

## Understanding Aymara Perspectives on Development

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*(Editor's Note: Dr. Eisenburg undertook a study conducted with the Aymara Indians of the northern Chilean Andes, from November 1998 through January 1999, in an attempt to understand Aymara perspectives about Chilean state initiated development within their ancestral homeland. She designed her study as participatory action research intended to engage Aymara people directly in the assessment of their cultural and natural resources along an altitudinal gradient from the coastal city of Arica to the Altiplano, the high plateau at Lago Chungara. The following essay is excerpted from her full study that holds the title: **AYMARA PERSPECTIVES: ETHNOECOLOGICAL STUDIES IN ANDEAN COMMUNITIES OF NORTHERN CHILE***

This interdisciplinary study in Arid Lands Resource Sciences draws upon the fields of ethnoecology, American Indian studies, applied cultural anthropology, botany, agriculture, history, physical and cultural geography, and social and environmental impact assessment. Ethnographic interviews with Aymara people were conducted in sixteen Aymara villages along an altitudinal transect from sea level to 4600 meters. A systematic social and environmental impact assessment was executed along International Chilean Highway 11, which connects Arica, Chile with the highlands of Bolivia.

For Andean people, economic, spiritual and social life, are inextricably tied to land and water. The Chilean Aymara comprise a small, geographically isolated minority of Tarapaca, the northern border region, who are struggling to maintain their sustainable and traditional systems of irrigation waters distribution, agriculture and pastoralism in one of the most arid regions of the world, the Atacama Desert. Ethnoecological dimensions of the conflict between rapid economic growth and a sensitive cultural and natural resource base are explored through participatory research methods. The recent paving of Chilean Highway 11, the diversion of Altiplano waters of the Rio Lauca to the arid coast for hydroelectricity and irrigation, and Chilean national park policies regarding Aymara communities, their natural resources and cultural properties within Parque Nacional Lauca, the International Biosphere Reserve, are examined from the perspectives of the Aymara people. The potentiality of indigenous resource management of this protected area is discussed within the context of human-land reciprocal relations.

The findings of this study, based on Aymara Indian perspectives, are designed to aid in understanding and appreciating the cosmological vision, and the needs of Andean communities in the poorest province of Chile. The Aymara showed great interest in having their perspectives and cultural concerns expressed and incorporated into historic and cultural preservation legislation.

Achieving a research conclusion is an undertaking in which an attempt is made to reveal the study in its full perspective. It is a return to an overview of the data in search of an organic form that will allow transcendence of the limitations of specifics without disregarding the systematized processes of science, and consequently the loss of scientific responsibility. The ideal analysis process permits the data to lead to its own conclusions (Collier and Collier 1986:172, 205). For effective and empowering participatory social and environmental impact assessment, which addresses the marginalization and disempowerment that often accompanies development projects, there must be a strong element of community involvement in conjunction with monitoring, in order to serve the long-term interests and ethical concerns of the Aymara people. In the literature on social and environmental impact assessment, it is widely acknowledged that consultative impact studies can provide means of equipping communities to manage change more effectively, equitably and sustainably. Aymara communities should be involved in the scoping, designing, researching, reporting and decision-making processes regarding project development within their cultural landscape. Social and environmental impact assessment guidelines need to be implemented and enforced.

In the Andean Region of Tarapaca, the impact assessment process was not integrated into project development and regional planning, nor were Aymara communities consulted prior to project initiation and advancement. Politics and bureaucratic protectiveness resulted in their exclusion, yet principles of law, equity and scientific methodology uphold their inclusion and participation. The Chilean government, development contractors and regional planners did not acknowledge, support or respond to the impact assessment process. The unresponsiveness of developmentalist Chilean society reflects a long history of domination, differing perspectives, values and competing goals of various stakeholders. Decision-making agencies often regard social and environmental impact assessment as threatening, disruptive and as an obstacle to project development. Ultimately, when social and environmental impact assessment is properly conducted development firms and government agencies will profit economically in the long run from a more positive social

environment for their work. A fundamental principle of project evaluation and management, which is not represented in the Chilean legislative framework or development management practices, is taking action to ensure that sustainable development benefits to the Aymara communities that face disruption and disturbance are forthcoming. Inclusion of this basic tenet in the statutory framework implicated in evaluation of development proposals in the extreme north might have reduced or possibly avoided some of the negative impacts encountered by Aymara communities of Tarapaca today.

Social and environmental impact assessment can be an important instrument for protection of the rights and traditions of indigenous people in the face of rapid resource development. The foundations of social and environmental impact assessment articulate a distinct concern for human rights, justice and accountability. The challenge of tying prodevelopment policies and processes with the enhancement of indigenous rights is a critical issue currently facing Chile's developing democracy. Aymara land and resource rights, cultural heritage protection, and respect and regard for ceremonial places and practices in this study all concern the ethical question of human rights. The development of International Chilean Highway 11, the creation of Parque Nacional Lauca and the diversion of the Rio Lauca for hydroelectricity and irrigation on the arid coast have a highly politicized history. See Chapter VI Social and Environmental Impact Assessment for an in depth review of this discussion. For sound planning and development, and good governance, it is requisite that decision-makers and land managers have a clear and sophisticated understanding of development projects and the cultural and biophysical landscape in which the undertaking will become a part (Howitt and Jackson 2000:269).

Andean Region I of northern Chile is a multiethnic society, in which Aymara people are a significant culturally and economically important indigenous community. It is therefore imperative that social and environmental impact assessment of development projects in the extreme north adopt a multicultural definition of environment, which recognizes that various cultural groups define, utilize, value and construct meaning of landscape in different ways. An Andean controlled and directed social and environmental impact assessment will offer the most accurate evaluation of affected areas considered highly significant by the Aymara people. How successful the Aymara will fare in implementing their impact mitigation, management and compensation recommendations remains to be seen.

Critical concerns of Aymara people that were identified in this study include water quality and availability, land and sacred site protection, animal safety, resource management, employment, betterment of health and hygienic facilities, education and training opportunities, tourism and respect for Aymara cultural traditions and livelihood, consultation, compensation, enhancement and support for sustainable agropastoral systems and economic improvement and assistance. It is essential that the tensions, which exist between Aymara priorities and development imperatives, be addressed symmetrically. The Andean Region of Tarapaca, rich in social, economic and cultural activity, is a complex, living landscape with a long history. Development within the Aymara cultural landscape without consultation with Aymara people affects their life experience and future aspirations. Compensation for damage and loss of resources has not been addressed by government planners and decision-makers. Aymara people clearly experience great hardship, distress and disturbance in accepting the disruption and damage of their traditional cultural and natural properties, while government agencies have not assumed responsibility for these significant impacts. Many of the identified impacts appear to fall between statutory responsibilities of Chilean authorities. Oftentimes, numerous economic development problems have their roots in the sectoral fragmentation of responsibility. Sustainable development necessitates that such fragmentation be overcome (World Commission on Environment and Development 1987:63). Regional and local solutions are fundamental to prevent further exacerbation of negative project effects. The Aymara have the right to be compensated for the disturbance and destruction caused by highway development, water appropriation and exclusive national park policies that do not include support for traditional Aymara pastoralism or address protection for Aymara herds. The failure to address the issue of compensation has affected relationships between government agencies and Aymara communities. A common model utilized in a number of countries is for compensation to be negotiated or adjudicated.

The development of International Chilean Highway 11, the creation of Parque Nacional Lauca and the diversion of the Rio Lauca for irrigation and hydroelectricity were meant to expand economic activities such as mining, tourism, agriculture and international commerce in the Region of Tarapaca. The assumption that regional economic benefits of these development projects outweigh the social, cultural, political or economic burdens on local Andean communities is largely false. In Chile, existing colonial patterns of development have marginalized indigenous people through inappropriate planning and entrenched structural racism. It remains a difficult task of documentation and diplomacy to shift entrenched values and promote open dialogue to implement the study's recommendations for community participation, while addressing Aymara concerns in an ongoing way to meet international practice standards for social and environmental impact assessment. Negotiated settlement arrangements and governmental commitments are key in the consultation process, which completely excluded Aymara communities of Tarapaca. However, it is not too late to include the very people and communities that are directly affected by externally imposed development projects within their cultural landscape. Effective monitoring of cultural resources involves commitment and empowerment of Aymara communities to respond to issues as they arise, while their reported concerns must be heard, considered and valued by regional authorities. The most effective way to sustain an ongoing relationship with Aymara people is through consistent feedback on the status of their cultural resources. American Indian people respond positively to being involved in impact assessment consultation and decision-making regarding their traditional resources (Stoffle 2000:215-216).

The impacts of development projects within the Aymara cultural landscape were identified, assessed and evaluated through the perceptions of the Aymara people. The findings lead us to conclude that there have been serious disruptions in the social fabric of highland Aymara communities caused by the construction of International Chilean Highway 11, the diversion and canalization of the Rio Lauca for hydroelectricity and irrigation on the coast, and the creation of Parque Nacional Lauca. There exist multiple and cumulative impacts caused by these interrelated resource development projects. Environmental transformation and unilaterally imposed policies place severe constraints on the ability of the Aymara community to prevent, ameliorate or endure the extent and severity of impacts on their lands, resources and community life. Alteration of the biophysical and human environments of these communities are significant and adverse.

There is a need for Chilean government agencies and industry to accept some measure of responsibility for the social and environmental effects of their projects. Aymara land and water rights should be legally defined and Aymara rights to a degree of internal control and protection of their territory should be set down in Chilean law. The Chilean government has shown itself unwilling to recognize the Aymara's rights to participate in determining a future that is consonant with their history and traditions. Aymara communities have the right to participate in all projects undertaken within their cultural landscape.

Participatory ethnographic assessment has the potential for contributing substantively to recognizing the systemic institutional relations and processes that must change in order to redress past injustices visited upon disadvantaged and marginalized peoples because of ill-conceived notions of culture. Placing impact assessment within a cultural framework directs analysis toward resolving conflicts concerning the distribution of burdens and benefits. The responsibility of the researcher is to ensure that assumptions and uncertainties are clearly articulated and community concerns are recognized. It is essential that Aymara perspectives become part of the information base for decision-making, mitigation, monitoring and influencing land-management legislation in their traditional landscape. Relations between Chilean government agencies and Andean people have a long history that is often recounted as bitter or adversarial. It is important that there be respectful and constructive communication and power sharing between Aymara communities and Chilean authorities. The Aymara are highly knowledgeable about their traditional resources, and because of their proximity and intimacy with the resources, specialized knowledge and daily experiences, they are acutely aware of factors that have adverse or positive impacts on their conservation. Chilean government agency land managers in the Andes could clearly benefit from an Aymara cultural and natural resource management and monitoring plan. The desired outcome of negotiated quality consultation between the Aymara and Chilean government agencies is a stable and lasting productive partnership, which requires mutual respect, shared power and means for sustaining an ongoing long-term relationship. Such an alliance can be established through mutual trust, a common foundation of understanding and knowledge, and the conception and implementation of a cultural resource management and monitoring plan (Stoffle 2000: 212-213).

Social and environmental impact assessment, as a highly evaluative field of applied anthropology is a significant constituent of the planning process that was completely absent in the development scheme in Andean Tarapaca. Impact assessment is specifically aimed at improving the quality of communication, minimizing risk of conflict between developers, proponents and local communities, and anticipating and diminishing adverse impacts, while seeking to manage change responsibly and sustainably. Clearly, social and environmental impact assessment has the capacity to influence the policy decision-making process by encouraging affected community participation. It engenders a series of ethical relationships that emerge from the association between the investigator and the people of the affected communities. Of single most importance is engaging and collaborating with the involved communities in order to strengthen their capacity-building efforts. The analyst must orient to the overarching concerns that are in the best interest of the communities at risk. The Code of Ethics of the International Association for Impact Assessment states that the integrity of the natural environment and the health, safety and welfare of the human community shall at all times be placed above any commitment to sectoral or private interests. It is the professional responsibility of the researcher to give something back to the participants and collaborators for their input and assistance in the study. There is an explicit need for the investigator to ensure that there be a forum process attended by all stakeholders, which has as its definitive agenda the objective of discussing the study findings. Mitigation and impact management need to be established to minimize or offset the adverse impacts, and be incorporated into a social and environmental management plan. Ongoing consultation, impact monitoring and mitigation are the surest way to continued satisfaction between all stakeholders (Goldman and Baum 2000:14-27).

This chapter includes some pertinent recommendations and delineates an approach to impact assessment that if accepted, could permit the Aymara their rightful voice in the development of their cultural and natural resources.

## ARUSKIPASIPXAÑANAKASAKIPUNIRAKİSPAWA

We are human beings, hence we must communicate.

The Aymara believe in the unity of humankind and that only as one can we make this earth a good place for all of us. To make the earth a good place for all of humankind requires understanding and appreciation for the vast varieties of language and culture that we, as people have developed through time (Hardman 1981:16). According to the World Commission on Environment and Development (1987:44, 65, 348), the strategy for sustainable development aims to promote harmony among human beings and between humanity and nature. A proposed legal principle is that all human beings have the fundamental right to an environment that will sustain their health and well-being (Figure 70). "Sustainable development is

development that meets the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs.” It necessitates meeting the basic needs of all and extending and ensuring to all equitable opportunities to satisfy their aspirations for a better life.

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