaders represent two different, although overlapping authority structures. The lonko's leadership authority is historical and traditional, although it has weakened over time. The community president's leadership authority was created by the Indigenous Law in 1993, and has been adopted for instrumental reasons over the last 15 years (Simon, González, Villegas 2006). Both are formal leaders: the lonko's authority comes from traditional indigenous practices and the community president's authority comes from Chilean law. Although the lonko figure has persisted over time, at present it has lost many of the elements that were central to its position of power in earlier times. Among the customs lost are that the lonko and the council of elders no longer designate the future lonko and families no longer prepare the future lonko from an early age. However, within the Pehuenche cosmology, the Pehuenche still believe that to be lonko it is necessary to possess a special talent, and this belief has been extrapolated to the new community and association leaders.

One of the side effects of this policy is that many communities had to establish themselves as "indigenous communities" in order to be able to obtain as a community government benefits, such as productive development financing or technical assistance. Some benefits can also be obtained as an "indigenous association," which is a functional organization that cannot represent the community.

In 1993, when the Indigenous Law was decreed, Pehuenche political organization was still traditional and in general there was one lonko per community, a situation that changed with redemocratization and was also influenced by the arrival of ENDESA to promote the construction of hydroelectric dams on the Bíobío River. Other

influences that weakened community structure in general were non-indigenous intermarrying and the designation of lonkos by the military regime and the traditional power that hold.

As a result, the actual indigenous community organization did not necessarily respond to the traditional political structure. And indeed, it often emerged from new communities of neighbors who happened to live in the same sector, but have not necessarily formed part of a common prior organization. This is especially the case where the lands are individually owned, but less pronounced in community-owned lands.[15] The changes in the new Indigenous Law encouraged the creation of officially recognized indigenous associations within the same territory of the traditional lonko, transforming traditional social structure.

An unofficial government strategy has been the recruitment and training of indigenous staff in order to facilitate communication between the indigenous communities and the State. For the State, they are valid interlocutors, but their positions are very complicated. They are faced with the dilemma of trying to balance community needs with government requirements. On the one hand, they are picked by the government to provide information on the community's real interests and in exchange, they receive a decent salary and prestige. The problem is that their range of action is limited since open or consistent criticism will often result in removal from the position. At times, this unofficial state strategy is seen as a way of immobilizing influential members of the community, of co-opting them.

Using the legal existence of a "indigenous associations," there have been some attempts to create an organization that groups the 12 communities of the Bíobío Highlands. The most recent attempt is the Association of Lonkos and Presidents of the Bíobío Highlands (*Asociación de Lonkos y Dirigentes de Alto Bío Bío*), whose leaders are the interviewees of this study.

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[15] Authors like José Aylwin (1993) argue that the low decreed in 1979 divided 59% of the existing indigenous communities into individual property titles, and many could then sell them if desired. However, even when no one sold the land, the division into individual property titles weakened the formal links existing between families, and many conflicts emerged between community members. Bengoa (1999) argues that during this period and as a product of this law, 2,062 indigenous communities were divided, representing 400 mil hectares.

Economic Globalization

In the mid-1970s, the Chilean military government opened the Chilean economy to international economic forces, developing a variety of strategies to promote Direct Foreign Investment. One product of the implemented neoliberal policies was the commodification of water rights.

One of the results of this Law in Pehuenche territory was that non-indigenous Chileans registered their property water rights in indigenous territory. In the case of the Bíobío Highlands, the National Electrical Company (ENDESA) claimed the water rights to the Bíobío River and announced plans to build a series of electrical dams. The possession of these water rights eventually lead to the construction of the Pangue Dam, promoted by the new democratic governments in the name of "national development" and opposed by many Pehuenche and environmental groups.

The interviewees recognize that one of the principal reasons triggering this change has been the change produced by the construction of hydroelectric dams on Pehuenche ancestral lands. The arrival of ENDESA and the conflict over dam construction dramatically changed Pehuenche way of life. Communities divided over the issue. ENDESA, through its not-for-profit foundation *La Fundación Pehuen*, began investing money in the indigenous communities. World Bank inspectors and government officials arrived to check program implementation. The Pehuenche fighting against dam construction traveled to Washington, DC, and non-Chilean supporters arrived to fight against the dam. Ninety-two indigenous families were resettled to new communities. The impact of this increased intervention is just beginning to appear.

As a result of this abrupt entrance into globalization, many Pehuenche realized that they did not have the skills required to participate equally in this process. Most felt that they had no choice but to go along with the process, others felt they got the most out of the process, and many were determined to obtain skills required to succeed in the *huinca* (Chilean or non-indigenous) world.

Some authors signal that the "resurgence" of indigenous movements in Latin America refers principally to or is the result of

identity politics, a product of the cultural homogenizing influences actually being imposed by the globalization process. Castells explains the resurgence of identification elements like nationalism, religiosity, and others as a resistance to the individualization and social atomization processes, tending to group in territorial organizations that over time generate a sense of belonging, forming a local community. This is constructed through collective action and preserved through historic memory.

The actual indigenous movement should be understood as a modern form of collective mobilization, which works in favor of the integration of its members into the dominant society. This integration is achieved through two principal elements: the school and the market. However, this does not mean that the indigenous movement seeks to merge its ethnic identity with modernity, but rather that it seeks to develop and respond to the uniformity produced by globalization.

In the Bíobío Highlands, the movement emerged in an attempt to stop the construction of hydroelectric dams in Pehuenche territory. This movement was unsuccessful in its immediate objective, but the activities generated greater consciousness among all the Pehuenche of their identity. In 2001, protests by a variety of indigenous groups emerged throughout Chile. These protests were mobilized by organizations such as *Consejo de Todas las Tierras* (All Lands Council) that demanded autonomy from the Chilean State. Indigenous community members supported these demands due to their marginal conditions. The response of the Chilean State was to inject new resources and new programs into selected communities in an attempt to revert popular support from autonomy.

The indigenous groups in Chile are in the process of consolidation and cohesion with respect to the Chilean State. The indigenous communities still maintain a strong identification which established marked differences of us/them; share a history as a common people that defines them and a distinct history; they maintain their objectives, goals, and demands—such as the recognition of being a separate group worthy of being known and recognized and the theme of recovering lost lands—and, finally, at times the indigenous movement presents a fairly articulate project of political and social changes. For the majority of the forms of collective Mapuche mobilization that are

non-violent, this is a struggle for greater integration and recognition that does not imply the dissolution of their indigenous identity (Gros, xxx). Indeed, the stance in favor of full integration and dissolution of their indigenous identity within the Chilean nation is minimal and inexistent inside the Chilean indigenous movement.

The indigenous community, both Mapuche and Pehuenche, is and represents the refuge for the generation of identity and culture, which has suffered transformations throughout history principally due to the modernizing strategies promoted by the Chilean State, has emerged as a political unit with respect to the government institutions.

De-socialization

The third factor refers to changes in the Pehuenche social structure. The Pehuenche have become sedentary, maintaining a principal residence during most of the year and reducing the amount of time spent away from home. They are no longer only cattle raisers, but have become small subsistence farmers. Their quality of life has worsened due to loss of land and animals. Due to their incorporation into the public educational system and changes in the Chilean economic system, life in the communities is increasingly associated with poverty conditions because there are greater job opportunities outside. These changes have produced important changes in the power bases of Pehuenche leaders.

In the traditional political structure, the lonko possessed his own leadership structure with a council of elders, *werken*, *toqui*, and the individuals involved in the nguillatun ceremony. At present, the lonko has lost the original power and leadership structure as well as the practice of traditional functions such as the exercise of justice within the community. These changes have been the product of a combination of internal divisions and external influences leading to the intervention of the police and the use of courts to carry out justice. Once a few community members accept outside intervention, the resistance to these influences is not seen as viable since the State uses all its repression to force fulfillment of its laws and respect for its institutions. This repression increased with the arrival of ENDESA to the area.

An important part of the loss of the traditional figure of lonko is due to his cultural behavior within the community, and especially in the

nguillatun ceremony. Traditionally, the Nguillatun was a central instance where the lonko was legitimated and reaffirmed yearly. At present, even though the lonko generally attends nguillatun, he is no longer the principal organizer (*ñancan)*, but rather attends as an important person. Indeed, it is the *lonko de nguillatun* who leads the community during the three days of the ceremony. In some communities, the loss of this traditional element is even more extreme when the lonko does not attend *nguillatun* principally due to religious (Evangelical or Christian) beliefs.

In an earlier study (Gonzalez, Simon, and Villegas 2006), an important transformation in the qualities valued in persons with political authority could be observed. Traditionally cultural knowledge had been central, while knowledge of Chilean society has now become more important. For example, a Pehuenche leader in the 21st Century must know where the principal public offices are located and how to reach them, must know how to read and write, and how to deal with public authorities. In other words, a lonko now needs to have the capacity to be a valid interlocutor of the community with public authorities. This transformation can partly be explained by the loss of territories to private, non-indigenous actors who were able to trick many lonkos at the turn of the 20th Century into selling community land due to the lonko's lack of knowledge of how the Chilean society and the property system functioned as well as the Pehuenche concept that no one can own the land.

Since it is principally the younger generations who have studied outside of the community, this recognition of the importance of knowledge of Chilean society has particularly contributed to the emergence of young lonkos in the Pehuenche community. Despite this dramatic transformation, some traditional elements are still maintained. For example, the person elected to be lonko must still be outstanding with respect to other community members.

A lonko no longer has the same power within the community, where previously the community listened and respected his decisions. According to the interviewees, the lonko is now seen as a figure that does not solve problems—a fact that traditionally was unthinkable—however, this does not mean that the figure of lonko has been transformed into just another community leader easily confused with

the community president or with president of indigenous associations. The lonko still maintains a strong symbolic value and community respect, which is often more due to the traditional role played rather than the actual role being played.

The loss of the lonko's capacity to impart justice and resolve conflicts is one of the most affected areas. This fact has been influenced by the lack of autonomy in the communities and the scarce recognition outside of the community of the lonko's importance.

In the early 1990s, there were cases where the same person was lonko and president. However, the lonko/president experienced a conflict between the two positions because the lonko receives his power from God (*Chachao*), while the President receives power from the community. Consequently, God does not illuminate the President in his responsibilities, while God does illuminate the lonko in decision-making (González et al. 1996). This result seems to point to the continued separation of the Pehuenche world and its rules from the Chilean world and its rules.

In the many Pehuenche and Lafkenche communities, there is a community president but no lonko. Rather, the community members recognize the authority of the lonko of their original community and attend the Nguillatun ceremony in their original community. It seems likely that this situation will continue and that the new communities will not develop a process to designate a lonko in their communities.

The lonko should have the capacity and power to discuss land conflicts with public authorities, and have the legal actions performed that are necessary to reclaim traditional rights. The functions of the president, on the other hand, are restricted to the area of project elaboration and negotiation in order to bring resources to the community, and specifically to community members. Due to this function, the community president travels frequently to attend meetings, and his/her power is based on the ability to bring resources into the community. When the president is successful in obtaining projects and resources for the community, his/her prestige within the community can compete with the lonko's prestige. In this way, the figure of the President also has contributed to the transformation of the figure of the lonko.

The figure of community president is a product of the Indigenous Law, and the first Community Presidents began in the mid-1990s. It is a position that is explicitly linked to obtaining public resources for the community.

In sum, the traditional capacities required to be lonko have changed. Although a lonko still needs to be wise in cultural matters, he no longer necessarily leads the traditional Nguillatun ceremony. He no longer serves as a judge who is responsible for resolving conflicts within the community, but rather his role is to defend community land rights with public authorities. This position requires detailed knowledge of community history, but also the ability to communicate well and not be tricked by the *huincas*. To become lonko, the person needs to have roots in Pehuenche culture and be respected as wise with the capacity to identify and defend the community's common interest. However, due to the need of Chilean social knowledge, it is increasingly common to find young lonkos.

Both leadership positions also share certain aspects, which are beginning to characterize the new Pehuenche leader. First, a Pehuenche leader needs to be able to represent the community well before public authorities and Chilean society in general. Second, the duty of both the lonko and the community president is to help the poorest families.

Defining the Pehuenche Leader in a Globalized world

To be an effective in a globalized world, the Pehuenche Leader must define his/her position with respect to the Chilean State (and dominant culture), the process of globalization, and Peuenche culture. In general, most Pehuenche leaders present a discourse based on the defense of Pehuenche identity and autonomy through peaceful dialogue with the Chilean government, but this depends on a Chilean government willing to listen and implement the suggestions made. It also requires a Pehuenche interlocutor who will effectively represent the interests of the community and who is also accepted by the communities. Even though Pehuenche leaders recognize that community politics have been manipulated for many years by non-indigenous (public and private) actors, they have yet to clearly define their position with respect to the two different leadership positions, el lonko and the Association president. Although they recognize the need

to re-center political power within rather than outside the community, they have yet to develop a strategy to achieve their goal.

The greater unity in goals and the protests of the indigenous movements has provided a new impulse to the Chilean State's formal emphasis on decentralization and local autonomy, creating new spaces and new institutional possibilities to develop Pehuenche autonomy. These new scenarios require a redefinition and the construction of a unified political structure replacing the divided political structures represented by the lonko and the community president. The area of the Bíobío Highlands was administratively declared a separate county, and a Pehuenche was elected and reelected mayor in October 2004 and 2008.

As can be seen, the challenge for Pehuenche leaders, as most indigenous leaders, is how to maintain their cultural integrity in a modern world that follows a different logic. Different leaders have faced this challenge in different ways, and some have obtained greater local autonomy.

Characterizing Indigenous Leadership in a Globalized world

Based on observation and a series of interviews with Pehuenche leaders (lonkos and association presidents), this section describes three types of Pehuenche leaders. To characterize the different types of Pehuenche leadership, we analyze their leadership style, political objectives, and political alliances. The different leaders were selected because they present an interesting mix of modern and traditional elements as well as contrasts between them.

I. Manuel Jesús Tranamil

Manuel Jesús Tranamil is an example of a traditional leadership style. He was lonko for many years in the Trapa Trapa community in the Andes Highlands. He has lineage coming from the family of the lonko who was killed during the military regime. Manuel Jesús Tranamil had to leave the community in the 1970s, and he and his family lived and worked outside the community for many years, returning in the 1980s. He played an important role in strengthening traditional cultural practices, such as Nguillatún, within his community. Even once he

stepped down as head of the community, he continues to lead the traditional ceremony as lonko of the Nguillatun

His leadership style is conciliatory—he prefers to reach a consensus within the community. He also presents a conciliatory position with respect to the Chilean government, although he prefers to limit his interactions because he does not trust government officials or believe in their promises. He looks to the Chilean government to obtain certain benefits, but does not base his power on assuring benefits to community members.

He possesses important knowledge on cultural practices and on the history of land ownership in the community. His principal political objective has been to recover the land that was lost with the arrival of non-indigenous settlers to his community.

Manuel Jesús Tranamil perceives traditional cultural values as fundamental in maintaining community equilibrium and well-being. Although he recognizes the problems of material poverty within his community, his goal has always been to address the problems of spiritual poverty due to cultural degradation and discrimination. He has played an important role on the valuing of Pehuenche culture in the community.

II. María Curriao

María Curriao is the daughter of the well-known traditional lonko of the Quepuca Ralco community, Antolin Curriao. Her father opposed the construction of hydroelectric dams in the Bíobío highlands and even traveled to Washington, DC in the 1990s to participate in a forum at the World Bank. Given her experience and bloodline, she can be considered quite traditional, although the fact that she is a woman who makes her leadership quite modern.

In addition to her natural leadership abilities, she was the *werken* (similar to vice president) when her father was lonko, accompanying him in most activities outside the community. She is president (not lonko) of an indigenous organization in the community of Quepuca Ralca.

Her knowledge of traditional values, practices and language gives her authenticity when negotiating with non-indigenous leaders. She understands that this authenticity makes her a valid spokesperson

at the international level, and she is not afraid to challenge powerful non-indigenous figures.

Her leadership style is generally conflictive with the State, although she will work with the government officials when necessary. For María Curriao, the end (local autonomy) justifies the means (working with private companies or the government).

She is a strong leader, but not necessarily very democratic. She makes the decisions and her community supports her. Still, she represents a small organization within the larger original community because this community divided over their support (or opposition) to the hydroelectric dam and other private sector intervention.

Her political objectives are principally related to the traditional issues of land property conflicts with non-indigenous landowners who claim land in Pehuenche territory and the recovery of an ancient cemetery that was lost with the construction of the Ralco hydroelectric dam, and she has been arrested by the Chilean government for her active opposition to dam construction.

III. Felix Vita

Felix Vita is the most modern of the Pehuenche leaders studied. He is not a direct descendant of a community lonko, although his great uncle was a lonko of a neighboring community. He comes from one of the most isolated Pehuenche communities, and lived and worked outside the community for many years, gaining experience in worker unions.

He has developed his power based on his ability to facilitate communication between Pehuenche communities and non-indigenous society and the Chilean government. In short, he is a broker who obtains benefits from the Chilean government and political parties in return for community votes. As mayor, he has maintained this style, principally providing benefits for his voters rather than seeking to unite Pehuenche territory.

Before being elected as mayor of the new county, he organized an indigenous association to represent the entire Bíobío Highlands area, which had been fragmented since the death of the Ulmen lonko Manuel Neucuman in 1990. In 2001, he then began working in the government

program Origenes, promoting productive programs in the communities. He was elected mayor in 2004, and reelected in 2008.

Although he used traditional political values to orient his earlier organizing, his present leadership style is based on a clientelistic relationship with political parties and government officials. Of all the Pehuenche leaders, Felix Vita is the only one associated with a political party (although not a party militant). In contrast with other indigenous groups in Chile, the Pehuenche in general do not actively participate in political parties although they may participate in indigenous movements.

His original political objectives are to achieve unity between the Pehuenche communities and to improve the material quality of life. Although he respects the traditional lonkos, he does not aspire to be a lonko. Although he respects many traditional values, he does not actively promote the practice of traditional ceremonies. Indeed, as a mayor, his interest has been to bring income-generating activities to the Bíobío Highlands through activities such as tourism (including the practice of traditional ceremonies for tourists). As mayor, he has faced many important challenges, and has not been successful in unifying the Pehuenche communities.

Final Reflections

At present, the Pehuenche communities in the Bíobío Highlands are experiencing important changes. Many of the traditions created by Pehuenche men and women are no longer being practiced, and the traditional leadership structures based on community territoriality no longer function. The changes in traditional Pehuenche organization now are responses to external intervention and the de-socialization process. New styles of leadership have emerged in an attempt to recover the autonomy lost.

The changes in the traditional structure of the Lof (extended family) and the ancestral rules combined with the new Indigenous Law (developed without indigenous participation) have resulted in power struggles and the questioning of traditional leaders in many territories.

At present, Pehuenche leadership is externally oriented: at times demanding equal rights and full citizenship in Chilean society; at other times, they demand greater local autonomy and less state intervention.

The Chilean government favors leaders that promote full citizenship, and greater incorporation into Chilean society, and tend to marginalize leaders demanding local autonomy due to the limited possibilities of local autonomy in the Chilean legal system.

At present, Pehuenche communities are presently divided and the mayor of the Bíobío Highlands Felix Vita has been unable to use his office to unify the communities. This division weakens the communities' ability to negotiate with the Chilean government and to achieve any level of local autonomy.

Older leaders have the traditional knowledge but they do not have the ability or desire to negotiate to unify the communities. They tend to maintain the limited spaces of local autonomy achieved within the community's territory but do not join (or oppose) the struggles of younger leaders.

Younger leaders, products of the Western public education system, have a strategic vision and desire to achieve local autonomy within their ancestral territory. However, they do not have a natural relationship with their culture; rather they have had to work at recovering it. They often do not understand the values of older leaders, and place greater emphasis on achieving "development" within their communities.

Interestingly, a leader like María Curriao seems to be the closest to a mix of a strong traditional culture base and a strategic vision. Still, she has a limited following probably because she is a woman and a less democratic leader.

The possibility of local autonomy is limited not only by the Chilean legal system, but also by the atomization between and within communities. The leaders present in the Bíobío Highlands have been unable to establish strong organizations using the structure provided by the Indigenous Law or with the local government. It appears that these structures do not facilitate the combination of traditional and modern values and practices.

The answer may lie in the past. Traditionally, local autonomy was forged within a territory and limited to family ties where leadership was expressed in a single leader. This leadership could then be expanded through political alliances with other communities. At present, the large number of organizations and leaders has resulted in important power

conflicts that has only weakened Pehuenche leadership, and a first step should be the definition of a single Pehuenche organizational structure that values traditional practices and permits the incorporation of modern values.

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Cuadro 1:

RADICACIÓN CON TÍTULOS DE MERCED ARAUCANÍA

1884-1929

Provincia	Nº Reservas	Sup. Ha	Nº Personas	Promedio Ha/Pers	% Territorio Provincial
Arauco	77	9700,59	2.477	3,92	1,79
Bio-Bío	6	16667	804	20,73	1,11
Malleco	280	80900,75	9.455	8,56	6.03
Cautín	2038	326795,31	61.798	5,29	17,72
TOTAL	**2.401**	**434.063,65**	**74.534**	**9,62**	**6,66**

Fuente: Bengoa 2004

Cuadro 2:

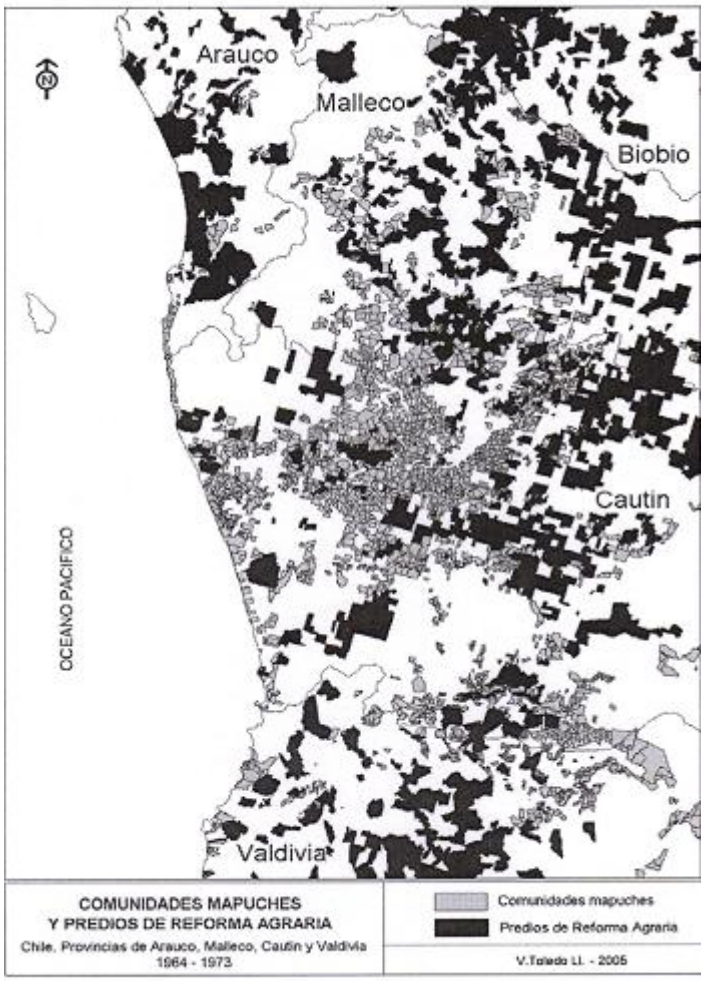
RESERVAS Y TÍTULOS DE MERCED OTORGADOS ENTRE

LOS AÑOS 1884 Y 1929

Región	Nº de Reservas	Superficie Ha
VIII	83	26.367,59
IX	2.317	407.799,06
X	518	76.601,13
TOTAL	**2918**	**510.767,13**

Fuente: Bengoa 2004

Mapa 6: **Comunidades mapuche y predios de Reforma Agraria**



Fuente: V. Toledo (2005).

Cuadro 3:

TRANSFERENCIAS DE TIERRAS DE LA EXCORA POR EL INDAP-DASIN

VIII REGIÓN

COMUNA	NOMBRE PREDIO	SUPERFICIE /HA	PROPIETARIO ANTERIOR
Los Álamos	Isla Pangal o Pangue	527,50	CORA-SAG
Lebu	Gorgolen o Zanja	37,38	CORA-CONAF
Contulmo	Ernesto o Provoque	7,54	CORA-SAG
Contulmo	Fundo Tranguilvoro	351,20	CORA-CONAF
Contulmo	Lote 4 Elicura o Calebu	163,68	CORA-ODENA
Contulmo	Potrero Hospital	9,20	CORA-SAG
Contulmo	Lote 5 Elicura o Calebu	309,29	CORA-ODENA
Contulmo	Parcela 9, P.p. Lanalhue	30,66	CORA-ODENA
Contulmo	Reserva Cora nº3 Paicaví Anguita	112,45	CORA-SAG
Contulmo	Lotes 6 y 7 Elicura o Calebu	211,66	CORA-SAG
Tirúa	Predio Paillaco	37,68	CORA-CONAF
Santa Bárbara	San Miguel de Callaqui, Colluco	4107,79	CORA-SAG
Santa Bárbara	Porción poniente y norp. FundoBio-Bío	969,31 2083,00	CORA-SAG CORA-SAG
Santa Bárbara	Porción de aprox. 2.200 ha	10.662,38	CORA-SAG
Santa Bárbara	Fundo Pitril	487,21	CORA-SAG
Santa Bárbara	Fundo Pitrilón o Bajo Pitrilón	18.383,29	CORA-SAG
Santa Bárbara	Fundo Guayali		
TOTALES	**17 Predios**	**38.491,22**	

Fuente: Bengoa 2004

Cuadro 4:

RESUMEN TÍTULOS INDIVIDUALES ENTREGADOS SEGÚN REGIÓN Y AÑO

DIVISIÓN PROPIEDAD INDÍGENA EN DICTADURA

Año	VIII Región	IX Región	X Región	Total
1979	3	713	448	1.214
1980	1.165	7.310	1.575	10.050
1981	28	8.808	1.215	10.023
1982	108	8.810	1.200	10.038
1983	122	8.902	1.006	10.016
1984	25	8.993	889	10.004
1985	83	9.470	508	10.003
1986	192	5.616	561	6.255
1987	332	2.821	97	3.110
1988		1.941	458	2.731
TOTAL	**2.058**	**63.426**	**7.957**	**73.444**

Fuente: Bengoa 2004

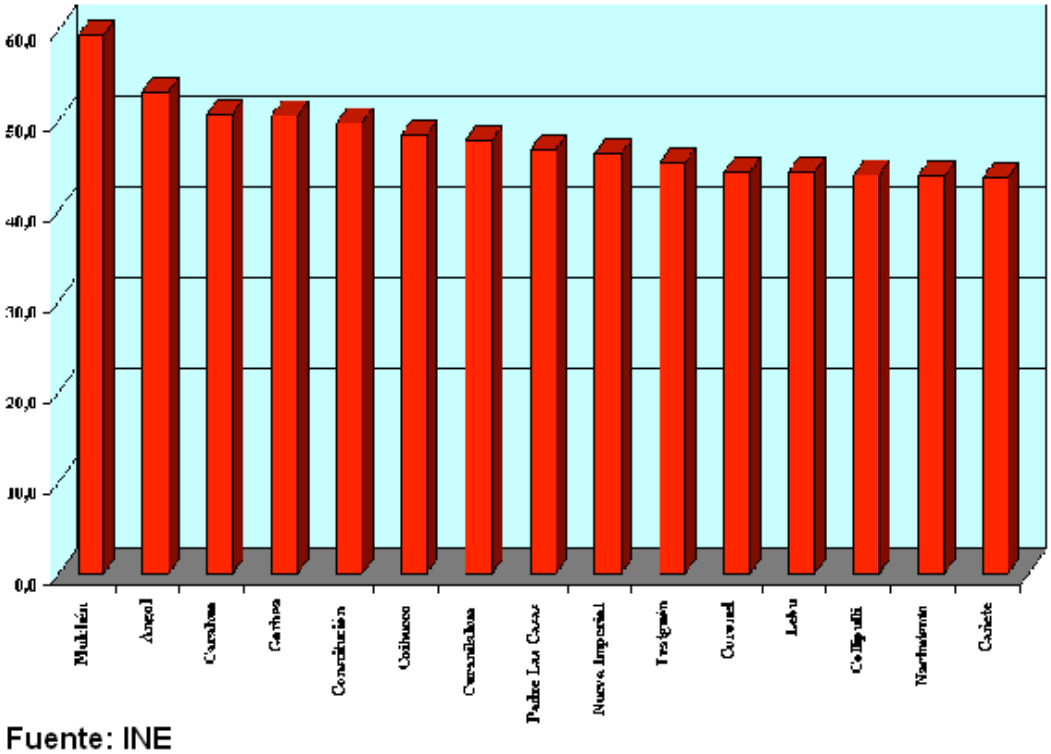
Cuadro 7:

INSTITUCIONES MEDIADORAS ESTADO-MAPUCHES

SIGLOS XVIII-XX

Período	Institución	Función
s. XVIII-XIX	Misiones	evangelización-educación
	Funcionarios de Indígenas	-establecimiento de relaciones formales con los caciques -control y entrega de información al Gobierno -apoyo a misiones (capitanes de amigos) -organización y celebración de parlamentos y reuniones -supervisión de transacciones de tierras indígenas
	Parlamentos	-celebración de acuerdos de paz entre Butalmapus y Gobernadores -reconocimiento mutuo de jerarquía política
1880-1930	Comisión Erradicadora	-entrega de títulos de dominio a mapuches en Araucanía y Valdivia -entrega de títulos de merced en las comunidades Pehuenche
	Protectores de Indígenas	-defensa y asistencia legal de los indígenas
1931-1971	Juzgados de Indios	-asistencia legal de los indígenas -división de las reducciones -recuperación de tierras usurpadas -reforma agraria
1953-1973	DASIN-IDI	-asistencia legal a los indígenas (hasta 1961) -supervisión y fomento de la política estatal de mejoramiento de sus condiciones de vida
1973-1990	INDAP-DASIN	-división de tierras mapuche (desde 1979) -otorgamiento de becas de estudio y créditos
1990-1993	CEPI	-coordinación de políticas hacia los indígenas -asesoría en materia indígenas -creación de nueva ley indígena
1994-2005	CONADI	-coordinación y fomento de políticas de desarrollo indígena -asesoría en materias indígenas -aplicación de la ley indígena de 1993
2005-2008	Origenes	

POBLACIÓN EN SITUACIÓN DE POBREZA
(COMUNAS CON MAYOR PORCENTAJE DE POBREZA)



Fuente: INE