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WHAT THE GRINGOS BROUGHT: A CRITICAL EXAMINATION OF A PRIVATELY
PROTECTED AREA IN CHILEAN PATAGONIA

By

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Bachelors of Science, University of Montana, Missoula, 2013

Thesis

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for the degree of

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What the Gringos Brought: A Critical Examination of a Privately Protected Area in Chilean Patagonia

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Abstract

Neoliberal ideology increasingly underscores many mainstream efforts to conserve biodiversity. This research explores this convergence through an in-depth case study of a privately owned park located in Chilean Patagonia. In two complementary chapters, I assess the social and cultural impacts of the project, and examine the role of discourse in the process of communicating and constructing the park. In the first chapter I draw from interview data collected from September through December of 2016 and explore the perspectives of local people with a variety of relationships to the project. In the second I employ a critical discourse analysis of park promotional materials to examine ways in which representations of the project highlight the heroic role of Northern actors while concealing the projects relationship to neoliberal capitalism. Through my analysis, I show that the project has precipitated a host of deleterious social impacts: local people expressed feelings of loss, powerlessness, and concern that their way of life is being eroded by outside forces. Conjoined, the two chapters display how the complex experiences of local people are rendered illegible in discourses produced for global audiences. I argue that apparently matter-of-fact park discourses extend the legitimation of capitalist modes of conservation, and play a critical role in silencing the dissent of local people.

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Chapter 1: Introduction

Tucked in the narrow sliver of country separating the Andes from the Pacific Ocean, Chilean Patagonia's Valle Chacabuco is being transformed from a working sheep ranch into a Yellowstone-style national park. Purchased in 2004 by a North American NGO, the former ranch is now an example of a privately protected area (PPA), an increasingly popular trend in global conservation efforts (Stolton et al. 2014). Just downslope from the tallest peaks dividing Chile from Argentina, the park lies in Aysén, the northernmost province of Patagonia. 'Patagonia' is a term applied differently by different people. It is a region defined more by common customs and history than lines on a map. Like all of Patagonia, Aysén is home to a pioneer culture, welcoming people, and stunning landscapes. Settled just over a century ago, the province is sparsely populated, a place where the most likely traffic jam is with a flock of sheep. Despite its remoteness, the region is rapidly changing. The park vows to bring tourists from around the world and forecasts a new local economy based on conservation and ecotourism. In this thesis, I present an in-depth case study of this process of transformation.

The research is broken into two complementary chapters. In the first, I draw from interviews collected from September through December of 2016. The interviews are from a range of perspectives: park rangers, administrators, non-park affiliated local residents, and a public protected area manager. In this first chapter, I present the ways that local people are experiencing the park, and hope to contribute to the dearth of critical attention directed at the social impacts of PPAs. In the second chapter, I present a critical discourse analysis of materials promoting the park. I examine websites, videos, blogs, and advertising, and dissect the ways discourse transforms Valle Chacabuco. In both chapters, I situate the research in the growing

body of work which examines the relationship between neoliberalism and conservation, or the way that free-market ideology increasingly undergirds efforts to save the environment. From two slightly different angles, this work examines how Patagonia Park¹ is an example of this process, and what some of the effects are.

¹ On the park website, the area is referred to as both “Patagonia Park” and “The Future Patagonia National Park.” Since the land is currently privately owned, in this work it will be henceforth referred to as “Patagonia Park.”



Figure 1. Location of Valle Chacabuco relative to Chile, Aysén province, and in detail

Chapter 2: Local Perceptions of Patagonia Park

Introduction

“Saving Patagonia?! More like destroying everything that Patagonia is!” a middle aged man who had spent his whole life working with livestock exclaimed indignantly to me when asked about the role of wealthy North American entrepreneurs Doug and Kris Tompkins and their privately protected area, Patagonia Park. Up until 2004, this man had spent most of his life in Valle Chacabuco, a fertile, steppe grassland located in Southern Chile’s Aysén region which functioned as a sheep ranch for almost all of its modern history. The son of members of a peasant cooperative, he passed the early years of his childhood in the valley, had family members buried there, was forced out under the Augusto Pinochet dictatorship, and later returned to the lands to work as a ranch hand until it was sold overnight to the Tompkins. This local outrage, that the Tompkins and Patagonia Park are destroying Patagonia, contrasts sharply with the story found in park materials: rescue and rehabilitation, saving an abused landscape, contributing vitally to global conservation efforts.

Although there are plans for it’s donation to the Chilean state, Patagonia Park is an example of a privately protected area (PPA), an increasingly mainstream conservation trend that’s received little critical attention (Langholz and Lassoie 2001). Particularly in Chile, where dramatic state retraction under neoliberal reforms has created new spaces for private individuals and civil society (NGOs and businesses) in conservation, PPAs have grown in both size and number in recent years (Serenari et al. 2016). Patagonia Park is only one of twelve protected areas that the Tompkins and affiliated NGOs own in Chile and Argentina, totaling around 900,000 hectares (Tompkins Conservation 2017). Although high level authorities like the

International Union for the Conservation of Nature (IUCN) call for more recognition and support for PPAs, and argue that they are an essential component for achieving conservation targets (Stolton et al. 2014), little empirical research examines their effects. Despite growing prominence in Chile and elsewhere, PPAs have been subject to little political or academic attention, particularly in terms of the social impacts and potential for altering local resources use systems and culture (Holmes 2015).

Drawing from critiques of the neoliberalization of nature and the intertwining of capitalism and conservation, this research explores the case of Patagonia Park, asking specifically: *what are the impacts of this particular PPA on local residents, and what can this case tell us about the intertwining of neoliberalism and conservation?* Based on in-depth, semi-structured interviews with people with varying relationships to the park, I find that a major effect of the PPA has been a dissolution of culture and erasure of history. Although the park benefits a small number of people, most non-park affiliated (and even some park-affiliated) people I interviewed expressed sorrow over losing lands that had been important to them and the history of the region. They had enjoyed a self-reliant, pioneer culture based on raising livestock and consuming locally raised meat. In the process of creating a park, developers removed livestock, tore down fences, and quite simply, erased the human history of Valle Chacabuco. Many residents feel that in addition to eradicating the traditional culture of the valley, the park installs a new and foreign ethos, where the norms and customs of Patagonia are ignored. Typical wooden structures have been replaced by ostentatious stone buildings, and the lands are now enjoyed by foreign elites rather than local residents.

Grounded in the specifics of a particular PPA, I argue that this case study speaks back to broad critiques of neoliberal conservation. Although not ideologically aligned with the market

triumphalist rhetoric of much neoliberal conservation, I show that the park is a more insidious manifestation of the subsumption of nature and culture to neoliberal logic. In a subtle process, never explicitly associating with the free-market conditions that allow for its existence, Valle Chacabuco is remade to reflect the vision of the beneficiaries of global neoliberalism, transformed to fulfill North American imaginaries where nature is a sanctuary, separate from human used and inhabitants. Although the park hardly resembles the chemical drenched fruit plantations or dead zone-surrounded salmon culture operations more typically associated with Chile's neoliberalized nature (Carruthers 2001), the park benefits from and extends the same processes: extracting nature from its social and culture context, so it can be expertly marketed to global audiences, commodified in a different way but no less than a can of salmon. This analysis also points to an inherent risk of PPAs: where purchasing power dictates conservation action, land and livelihood will be remade to reflect the vision of capitalist classes.

Literature Review

Over the past decade and a half, critical scholars have explored the ways in which non-human nature is increasingly subject to neoliberal ideology. Scholars have examined the underlying logics of this process, the specific manners in which nature is neoliberalized, and the results for both nature and people. Although this is a large, and often criticized as disparate, body of literature, the basic theoretical assumptions it offers provide a starting point for analyzing Patagonia Park. In the following section, I review foundational scholarship on the neoliberalization of nature, the intertwining of capitalism and conservation, and the work examining these processes in Chile. This literature provides a framework for understanding Patagonia Park as one example of the processes of neoliberalization, and leads to the need for further research.

A shared premise by critical scholars of the neoliberalization of nature is that neoliberalism is necessarily an environmental project (McCarthy and Prudham 2004). As only the most recent iteration of the capitalist cycle, it fundamentally rearranges the relations between humans and the environment (Heynen and Robbins 2005). McCarthy and Prudham (2004) support this argument by tracing the roots of neoliberalism back to classical liberalism and the thinking of John Locke; they remind that at the core of classical liberalism is a class structure based on private land ownership. Similarly, Heynen and Robbins (2005) argue that neoliberalism provides the economics and politics which mediate our relationships with nature. Together, these scholars show that at the core of neoliberalism lies a restructuring of how humans understand, use, and as of late, conserve our environment. The environmental nature of neoliberalism is easily visible in the Chilean context where human-nature relations have been dramatically transformed to facilitate private enterprise since the early 1970s.

Although authors (e.g. Harvey 2005) insist that neoliberalism is an uneven and variable process, and that it must be understood in particular geographic and historical contexts, some offer ideal types. Heynen and Robbins (2005) suggest processes of: (1)-*governance*- changes in institutional politics, (2)-*privatization*- the transfer of previously state-owned, communally-owned, or un-owned resources to private individuals or firms, (3)-*enclosure*- the capture of resources, and (4)-*valuation*- assignment of monetary value to all manner of biophysical phenomena. Castree (2008a) offers a slight variation; he proposes privatization, marketization, deregulation, reregulation, market proxies in the residual public sector, and the construction of flanking mechanisms in civil society. The last two add something new- what is left of the state after it has been ‘hollowed out,’ is run by market proxies, or rather, guided by the compass of the private sector, focused on efficiency and competition. ‘Flanking mechanisms’ or civil society,

communities, and NGOs, fulfill the role that the state once played (Castree 2008a). These ideal types (Heynen and Robbins 2005; Castree 2008a) map almost exactly onto the evolution of Valle Chacabuco since neoliberal restructuring. Communal land was enclosed, privatized, auctioned off, and now serves as a sight where an NGO fills in the void left by the state for conservation.

Though this typification lends clarity to understandings of neoliberalism, scholarship on the topic repeats almost incessantly that neoliberalism cannot be understood beyond the contexts in which it plays out (Castree 2008a). Neoliberalism is not coherent or monolithic, rather it is inherently an uneven project (Harvey 2005). In recognition of this uneven nature, it has become, as Castree (2008a) puts it, “axiomatic” that neoliberalism be studied as a set of processes rather than a discrete thing. Following this logic, there is agreement amongst scholars that a strength of the literature examining the neoliberalization of nature lies in its empirical base- it is largely done through case studies. In this way, critiques are forced to remain concrete, and assumptions about neoliberalism in the abstract are constantly held up against complex realities on the ground (McCarthy and Prudham 2004).

On this point, however, there is a tension in the literature- between fixing neoliberalism as an ontological category, and risking overlooking the common lessons, patterns, and themes critiques of it may build. Authors encourage readers to recognize the ‘polyvalence’ of neoliberalism, as McCarthy and Prudham (2004) put it, and interrogate rather than smooth over the contradictory nature of neoliberalism- it is a multifaceted ideology carried out through policies, practices, institutions and discourses at an infinite number of geographic and temporal scales (Castree 2008b). However, as Castree (2008b) argues, without drawing connections between distinct case studies, and explicitly identifying what is the ‘neoliberal element’ in a given case, research on the neoliberalizing of nature is united only in name; studies using the

term differently will remain a disjointed collection. Accommodating the complexities of any particular neoliberalization must be balanced with explicit attention what is ‘neoliberal’ about a case and the need to build a coherent body of critiques.

Springing from these understandings of the neoliberalization of nature, scholars have turned explicit attention to the intertwining of conservation and neoliberalism. As Brockington and Duffy (2010:470) point out, alignment of capitalism and conservation is hardly a new phenomenon, what is new, however, is the implicit (and sometimes explicit) notion that, as they put it, “capitalism can and should help conservation save the world,” as a guiding principle for many mainstream conservation efforts. Scholars of neoliberal conservation explore how conservation increasingly becomes conducive to the articulation of people and nature into larger capitalist systems, and serves to compliment rather than curtail destructive capitalist practices (e.g. Büscher et al. 2012; Igoe and Brockington 2007). This is a profound shift: from conservation as a bulwark against capitalist expansion to a mechanism for it.

As with neoliberal nature, scholars insist that a term like neoliberal conservation risks being a catchall attack phrase, a basket full of disconnected and incoherent critiques (Igoe and Brockington 2007). Proceeding with this caution in mind, there are, however, distinguishable patterns in conservation practice and principle which reflect neoliberal underpinnings. Fletcher (2010:172) offers a concise summary of characteristics of neoliberal conservation: 1) the creation of capitalist markets for natural resource exchange and consumption; 2) privatization of resource control within those markets; 3) commodification of resources so that they can be traded within markets; 4) withdrawal of direct government intervention from market transactions; and 5) decentralization of resource governance to local authorities and non-state actors like NGOs. Although general terms like ‘neoliberal conservation’ must be used with caution, these

characteristics lay a foundation for seeing Patagonia Park as an instance of neoliberal conservation, a large scale purchase possible only in a highly capitalist system.

A key theme necessary to understanding critiques of neoliberal conservation is shifting constellations of environmental governance. A reduction in traditional state-led conservation efforts has been accompanied by the rise of complex networks of corporations, conservation NGOs, and states, or “hybrid governance arrangements, that appear to be direct products of neoliberal thinking,” (Brockington and Duffy 2011:479). Central to this, conservation NGOs have grown in size and power, increasingly have close ties to both businesses and states, and are themselves run like corporations (Igoe and Brockington 2007). Conservacion Patagonica exemplifies such a hybrid governance arrangement. Founded by former CEOs of large clothing companies, its board of directors includes Yvon and Malinda Chouinard, owners of Patagonia, Inc., both the former CEO and chief financial officer of the Esprit clothing company, a former biodiversity advisor from the World Bank, and a strategist from The Nature Conservancy (Conservacion Patagonica 2017). In this case, working to ultimately donate lands back to the state, this network of ‘transnational conservation elite’ (Holmes 2011) form an intricate nexus of money, ideas, and individuals (Igoe and Brockington 2007). Typifying neoliberal governance, the line between philanthropy, private enterprise, NGO, and state are blurred beyond recognition (ibid.).

Another key tenet of neoliberal conservation is an increased reliance on markets to remediate environmental damage, or the rise of ‘free-market environmentalism.’ Here, a myriad of biophysical phenomena are incorporated into new systems of privatization, commodification, and management through markets. The idea is to quantify the value of all of earths systems and translate the costs through pricing (Igoe and Brockington 2007). Various scholars critique the

win-win rhetoric that accompanies much of this type of conservation. Authors contend that the idea that saving nature, turning profits, and continued capitalist growth are all simultaneously compatible is both spurious and dangerous (Brockington and Duffy 2011; Büscher et al. 2012; Igoe and Brockington 2007); it promotes rather than subverts the underlying causes of environmental destruction.

Critics note that despite optimistic rhetoric, the results of neoliberal conservation are much more complicated on the ground, and largely have not lived up to promises (Igoe and Brockington 2007). Fletcher (2010) discusses some of the principal issues: increased influence by corporations and transnational institutions over resources, adverse effects on communities whose resources are incorporated into extended markets, and commodification of nature in ways that may alter values, meanings, and cultures. Although Patagonia Park does not present the pro-market rhetoric as prominently as other forms of neoliberal conservation, these critiques lay a foundation for understanding ways in which the park may silently privilege the very processes it seeks to remediate.

Within the broad trend of the neoliberalization of conservation, one specific modality has been a rise in privately owned protected areas (PPAs). Although the concept of PPAs has existed for centuries, PPAs have grown in size and number over the past two decades, and form a large but understudied piece of the increased role of the private sector in conservation (Stolton et al. 2014). PPAs reflect a huge diversity of ownership structures, management systems, and overall objectives (Langholz and Lassoie 2001). In keeping with neoliberal ideology, PPAs have been heralded as an alternative or compliment to state-owned protected areas, offering increased efficiency and possibility for profit through ecotourism (ibid.); they can pick up the slack where states have ‘failed.’ Some scholars have identified potential strengths of the approach, for

example, Langholz and Lassoie (2001) discuss how PPAs can protect underrepresented ecosystems, contribute to devolution of resource control to local peoples, provide opportunities for public participation, and serve as a precursor to state-ownership.

However, as these same authors point out, there are potential risks. Private ownership can mean tenuous status for conservation, especially if conservation is profit driven and then becomes unviable (Langholz and Lassoie 2001). Even where profit is not a motive, private endowments may run out or foundations can change directions (Brockington, Duffy and Igoe 2008). Perhaps most troubling, is that PPAs may become, as Langholz and Lassoie (2001:1083) say, “island of elites,” where wealthy individuals enjoy privileged natural landscapes, while local residents receive few benefits and/or lose access. Resonating with this critique, Brockington, Duffy and Igoe (2008) discuss the complexities of private game reserves in Zimbabwe and South Africa. They show that although PPA discourses may resonate with goals of global conservation efforts, they can serve to deepen inequalities in land ownership and further concentrate benefits of conservation into elite hands.

Various scholars have examined the development of PPAs specifically in Chile in the past three decades. In his investigation of PPAs in Chile, Holmes (2015) found a wide variation in size, operating model, type of owners, and ideological orientation (from altruistic to profit-driven). In another study of Chilean PPAs, Serenari et al. (2016) used interviews to examine impacts of PPAs on the well-being of local people and found mixed results. Their research showed that PPAs exacerbated asymmetrical power relations, and were perceived by local residents as both improving and damaging well-being. In another look at Chilean PPAs, Tecklin and Sepulveda (2014) make the argument that markets should not be conflated with private property rights; that PPAs in Chile reflect a commitment to strong property rights rather than a

marketization of everything as is commonly associated with neoliberal conservation. Others have examined Chilean PPAs in terms of land grabs (Holmes 2014), and ecophilanthropy (Jones 2012). Finally, in her examination of PPAs in Chile, Schutz (2015) used gap analysis (or spatial comparisons between maps) to show that PPAs in Chile actually do little to augment the most threatened ecosystems of Chile.

The most resounding message from the handful of studies of Chilean PPAs is that they demand further critical examination, especially in terms of effects on local people. Most literature addressing PPAs in Chile has drawn primarily from the perspectives of PPA owners and managers (Serenari et al. 2016), and with few exceptions, does not incorporate understandings of the neoliberalization of nature and conservation. As Holmes (2015:864) puts it, “It is a curious oversight that PPAs have been neglected not just within debates about neoliberal conservation, but within social science of conservation more broadly...” Though scholarly works reviewed above help us understand how neoliberalism and conservation are increasingly becoming inextricable and mainstream, what demands further attention are the ways in which these processes are translated to the lived experiences of people affected by them, particularly in and around PPAs. In the remainder of this paper, I present an empirical examination of these processes.

Background

Chile provides the ideal context in which to study the intertwining of neoliberalism and conservation. Since its US CIA-backed coup d'état in 1973, the country has been a laboratory for extreme neoliberal reform. Counteracting and undoing socialist, redistributive policies of the previous administrations of Eduardo Frei Montalva and Salvador Allende, the 16-year military dictatorship led by Augusto Pinochet completely restructured Chile along neoliberal lines. Under

direct influence of the, ‘Chicago Boys,’ a group of hyper-conservative economists and lawyers trained in the teachings of Milton Friedman and Friedrich Hayek at the University of Chicago School of Economics, the military government privatized public assets and industries, opened up natural resources for exploitation and export, created policies that facilitated direct foreign investment, and eliminated any barriers to free trade (Harvey 2007). Despite Chile’s return to a democracy in 1989, neoliberalism remains institutionalized, even calcified in Chilean politics and society (Carruthers 2001).

Chile’s long and deep engagement with neoliberalism has facilitated economic growth, but precipitated a dizzying array of environmental impacts. From industrial-scale commercial agriculture in the central valley and mines in the north, to timber harvest and aquaculture in the south, private ownership of natural resources oriented toward extraction and exportation has characterized natural resource governance in Chile’s neoliberal regime (Altieri and Rojas 1999). Environmental regulation slowly developed in Chile with the passage of the National Environmental Framework Law (NEFL) in 1994, however scholars agree that this law accomplishes only minor restrictions on environmental destruction and does little to challenge the notion of indefinite growth based on raw resource extraction (Carruthers 2001; Latta and Aguayo 2012; Silva 1996; Tecklin, Bauer, and Prieto 2011). In terms of protected areas, somewhat surprisingly, almost 19% of the country is included in the state system of protected areas administered by the hybrid public-private agency The National Forest Corporation (CONAF) (Pauchard and Villarroel 2002). However, of this 19%, a large portion is located in ice fields, mountainous areas, and other high elevation landscapes with relatively low biodiversity (ibid). Furthermore, CONAF is a chronically underfunded and understaffed agency, often struggling to manage the vast landscapes in their charge (ibid).

Limited state-led initiatives for conservation combined with policies specifically designed to attract direct foreign investment and invite unlimited foreign land ownership has resulted in an explosion of PPAs in Chile since the 1990s (Holmes 2015). Chile is home to some 500 heterogeneous PPAs, covering around two percent of the country (Meza 2009). The majority are owned by private individuals, NGOs, businesses (largely timber companies), ‘conservation communities,’ (a group akin to a time-share retirement community,) and eco-real estate ventures (Corcuera, Sepulveda, and Geisse 2002). Despite their proliferation, PPAs in Chile are only nominally recognized in Article 35 of the NEFL, and are neither officially defined nor incentivized (Stolton et al. 2014).

Two of the principal actors in this trend are Doug and Kris Tompkins. Doug Tompkins first visited the Patagonia region in the late 1960s as a climber and mountaineer (Tompkins Conservation 2017). He later co-founded both the North Face gear company and the Esprit clothing company. After a successful career in the gear and fashion industries, Tompkins officially became involved in the Deep Ecology movement in late 1980s, and started the Foundation for Deep Ecology (The Foundation for Deep Ecology 2017). According to the foundation’s website, Tompkins realized that the consumer culture he had helped promote as a businessman was a destructive manifestation of an industrial growth economy that is harmful to nature (ibid.). After selling his business shares, he committed full time to conservation in the mid-1990s (ibid).

Kris Tompkins has a similarly impressive history in both the apparel and conservation worlds. She served as CEO to the Patagonia Clothing Company for 20 years, and then later moved to working full time in conservation and founded Conservacion Patagonica (CP), the NGO behind Patagonia Park. Together, Doug and Kris, under various NGO auspices including

Fundacion Pumalin, The Conservation Land Trust, and Conservacion Patagonica, have led the private land conservation charge in Chile. These ‘sister organizations’ fall under the umbrella Tompkins Conservation, with a board of directors in the United States and various project directors around Chile (Tompkins Conservation 2017).

Patagonia Park is the most recent and one of the most controversial of the Tompkins projects. The approximately 80,000 hectare area was purchased by Conservacion Patagonica in 2004. Patagonia Park functions with limited commercial activity, charges a minimal entry fee for camping, free access to trails, and offers a high-end lodge with boutique rooms (Conservacion Patagonica 2017). Much of the park has been constructed through a volunteer program, where visitors from around the globe spend time removing fence, building trails etc. (ibid.). The Tompkins have long publicly committed to donating their lands to the Chilean state, however, so far donations have been limited (currently two areas have been donated to the country: Corcovado National Park, and Yendegaia National Park, and one, Pumalin Park, has been donated as a nature reserve (Tompkins Conservation 2017)).

In the case of Patagonia Park, the area borders two publicly owned protected areas, Jeneimeni National Reserve and Tamango National Reserve. The ultimate goal of the project is to donate the lands in Valle Chacabuco to the Chilean state, and together all three protected areas would become Patagonia National Park (Conservacion Patagonica 2017). In March of 2017, the Chilean government signed an agreement to accept the lands in Valle Chacabuco among others (Tchekmedyan 2017), although little is known about the timeline or details of the actual transfer (L. Pedrasa pers. comm. October 20, 2016).

The park website tells a simple narrative of Conservacion Patagonica purchasing a supposedly bankrupt and mismanaged ranch; however this belies the complex and highly human history of the valley, and the importance of the Valle Chacabuco in Aysén's settlement. With political and economic focus historically oriented northward, Aysén received little attention for most of Chile's history. Low national priority combined with the inhospitable weather and challenging geography of Patagonia, the region was settled by modern inhabitants only in the early 20th century. In 1903, amid border disputes with Argentina, the Chilean government granted concessions to livestock companies to encourage settlement and prevent annexation (Martinic 2005). These concessions covered almost the entirety of Aysén, and one of the largest included Valle Chacabuco (Martinic 2005; Biblioteca Nacional de Chile 2016). The ranching operation in Valle Chacabuco drew Chilean and European immigrants alike, and formed the pillar of economic and social life in the region, eventually precipitating the development of Cochrane the nearest town (Martinic 2005).

The livestock concession functioned under this arrangement until 1967, when the state chose not to renew the concession and instead incorporate the lands into agrarian reform (Martinic 2005). As part of nationwide policies aimed at empowering the peasant classes and demolishing the oligarchical *hacienda* system (the historic tenure arrangement wherein the largest estates of the country belonged to the elite classes) the major estates of the country were appropriated by the Frei Montalva administration (Bellisario 2007a). Valle Chacabuco was placed into the hands of the state and managed by the public agency CORA (The Corporation for Agrarian Reform). As with many other estates in the country, Valle Chacabuco was given to a group of peasants who formed an *asentamiento*, or cooperative, where land was collectively managed and exploited for production. Twenty-six families from neighboring towns of

Coyhaique and Cochrane moved into the valley to participate (H. Vasquez pers. com. October 2, 2016). Although the *asentamientos* were meant to be a stop gap measure, a temporary arrangement from which involved families could eventually own the land, political changes prevented most *asentados* from ever gaining access to land titles (Kay 2002).

Ushering Chile into a fully capitalist political and economic system, the military government led by Augusto Pinochet reversed Frei and Allende era agrarian reforms by re-appropriating reformed lands and dividing and selling others (Bellisario 2007b). Although the process came slowly, Valle Chacabuco was no exception. The families of the *asentamiento* continued to work and live in the valley until 1981, eight years after the coup, however CORA administrators, (associated with the previous administrations) were removed and replaced with military personnel. (H. Vasquez, L. Calindo, L. Carasco pers. comm. October 6, 2016). Eventually, after futile efforts to remain in Valle Chacabuco and obtain title to the lands, the members of the *asentamiento* desisted and left under pressure from the regime (ibid). In 1983 the military government reclaimed the land, and sold it in public auction to a Chilean born man of Belgian descent, Francisco de Smet, who reinitiated the sheep ranching operations (C. de Smet pers. comm. October 4, 2016).

Although privately owned by de Smet, from 1983 to 2004, The Estancia Valle Chacabuco, as it was known during these years, was home to around 40 families and employed over one hundred workers at the high periods of branding and shearing (C. de Smet pers. comm. October 4, 2016). Wool and livestock were shipped to the central valley of Chile and then distributed to broader markets, while meat supplied regional markets and local consumption (ibid.). The ranch during these years functioned as a primary employer of residents of the town

of Cochrane, and the principle supply of meat to local residents. The one-hundred year vocation as a sheep and cattle ranch came to an abrupt halt in 2004 with the purchase by the Tompkins.

Methods

To understand how PPAs impact local residents, this research examines Patagonia Park in an in-depth case study approach. Examining one specific PPA, I was able to explore the particularities of an instance of neoliberal conservation, interrogate the ways a broad phenomenon is playing out in a historically, culturally, and politically situated context, with close attention to the perspectives of local people. This approach necessarily grounds critiques of neoliberalism, and avoids overly-abstract notions of neoliberalism as one ‘thing,’ or as monolithic (Castree 2008b). To access the perspectives of local residents, I took a qualitative approach, seeking to elicit participant worldviews, and explore experiences and understandings of the changes initiated by Patagonia Park. This approach helps humanize critiques of neoliberal conservation, and begins to shed light on the ways that real people are experiencing this trend.

Field research was conducted from September through December of 2016 in the Aysén region of Southern Chile. I conducted semi-structured, in-depth interviews with people from a variety of relationships to the park². In a combination of purposive and snowball and sampling, I first contacted people with varying relationships to the park, and then asked for referrals to others who knew a lot about the park or had long relationships with the valley. Sampling was intended not to be representative of the population, but rather capture a variety of perspectives, with an emphasis on local residents with a current or past relationship to the lands now in the park.

² This project and concomitant interview scripts were approved by the University of Montana Institutional Review Board for Research with Human Subjects.

The total 15 interviews included high-level park administrators (2); park rangers³ (4); local residents who do not work for the park (8), and a CONAF protected area manager (1). The eight non-park affiliated local residents included two of the parks neighbors, two local politicians, two long term employees of the former ranch, and one daughter of *asentados* (members of the cooperative) who lived the early years of her life in Valle Chacabuco. All participants besides the two high-level park administrators and the CONAF manager were at least second generation residents of Aysén, or as many said proudly, “born and raised;” a notable point, due to the strong perceived cultural and social distinction between Patagonia and the rest of Chile.

In Patagonian culture, it is common for friends or family members to drop by to share a *mate*, or traditional tea communally sipped from a gourd through a metal straw. This occurred during three interviews. In keeping with the very open and welcoming customs I had been shown there, I invited the perspectives of new-comers into the interviews. The addition of friends and family fomented conversation, appeared to enhance the comfort of participants, and resulted in some of the richest responses.

Interviews were all conducted in Spanish, and lasted from 45 to 110 minutes, with the exception of one interview of 20 minutes, which was terminated because the participant thought I might be a spy for the park. Interviews were carried out in the park, in people’s homes in Cochrane, in Coyhaique, the capital of Aysén, and in Puerto Varas, where Tompkins Conservation headquarters is located. Participants were asked about their history in and connection to Valle Chacabuco, descriptions of the valley before and after the park had been

³ All park rangers are currently employed by the park, but are long term Aysén residents who formerly worked in livestock production, either in Valle Chacabuco or elsewhere.

established, attitudes and reactions to the park, impacts of the park, and any perceived benefits or lack of benefits from the park (see Appendix A). Interview scripts were piloted on a local Chilean to check for clarity and appropriateness.

Interviews were recorded on a digital recorder, and then transcribed verbatim in Spanish. Of the 15 interviews, I transcribed 10, and a professional Chilean transcriptionist transcribed five. Beyond alleviating time, this allowed me to check my own transcriptions against those of a native speaker. Two interviews I transcribed were particularly challenging due to the heavy accent and use of colloquial language by the interviewee. With these transcripts, I sought the assistance of a second native speaker to proof-read my transcriptions. Working with native speakers in both the initial transcription and editing phases helped minimize any errors in the process.

Interviews were coded in QSR Nvivo software. I chose to leave the transcripts in Spanish throughout the coding process in order to maintain the nuance and context of the original language while searching for themes. At first codes were organized topically according to common words, phrases or concepts, and generally followed the interview questions. In an iterative process of rereading transcripts and reorganizing codes, I gradually moved away from descriptive, topical codes to more conceptual and abstract themes. Interviews from the different groups were analyzed simultaneously to compare and contrast the way participants from different sub-populations understood and were experiencing the park.

My role as the researcher influences the interview data in multiple ways. On one hand, being from North America like the Tompkins, I was met with initial mistrust by some participants. This was clear in four interviews where participants suggested that I might have

been covertly working for the park. However, this accusation is revelatory in itself for two reasons. First, this idea was always (with the one exception) accompanied by a bold stance that even if I was a park informant, participants would not shy away from sharing their opinions. This defiant, fearlessness to offend illuminates a deep antagonism between many residents and the park. Second, it reveals a profound mistrust in the relationship between the park and members of the community- a telling paranoia that the park would send a spy to the homes of local people.

Despite initial mistrust, my position as a North American also invited people to present a side of the story they knew I did not know. To build trust, I would often tell people that the park had received positive press in the United States, and that this research aimed to explore the opinions of local people. Many participants appeared empowered to be in the role of setting me straight, and hoped that I would share their opinions in my own country. Multiple interviewees said things along the lines of, “Please, go home and tell people how it is.” Participants saw me as an agent to share their stories with people in the United States, someone from the world of the Tompkins informed by another viewpoint. My positionality as a North American paradoxically served to draw forth uneasy feelings that many local residents now hold toward foreigners who could be associated with the park, and simultaneously illicit detailed and personal responses in hopes of setting the story straight.

Results

In the following section, I present the major findings from the interviews. Results are organized into five themes: the relationship between the park and the community, impacts of the park, views of nature, benefits from the park, and issues of power. Within these themes, I present various related subthemes with illustrative quotes from participants. Responses from distinct groups are interwoven to demonstrate the contrasts between groups.

Relationship between the Park and Community

In this section, respondents discuss the relationship between the park and the community, including reactions and attitudes to the park, interactions (i.e. visitation and use), and communication between the park and the residents of Cochrane. Participants from all groups agreed that the local residents reacted with dismay to the sale of Valle Chacabuco to the Tompkins, and generally resent the park. Interviewees also made clear that there is little interaction now between the people of Cochrane and the park, although the park has recently improved its outreach efforts. Related to this, many participants conveyed the idea that people did not understand and are not informed about the park.

Reactions

All participants agreed that the community reacted negatively to the park when it first began. When asked about reactions, a local politician answered in no uncertain terms, “Everybody says to you, ‘Listen, we don’t want Chacabuco to be sold, that it be transformed into a park.’” Others said things like, “Everyone was against the purchase.” Another woman expressed sadness when she found out about the sale. When asked about her reaction she said:

“Ohhh how sad! ... and they said, ‘No, it sold, and it’s going to be a park, and there will be no more animals.’ How sad, how that weighs on you when someone says that the best fields will be lost.”

The two park administrators were also aware of the reactions. One said that the project was “controversial at the start,” and the other acknowledged the conflict with a euphemism that there had been some “noise” around the project. When asked about what she heard people saying, the latter echoed the fact that the community reacted poorly:

“No, when we started, there were many people against it. They were against Tompkins because he is Tompkins, because he was North American, because they felt that he was

imposing his ideal, that he had come to do what he wanted, and didn't want their opinion.”

The CONAF administrator expressed a conflict, on one hand happy for the protection, and on the other, wary because of the social conflict surrounding the Tompkins. When asked about reactions at CONAF, she said:

“[We were] happy for the protection, but why *him*? [laughs] Why not the state? Why a private person? And a foreigner, who came with the polemic of Pumalin⁴ already, he came carrying that weight.”

Beyond reacting with dismay to the sale of the land, a few respondents mentioned organized resistance to the park. Headed by one interviewee, a group of local residents traveled to the valley for demonstrations against the park, and had attempted to work with politicians at higher levels to reverse the sale to Tompkins. The leader explained:

“So we laid it out in all of the avenues. I went to *La Moneda*,⁵ I went to the television channels, I went to all the places and expressed our worry, our disagreement with this project. In the end, we have had no response. We did a protest there too, right there in the [park] village, with 133 people.”

In just one exception, a participant mentioned reacting positively to the sale. He is currently a park ranger, but had previously worked for CONAF doing wildlife research. When asked about the community's reaction however, he confirmed, “They didn't like the gringos one bit.”

Attitudes

Although respondents were asked about how they reacted when the land first sold, further questioning revealed that for the most part, these negative reactions have not changed. As one

⁴ Pumalin Park is the first and largest of the Tompkins projects in Chile and was highly controversial (Holmes 2015).

⁵ *La Moneda* is the capital building of Chile.

man told me, “Tomkins is not welcome here. He has never been liked here in this zone.” Many respondents emphasized that *campesinos*⁶, or people who work with livestock, are against the park. Below is a typical response about the community’s attitude toward the park:

“They are not in agreement with this, nobody, because this is a town of *campesinos*. Except the few that earn their living there, they are in agreement, and it’s pretty and everything, but the rest of the *campesinos*, not one is in agreement. Because I talk to all of them, and I don’t believe that one is in agreement.”

Many people also mentioned feelings of loss, sadness, and shame. One man said he “lamented” the loss of the lands, another said that the process “had been very sad for Cochrane...very sad.” Sadness was also paired with outright contempt on a few occasions. In a conversation on Doug Tompkins death in 2016, one woman who works for the park said, “So much the better that he died!”

Park rangers expressed contradictory attitudes toward the park. Although they generally had positive opinions about the park, one park ranger also expressed sadness when asked what he thought about the current conditions of the valley. He said:

“I find it- I feel sorrow. Of course, because I am, I am a man who was raised with animals. ... And I like animals a lot...I like horses, cows, calves, sheep. So for me, it was a shame. Not to see one lamb around here, how it was before. Nothing.”

Despite general agreement that the community and especially those who work with livestock have negative attitudes toward the park, interviewees mentioned that some people, especially young people, are indifferent. When asked about attitudes toward the project, park administrators emphasized this aspect: “The youngest ones grew up with it not being a livestock ranch and continuing to be a park. So, the younger ones are much more open to the idea.” This

⁶ *Campesino* has no direct translation. It derives from the word for field or countryside, and refers to smallholder farmers, farm laborers, or peasants.

harmonized with another interviewee who said that the older people had more “resentment” toward the park.

Beyond general opposition to the park, seven interviewees expressed doubts about the Tompkins intentions and suggested that their ultimate objective was not conservation. One person mentioned, “territorial objectives,” another said, “this is all about money,” and a third said, “first it was conservation, now it’s all about tourism, so there’s some shady business going on there.” Three people mentioned the *Plan Andinia* and Zionism, a conspiracy theory that Patagonia is a promised land for Israelis.

Perhaps just as illustrative of the mistrust toward the Tompkins as any quote from an interviewee is the fact that four of the fifteen interviewees suggested that I could be a spy for the Tompkins. One elderly woman, a neighbor to the park terminated the interview early because she was afraid I worked for the Tompkins, and that I would use what she said against her. She said “There are many things won’t tell you. This is already too much.”

Interactions between the community and the park

When asked about the interactions between the community and the park, six people mentioned school programs for children that the park organizes, two mentioned *La Ruta de Huemules*, a biannual hike that the park sponsors between town and the valley, and others mentioned programs for the elderly and local guides.

Of the people who mentioned these programs, those who worked for the park said that efforts to connect the town to the park should have started earlier, since the community extension program has only existed for two to three years. As one park ranger put it, “[The park] was late in forming a relationship with the town.” A park administrator echoed, “The critique that we

have here inside the park is that we wanted the idea of community relations to have started more or less when the land was bought.” Despite examples of community outreach, one park ranger said, “The people from here, raised here, they don’t come.”

Other respondents who don’t work for the park took a harder line on interactions between the park and the community. Many of them said they now have no interactions with the valley, and felt that the community in general did not either. In a typical example, one interviewee mentioned the *Ruta de Humules* when asked about park outreach efforts. When I asked if he had ever participated, he and the other interviewees erupted in laughter: “No! I don’t want to go close to the park! No, I don’t want to go there... [I’d go] anywhere I was invited except the *Ruta de Huemules!*” He followed up by explaining that the only way he’d go close to the park would be to “take it back,” to go “where [he] grew up and take a stand,” “even if it meant going to prison.”

A consistent theme across all interviewees was that the park had very poor relationships with the remaining neighbors in the valley. One park administrator said that the relationship was “quite conflictive.” A park ranger discussed how the relationship with between the park and its neighbors was estranged, and that this was very atypical of the region:

“The relationship with them, from what I can see, no... they never visit. They don’t talk or anything.... You don’t know what there is, what is happening ... what’s happening over there with the neighbors.... Because no one gets together as neighbors, to visit, or if they have a problem- no. We don’t even know what happens with the neighbors! Because almost everywhere, neighbors visit each other, if one has a problem, or you need this or that, or need support... I don’t know.”

The perspective of the actual neighbors who I interviewed was outright antagonism; they mentioned being threatened with fines for animals crossing onto park land and being viewed as nuisance. As one woman said:

“I do not see them as friendly. Why do I tell you that? Because my husband and I are a rock in the sole of their shoe, we are history for Patagonia Park.”

When asked if the park had made attempts to have a relationship with them, another neighbor said, “No. To get rid of us. That more than anything.”

Communication and understanding

Beyond antagonism between the park and the people, another overarching theme expressed by different stakeholder groups was a lack of communication, information, and understanding. Many community members expressed that they really didn't understand what the park was all about, and multiple people described the park as a “mystery.” Below is a typical comment:

“In the case of Valle Chacabuco, one doesn't manage to understand, still, doesn't manage to understand yet, why in the end a multimillionaire who- clearly, he is a person who is on the extreme end of conservation- buys this land and transforms it.”

Another, woman, when asked if the community played any role of power in the transformation echoed the point emphatically: “No! No! A role of power?! We were not even informed.”

Park rangers also expressed this lack of shared vision between the community and the park. Two of them mentioned that the community simply “didn't understand” the park, and that it could potentially benefit them one day. Two rangers even expressed limitations to their own understanding of the park. When asked about why the Tompkins developed a park in Valle Chacabuco, they gave the following answers:

“I don't know what their desire was. Because Valle Chacabuco doesn't have many things, no icefield, doesn't have a lot of glaciers either... It's like... it's just livestock fields.”

“Well, they could have bought somewhere else, I don’t know what...what... Of course, I always wonder, ‘Why was it that they bought here, when these were the best fields for producing animals?’”

Related to lack of communication and understanding, various participants described a disconnection between the park and the community. This disconnection was expressed sometimes subtly, in the use of phrases like, “the park people” “Tompkins people” and Tompkins in “his” park, or one politician calling the park “isolated.” In other moments the disconnection was blatant. A local politician said, “After many conversations with people from here, it’s like, the story that [The Tompkins] produce has nothing to do with the people here.”

Another woman said this:

“Or what they think could make us feel proud is not the same as is for them, if nobody has an emotional connection with something that the gringos brought and that they invented.”

In summary, the park employees gave examples of various forms of community outreach the park has initiated, but complained that the efforts had come late. Of the community members who don’t work for the park, some gave examples of efforts of the park (school programs and the *Ruta de Huemules* hike), but most felt that the community had little to no interaction with the park. Relations between the park and its neighbors are antagonistic and very atypical of Patagonian customs. Following initial negative reactions, many community members feel resentment toward the park, do not understand it, and feel disconnected from the project.

Impacts of the Park

In this subsection participants discuss the various impacts precipitated by park development. The most prevalent were perceived loss of livelihood opportunities, negative

impacts on to small producers associated with changes in predator behavior, reduction in access to local meat, and loss of history and culture.

Perceived loss of work

Many people felt that the park has resulted in less work available for the community, although park administrators contradicted this idea. There was variation in the actual number of workers people thought worked in the valley during the ranch years and how many work there now. Despite this variation, there was a general perception in non-park affiliated respondents that the park had meant a loss of work for the community.

When asked to describe the valley now that it has been transformed into a park, one woman's perception of the loss of work came through:

“Bad! Bad because the people don't have work. The people who are from the *campo*. Those who earned their livelihoods at the ranch, and this ranch had many animals. It's bad. For me, it's bad.”

Another man echoed this saying, “Yes there are people from Cochrane working, which is a very small group. It is very reduced. And with time it will be smaller.” Another still said, “They have a couple people working there...maybe five or six.”

Negative effects on small producers

Another prevalent theme which came out across participants was that the park has negatively impacted small producers. Seven of the interviewees (everyone who didn't work for the park) consistently mentioned the damage done to small producers by pumas and foxes, and insisted that predator behavior and prevalence changed since the park had been established. People used the word “threat” and “threatened” repeatedly, and insisted that predators were

causing much “damage.” One man’s thoughts on predation came out when asked about the community’s opinion of the park. This was a typical comment:

“They are against it. Why? Because we raise sheep and cows, and the sheep, they are attacked. Then, you are left with no more sheep. You raise them until they are all eaten by pumas.”

A local politician echoed this concern, saying, “The abuse to the small producer is incredible.”

Two other examples of damage to *campesinos* came from neighbors of the park. One had to eliminate all of his sheep, (cows are less susceptible to predation) and the other, an elderly couple, had eliminated all of their livestock and now earned a living operating a guest house in the town of Cochrane. The elderly couple was striking. When trying to arrange an interview with the woman, I went to the guesthouse she now runs. The woman of the pair was extremely resistant, both because she suspected that I worked for the Tomkins, and because it caused her pain to discuss the park. She said, “I don’t want to talk about it, I work in this now,” as she nodded her head toward the guest house with a look of disgust.

Park rangers who work in wildlife monitoring confirmed the changes in puma behavior. One ranger explained to me that although there have always been pumas, now they are more “*tranquilo*,” or “calm, undisturbed.” He explained to me that during the ranch years, there were so many people in the valley, so much movement, and so many dogs, that pumas would kill and then run away. Now, he explained, “pumas move slowly,” and they “have gained confidence.”

Access to meat

Many people emphasized that the ranch was the main source of meat for the community, and that when it sold, the price of meat increased. Nine interviewees mentioned that decreased access to meat had been an impact of the park. Many of these used the word “*abastecer*,” or

“supply, provide,” to describe the historic role of the ranch, and emphasized that “common people” could afford to buy lamb. As one local resident explained to me:

“A lamb, historically, when the Estancia Valle Chacabuco existed, anybody could consume a lamb. Today, it has become very difficult for a citizen, a run of the mill person, like a retired person, a person with a minimum salary, it is very difficult for them to be able to buy a lamb, because you don’t buy a lamb for fewer than 40,000 pesos. You can’t, and five or six years ago, when the ranch existed, you bought one for 13,000, 15,000 maximum.”

Park rangers also expressed concern over the elimination of livestock. As it stood at the time of this research, the park maintained a small number of livestock which fed park workers and supplied the park restaurant. Park rangers who live out in the “*puestos*” “posts,” or a small house out in the middle of the park, cared for the remaining livestock. In addition to wages and a monthly basket of dry food supplies to live off, park rangers received a sheep and a half monthly. The plan at the time was to eliminate all livestock by March 2017. Park rangers expressed concern about what they would eat when all livestock was eliminated. One told me:

“Taking this all away, this will be gone for us. And we... who will we buy from outside when that happens? It’s just that people outside [the park] don’t sell much. Very little, and if they sell, they will sell it at high prices. A lot of money... so, we are going to be in bad shape. I don’t think we will be able to buy [meat] from outside... No...things will be difficult for us.”

I asked another park ranger what the park workers would eat when the remaining livestock was eliminated, he laughed and said, “just lettuce.”

Lost culture and history

Twelve interviewees raised the topic of cultural effects of the park, albeit from slightly different angles. Connected to the loss of culture, many people mentioned the fact that Valle Chacabuco played a very important role in the history of the area because settlers first arrived to

the state of Aysén through Entrada Baker (the west end of the Valle Chacabuco). Following from the historic importance of the valley, many emphasized that it was that it was a place where tradition, culture, and custom were kept alive.

Participants emphasized the intergenerational importance of the valley. As one local politician explained to me, “For those of us who are children of pioneers, these lands are emblematic.” Another echoed the important local legacy of working the lands, saying “All of us in Cochrane are *campesinos*, or children of *campesinos*, or grandchildren of *campesinos*.”

Two interviewees were children of *asentados*, or members of the cooperative which occupied the valley during the period of agrarian from 1967- 1980, and so had lived part of their childhood in the valley. These people expressed great sadness over losing this piece of their own past. They emphasized that their history had been physically erased by the park:

“Well, the lands are the same, a person who has grown up there has love for these lands. But you don’t see what was there before. Because, I would have liked, I would have loved to go where my life was. To return there.... Because sometimes, I think back to my childhood. I see these fields around, which look nothing like the fields [where I grew up]. Nothing at all.”

The other respondent who had partially grown up in the valley kept mentioning that it all had been “erased.” This woman and her daughters who joined the interview lamented the fact that even names of locations and lakes in the valley had been changed. Other community members echoed the idea that history had been removed in the valley, as one man said, “[Tompkins] made history disappear.”

This concern over erasing history through renaming was cemented in a response from a park administrator. In one moment, I asked a question about Valle Chacabuco. She cut me off

mid-sentence, and corrected me, saying “Patagonia Park.” She said, “it’s taken *years* to get people to stop calling it that.”

People spoke about the loss of a primary economic activity and a center of culture in the same breath. This was a typical response:

“Everything that was cultural patrimony, historical patrimony, was eliminated. The *puestos* of the caretakers, everything was taken out. With excavators they demolished everything, so today there is nothing left, all that’s left are some hotels that they have there that are basically made out of rock and cement, they have nothing to do with the typical or traditional infrastructure that was there- that was all eliminated. Everything that was culture, everything that was cultural patrimony, historical, there it has been eliminated.”

This type of statement was repeated over and over again, that the economic activity, and the culture and tradition that went along with it had been lost. Below are more examples:

“The culture of the *campo* has been lost. The culture... the economic activity that Cochrane had.”

“Essentially, what happened caused great pain, great pain even today, what happened in Valle Chacabuco, that all that which is ours, our culture, so many things, have disappeared.”

Even the CONAF administrator said about the cultural changes, “That’s what really hurts.”

Park rangers expressed this too in a subtle way. As one told me:

“That’s how it went... the story of the death of livestock... I, at least, worked many years in the ranch... and now, I walk around there, and I think... here, full of animals, horse, cow, sheep. And now, no. Now you see nothing but guanacos⁷...”

In addition to lamenting the loss of history, culture, and tradition that disappeared along with the sale of Valle Chacabuco, a few community members expressed the idea that the park had its own culture that existed separately from the rest of the area. As one person explained:

⁷ A camelid native to South American similar in appearance to a llama, which is very common in the park.

“It is very tragic, what has happened. You show up here, to a house, and anyone will open the door for you, and if you drink *mate* they will drink *mate* with you. They will invite you to an *asado*⁸ and have a conversation with you. There, you show up, and this does not happen. All of our culture, all of the caring of the people of Patagonia has been lost.”

In another typical response, one local community member told me that he had talked to people who work in the park, and that they expressed to him that “they felt like people in another country,” with “totally different customs.” Another interviewee echoed this idea, saying, “They have their own culture there, and the people who work there tell me it is not the culture from here.”

A few people expressed the desire that the park could reflect the culture and history of the place, rather than completely replacing it. One park ranger said this:

“In my opinion, it should have been, for me, the livestock should have been maintained, because you could show people the other side, show the people who come. In the end, you come, of course you come to see the park, but you are obliged to know how the people lived before. Yes, it would be good to be able to have the two spaces. That people could say, look, this is how the people lived before, this is the before and the after.”

Another respondent also expressed the idea that the park was not entirely a bad thing, but could perhaps reflect the people of the place, rather than erase them:

“I would have created the park, but I, for example, would have saved the old houses. For example, I would have left, I don’t know, in this house lived such and such family, they had this many children, like that. Things that, that show that there was culture there too. Because all the culture that was there is lost.”

In a very emotional moment, one man echoed this idea. He said that, as tourism kept growing, that maybe tourists would enjoy seeing some of the culture of Patagonia- maybe the branding of calves, or marking of lambs, or a shearing of the sheep. He suggested that tourists

⁸ A traditional Patagonian barbeque where a whole lamb is roasted over a fire on a metal stake.

might enjoy sharing an *asado* together with many people. Then he said, “All these things in Patagonia are ending. All of them. All of them.” He went on to lament that the traditions of life in the *campo* were being lost. This man, who worked in the ranch up until the land sold, described how it used to be:

“Before no, because you invited all the people, all the people, to a branding, you butchered a young cow or maybe two, with many people, good drink, a good *asado*, good dancing, accordion, everything beautiful, and we did all the work together. And this is being lost.”

He followed up this though by asking, “How am I going to be able to invite people, to share with people, if I have to sell my cows because I need the money?”

Park administrators were aware of this feeling of loss of culture, and dealt with the topic with a variety of explanations. In one instance, a park administrator cited the fact that the ranch was not productive.

“This- this this controversy started, about wanting to change the culture of the place. The Patagonian culture, the gaucho⁹ culture, the removal of lands from development, *suuuuch* a productive ranch. But, they were selling it because it *wasn't* productive.”

In another moment, she addressed the subject quickly before changing topics:

“As the topic had an important social controversy, you see, this thing of Patagonia, that you are taking away my gaucho culture, you are taking away the sheep, *your* pumas are eating *my* sheep. So we started to develop the wildlife program which had various objectives....”

She also suggested that the topic of cultural loss was just to “motivate people against the project.”

The other administrator mentioned that the identity of Cochrane as a livestock producing town was an obstacle for the park. “The problem- it’s not a problem, but the thing is that

⁹ A traditional Patagonian cowboy.

Cochrane was founded by people who came to work at the ranch.” However, she responded to the question of loss of culture by saying that youth today didn’t want to work in the *campo* like before, that they wanted internet and to go to the pub on weekends.

In summary, loss of culture and history was repeatedly emphasized as a critical impact of the park. Although the two administrators responded to the issue with various explanations, each acknowledged that it had been an important topic surrounding the park. The other interviewees repeated over and over that the ranch had maintained the traditional economic activity and culture of the place, and that this had been lost and replaced by a new culture. Part and parcel of loss of culture has been the reduced access to local meat, damage done to small ranchers, and reduced available work in the *campo*.

Contrasting Views of Nature

Another theme confirmed from different angles across all stakeholder groups, was that the many people of the community, especially those previously employed by the ranch or otherwise involved with livestock, have a different relationship with nature than the one intended by the park. This contrast was communicated in various subthemes: the idea that the park is in an inappropriate location; the idea that local residents had a different vision of conservation (one where it is incorporated into production); the idea that people and wildlife have always co-existed; and concern that the park disrupted local patterns of meat production and consumption.

Inappropriate location

One element of this theme was that all non-park affiliated local residents expressed being in favor of conservation and that taking care of the environment was a good thing, but that Valle Chacabuco was an inappropriate location for a park. This was a typical statement on the matter:

“I am in agreement that there be parks. But in other places that are not productive for people. In this case, the Valle Chacabuco is the most productive. That’s to say, the best, the best fields that the province has to produce animals.”

Another man put it this way: “I am an enemy not of Tompkins idea, but of the location of this park.”

People also expressed genuine confusion on the need for a park in Valle Chacabuco.

Below is an example:

“Conservation is positive, but not in places like this. It would need to be in other places, where yes, you conserve. But [Valle Chacabuco] has always remained the same, what are they going to conserve? I don’t know, I don’t see it.”

People continually emphasized that the valley contained the most productive lands for livestock and that these should be used to benefit local people. Some people expressed downright outrage that prime grasslands were being used as a park. As one woman exclaimed, “What good is a park?! When these are the best productive lands for livestock! And they’re going to use it as a park!”

A different vision of conservation

Many participants conveyed a different vision of conservation, one where conservation is incorporated into good practices rather than non-use. As one man said, “I am in agreement that you have to conserve the soils, and that they should not be degraded, but this means that you must use them in a rational way.” Another echoed the idea of a conserved but working landscape: “I understand that you can conserve your land working in harmony with the environment and with the communities. For me, that is conservation.” Another interviewee emphasized that Tompkins conservation was an extreme version, he insisted that “[Tompkins] is

one type of conservation, but there's no greater vision. One could perfectly conserve and continue to maintain livestock."

People and wildlife have always co-existed

Another way people expressed support for conservation was an emphasis that people and wildlife had always coexisted in the valley. This point was typically made confirming that Valle Chacabuco did not need to be conserved in the form of a park. One man who had grown up in the valley and worked there all through the ranch years said, "Before, there were guanacos, there were pumas, there were sheep, there was everything! Everything was maintained!" Another person reinforced this point:

"I believe that the people from here have been the best park rangers that the region has had, because for years, and years, and years, they have maintained the caretaking. If it weren't this way, today we wouldn't have what we have in so far as the nature, the attraction to tourists, all these things."

Another woman who lived in the valley as a child said, "We grew up out there, and there was a lot of livestock and a lot of pumas and there were a lot of guanacos-" then her daughter chimed in, "There was enough for everybody!" The woman confirmed, "Everybody. There was food for everybody." Two park rangers also reiterated the fact that there has always been coexistence of wildlife and livestock.

Although this contradicted some other statements on the need for conservation, both park administrators also supported this point. When asked about why Valle Chacabuco had been chosen for park development, one said, "The other characteristic of Valle Chacabuco is that it has all of the species from this ecosystem, so it's a very healthy ecosystem." She later reemphasized that all of the species that should be there are present. The other administrator repeated the idea almost verbatim.

Extending the idea that wildlife has always coexisted with ranching in the valley, a few interviewees suggested there was a balance during the ranch years that had actually been disrupted by the park. Four interviewees made reference to “a link in the food chain” that had been removed when the livestock was eliminated. These people explained to me that since the ranch contained so many sheep, pumas could eat a few and not cause serious damage. Along this same line, three people stated that there were more huemules¹⁰ before the park was established than there are now.

Self-reliance and systems of production

Another subtheme that contributed to the idea of relating to nature differently was a very real awareness of systems of production and the fact that the valley had supplied meat to the community. Many people see the park as directly taking food out of their mouths. An elderly woman expressed this, with her voice trembling in frustration:

“How am I going to eat a park? This [land] is for *making a living*. For *sustaining a family* [enunciating slowly and forcefully]. That’s what we fight for. That this is for maintaining a family. For raising animals.”

Many people implied that the idea of buying frozen or imported meat was ludicrous. In a conversation about how the park was planning to eliminate the remaining livestock, one man lamented on behalf of the park rangers, saying, “I guess they’ll eat frozen meat, imagine!” as if it was the craziest idea he had ever heard. He and other residents clearly communicated that eating local meat was a huge part of life which was slipping away. As one man put it, “I swear to you that in, I don’t know, ten more years, it will be a *luxury* to eat a piece of meat from here in the zone.” Another man emphasized this change in supply of meat associated with the park:

¹⁰ An endemic species of Chilean deer in threat of extinction.

“So if one thinks with this mentality to form a park, well, let’s transform all of Chile into a park. We convert it all into a park, we use nothing and we stay in the city, and what are we going to eat in the city? Packaged food?”

This awareness of production and the community’s source of meat kept on surfacing. In a conversation about conservation in general, one man emphasized to me:

“So where does this have its affects? Damage to the people who produce. Damage to the activity of the people who produce. You know that everything that we consume, in the end, comes from the Earth?”

One park administrator exemplified a very different vision of systems of production.

After having established that local practices were environmentally unacceptable, she said this about meat production:

“So, at least on the topic of livestock, I think it could be done, it could be done, and you could sell it as ‘Meat from Patagonia’ [air quotes], environmentally friendly, that only ate healthy grass and everything, but people have to be open to producing better.”

In her reference to a re-branding of local meat, clearly for broader markets than just nearby residents, we see a different vision- where meat is removed from local context, and marketed to environmentally aware consumers. Similarly, the other administrator suggested a vision of the park as a global attraction. In a conversation on a new effort to promote Patagonias’ parks, she told me:

“Imagine you are in China, and they say- or no, not China, Europe- and they say, ‘hey, have you done The Route of Parks?’¹¹ A place of just a few square kilometers where you can get to 18 national parks!’ Your eyes do this [makes an awed face, eyes open wide, mouth open hands make explosion gesture]. You say, wow! This is our vision.”

Local residents displayed a different understanding of how the landscape should be related to than the park intends. One woman emphasized connection to lands felt by *campesinos*,

¹¹ “The Route of Parks” is a developing branding campaign by Tompkins Conservation which highlights Chile’s southern highway as a way to visit many parks (C. Morgado pers.comm. November 21, 2016).

saying, “So it’s the people of the *campo* who *feel* the land, the *feel* those fields.” Similarly, many people did not understand the appeal of just looking at a landscape; local residents were confused on the idea of Valle Chacabuco being a spectacle to be simply observed. Two examples illustrate:

“Because you can’t have a grassland there just to look at. You can see the beautiful grassland there, if you want you can take a photo, but it’s not going to produce much for you.”

“When I went back, it’s shocking because, the place is very beautiful, everything that they did, that the guanaco is right there beside you, that’s great. It’s very beautiful. But this is not the purpose of that land, it’s not the purpose... a family who lives in Cochrane is not going to be sitting there watching a guanaco to see what happens. They need an activity. An income.”

A woman and her daughter put their finger on this change, stating that the Tompkins want to reshape the way people interact with the land: “I think that they want to see Chileans fall in love with nature itself, instead of the culture that was there.” Her mom then chimed in, “Right, because there in the park is their culture.”

This difference was crystalized from another perspective in a number of quotes from one of the park administrators. When asked about motivations for establishing the park in Valle Chacabuco, she said, “All our projects have been “driven” [in English] by beauty... and the truth is that this valley is spectacularly beautiful.” She later explicitly explained the changes that the park was hoping to inspire in the local communities relationship to the land:

“...to connect the people to the beauty of their place, not the production, not just with *livestock production*, but with the beauty, with appreciation of the place. To transform the vision of the territory into pride, into local pride...”

In summary, local residents expressed the idea that they were very much in favor of conservation, but that conservation could consist of using the landscape for production or be

located in a different place that was not so important for local people. People displayed a keen awareness of systems of production and concern that conservation in this case was translating into importing meat from other locations. Conversely, park administrators show a different vision, where the landscape is appreciated for aesthetic beauty, and not as a source of sustenance.

Benefits

Respondents held various opinions about what kind of benefits the park produced and who benefited from the park. Nine of the interviewees felt that the park in general did not produce any benefits for them or for the community- barring the few people who work there. These people consistently repeated, “it does not contribute,” and, “there are no benefits.” Some people in this group were adamant that the park not only lacked benefits, but was destroying Patagonia because of the damage done to small ranchers. Below is a typical response to a question about benefits:

“The *campesinos* who have animals beside the park, the pumas eat them. And the pumas go out in the surrounding area in the other fields and eat the animals, which is the sheep, the cows, so, totally on the contrary, there are not benefits, there is destruction.”

A few people said things that imply a direct transfer of benefits from the people to the Tompkins. One man mentioned that Tompkins was opposed to any sort of development because it would, “interrupt his paradise.” Another local politician echoed this, when asked who the park is for, he chuckled and said frankly, “for them.”

This transfer of benefits was expressed on a few occasions in discussions of grass. As one neighbor of the park who is struggling to continue earning a living from livestock said:

“I’m not saying it’s ugly, it’s very pretty. It’s beautiful and everything, but for the area... it doesn’t work. It doesn’t work because we are fighting to survive. And to have that there, to look at the grass like that, it’s like they are laughing at all of us *campesinos*.”

Of the people who felt that there were no benefits from the park, people mentioned that the park did benefit the Tompkins themselves, elites, and foreign tourists. Three people, when asked who the park is for,” responded directly with a variation of “foreigners.” In a conversation on how the Tompkins propose to save Patagonia, one local resident gave a typical response:

“They aren’t saving anyone. Only themselves.... They bring tourists, they bring things, but all this is just for them. That’s the truth.”

This was another typical response:

“The benefit is not there for Cochrane. I’m sorry but more than anything, it is for the foreign tourist.”

People in this group also emphasized that the park was for elites, one woman said, “It’s not just any tourist who goes there.” She then discussed how a person with a normal salary could never afford a cup of coffee or a beer in the park.

Park ranger perspectives on benefits

The responses of park rangers in terms of benefits were more nuanced and variable. These four participants were more informed of park outreach programs, and all mentioned things like the school program, outings for elderly people, and opportunities for tour guides as benefits that the community was receiving. Although one ranger, when asked about benefits to the town of Cochrane, said that there had been “very few.”

There was agreement from these respondents that the park had personally benefited them, mostly in terms of improved material conditions. All stated that they were paid better and had

better living conditions than when they had worked with livestock. When asked about working at the ranch, one park ranger gave a typical description:

“Well, it was work with animals... what is for sure is that now they have improved... in one way it’s better, because, before they paid less. They paid us less and we had ...camps. We didn’t have *puestos* like this.”

Others mentioned spending time out in the fields living in tents or under tarps, and that working with livestock was very physically demanding. As one said, “I was tired of taking care of sheep, walking around after animals all the time.”

Three also mentioned having learned new things and received new opportunities. One mentioned training in flora and fauna, and the chance to learn backcountry skills in a high-mountain guide course which the park paid for him to attend. He said that many of the workers at the park had gained new skills:

“Learning to drive, to know how to drive trucks, tractors. This is a tremendous opportunity for a person. Just like the same opportunity that I had. For example I started working with huemules, they gave me the opportunity to do a high-mountain course, and I did it.”

Although there was agreement that working for the park had provided benefits, there was subtle hesitation on the part of two park rangers. These two were both older men, around fifty years old who had worked with livestock for many years prior to sale of Valle Chacabuco. This hesitation came through via speaking about the park in double negatives and caveats, below are examples from these two rangers:

“Yes, up to now, it has gone well for me. I don’t have anything to say that...to say that it hasn’t. So far it has gone well for me.”

“I can’t say that it’s bad... That’s to say, for me, the park is good. ...Of course, if they told me to leave, I’d leave. Then that would be different. But while I’m inside the park,

here I am good. I can't say that I am in disagreement with the park... I am in agreement with the park."

When asked about benefits, park administrators mentioned that over time as the park grew, visitors would bring income into the town of Cochrane. Beyond potential economic benefits, one administrator said this:

"For one, clearly the chance to have a beautiful place, constructed as a first class park, with development of privileged infrastructure for public access."

In summary, people who did not work for the park felt that they had not been benefited at all, although some mentioned the few people who currently work for the park as beneficiaries and the programs for children and elderly. Many participants felt that the park is mostly for the Tompkins themselves, foreign tourists, and elites, and causes damage to neighboring producers. Park rangers all expressed that they had personally benefited by receiving higher pay and better treatment.

Issues of Power

In this section, I highlight participant discussions of the role of Chilean politics and private property rights in the case. Many expressed feelings of powerlessness and impotence to change anything.

Political context

The connection between the neoliberal model of Chile and the development of the park was not lost on interviewees. Seven of the interviewees mentioned Chilean policies, laws, or politicians as being to blame for the parks development. These responses arose when participants were asked why they believed the park had formed. One interviewee said in clear terms, "The 1980 Constitution permits it." Another woman elaborated, saying that rather than any particular

law allowing for the park, it was rather the “absence” of laws. She explained to me, laughing, “It’s because of the lack of anything that says, ‘sir, please stop buying!’ That’s to say, if he has the resources, in Chile there are no restrictions.” Similarly, a local politician told me, “In a way the model lets you do it. The free-market model in Chile is very open in this sense.”

Power of the market and private property

Alongside references to the political context being to blame, eight respondents mentioned the power of the market to explain the development of the park. They repeated phrases like, “it’s a deal between private parties,” or “it was a legal sale.” Those who did not work for the park (and were generally opposed to it) made these references with other language implying powerlessness. Below are typical examples:

“And what can you do? I think there’s nothing you can do because he bought it, as private property, right?”

“Obviously, he who buys does what he wants on his land, because it belongs to him.”

Both local politicians I spoke to expressed feelings of impotence when they had opposed the project. As one explained to me, “What did the state say when we complained? ‘In deals between private individuals, we cannot get involved.’”

From the park perspective, administrators also emphasized the inevitable power of the market to justify the park. As one woman told me:

“The Valle Chacabuco ranch was economically dead. Nobody forced the gentlemen to sell. His ranch wasn’t working economically... right?”

The other administrator echoed the idea that private land owners can do what they want on private property. She had said that people didn’t complain when Chileans bought land and did whatever they want with it, so why should the Tompkins be any different.

“They do their thing in their fields and don’t ask for anybody’s opinion. Or no? That’s to say, why should [Conservacion Patagonica] have to ask permission?”

Class

A few participants made direct comments about the park being a project for the upper classes. One elderly woman said, “We have no reason to have this class of people to come here and raise pumas.” Others used colloquial terms: two people said the park was not for “*el perraje*,” a Chilean slang word for lower classes (literally derived from the word for a pack of dogs). Two others said that the park was not intended for use by or benefit to people who were “*comun y corriente*” or, “the common people.”

Two people also referred to Tompkins as a powerful capitalist. One woman, in talking about how she and her husband had been trying for years to get title to the land their family has lived on for generations, she said that the bureaucracy in Chile was like the, “the law of the funnel: wide for the capitalists, and narrow for us.” This Chilean phrase means that the law is wide and accommodating for the rich, and narrow and tight for the poor. Another man expressed frustration about “capitalist environmentalists” coming in to the region and taking land away from local use.

In subtle ways, park administrators also communicated that the park served an elite audience that hadn’t previously been served in the region. One explained to me, “We have built three camping areas, the hotel, or the lodge, which is a hotel, very small, very exclusive, for people who didn’t have lodging in the region.” However, this comment was intended to help make the point that the park didn’t offer much lodging, and that, with time, park visitors would bring economic activity to Cochrane.

Powerlessness

Connected to the feelings of powerlessness to respond to political context, the power of the market, and the Tompkins elite connections, many respondents repeated things like, “what is there to do?” Or, “That’s the way things are, unfortunately, there’s nothing to do about it.” Multiple people repeated the phrase, “there’s nothing to do about it,” throughout the interview.

Another, less obvious place where powerlessness emerged as a theme was with one of the park rangers. This man subtly communicated that he worked in the park not out of philosophical commitment to the mission, but rather, because he had to act in his own self-interest and the park was his best option. He had said that he preferred the work with livestock over the work he did for the park. I asked a question to confirm: “Ok, you missed the work with sheep.” He responded with:

“Yes, I missed it, but now not as much. It’s all the same to me. Because what interests me is my wellbeing. Because, maybe I earn nothing working with sheep, if I am in bad shape, they pay me little and treat me poorly... So, here, I am good. Thank God, here, I am good.”

I then asked if he would prefer that the park be reconverted to a ranch- he paused, laughed, and then repeated, “It’s all the same to me.” He then went on to talk about how well he was treated at the park- he was amazed at what the park provided for workers:

“They give you pants, they give you a parka, everything! A sweater, socks... they give you everything. And before, they gave you nothing. Nothing! So, for one who was raised working, I think I am good. Because, where have they ever given me clothes? Nowhere.”

Another local resident who didn’t work for the park supported this idea, reiterating that people did not have the luxury to not work for the park out of principle:

“Maybe there inside they don’t say anything, because they are against it, but they have to bear it because they’re working. And they have a family to support, and children to educate and raise well too.”

This concept of working for the park out of interest in ones wellbeing rather than as a rebirth as a conservationist fell into sharp contrast with something a park administrator said. She mentioned that the park employed people who had formerly killed pumas, who now work in the wildlife program, and that this “*fills them with pride.*” She enunciated this phrase as she spoke it, slowly and purposefully.

In summary, in references to Chilean politics and the power of the market, interviewees communicated a sense of powerlessness to change the situation. Along with this is an expressed sense that the park is for higher classes and not common people.

Discussion and Conclusions

Though Patagonia Park may harmonize with global conservation efforts, tuning in to local perspectives, we begin make out something more like cacophony. As these results suggest, the effects on local people in and around Patagonia Park are complex and problematic, more characterized by bitterness and loss than the pride and appreciation the park claims to inspire.

This work has set out to examine the ways that a particular PPA is affecting local people. In doing this, it both draws from and extends critical scholarship on the neoliberalization of nature and the effects of neoliberal conservation and PPAs. The research examines a particular instance of neoliberalization- a contextualized look at the interaction between a global force and local reality. By drawing from in-depth interviews with local residents, I attempt to ground critiques of neoliberal conservation, and balance theoretical criticism with the experiences of real people. Through exposing and analyzing these particularities, I argue that the case contributes to broader understandings of the phenomena of neoliberalization and inherent risks of PPAs.

The most resounding finding from this research was that the park has signified a loss of local culture and livelihood which is intimately tied to raising and consuming animals. This was

neither sought nor expected- no interview questions asked specifically about culture, yet participant after participant (from all perspectives) emphasized that the valley had been a place where culture was kept alive. The next most resounding, and also unanticipated finding was the historic importance of Valle Chacabuco: echoing through the interviews was the idea that history had been physically and figuratively erased by the park. Perhaps most interestingly, respondents discussed this loss of culture and history as part of, not separate from, interactions with the natural world and systems of production. Losing the typical activity of sheep ranching and losing access to local meat was framed less as an economic hit than an unraveling of social fabric and way of life.

In sharp contrast, the park works to create a new culture of nature- one where global citizens may come to escape modern realities, and immerse in a nature which is supposedly separate from human life. As one administrator told me, the project aims to teach local residents to “appreciate the beauty of their landscape;” the lands are intended to be an aesthetically inspiring refuge from society, a source of spiritual and recreational sustenance, rather than the actual sustenance mourned by local residents. Although this narrative is presented apolitically, it reflects a very specific worldview inextricably connected to modern capitalism. As Büscher et al. (2012:9) say, “the kinds of economic activities and relationships one finds *within a capitalist system* (as opposed to other economic systems) are rarely explicitly located and attributed to these capitalist contexts in the mainstream conservation discourses,” (emphasis original). The park serves to transcribe neoliberal ideology onto the nature and the people of Valle Chacabuco, reproducing a culture where nature is either destroyed in capitalist extractive processes or strictly set outside of the capitalist nexus.

Seeing Patagonia Park in the context of neoliberal conservation reveals both insight and contradiction. On one hand, Chile's engagement with neoliberalism pre-dates the park by three decades. The first round of enclosure and privatization happened to land the valley in the hands of owners who wanted to use it as a large ranch. One could argue that the maintenance of local culture and economy is not inherently at odds with neoliberalism. Also, as both Tecklin and Sepulveda (2014) and Holmes (2015) point out, the ideology of the Tompkins does not resonate with the free-market triumphalism commonly associated with neoliberal conservation, on the contrary. Park discourses tell a story of counteracting destructive extractive practices, reformed capitalists who saw the green light of Deep Ecology. The ethos of the project is remittance paid for success as clothing barons.

However, it is to this point that I argue that Patagonia Park is a more insidious example of neoliberalization, demanding more critical attention, not less. Despite rhetoric that cries the opposite, the project is distinctly neoliberal. It is in the context of a neoliberalized world that a clothing manufacturer can become part of a global super-rich, propelled by eco-conscious consumers with factories pleasantly located out of sight. On the other side, Chile presents an extreme embrace of neoliberal ideals, a place where policies are strategically designed to attract foreign direct investment and put no limitations on foreign land ownership. The project is also a perfect example of neoliberal hybrid forms of environmental governance (Brockington and Duffy 2011), where business and NGO blur, moving in to the role of the state only minus any democratic yokes. Though masquerading as it's opposite, the project is both allowed for by- and silently reproduces neoliberal ideology.

Seeing Patagonia Park as a neoliberal project points us toward a key insight from this research. As Harvey (2007) argues, neoliberalism is a distinctly classist project. In the instance

of Patagonia Park we see that neoliberalism allows for the capitalist class to imprint their vision of nature. Enabled by the political and economic context, the Tompkins are uniquely positioned to translate their ideals of humans and nature into biophysical reality, and the people living in proximity must learn to live with it. The Valle Chacabuco is remade to fulfil the vision of those with capital, and the market is the only judge. Patagonia Park extends the processes in which myriad cultures and systems of production of the world are folded into global capitalism, a phenomena not lost on many interviewees. A way of life that existed for a century in Valle Chacabuco is slowly flattened into a facade on a brochure, fulfilling tourist imaginaries of helping to save the world while traveling to an exotic land with an exotic culture. Meanwhile, the material practices in which that culture is grounded have been made impossible, and the landscape in which that culture developed and was kept alive is strategically scrubbed of any human traces.

It is not my intention to fetishize the ranching culture, nor imply that people of the region ought to stay in a static, idealized box where historic systems never change. Rather to point out that this specific instance in the loss of culture was instigated by an outside force with a different vision of nature and of conservation against the will of many local residents, a sentiment which respondents communicated in no uncertain terms. In discussions on the importance of sharing an *asado* (typical Patagonian sheep-roast), working together during a big branding, and the ways that long-term residents feel their own history fields of Valle Chacabuco, participants communicated a very different culture of nature than that imposed by the park- one where people are held together through an intimate working relationship with the landscape.

Responses to this issue from interviews with park administrators point to another insidious aspect of neoliberal ideology at play in the development of Patagonia Park, what

Heynen and Robbins (2005) call the ‘politics of inevitability.’ Park administrators insinuated that the old way of life died/ is dying a natural death, and that young people don’t want to work in the same ways as their parents did. These discourses reinforce the park as an inevitable evolution, as if to throw one’s hands up and say, ‘this is the way the world is going,’ while simultaneously ensuring that it is the only way it can go. In quintessential neoliberal fashion, the idea that conservation could take lessons from other ways of being or other cultures is dismissed as utopian, out of touch with impending reality.

These lessons point to an inherent risk of PPAs. They could, as Langholz and Lassoie (2001) suggest, be opportunities for participation, devolution of resource control to local people, and potentially provide genuine democratic opportunities in conservation. However, as this case illustrates, they can just as easily tend toward the opposite. This research highlights a fundamental problem with the model: that landscapes are rarely blank slates- raw biophysical matter existing in social and cultural vacuums- they are places where culture resides.

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Chapter 3: A Critical Discourse Analysis of Park Materials

Introduction

“It’s Patagonia Park [not Valle Chacabuco]. It’s taken us years to get people to stop calling it that.”

-Tompkins Conservation Administrator

Overlaid on a photo, bordering a regal looking guanaco and spread across a backdrop of jagged, snow-capped peaks, a quote from Bruce Babbitt, former US Secretary of the Interior, reads, “Patagonia National Park will be the Yellowstone of South America,” (Conservacion Patagonica 2017). This photo and others on the Conservacion Patagonica website tell the story of one of Earth’s last wild and unexplored places. Captivating prose weaves together crisp images of turquoise rivers, towering mountains, and silken bunchgrass prairies. Simultaneously though, the site describes a decimated landscape abused by years of overgrazing and mismanagement, a paradise tortured by backwards and uninformed practices. The narrative is one of both scarcity and salvation, a vulnerable and abused wilderness gem in need of a new vision.

Conservacion Patagonica is the US-based non-governmental organization (NGO) behind the creation of Patagonia National Park. Led by North American business woman and philanthropist Kris Tompkins, the organization purchased 80,000 plus hectares in Chilean Patagonia’s Valle Chacabuco in 2004 for the parks establishment. Kris and her late husband Doug Tompkins both come from successful careers in the gear and fashion industries: Kris was CEO of the Patagonia, Inc. clothing company for 20 years, and Doug co-founded The North Face gear manufacturer and started the Esprit clothing company. After leaving the gear and garment industries in the 1990s, the two devoted themselves to conservation primarily through purchasing

large tracts of land in South America and converting them into parks (Conservacion Patagonica 2017). The purchase of Valle Chacabuco is only the most recent of the Tompkins projects. Together the couple and their associated NGOs own nearly 900,000 hectares in Chile and Argentina (ibid.).

The Tompkins projects are one example of the growing number and size of privately protected areas, an increasingly mainstream but little studied trend in conservation (Langholz and Lassoie 2001; Stolton et al. 2014). Chile in particular has seen an explosion of PPAs in the past two decades. Facilitated in part by pro-foreign investment policies and zero limits on foreign land ownership since neoliberal restructuring in the 1970s and 1980s, the country is home to some 500 PPAs, covering around 2% of the country (Meza 2009). The aim of this particular PPA is to donate the land to the Chilean state, at which point the valley and two adjacent publicly owned protected areas would become Patagonia National Park (Conservacion Patagonica 2017). Although the Chilean government signed an agreement in March of 2017 to accept the land (Tchekmedyian 2017), the process is unprecedented and it is unknown how long official transfer will take (C. Morgado pers. comm. November 5, 2017). The land is still officially privately owned and operated, and hence forth will be referred to as Patagonia Park.

Prior to the purchase, Valle Chacabuco had functioned as a working sheep ranch for its entire modern history. One of three original livestock concessions granted by the Chilean government in the early 20th century to spur settlement of the remote and sparsely populated Aysén province, the Valle Chacabuco historically served as the region's main supply of both employment and meat (Martinic 2005). After leasing the land to livestock companies for the first half of the 20th century, the Chilean state appropriated the valley under the Eduardo Frei Montalva administration in 1967, and granted it to a peasant cooperative. In 1983, under the

Augusto Pinochet military dictatorship, the state re-appropriated and disposed of the land, auctioning it off to a private owner (ibid.). Although the land was privately owned at the time of the sale to the Tompkins, approximately 40 local families lived in the valley, and the ranch supplied most of the lamb to the nearest town of Cochrane, providing the main piece of the typical Patagonian diet (H. Vasquez pers. comm. October 6, 2016).

Since 2004, Conservacion Patagonica has been working to remove all livestock from the valley (save just a few animals used to feed park employees), tear down fences, dismantle old buildings, and construct public access infrastructure. Just as the quote from Bruce Babbitt expresses, the valley is being physically remade in the model of a North American national park. Accompanying this physical reconstruction, the valley is also transformed through the websites, blogs, advertisements, and videos which serve to communicate the park to broader audiences. Through these materials, the valley is recast to resonate with global conservation goals, and is marketed to international audiences who are encouraged to join the Tompkins in helping to ‘save’ Patagonia. Through the profusion of multi-media promotions, the construction of Patagonia Park becomes simultaneously physical and discursive.

In this research, I dissect the latter of these two transformative processes. Drawing from post-structural theory, I examine the ways in which the Valle Chacabuco is transformed into Patagonia Park through discourse, and what consequences this process might entail. Although the concept of discourse is understood and applied in a variety of ways, here I use it as “an area of language use expressing a particular standpoint and related to a certain set of institutions” (Peet and Watts 1996:14). In this view, commonly held by political ecologists and other critical scholars, discourse can refer to language, stories, and terminology, but also images. Most importantly, discourse is taken as socially and historically produced, not as an innocent and

objective vessel carrying the ‘truth,’ (Robbins 2012). Following this assertion, discourse is seen as a central tool in the maintenance of power by some groups over others, and in the reproduction of dominant ideology (Peet and Watts 1996; Robbins 2012). Said differently, discourses carry within them power relations which *appear* neutral, natural, inevitable, something like gravity.

In problematizing discourse, I show how concepts in park materials are not inevitable, natural, or given, but rather an indispensable part of exercising power and promoting the particular world-view held by park developers. Although park discourses may never employ a single related word, they distinctly privilege capitalist modes of production and relations, and silently extend the processes wherein conservation becomes a new realm for capitalist expansion (Brockington, Duffy and Igoe 2008). Rather than presented as one particular approach with specific cultural origins and assumptions, the park is presented as neutral, as the only option to ‘save’ Patagonia. In this way all implicit assumptions in park discourses are reified, extending the very underlying logics of environmental destruction the park seeks to heal. In the process, the local place and people are extracted from their historical context, and reproduced according to the vision of powerful actors; commodified, albeit in the name of their own salvation. Through a critical discourse analysis of park websites, blogs, videos and advertising, I examine the role of discourse in these processes.

Theoretical Framework

It is through videos, webpages, blogs, advertising campaigns, and lectures from park leaders that the park is produced for and known by global audiences. Though these materials are presented as unbiased conveyance of the situation, developments in post-structural philosophy help us understand how discourses (despite seeming neutral) present certain views of the world

while marginalizing others, and in turn have important effects on material reality. In this section, I review the concept of discourse in understandings of environmental change, and provide a foundation for unpacking the discourses that are re-shaping the Valle Chacabuco.

Since the 1960s and 1970s, influenced by the work of Michel Foucault and developments of post-structural philosophy, many scholars within the social sciences have problematized taken-for-granted notions that humans employ to understand our world. Scholars have come to question such seemingly basic ideas as scientific fact, reason, biodiversity, and development, arguing that these ideas are socially constructed, and do not exist ‘out there’ in some objective ‘reality’ that is unmediated by social life. In this view, truth is not seen as directly corresponding to an external reality, but rather as a product of historically and socially situated discourse (Peet and Watts 1996). One method to understand how ideas gain their status of ‘truth’ is by examining discourse (Robbins 2012). This assertion does not suggest that there is no external material reality, only that reality will always be mediated by our socially constructed understandings of it (Escobar 1996).

Stemming from this social constructivist epistemology, scholars in the field of political ecology have examined the role of discourse in environmental change and conflict. In their seminal work, Peet and Watts (1996) detail the ‘turn to discourse’ in political ecology. As they explain, taking the notion that ideas like reason and scientific fact are socially produced rather than self-evident and undeniable has serious implications for environmental research (ibid). Inquiry into the environment becomes less about figuring out the facts, and more about dissecting how certain claims gain status as ‘fact,’ and what particular views of nature and society are embedded in these ‘facts’ (Robbins 2012). As Bryant (1998:87) explains, “Political ecological conflicts are thus as much struggles over meaning as they are battles over material

practices.” Following these scholars, the way we represent our environment (via word, image, text, etc.) is always inextricable from the environment itself.

Figuring centrally in these critiques is an examination of the ways in which many dominant discourses silently privilege capitalism. A prime example comes from critiques of development and more recently, sustainable development. Scholars like Peet and Watts (1996) and Escobar (1999) explore how development discourses, although cloaked in concepts of modernity, progress, and technical advancements, privilege a Western, capitalist worldview, and limit the possibility for any other future. As Peet and Watts (1996:17) explain, “[Development discourses] ensure the conformity of the myriad peoples of the world to First World (especially American) types of economic and cultural behavior.” Development discourses make modernization and participation in a global capitalist economy inevitable, the only pathway forward. The assumptions embedded in development discourses then inform the concrete actions of financial institutions, political leaders and other powerful actors, eventually being transcribed onto actual places and people.

More recently, scholars have criticized the discursive intertwining of capitalism and conservation associated with the sustainable development paradigm and various forms of market-based environmentalism. In a classic example, Escobar (1996) traces the roots of sustainable development back to the Bruntland report, and argues that the paradigm reconciles economic growth and care for the environment. In this discursive blending, all of nature is incorporated into a form of capital and resource which must be managed according to the modern technocratic worldview (ibid). He argues that in this model, it is nature and culture which give way to the preservation of capital, rather than the opposite (ibid). Following Escobar (1996), it becomes clear that although sustainable development discourses may never employ the

word capitalism nor a single synonym, the capitalist system of production is embedded within such discourses, and its associated assumptions become taken-for-granted on the road to sustainability.

Similarly, a growing body of work criticizes neoliberal conservation and the win-win rhetoric which discursively allows for indefinite economic growth and preservation of nature (Büscher et al. 2012; Igoe and Brockington 2007). Figuring centrally in this strand of conservation is the production and consumption of images. Debord ([1967]1995), theorized the growing role of images in late capitalist societies as ‘spectacle,’ or the profusion of fetishized images which come to mediate human relationships. Expanding on Debord ([1967]1995), other scholars (e.g. Büscher et al. 2012; Igoe et al. 2012; Igoe 2010) argue that in current conservation trends, spectacle increasingly mediates human-nature relationships, and importantly, spectacle plays a central role in the intertwining of conservation and capitalism. Such scholars suggest that images often conceal the role of capitalism in environmental problems while simultaneously offering solutions which reproduce capitalist systems (ibid.).

Büscher et al. 2012 provide a helpful example. They explain how Dawn brand dish soap advertisements highlight the company’s role in saving wildlife, (the bottle of soap even features an image of a gosling). Absent from the picture are the inherent and complex connections between dish soap, oil in the production and dispersion of such consumer goods, and harm to wildlife. These contradictions are resolved through spectacle: the gosling image presents a coherent version of reality, one in which simply buying more Dawn dish soap will result in saving wildlife. In this sense, the image becomes fetishized, disconnected from the complex reality which created it. Such contradictions can be revealed only by interrogating images as

discourses: artifacts of particular social and historic legacies, and not neutral representations of external reality.

Another central theme in critiques of discourse is attention to the relationship between language, knowledge, and power. Although discourses may seem to innocently and simply describe ‘the way things are,’ many critical scholars have explored how discourses mask unequal power relations. By dethroning capital ‘T’ truth, discourse analysts are able to see how truth is actually used in maintaining the power of some groups over others (Robbins 2012). Drawing from Foucault, Robbins (2012:70) explains, “Truth is an effect of power, one that is formed through language and enforces social order by seeming intuitive or taken for granted.” This is particularly true in struggles over the environment. As Bryant (1998) explains, the way a problem is defined and proposed to be solved is always a political process. This process then “may facilitate the control of people and environments by powerful actors” (Bryant 1998: 87). Discourses always present one version of reality in the face of competing versions, and apparent neutrality often belies inequity, injustice, and domination.

This lens of discourse analysis dismantles the ‘taken-for-granted-ness’ of certain accounts, and discourses which at first appear inevitable come into focus as reinforcing the power of some groups/actors over others. In the case of Patagonia Park, the Valle Chacabuco is reconstructed through a complex web of multi-media discourses; a smorgasbord of images and text re-create the valley for global audiences. Despite appearance as truth, these discourses are in fact contested, political, and problematic (see Chapter 2). As Escobar (1998:55) says, “The act of naming a new reality is never innocent. What views of the world does this naming shelter and propagate?” Re-seeing park materials from a post-structural perspective, we are prepared to

interrogate which visions these discourses legitimize and marginalize, and explore which groups are celebrated and which are silenced.

Methods

In this research, I take a critical discourse analysis approach. Grounded in a strong social constructionist epistemology, this method of social science research seeks to dissect the speech, image, and text we use to understand the world. Despite common origins, discourse analysis as employed here aims to answer sociological questions rather than linguistic ones (Potter and Wetherell 1994). It starts from the assumption that language is not a mirror of the world and phenomena; it does not neutrally convey reality, but instead is a central tool in the social construction of reality (Gill 1996). In this approach, discourse itself becomes the object of study, rather than the underlying situation it signifies (ibid). Importantly, discourse analysis sees discourse as *action oriented*, actually achieving things rather than just describing. This view insists that our social realities are achieved through talk and text, or are “talked into being,” (Nikander 2008:415). Discourse analysis then is not merely an exercise in abstract theorizing, but helps explain how ideas and ideology, as carried implicitly in discourse, affect material reality.

Critical discourse analysis is a strand of the method particularly concerned with the relationships between power, language and ideology (Wodak 2001). Nikander (2008:414) explains it succinctly: “Critical discourse analysis aims at explaining processes of power from the outset- how power is legitimated, reproduced, and enacted in the talk and texts of dominant groups or institutions.” With roots tracing back to the Frankfurt School and Jürgen Habermas, critical discourse analysis is ‘critical’ in that it seeks to advocate for marginalized people and critique structures of oppression (Wodak 2001). For its practitioners, discourse is a site of

domination, and therefore must be understood for domination to be subverted (ibid.). In the case of Patagonia Park, both the power differential between various actors and the implicit role of neoliberal ideology make this approach appropriate.

Discourse analysts work with ‘texts’ as instances of social practice (Potter and Wetherell 1994). ‘Texts’ in this sense are broadly defined, and could be printed or spoken language, image, or video. In this research, I utilized ‘naturally occurring’ texts, as opposed to researcher-provoked texts (e.g. an interview transcript) (Nikander 2008). Starting in September 2016, I began gathering, downloading, and archiving all pages of the Conservacion Patagonica website (www.conservacionpatagonica.org), the blog found on the site, promotional videos produced by Conservacion Patagonica, and other videos featuring Kris Tompkins which showcase the project (e.g. a speech given at a LinkedIn speaker series.) I also chose to include materials produced by the Patagonia, Inc. clothing company which promote the project. These include the movie *180 Degrees South* (a documentary of a North American man’s journey to Patagonia), *Mile for Mile* (a video featuring ultra-runners who run 100 miles across the park to raise awareness), company blogs, photo boards from the Patagonia, Inc. clothing store located in Coyhaique Chile (the closest major city to the park) (see Appendix E), and catalogue features. Inclusion of these different sources of data might at first seem like an incoherent compilation, or conceptual conflation (i.e. is this research about the park, or the company), however, what at first appeared to be a confusing hurdle in collection turned into an important finding. In my data collection, it was impossible to distinguish between the conservation NGO and Patagonia, Inc. the for-profit business: there is simply no line between marketing and environmental activism.

Although practitioners insist that there is no one right way to do a discourse analysis and discourage a prescriptive or formulaic approach (Gill 1996), I employed a number of techniques

in the process of developing themes and building an analysis. The most important first step in the process is epistemological- one must “suspend belief in what is normally taken for granted language use,” and focus on how accounts are constructed and what functions they perform (Gill 1996:144). This process requires ceasing to read (broadly defined) texts searching for a gist, or unified meaning, but rather searching for subtle details, nuances, inconsistencies, and assumptions (Potter and Wetherell 1994). This fine scale lens requires complete immersion in the data. To ensure systematic data collection, I downloaded and saved each page of the website as well as every link from every page. I also downloaded and saved the complete collection of blogs from the website (three-four per month since 2012). Furthermore, I read every blog on the Patagonia, Inc. website and downloaded and saved all those that referenced Patagonia Park. For videos, I downloaded every video on YouTube that referenced Patagonia Park. After systematically building this archive, I began to review the data and identify themes.

A key heuristic I used in analysis was pursuing variation within and between discourses. As Potter and Wetherell (1994) explain, inconsistency within a given discourse and/or the presence of radically different competing discourses is a good starting point for analysis. I knew from personal experience that the messages in park materials differed at least slightly from the opinions of some local residents (see Chapter 2). This starting hypothesis developed in to a number of themes through close reading and analysis of collected evidence. This technique of ‘using variation as a lever’ (Potter and Wetherell 1994) also led me to pursue park materials which contradict themselves, a point which became another building block of analysis. I also looked for rhetorical construction, attempting to dissect how materials promote one version of reality, or form an argument. Employing these techniques through the process of slowly examining and re-examining the data, I eventually developed a coding scheme, merged codes of

specific instances in text and other materials into larger, more abstract themes, and built my analysis from this organization.

Reflexivity of the researcher is of particular importance in critical discourse analysis. Since the method fundamentally problematizes positivist notions of an objective, external reality, critical discourse analysis never seeks to discover such a reality, but rather, make biases and assumptions explicit. In the critical tradition, this approach assumes that the world is characterized by imbalances of power which may appear ‘given’ or ‘natural’ in discourse (Wodak 2001). It assumes that there are better, more just, more sustainable ways of doing things, and strives for emancipation and self-reflection rather than a false holy grail of objectivity. In light of this, I acknowledge that my own subjective biases, of course, inform this research.

By examining park discourses as they relate to neoliberal capitalism and the expansion of North American views and interactions with nature, I selected the interpretive context (Gill 1996), or the elements I found relevant to interpreting the data. Interpreting the data in this context potentially creates a negative bias toward the project and blind spots to its potential benefits. Another researcher could select other factors as the relevant interpretive context, and construct a distinct analysis. As Gill (1996:147) explains, “To put it bluntly, our own discourse as discourse analysts is no less constructed, occasioned, and action oriented than the discourse we are studying.” Despite inherent and acknowledged subjectivity of this research, by keeping analysis closely tied to the data and interpreting it in the context of established theory from other scholars, I hope to provide one (not necessarily the only) meaningful and illuminating way of understanding the changes happening in Valle Chacabuco.

Results and Discussion

When we refrain from assuming that language innocently and simply reflects reality, we can start to see how particular views of the world and ways of being are highlighted and celebrated while others are minimalized or rendered invisible through discourse. Despite the appearance of fighting an apolitical, indubitable fight on behalf of nature, close attention to discourse shows how certain perspectives are privileged over others within websites, blogs and videos produced by Patagonia Park. In the following section, I present the major themes uncovered through a critical discourse analysis of park materials. In this analysis, I show how park discourses serve to maintain the power and vision of Northern actors, reinforce consumer culture, divert attention away from underlying drivers of environmental problems, and constrain precisely the kind of critical questioning necessary to address complex socio-ecological changes.

The narrative of Patagonia Park is one of abuse, destruction, and salvation; ecological balance toppled and resuscitated. With professionally-taken photographs of crowded sheep, dusty fields, and buzz-cut bunch grass, park materials document the story of nearly one hundred years of mismanagement through shortsighted and backwards ranching practices. The valley before the purchase is described as “beleaguered,” “decimated,” and “sick;” a victim of “rampant overgrazing” on a “downward spiral.” These tales of abuse logically set the imperative for rescue. As the website tells it, after decades of enduring such injury, “The result: vast areas of remote and undeveloped Patagonia approach irreversible ecological collapse.” Viewers are reminded, “Remote as it is, Patagonia urgently requires action.” The message is clear: Valle Chacabuco is careening toward a point of no return, and somebody needs to step up and do something before it is too late.

The story goes beyond the confines of the valley, however. These images and descriptions serve as an anchor for a greater narrative of global environmental crisis. Valle Chacabuco is a microcosm of the world at large, just an instance of the fate of the entire global ecosystem. Citing statistics on disappearing wildlife and percentages of land in human use, the park website says, “Looking globally, we see that the loss of biodiversity and the destruction of ecosystems threaten to eliminate thousands of species and destabilize the ecosystems on which humanity depends.” Viewers are reminded that “wildlands and wildlife disappear by the day,” and the website makes claims of “tackling the two most pressing environmental issues of our age- climate change and the extinction crisis...” Linking up to global discourses, the project not only addresses local environmental problems, but solves problems defined on the global level. In the process Valle Chacabuco takes on the weight of the world as a whole collapsing.

Park discourses harness the energy and urgency of the entire planets demise, yet define the problem and solution in a simple way, locally in Valle Chacabuco. Park materials present what Escobar (1998:56) calls a “master narrative of biological crisis,” which flattens complicated reality into a straightforward story. As Escobar (1998:56) puts it, “this process translates the complexity of the world into simple narratives of threats and possible solutions.” Photos on the park website illustrate just such a reduction. In three sets of pictures, the website graphically illustrates binary options: “Overgrazing versus healthy grasslands; mining versus pristine mountains; mega-dams versus free-flowing rivers,” each with appropriately chilling and enchanting photographs.

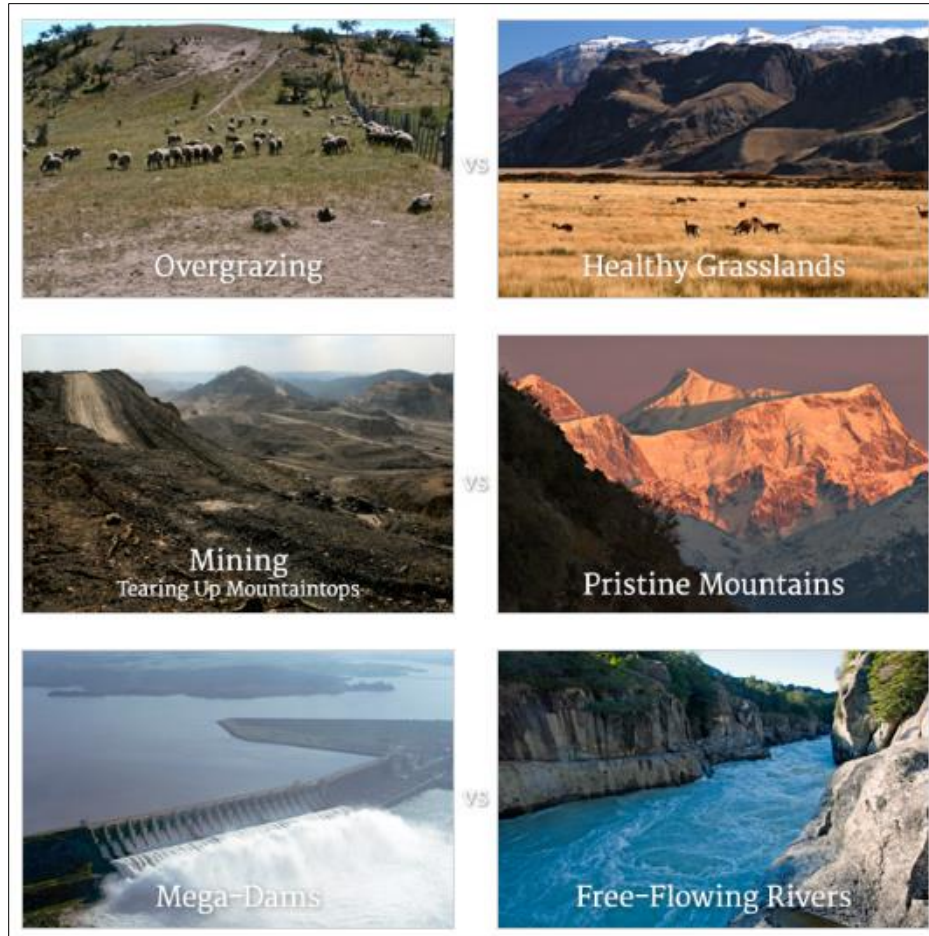


Figure 2. Binary photographs illustrating the future of Patagonia

In this binary model, the park represents the only solution to ending the depicted woes. The complexity of local environmental change is smoothed over in a blue-print of the world (Adger et al. 2001), with both problems and solutions defined from the top by affluent Northern actors. It's park or apocalypse, and who wants to argue?

Silently housed in this narrative is a view of the world defined by some of its most powerful actors. As Escobar explains, (1996:330) “what is problematized is not the sustainability of local cultures and realities, but rather that of the global ecosystem, the ‘global’ being defined according to a perception of the world shared by those who rule it.” This idea is illustrated by interrogating the ‘we’ who are saving Valle Chacabuco in park discourses. In a video where

three North American extreme athletes (sponsored by Patagonia, Inc.) run 100 miles across the park to raise awareness and money for the project, a man says, “Whether you’re a trail runner, or a weekend warrior dad, you need to use whatever resources are available to you to try to make a difference.” Similarly, a quote from a Conservacion Patagonica board member encouraging donation to the project reads, “Take a step back and see that the planet is yours, ours, everyone’s to protect.” And famously, Kris Tompkins is oft quoted as encouraging people to “pay rent” for living on this planet.

This discourse extracts Valle Chacabuco from its local historical and cultural context and converts it into a resource to be managed and saved by ‘global’ audiences (Escobar 1996). In these representations, the people doing the saving, making the difference, paying the “rent” are affluent Northerners; self-designated guardians, entitled to act on behalf of humanity to save Patagonia. The valley is discursively transformed into a global commodity, belonging to all “wilderness enthusiasts,” and the visitors from around the globe who are to become its “advocates and defenders.” The website reminds that “Patagonia is one of the few really wild places left on earth, and we as a species must act to save it.” Though presented here as neutral and unproblematic, “species,” refers to specific people. Although never spelled out, one can picture the narrowly defined “trail runner” or “weekend warrior dad,” mentioned in the video. The individuals who make up the “species” are the park owners and their allies, supposedly equipped with superior science and management techniques, and greater ecological understanding of the place than its hapless, local abusers. This discourse assumes that is in the benevolent hands of West to save the world from itself and the backwards ways of the locals (Escobar 1996). The world view held by the undefined ‘we’ in park discourses is then taken for granted, as are the dominant assumptions about nature and society held within it.

A key feature of the world-view privileged in park discourses is the prominent economic justification for the project. Relating to larger discourses of sustainable development, both the problem leading to the park and the solution (the park itself) are presented as simultaneously economic and ecological. In a webpage on the valley's history, viewers learn that "raising sheep on Patagonia's fragile soils proved unsustainable ecologically and economically." By the same token, the park promises to bring in a new "economic future" through tourism, and plans to "draw thousands of visitors from around the world." In another webpage titled, "Culture and Economy Based on Conservation," a line reads, "If anyplace can sell itself on its wildness and beauty, it's Patagonia." Ubiquitous throughout park materials is the incorporation of the nature of Valle Chacabuco as a form of capital and representation of the land as a source of economic opportunity.

In this articulation of Valle Chacabuco's nature into a marketable commodity, the historic enemies of economic growth and conservation are united, marking a decidedly neoliberal approach to conservation (Igoe and Brockington 2007). However, connection to this specific ideology is never explicitly mentioned, but rather obscured in what Büscher and Dressler (2007) call a 'discursive blur.' Park discourses focus on sustainability, empowering communities, and saving biodiversity, but lost in the 'blur' is that the park processes simultaneously render the place, its people, and its nature into a global commodity, even more marketable and valuable due to its masterfully articulated threatened status. Buried within this discourse is the notion that the environment can be saved without any major alterations to market systems (Escobar 1996). Concerned environmentalists may fly to Patagonia, stay in the park's boutique lodge with locally inspired decor, and rest their consciences on over stuffed pillows knowing that they're helping to

save Patagonia. Meanwhile, the dominant underlying economic ideology is promoted rather than questioned through the park discourses.

A key feature of this discursive blend of economic growth, consumerism, and saving the environment is the project's intrinsic connection to the Patagonia, Inc. clothing company. Kris Tompkins served as CEO to the company, and its founder and owner, Yvon Chouinard sits on the advisory board to Conservacion Patagonica. Patagonia, Inc. supports the project through making donations, sending volunteers, sponsoring trails, producing promotional videos, displaying photo boards in stores, and featuring a center-fold story on the project in the company's catalogue. Through these various outlets, the company uses a complex web of influence (Igoe 2010), to simultaneously promote the park and market its products. The project cashes in on Chouinard's status as an outdoor hero and the brand appeal of the name Patagonia, and it becomes unclear where the for-profit company ends, and the environmental NGO begins. Product placement in both the movie *180 Degrees South* and the ultra-running film sends two messages: care about the environment; buy these products. This blending channels concern for the environment into consumption, perversely encouraging more participation in damaging systems of production rather than less.

Central to the process of commodification of Valle Chacabuco is a contradictory depiction of local people and culture as both backwards and exotic. On one hand, local ranchers are portrayed as villains. A caption below a close-up image of a snarling puma reads, "Pumas have suffered from hunting by ranchers for decades." Elsewhere we read that top predators have been "persecuted" by locals. Through image and text, viewers learn that ranchers are responsible for the demise of Valle Chacabuco: they killed wildlife, mismanaged land, and shortsightedly overstock sheep and cattle. As a promotional video tells it, "Severe overgrazing in parts of the

park required the complete removal of livestock.” Removing livestock and halting all ranching is the lynchpin for “rewilding” and “saving” the valley. This language renders the historic local political economy backwards and in need of a radical make-over.

Despite having removed the base of the ranching culture, park discourses insist that local culture is preserved through the project. Strewn all over park materials are images of the gaucho, a traditional Patagonian cowboy, typically riding a horse, accompanied by a dog, wearing a neck scarf and *boina* (a traditional hat similar to a beret). In one video, Kris Tompkins explains, “This new era includes those who chose to stay on, and they’ve all made the transition to new jobs in wildlife management, restoration, and guiding,” she continues, “but traditions will not be forgotten [picture of a rusted old tea kettle pouring water into a gourd], nor *mate* not shared, [picture of an old gaucho-looking man playing the accordion, wearing a *boina*] and new songs will evolve reflecting new times and new visions, [picture of two gauchos sitting around a campfire].” The discourse insists that local culture will seamlessly live on.

In one moment the local people are the culprits of destruction, in the next, objects of fond nostalgia. In the ultra-running video, the runners spend a day helping out at a sheep-shearing. The video features gaucho-looking men working in huge piles of wool, heartwarming footage of tiny lambs, and the runners getting their hands dirty helping out. One athlete explains, “I think yesterday’s experience with the gauchos and helping shear sheep, doing some of that manual labor, took me back to growing up on a farm... It also made me reflect on how their way of life is evolving over time.” Similarly, in the movie *180 Degrees South*, a North American adventurer spends some time at the park. He describes the experience of “working with the gauchos,” saying “the journey was like going back in time... their hard work and ability to live simply from the

land is proof that we can learn from tradition.” Here, bucolic images provide a journey into the past, a place where people live simply, working in harmony with land and livestock.

In these contrasting depictions, we see what Adger et al. (2001) call both managerialist and populist discourses. In the managerialist, local people are backwards agents of destruction who demand the intervention of modern, scientific management. This discourse is epitomized in a caption below an image of a man in a *boina*, holding radio wildlife tracking equipment which reads, “Former gaucho now working in conservation activities.” The gaucho has learned the error of his ways and is now interacting appropriately with the landscape.



Figure 3. An example of a former gaucho now employed by the park

In the populist discourse, local people are victims of outside forces, ecologically wise but driven by no fault of their own to destructive practices (ibid.). As one video clip explains, the environmental damage is “not because of the hard work and sacrifices made by gauchos who make up the traditions of Patagonia, but because of owners [of the ranch]...” In both these depictions, local people are defined by and serve the interests of park actors. Complex and multifaceted changes in local economy and culture are simplified as people are both vilified as backwards or shortsighted and romanticized as simple and wise.

In both these depictions, sympathetic populist and condescending managerial, local culture is used opportunistically- in one moment destructive justification for the project, in another, an attraction that will continue through the new park era. The park claims to “translate local culture into everything [they] do.” This process of “translation,” however, in this case signifies a dismantling of the actual activity that local culture was based on, and a flattening of the culture into a commodity. A webpage for the park’s boutique lodge describes how “original photography of local culture and nature provide a uniquely Patagonian experience.” Similarly, in a section on why horses are still allowed in the park, a webpage reads, “Recreating the ‘gaucho’ experience for visitors/ Many of our visitors wish to see the future Patagonia National Park as the traditional Gaucho would have seen it- on horseback!” Although ranching is blamed for destruction, the aesthetic and cache of the gaucho culture is exploited to market an exotic experience for visitors.



Figure 4. Recreating the gaucho experience for visitors

Central to the processes of commodification of both culture and nature in Valle Chacabuco is the profusion of sleek, digital images on park websites, videos, and blogs. From a grinning, leathery faced gaucho sporting sheep-skin chaps to flocks of pink flamingos soaring in front of a jagged snow-capped peak to fields of golden grass flowing below a proud guanaco, the grandness of the project is largely communicated through images. Through this feast of photos and videos, the park makes a ‘spectacle’ of nature (Debord [1967] 1995), both benefiting from and reproducing a society where interactions with the natural world are increasingly mediated through images (Brockington and Duffy 2011). Drawing from Debord ([1967] 1995), Igoe (2010:376), argues that images become fetishized commodities, extracted and consumed in alienation from social relations that produce them. Spectacle then tends to reproduce the world in its own image, creating a dialectic relationship between representation and reality. As Igoe explains:

“Images are not merely representations of late capitalist realities, they are an indispensable part of those realities. They are not different and separate from the conditions they portray, they are produced by them, and in turn define and reproduce them.”

Through park discourses, the images of Patagonian ‘wilderness’ and wildlife both reflect and recreate Western imaginaries of a primeval and untrammelled landscape. Such images draw support for the project, in turn contributing to the construction of more ‘wilderness.’

These images create what Escobar (1996:330) calls “a peculiar economy of visibilities.” Highly visible is the epic 360 degree drone footage featuring glowing purple mountains, jagged glaciers and wildlife frolicking in a lush valley. Only images of overcrowded sheep and degraded soils share center stage with these idealized landscapes. The heroic feats of ultra-runners or road bikers raising awareness for the cause are rivaled only by the destructive practices of the locals.

Rendered invisible in these images however, is the role that neoliberal capitalism plays in both the ascendancy of the Tompkins and their allies to a global super rich, and the political context of Chile which facilitates foreign investment and unlimited private land purchase. Through spectacle, these contradictions are resolved (Igoe 2010). Consumers may solve environmental problems through donating to the project, supporting Patagonia, Inc. through purchases, or flying down to volunteer at the park, meanwhile systemic causes of environmental and social injustices go unnamed. Concern for the environment is channeled to a faraway land and away from the destruction caused by consumptive lifestyles enjoyed by the beneficiaries of the capitalist system of production.

Beyond limiting reflexivity, fetishized images allow the complex political and social reality of the project to be ignored (Brockington and Duffy 2011). Doug Tompkins is honored in a tribute blog post as “speaking for those who don’t have a voice.” However, this ventriloquism is highly selective. Contrary to park narratives, the project has been met with substantial resistance from local residents (see Chapter 2). The lands are emblematic to many locals in an entirely different way than they are to park designers: prior to selling, the ranch was a pillar of social and cultural life in the valley. The project has led to feelings of lost sovereignty, identity, and culture (for complete discussion see Chapter 2). However, these voices are silenced through park productions, washed away in a sea of images. As Igoe and colleagues (2010:493) explain, “[Media productions] not only celebrate and reproduce the dominant worldview and the action it implies, they also play an important role in concealing and managing discord and dissent.” Through spectacle, the dissent of local residents is concealed, never reaching the ears or eyes of broad audiences.

Conclusion

Starting from the assertion that language does not describe an objective external reality, but rather constructs reality through the ideas which are imbedded in it, we see how changes in the valley reflect certain cultural ideals of nature and society and embody a particular vision of conservation intrinsically connected to modern capitalism. Park discourses patronize local people and culture, suggesting that local people must be taught how to view, appreciate, and conserve nature; meanwhile, local culture is also romanticized to fulfill Western fantasies of simple, ecologically noble cowboys. The paradox in this discourse is unpalatably rich: profits from corporate success stuffed into pockets of their Gore-Tex hiking pants, the lords of industry are positioned to teach locals how to live in harmony with their environment.

In park discourses, neoliberal capitalism which facilitated both the destruction of much of Chile's nature *and* the ascendancy of the Tompkins to mega-landowners is let off the hook. However, the role of neoliberal capitalism in the case is more supple and intrinsic than just the permitting structural conditions. Through production of spectacle, park discourses contribute to the fetishization of natural landscapes, widening the gulf between culture and nature and turning the valley into an alienated, marketable commodity. Through product placement and cross-branding with the Patagonia, Inc. clothing company, park materials reproduce the message that consumption, economic growth, and environmental conservation are all compatible. In the process, imaginings of alternative visions for sustainability are constrained, and inclinations to save the environment are channeled back into the dominant underlying capitalist ideology. By drawing from post-structural philosophy and examining park materials through a critical discourse analysis, this research demonstrates the role of discourse in reproducing the Valle Chacabuco as Patagonia Park.

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Chapter 4: Conclusion

Bruce Babbitt's prediction that Patagonia National Park will be the Yellowstone of South America is eerily accurate. Just as North America's first national park has been exported to Patagonia, so too has all the cultural baggage that comes along with it. In Valle Chacabuco, the park erases people and history from the land, and re-produces the particular model where global citizens with disposable income are the primary agents of conservation. However, what may seem like exportation of the best idea of all time to a faraway audience feels like invasion and domination to many who live there. The sentiment of one interviewee captures it: "Nobody has an emotional connection to something the gringos brought and that they invented." Examining park discourses alongside in-depth interview data from local residents, the gulf between the stories promoted by the park and local reality comes into focus.

In the first chapter, I showed how a complex cultural system is being dismantled and erased. Respondents spelled out lost history, livelihoods deeply altered, and feelings that their area is being remade to reflect the interests of outside elites. I argue that in this way, the project is an example of neoliberal conservation, where people and place are incorporated into a larger capitalist system, albeit in a novel form where nature as untouched by humans becomes the hot global commodity. In the second chapter, I examined the role that discourse plays in this process. I explored how although appearing neutral, park discourses remake the world according to capitalist visions and stifle alternative options for conservation which are sensitive to and derived from local consciousness, the process all the more pernicious for being invisible.

This research is affected by a number of limitations and is intended to be a contribution and building block for further inquiry and theoretical development. Methodologically, there are

important limitations related to language. In conducting interviews in a second language, it's likely that many subtle nuances in responses and opportunities for follow up questions evaded me. Furthermore, as the old adage says, to translate is to betray: the processes of transcription and then translation from Spanish into English undeniably created distance between what actual respondents said and the results presented here. As diligent as I tried to be, this process adds a level of filtration. This work also could have benefitted from a larger sample size, and could have been enriched by more diverse voices and perspectives. In terms of research design as a case study, what this research offers in rich context and specifics, it may lack in generalizability; more research is necessary to corroborate these findings. Future research should continue to examine PPAs, particularly the social and cultural impacts as experienced by local residents. Furthermore, research should pursue the links between theoretical perspectives on neoliberal conservation and empirical findings on how this trend is playing out on the ground.

Appendices

Appendix A: Interview Guide for Non-Park Affiliated Respondents

Icebreaker

- Please tell me your history with Valle Chacabuco. *Por favor, cuéntame tu historia con el Valle Chacabuco.*
 - How long did you live/work there? Between which years? *Cuanto tiempo viviste o trabajaste en el valle? Entre cuales años?*

History

- Please tell me the history of the change from estancia to park. *Me podrías, por favor, contar un poco más sobre la transición de la estancia hacia el parque?*
- Please describe to me what Valle Chacabuco was like when you lived/worked here? *Puedes describirme como era Valle Chacabuco cuando tu viviste y/o trabajaste en el valle?*
 - How many people worked there? *Cuántas personas trabajaban allá?*
 - How many sheep? *Que cantidad de ganado había?*
 - How did they manage the land? *Como manejaron los terrenos?*
- What is the valley like now? *Como es el valle ahora?*

Motivations

- Why was this park was created? *Que motivo Conservación Patagónica a crear y desarrollar un parque en Valle Chacabuco.*
- Why was it possible to develop a park in Valle Chacabuco? *Por qué era posible desarrollar un parque en Valle Chacabuco?*
- Who is the park for? *Para quien es el parque?*

Reactions/impacts

- How did you react when you heard that Valle Chacabuco would become a park? *Como reaccionaste cuando supiste que Valle Chacabuco pasaría a ser un parque?*
- How did the community react? *Como reacciono la población de la comunidad local?*

- What did you hear other people say? *Que escuchaste otras personas diciendo sobre el cambio?*
- How has the park impacted the local community? *Como crees que el parque ha impactado la comunidad local?*

Benefits

- Do you feel you have benefited from the park? *Tú has tenido algún beneficio con este parque?*
- Has your community benefited from the park? *Tu comunidad ha tenido algún beneficio con este parque?*
- Who benefits from the park? *A quien se beneficia el parque?*

Park/people interactions

- How do you interact with the valley now? *Cuál es tu interacción ahora con el valle?*
- Has the park management made efforts to have a good relationship with the community? *La gerencia del parque ha hecho esfuerzos para tener buenas relaciones con la comunidad?*
 - Do you feel these efforts have been successful? *Creas que estos esfuerzos han tenido éxito?*

Conservation in Patagonia in general

- What are your thoughts on conservation in Patagonia? *Que piensas sobre la conservación en general en Patagonia?*
- What do you think about private versus public conservation? *Que piensas sobre la conservación privada frente a la pública?*

Wrap up

- Is there anything else you'd like to say about the park or Valle Chacabuco? *Hay algo más que quieres decir sobre el parque o Valle Chacabuco?*

- Is there anyone else I should talk to? *Me puedes recomendar a alguien más que pueda contactar para entrevistar sobre estos temas?*

Appendix B: Interview Guide for Park Administrators

Icebreaker

- Please tell me about your work at Conservacion Patagonica. *Por favor, cuenta me sobre tu trabajo en Conservación Patagónica.*
 - How long have you worked with the organization? *Cuanto tiempo llevas trabajando con la organización?*

History

- Please tell me the history of the transition from estancia to park. *Me podrías, por favor, contar un poco más sobre la transición de la estancia hacia el Parque Patagonia?*
- What was the valley like before the creation of the park? *Como era el valle antes del parque?*
 - How many people worked there? *Cuántas personas trabajaban allá?*
 - How many sheep? *Que cantidad de ganado había?*
 - How did they manage the land? *Como manejaron los terrenos?*
- What is the valley like now? *Como es al valle ahora?*

Motivations

- Why was this park created? *Que motivo Conservación Patagónica a crear y desarrollar un parque en Valle Chacabuco.*
- Why was it possible to develop a park in Valle Chacabuco? *Por qué era posible desarrollar un parque en Valle Chacabuco?*
- Who is the park for? *Para quien es el parque?*

Reactions/impacts

- How did people react to the project? *Como reacciono la población de la comunidad local cuando supieron que Valle Chacabuco pasaría a ser un parque?*
 - What about at the national or global level? *Y al nivel nacional y mundial?*
 - What did you hear people say about the change? *Que escuchaste otras personas diciendo sobre el cambio?*
- How do you believe the park has impacted the local community? *Como crees que el parque ha impactado la comunidad local?*

Benefits

- Who benefits from the park? *Quiene se beneficia con la creación de este parque?*
- Do you feel that the local community has benefited from the park? *Como crees que el parque beneficia a la población local?*

Park/people interactions

- In what ways does the park interact with the local community? *Cuáles son las interacciones entre el parque y la comunidad local?*
- Have park outreach efforts been successful? *Los esfuerzos del parque a tener buenas relaciones con la comunidad local han tenido éxito?*

Conservation in general

- What are your thoughts on conservation in Patagonia? *Que piensas sobre la conservación en general en Patagonia?*
- What about private versus public conservation? *Que piensas sobre la conservación privada frente a la conservación publica?*

Wrap up

- Is there anything else you'd like to say about the project? *Hay algo más que quieres decir sobre el proyecto?*
- Is there anyone else I should talk to? *Me puedes recomendar a alguien más que pueda contactar para entrevistar sobre estos temas?*

Appendix C: Interview Guide for Park Rangers

Icebreaker

- What do you do here in the park? *Cuál es su labor aquí en el parque?*
 - How long have you worked with Conservacion Patagonica? *Cuanto tiempo llevas trabajado con Conservación Patagónica?*
- (long term residents) Please tell me your history in the valley. *Por favor, cuenta me tu historia en el valle.*

History

- Please tell me the history of the transition from estancia to park. *Me podrías por favor contar un poco más sobre la transición de la estancia hacia el Parque Patagonia?*
- What was the valley like before the creation of the park? *Como era el valle antes del parque?*
 - How many people worked there? *Cuántas personas trabajaban allá?*
 - How many sheep? *Que cantidad de ganado había?*
 - How did they manage the land? *Como manejaron los terrenos?*
- What is the valley like now? *Como es el valle ahora?*

Motivations

- Why was this park created? *Que motivo Conservación Patagónica a crear y desarrollar un parque en Valle Chacabuco.*
- Why do you think it was possible to develop a park here? *Por qué era posible desarrollar un parque en Valle Chacabuco?*
- Who is the park for? *Para quien es el parque?*

Reactions/impacts

- How did you react when you heard that Valle Chacabuco would become a park? *Como reaccionaste cuando supiste que el Valle Chacabuco pasaría a ser un parque?*
- How did the community react? *Como reacciono la población de la comunidad local?*
 - What did you hear other people say about the change? *Que escuchaste otras personas diciendo sobre el cambio?*

- How has it impacted the local community? *Como el parque ha impactado la comunidad local?*

Benefits

- Who do you think benefits from the park? *Quienes se beneficia con la creación de este parque?*
- Has the local community benefited from the park? *Como crees que el parque beneficia a la población local?*
- Why did you choose to work here? *Que te motivo a trabajar aquí?*

People/park interactions

- In what ways does the park interact with the local community? *Cuáles son las interacciones entre el parque y la comunidad local?*
- Have park outreach efforts been successful? *Los esfuerzos del parque a tener buenas relaciones con la comunidad local han tenido éxito?*

Conservation in general

- What are your thoughts about conservation in Patagonia? *Que piensas sobre la conservación en general en Patagonia?*
- What about private versus public conservation? *Que piensas sobre la conservación privada frente a la conservación pública?*

Wrap up

- Is there anything else you'd like to say about the park? *Hay algo más que quieres decir sobre el parque?*
- Is there anyone else I should talk to? *Me puedes recomendar a alguien más que pueda contactar para entrevistar sobre estos temas?*

Appendix D: Interview Guide for Politicians

Icebreaker

- Please tell me about your history with Valle Chacabuco. *Por favor, cuenta me tu historia con el Valle Chacabuco.*

History

- Please tell me the history of the transition from estancia to park. *Me podrías por favor contar un poco más sobre la transición de la estancia hacia el Parque Patagonia.*
- What was the valley like before of the creation of the park? *Como era el valle antes del parque?*
 - How many people worked there? *Cuántas personas trabajaban allá?*
 - How many sheep? *Que cantidad de ganado había?*
 - How did they manage the land? *Como manejaron los terrenos?*
- What is the valley like now? *Como es al valle ahora?*

Motivations

- Why was this park created? *Que motivo Conservación Patagónica a crear y desarrollar un parque en Valle Chacabuco.*
- Why was it possible to develop a park in Valle Chacabuco? *Por qué era posible desarrollar un parque en Valle Chacabuco?*
- Who is the park for? *Para quien es el parque?*

Reactions/impacts

- How did you react when you heard that Valle Chacabuco would become a park? *Como reaccionaste cuando supiste que Valle Chacabuco pasaría a ser un parque?*
- How did the community react? *Como reacciono la población de la comunidad local?*
 - What did you hear other people say? *Que escuchaste otras personas diciendo sobre el cambio?*
 - How did politicians in Aysén react? *Como reacciono el gobierno regional de Aysén?*
 - How has it impacted the local community? *Como el parque ha impactado la comunidad local?*

Benefits

- Who do you think benefits from the park? *Quien se beneficia con la creación de este parque?*
- Has the community where you work benefited from the park? *La comunidad donde tu trabajas se ha beneficiado con este parque?*

People/park interactions

- What are the interactions between the park and the local community? *Cuáles son las interacciones entre el parque y la comunidad local?*
- Have park outreach efforts been successful? *Los esfuerzos del parque a tener buenas relaciones con la comunidad local han tenido éxito?*

Conservation in general

- What are your thoughts about conservation in Patagonia? *Que piensas sobre la conservación en general en Patagonia?*
- What about private versus public conservation? *Que piensas sobre la conservación privada frente a la conservación publica?*

Wrap up

- Is there anything else you'd like to say about the park or Valle Chacabuco? *Hay algo más que quieres decir sobre el parque o Valle Chacabuco?*
- Is there anyone else I should talk to? *Me puedes recomendar a alguien más que pueda contactar para entrevistar sobre estos temas?*

Appendix E: Discourse Analysis Data Sources

Data Type	Title	Source	Link
Webpage	Why Patagonia -A Last Wild Place -Major Threats -Opportunity for Alternatives	Conservacion Patagonica	http://www.conservacionpatagonica.org/whypatagonia.htm
Webpage	Building Patagonia National Park -Buying Land -Restoring Biodiversity -Building Public Access -Community Engagement -Photo Gallery -Slideshow Overview	Conservacion Patagonica	http://www.conservacionpatagonica.org/buildingthepark.htm
Webpage	Who We Are -Our Mission -Our History -People -Press -Publications -Related Organizations -FAQs	Conservacion Patagonica	http://www.conservacionpatagonica.org/aboutus.htm
Webpage	Visit the Park -Patagonia Park -About Us -Plan Your Visit -Where to Stay -What to Do	Conservacion Patagonica	http://www.patagoniapark.org/
Webpage	Make a Difference -Organic Garden Volunteer Program -Jobs and Other Opportunities -Follow Us -Donate Online	Conservacion Patagonica	http://www.conservacionpatagonica.org/makeadifference.htm

	-Ways to Donate		
Webpage	Donate	Conservacion Patagonica	http://www.conservacionpatagonica.org/makeadifference.htm
Video	Creating the Future Patagonia National Park	Tompkins Conservation	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=iqr2H28kjbI&t=11s
Video	Creando el Futuro Parque Nacional Patagonia	Tompkins Conservation	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=bQc_DrC4rJk&t=2s
Video	Creating Patagonia National Park: Our Team	ConservePatagonia	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=0jMAMza1yG0&t=319s
Video	Mile for Mile: A Film About Trail Running and Conservation	Patagonia, Inc.	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ryasKmNBJEc
Video	Patagonia Park Creator- Kris Tompkins	NextTracks TV	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=QUq-k36eKls
Video	Plan Your Trip to Patagonia Park	Tompkins Conservation	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=j-Gvs9hWfx4
Video	LinkedIn Speaker Series: Kris Tompkins	LinkedIn	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=_39FV0yNezk&t=1373s
Movie	<i>180 Degrees South</i>	Patagonia, Inc.	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=XUmWxKBdLw8
Blog	The Life of a Conservacion Patagonica Volunteer: Some Reflections	Conservacion Patagonica	http://www.conservacionpatagonica.org/blog/2011/04/18/the-life-of-a-conservacion-patagonica-volunteer-some-reflections/
Blog	Conservacion Patagonica Presents at Harvard	Conservacion Patagonica	http://www.conservacionpatagonica.org/blog/2011/05/04/conservacion-patagonica-presents-at-harvard-university/
Blog	CP's Honeymoon Heroes: Biking Across the US, for Patagonia!	Conservacion Patagonica	http://www.conservacionpatagonica.org/blog/2011/08/29/cps-honeymoon-heroes-biking-across-the-us-for-patagonia/
Blog	Ten Reasons to Donate to Conservacion Patagonica This Holiday	Conservacion Patagonica	http://www.conservacionpatagonica.org/blog/2011/12/07/ten-reasons-to-

	Season		donate-to-conservacion-patagonica-this-holiday-season/
Blog	5,000 Mile Project Raises Funds for CP	Conservacion Patagonica	http://www.conservacionpatagonica.org/blog/2012/06/20/5000mileproject-raises-funds-for-cp/
Blog	A History of Valle Chacabuco	Conservacion Patagonica	http://www.conservacionpatagonica.org/blog/2012/08/28/a-history-of-valle-chacabuco/
Blog	Park Hosts First Annual Workshop on Ecotourism	Conservacion Patagonica	http://www.conservacionpatagonica.org/blog/2012/12/22/park-hosts-first-annual-workshop-on-ecotourism/
Blog	The Art of Horse-Training at Valle Chacabuco	Conservacion Patagonica	http://www.conservacionpatagonica.org/blog/2012/11/05/the-art-of-horse-training-at-valle-chacabuco/
Blog	Kris Tompkins Speaks at El Golf Patagonia Store	Conservacion Patagonica	http://www.conservacionpatagonica.org/blog/2014/07/10/kris-tompkins-speaks-at-el-golf-patagonia-store/
Blog	Pulling Weeds and Removing Fences in Patagonia-the-Place: Patagonia, Inc. Employees Reflect on Volunteering	Conservacion Patagonica	http://www.conservacionpatagonica.org/blog/2014/04/28/pulling-weeds-and-removing-fences-in-patagonia-the-place-patagonia-inc-employees-reflect-on-volunteering/
Blog	Kris Tompkins Presents at the Yale School of Forestry	Conservacion Patagonica	http://www.conservacionpatagonica.org/blog/2016/06/16/kris-tompkins-presents-at-the-yale-school-of-forestry/
Blog	A Tribute to the Wild Legacy of Douglas Tompkins	Conservacion Patagonica	http://www.conservacionpatagonica.org/blog/2016/03/08/a-tribute-to-the-wild-legacy-of-douglas-tompkins/
Blog	Vote for Kris Tompkins: 2017 National Geographic Adventurer of the	Conservacion Patagonica	http://www.conservacionpatagonica.org/blog/2016/11/04/vote-for-kris-

	Year		tompkins-2017-national-geographic-adventurer-of-the-year/
Blog	Building Patagonia National Park: A Decade-long Partnership with Patagonia, Inc.	Patagonia, Inc.	http://www.patagonia.com/blog/2014/05/building-patagonia-national-park-a-decade-long-partnership-with-patagonia-inc/
Blog	The De-fence of Patagonia	Patagonia, Inc.	http://www.patagonia.com/blog/2007/03/the_defence_of_/
Blog	Mile for Mile, Part 1 – Arrival at the New Patagonia Park [Updated]	Patagonia, Inc.	http://www.patagonia.com/blog/2014/12/running-the-distance-part-1-arrival-at-the-new-patagonia-park/
Blog	Mile for Mile, Part 2: The Run	Patagonia, Inc.	http://www.patagonia.com/blog/2015/03/mile-for-mile-part-2-the-run/
Blog	Do What You Love to Protect What You Love: Mile for Mile Campaign Surpasses Fundraising Goal	Patagonia, Inc.	http://www.patagonia.com/blog/2016/05/do-what-you-love-to-protect-what-you-love-mile-for-mile-campaign-surpasses-fundraising-goal/
Store Photo Board	Parque Patagonia	Patagonia, Inc.	Patagonia Clothing Store, Coyhaique Chile (see photos below)



A display board featuring Patagonia Park located in the Patagonia, Inc. apparel store, Coyhaique, Aysen Province, Chile. Photos by Elena Louder.