

2018

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LEAVING MORE THAN FOOTPRINTS:
IMPACTS OF TOURISM AND PERCEPTIONS OF CHANGE IN CHILEAN PATAGONIA

By

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Thesis

Presented in partial fulfillment of the requirements
for the degree of

Master of Science
in Resource Conservation, International Conservation and Development

The University of Montana
Missoula, MT

December 2018

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Leaving More Than Footprints: *Impacts of Tourism and Perceptions of Change in Chilean Patagonia*

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Abstract

Visitation to protected areas is on the rise globally, and the Aysén region of Chilean Patagonia is part of that trend. Within Aysén, Cerro Castillo National Reserve is one of the protected areas that has seen the largest increase in visitation in recent years. Protected area tourism catalyzes changes in surrounding communities, and it is important to understand resident perceptions of these changes in order to inform management planning and to implement effective, equitable conservation policy. In this study, I use qualitative research methods to investigate local residents' perceptions of social, economic, and ecological changes spurred by or related to increased tourist visitation. Results yielded mixed reactions to and interpretations of changes. Major themes included the inextricable linkages between access and power, the role of external influence in local reality, and the transition of rural economies and values. This case study highlights how historical, cultural, political, and economic factors shape the ways local residents experience tourism development and conservation, which contributes to ongoing debates about protected area tourism as a form of sustainable economic development.

Acknowledgements

First and foremost, thank you to my advisor, **Keith** Bosak, for your unwavering support, patience, and guidance. Thanks for believing in me, for all the inspiring conversations, for bringing me back to earth in moments of stress, and for the opportunities to collaborate on projects with you along the way. I am incredibly lucky to have worked with an advisor who I respect and admire so sincerely.

Thank you to my committee members: Matt McKinney, Jenn Thomsen, and Trace Gale. **Matt**, I am grateful for your interest and support from the beginning. The Natural Resource Conflict Resolution Certificate Program provided me with training in public participation design that became integral not only to the methodology of this thesis but also to the management planning process for protected areas in Aysén. **Jenn**, thank you for all your encouragement, enthusiastic interest, detailed edits, and community building efforts within our department. **Trace**, ¿dónde empiezo? Thank you for welcoming me to the Center for Patagonian Ecosystem Research (CIEP) team, for trusting me with responsibility from the start, and for your continued support. This thesis would have been nothing close to what it is without your feedback, mentorship, and friendship.

Mil gracias también a todos mis colegas en la región de Aysén: al equipo de CIEP—especialmente **Jorge** Pinilla, **Franco** Cayupi Cuevas, **Andrés** Adiego, y **Álvaro** Salin—y de CONAF—en especial a **Hernán** Velásquez, **Loreto** Pedrasa, **Carlos** Hochstetter Amaya, **Dennis** Aldridge, y **Ana** Ansón. Estoy muy agradecida por todo lo que me enseñaron, y todo lo que aprendimos juntos; formar parte del equipo del Proyecto de Planes de Uso Público ha sido una gratificante experiencia personal y profesional. Gracias también a toda la gente que compartió sus historias y visiones a través de entrevistas y grupos focales—este trabajo de investigación no hubiera sido posible sin su generosidad.

Quería agradecer además a toda la gente de la Patagonia chilena que me abrió las puertas de sus hogares durante mi estadía—especialmente **Juan Pablo** Mora, **Francisca** Mora Ojeda, **Benja** Escobar, **Pancho** Quezada, **Cristian** Solis, **Gabriela** Reyes Aburto, **Mauricio** Inostroza, y **Jenny** Millalongo Vásquez. Gracias a todos los compañeros del Club de Escalada Aysén por las aventuras en la roca—y aún más importante, por la comunidad.

Special and huge thank you to **Elena** Louder, **Álvaro** Hamamé, **Katie** Selin, and **Kirsa** Shelkey—for listening, for asking the hard questions, for staying interested, and for your varied forms of companionship throughout this process. In so many ways, you were my compasses, helping me maneuver through all the ups and downs not only of this project but also of life.

I am ever grateful for all my friends in the Department of Society and Conservation—especially **Julie** Savage, **Alex** Barton, and **Clancy** Jandreau. I cherish each of you and our shared experiences, from the very first days of classes, to the long-lived Marmots, to late-night office talks, to times of silliness. Thank you to **Biga** Marshall, **Alex** Ocañas, **Sophie** DeMartine, and **Jeremy** Anderson for taking the reins and helping make amazingly delicious food for my defense. Thanks to other dear friends for oh so much more than I have space to detail—**Yolie** Bodie, **Rob** Campbell, **Mary** Bruen, **Corbin** Brooks, **Jenny** Helm, **Katie** Clyatt, **Mario** Moreno,

Cate Donovan, and **Leti** Douglass. I'd also like to thank the village of people who juggled and snuggled Little Kitty while I was in Patagonia.

I would like to thank to professors **Shawn** Johnson, **Dan** Spencer, **Steve** Siebert, **Jill** Belsky, **Brian** Chaffin, **Sarah** Halvorson, and **Cory** Cleveland for inspiring me through your courses and your work, and for your input, interest, and support in different parts of the process.

I am grateful to my Dad, **Stu** Blair, for encouraging me to follow through with my interest in going back to school and for cheering me on after I did. Thanks to my Mama, **Wanda** Crane, for all your love and encouragement along the way.

I extend endless appreciation to the United States Forest Service International Program and the Alaback and Brewer Melipal Fellowship for funding this project. I am also grateful for partnerships with the Center for Patagonian Ecosystem Research and the Chilean National Forest Corporation.

For all the beauty, discovery, and excitement that come with international living, navigating a double life can be tough. To all the people who made both places feel like home these past few years—those who I mentioned and many who I didn't—*thank you, gracias*. I wouldn't have it any other way.

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List of Abbreviations

ASP — Wild Protected Area, *Area Silvestre Protegida*

CIEP — Center for Patagonian Ecosystem Research, *Centro de Investigación en Ecosistemas de la Patagonia*

CONAF — National Forestry Corporation of Chile, *Corporación Nacional Forestal de Chile*

PEDZE — Special Plan for Development of Extreme Zones, *Plan Especial de Desarrollo de Zonas Extremas*

PUP — Public Use Plan, *Plan de Uso Público*

RNCC — Cerro Castillo National Reserve, *Reserva Nacional Cerro Castillo*

SNASPE — National System of Wild Protected Areas of the State, *Sistema Nacional de Áreas Silvestres Protegidas del Estado*

ZOIT — Zone of Touristic Interest, *Zona de Interés Turístico*

Chapter I—Introduction

Advertisements about Patagonia seek to captivate the imaginations of city-dwelling adventure-seekers, enticing potential travelers with descriptions of pristine rivers and remote mountain ranges. Full-spread photos in newspapers depict unpeopled landscapes with turquoise rivers, cartoon-like *lenga*¹ forests, towering rocky spires, and gleaming glaciers. The images seem to suggest that this is a destination where one can travel to find solitude in a corner of the earth that has hitherto managed to evade the destructive hand of humans. Here, people can escape the crowds and immerse themselves in wondrous, untouched wild places.

This project seeks to accentuate the realities of local history, culture, and identity left out by the tourism promotion narrative in order to share a more authentic understanding of place. Tourist visitation catalyzes a range of positive and negative sociocultural, ecological, and economic changes in protected areas and surrounding communities. This study focuses on local people's perceptions of change, a population whose identities are closely tied to a history of working the lands advertised as unpeopled. I also examine the attitudes of a diverse group of park stakeholders, including protected area managers, recreationists, and tourism operators. I aim to integrate these voices, which reveal the nuances of the competing crusades of conservation and development, into the more dominant version of a story told about protecting this special place.

Currently, central Patagonia is experiencing rapid change. Growth of the tourism industry, and the related increasing visitation to protected areas, is one of many agents of change, and little is written about local community reactions to the changes that accompany this surge in

¹ The scientific name for *lenga* trees is *nothofagus pumilio*, referred to as *southern beeches* in English. These deciduous trees dominate many mountainsides in Cerro Castillo, and they paint the land bright yellow, orange, and red as their leaves change colors in the fall.

protected area tourism. Understanding how local residents are already involved, and how they envision tourism development, is key to designing policies that support the local economy and culture, thereby providing a greater chance for success in conservation efforts (Eagles, McCool, & Haynes 2002). Specifically, Cerro Castillo provides a timely and important place to study the relationship between protected areas and local residents because it is one of the places experiencing the most dramatic increase in visitation, and visitation there is projected to continue to increase (Gale, et al. 2017).

In order to achieve conservation objectives and sustainable economic development goals, there is a need to better understand the impacts of tourism, resident preferences and perceptions of change, economic conditions and opportunities, and ecological problems the Reserve faces. Local agencies and park managers can use these findings to inform the management planning process for the territory related to the impacts of protected area tourism.

My research objective is *to understand local perceptions of changing patterns of tourism visitation in Cerro Castillo National Reserve and the actual and potential impacts in the Reserve's zone of influence in order to inform the management planning process*. To explore this, I created the following research question and sub-questions.

- 1) How is increased tourist visitation impacting the lives of people in communities surrounding Cerro Castillo National Reserve positively and/or negatively?
 - a. How do people perceive social changes in Cerro Castillo National Reserve's zone of influence?
 - b. How do people perceive the ecological changes within Cerro Castillo National Reserve?

- c. How do people perceive the economic changes in Cerro Castillo National Reserve's zone of influence?

This thesis is organized as follows. In Chapter 2, I provide background information and a site description, including information about regional history, an overview of the tourism industry in Aysén, and tourist visitation records. In Chapter 3, I review literature about the impacts and benefits of protected area tourism, tourism as a path to sustainable development specifically in mountainous areas, and overcoming barriers to sustainable tourism. In Chapter 4, I describe my qualitative methodology and my collaboration with CIEP and CONAF. In Chapter 5, I present the results of my study, divided into thematic categories and supported with quotes, presented in both English and Spanish. In Chapter 6, I discuss three dominant themes that emerged from the results. Finally, in Chapter 7, I conclude with a summary of the thesis and identify needs for future research.

Chapter II—Background

The XI Aysén del General Carlos Ibáñez del Campo Region, colloquially referred to as the Aysén region, extends from fjords of the Pacific Ocean to the Argentine border in the Andes mountains to the east, spanning between the southern latitudes of 43°38' and 49°16' (BCN, “Región de Aysén”). At 108,494.4 square kilometers in size, it is the third largest of Chile’s sixteen regions and the most sparsely populated, with a population density of 0.95 inhabitants per square kilometer. The majority of the 103,158 residents live in the city centers of Coyhaique and Puerto Aysén, with the others spread across rural areas and outlying small towns (“Información Regional,” GORE Aysén; Gamboa, 2006; BCN, “Región de Aysén”). Most residents of the region are lower middle class or rural farmers and ranchers (Pinto, 2012).

The Aysén region is referred to as central Patagonia, and geographic obstacles impeded modern settlement there until the early 1900s (Martinic, 2005; Muñoz & Salinas, 2010). Nomadic indigenous groups occupied the area in earlier years, but at the turn of the 20th century, it was unpopulated (Martinic, 2005: 30; Gale, 2006). The border zone between Chile and Argentina remained ambiguous until the early 1900s, at which point the Chilean government began to encourage settlement in the region, citing the potential to exploit extensive forestry and ranching resources (Gale, 2006, Hamamé Villablanca, 2015; Martinic, 2005). The initial mechanisms of encouragement included leasing land to concessions for large-scale sheep ranches and resettling Chileans who had previously settled in Argentina (ibid). In some cases, the central government offered land titles to settlers in exchange for clearing it for productive use, like agriculture or grazing. The pioneer settlers burned around half the acreage of the region, destroying old forests for economic motivations and thereby also staking claim to Chile’s presence in the area (Hamamé Villablanca, 2015). Though this arrangement was motivated by

the interests of the nation, the pioneers themselves maintained little contact with the rest of Chile in the early years. Instead, the most common trade route was to the east in Argentina, a place much easier to reach than any Chilean centers of commerce (Valencia & Saavedra, 2016).

Removed and isolated, these pioneers forged a new life in Patagonia, surviving in the harsh, unforgiving climate with a short growing season with little government assistance. In these early years of settlement, the central government maintained a passive attitude towards the territory, offering concessions to ranching operations but exercising little oversight or direct presence (Valencia & Saavedra, 2016). Most settlers engaged in sheep and cattle ranching, forming the *gaucho* or cowboy culture that remains an integral part of regional identity today (Valencia & Saavedra, 2016; González et al., 2017). The settlers had no choice but to be fiercely independent and resourceful, and these characteristics also persist as important parts of Aysenino identity.

Chile is an example of a country with strong center-periphery dynamics (Hamamé Villablanca, 2015). The central government, based in Santiago, where much of the country's population is concentrated, controls the allocation of funds to the rest of the regions. The dynamics render the geographically remote and sparsely-populated regions, such as Aysén, as peripheral and dependent. For residents, this dynamic means they experience limited access to health care and education, as well as limited connectivity, relative to regions closer to the center (Pinto, 2012).

In the 1970s, the central government initiated a project to construct a road in Aysén, called the Carretera Austral or Ruta 7 (the Southern Highway or Route 7) (Inostroza Villanueva, 2016; Muñoz and Salinas, 2010). This dramatically and rapidly increased connectivity within the region as well as to the rest of Chile, as it was the first land access through rural Chilean

Patagonia that connected the southern regions to the rest of the country (Inostroza Villanueva, 2016; Gale et al., 2018). As construction workers labored in remote, isolated towns, local residents harnessed the opportunity to provide food and lodging services, marking the beginnings of the creation of a structure for tourism (Muñoz & Salinas, 2010). Furthermore, the road enabled visitors to reach these places, which sparked interest in tourism in the region. By the end of the 1990s, the regional government had come to consider tourism a strategy for regional development, and different agencies (CORFO, INDAP, FOSIS) started to generate programs to support local businesses, and they provided subsidies to build cabins and to improve infrastructure (ibid).

Tourism joins a list of other economic activities grounded in the natural resources of the region, including raising livestock, forestry, and aquaculture (“Información Regional,” GORE Aysén). The major draw for tourists is the staggeringly beautiful landscapes, and with over half the land in the Aysén region designated as part of the National System of Wild Protected Areas (SNASPE), nature-based tourism is situated as an industry with much potential to promote economic development (Gale, 2006).

Chile’s protected area system originated with the establishment of Malleco National Reserve in 1907 (Sierralta, et al., 2011). CONAF, the National Forest Corporation, positioned under the Ministry of Agriculture, administers SNASPE. The system consists of three management categories: National Parks, National Reserves, and Natural Monuments (ibid). National Parks are typically large areas with environments that are representative of the biological diversity of the country, that are not significantly altered by human action, that are capable of self-perpetuation, and that have species or geological formations of interest for education, science, or recreation (“Parques de Chile,” CONAF). National Reserves are areas

whose natural resources need to be conserved and used with special care, either because of their susceptibility to degradation or because of their importance to community welfare. This include protection of soil, water resources, and threatened species, as well as sustainable use of flora and fauna resources. Natural Monuments preserve generally small areas characterized by the presence of native species or by the existence of geologic sites relevant from a scenic, cultural, or scientific point of view. Today, the SNASPE system includes 20.26% of Chile's continental territory ("Parques de Chile," CONAF), and the great majority of this area, over 85%, is concentrated in the Aysén and Magallanes regions (Sierralta, et al., 2011).

The national government, through the Subsecretary of Tourism, recognizes protected areas as important to protection natural and cultural heritage and conservation of biodiversity and history, as well as a potential contributor to development as international and Chilean visitors alike increasingly visit these places. Aware of the capacity for Chilean protected areas to attract international visitors, they created the "Policy for the development of ecotourism in the protected areas of the state and its environment" in 2004, which allocated funding to planning and promotion of protected area tourism across the country (Subsecretaría de Turismo, 2015). Between 2004 and 2014, visitation to protected areas across Chile increased 82%, and this growth, coupled with future growth potential, led the government to acknowledge tourism as a strategic sector for economic development (ibid).

The National Tourism Law, or Law 20.423, has an important influence on tourism development in the Aysén region (Inostroza Villanueva, 2016). The law established tourism as an important pillar of national economic development, and it institutionalized tourism by creating a framework and hierarchy of agencies that work to promote it (ibid). This specifically outlined the Subsecretary of Tourism's role to define the public policy of tourism for the country.

With institutions in place, after many years of Aysenino residents lamenting about their marginalized and peripheral position, President Michelle Bachelet initiated a plan for integration and support of the region through the Plan for Development of Extreme Zones (PEDZE) (SERNATUR, 2017, Inostroza Villanueva, 2016). Extreme zones are areas with inferior access to services, economic opportunity, and connectivity than their urban counterparts (Gale et al., 2018). PEDZE marked a shift in the orientation of center-periphery integration policy from a focus on economic development through contested extractive projects, such as “hydroelectric dams, mining, aluminum smelting facilities, and salmon farming,” to protected area tourism (Gale et al., 2018: 24). PEDZE also includes the identification of Zones of Touristic Interest (ZOITS), and these areas then receive special attention and funding for touristic development (SERNATUR, 2017, Inostroza Villanueva, 2016).

The majority of tourists who travel to Chilean Patagonia flock to the Magallanes region to the south, but in recent years, visitation to Aysén has increased dramatically. This, in large part, can be attributed to the national policies designed to expand the tourism industry in the region (Gale et al., 2018; Inostroza Villanueva, 2016). Between 1997 and 2016, visitation to protected areas in the region increased by 661%, from 12,147 visitors in 1997 to 92,386 in 2016 (Gale, et al., 2017). Regional planners expected visitation in 2017 to surpass 100,000 people (ibid). Other statistics report an increase in international visitors, documenting that the region experienced a 54% increase in international tourists from the previous year during the summer high season of December, January, and February 2015-2016 (“Turistas extranjeros aumentan,” 2016; “Sernatur Aumenta Demanda Turista,” 2016).

This dramatic increase in tourist visitation catalyzes a range of positive and negative sociocultural, ecological, and economic changes in and around protected areas (Inostroza

Villanueva, 2016; Eagles et al., 2002). Economically, the influx of travelers presents opportunities for small business growth in sectors such as restaurants, lodging, transportation, guiding services, and handicrafts. With the rest of the market grounded in resource use intensive activities, many people and agencies welcome this non-consumptive economic diversification.

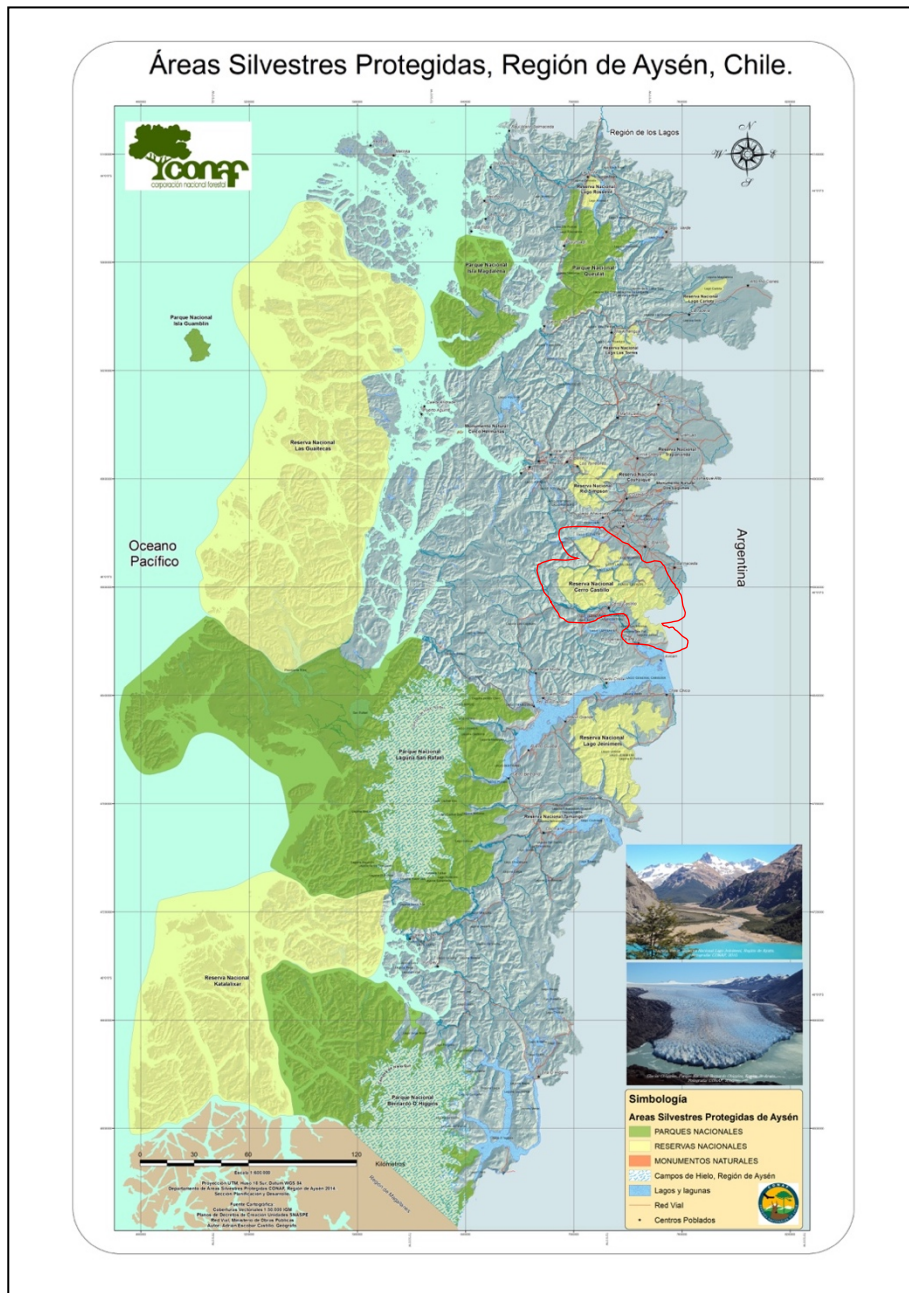


Figure 1: Map of protected area system in Aysén as of 2014. National parks are green and national reserves are yellow. Cerro Castillo National Reserve is circled in red. Map from CONAF Aysén.

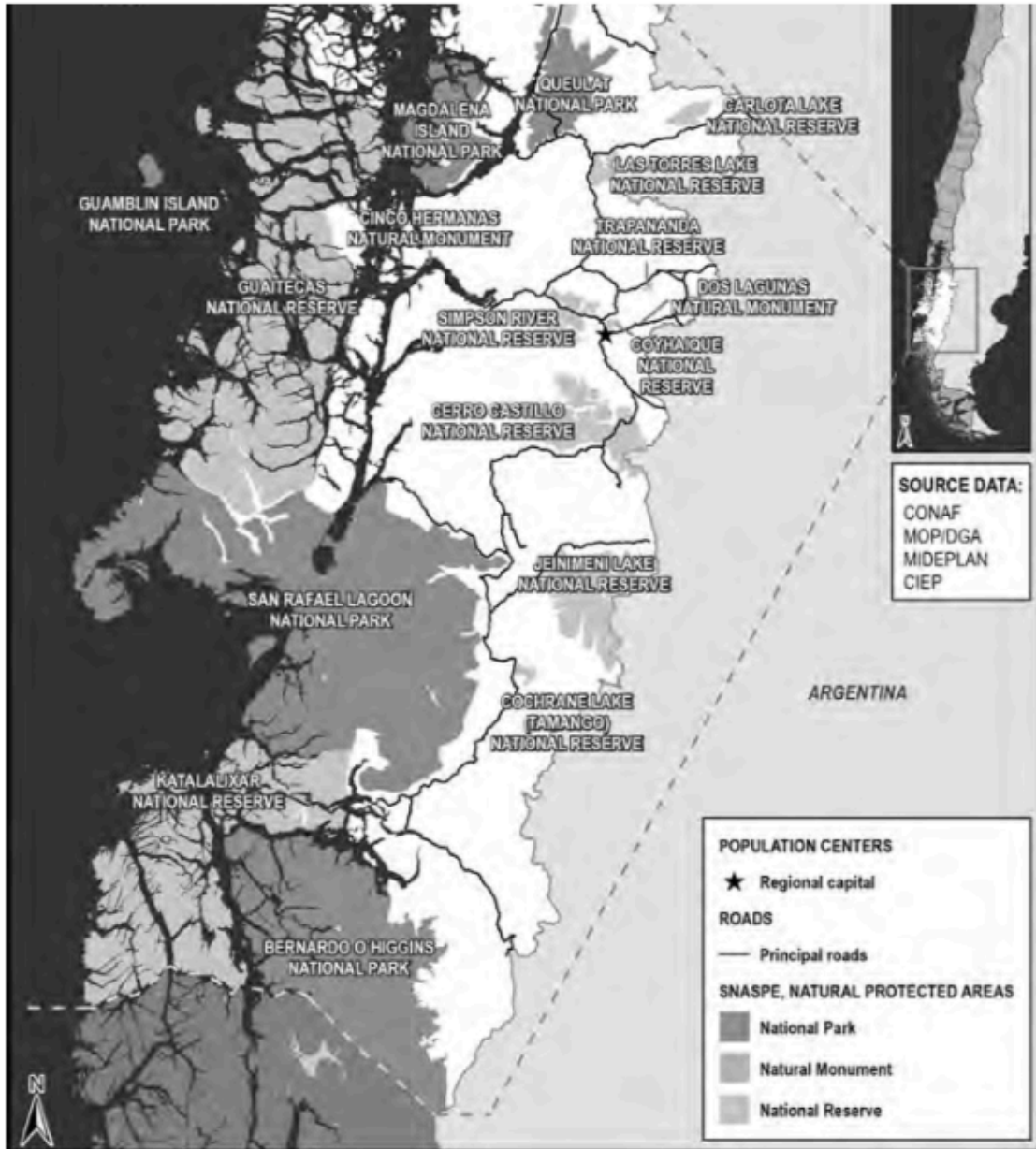


Figure 2: A second map depicting the distribution of protected areas in Aysén and showing the location of the Aysén region within Chile (Gale et al., 2018).

In order for protected area tourism to generate opportunities for local economic development, an objective of CONAF, the protected areas need to be equipped to manage the onslaught of visitors (Gale, et al., 2017). In general, the national parks and reserves in the Aysén region have limited capacity to handle the growing number of tourists. Although the region boasts massive expanses of protected area land, most parks have only tiny percentages zoned for

public use. The resulting concentrated visitation burdens these small areas with symptoms of overuse. Current infrastructure does not satisfy the growing demand and crowded sites do not match the expectations of many visitors. To make matters worse, CONAF's operating budget has not increased proportionally with the increasing visitation, rendering their oversight and management capacity insufficient (Gale, et al. 2017).

One of the protected areas experiencing the most dramatic increases in visitation is Cerro Castillo National Reserve. Situated close to the regional capital of Coyhaique and the airport in Balmaceda, this is one the most accessible parks in the region. It was established in on June 19th, 1970, with 179,550 hectares made of three separate sectors (CONAF, 2009). The surrounding population centers are: Coyhaique (57 km, population 44,850), Balmaceda (35 km, population 456), El Blanco (20 km, population 305), Puerto Ingeniero Ibáñez (30 km, population 757), and Villa Cerro Castillo (5 km, population ~500) (CONAF, 2009; Fundación Patagonia). Dispersed rural populations live near Lago Monreal, Lago La Paloma, and Villa Frei (Gale et al., 2017). The reserve forms part of the municipalities of Coyhaique and Río Ibáñez, the provinces of Coyhaique and General Carrera. It was established based on the existence of forests that fit the definition of Forest Reserve, with interests in protecting its beauty and its scientific and botanical importance (CONAF, 2009).

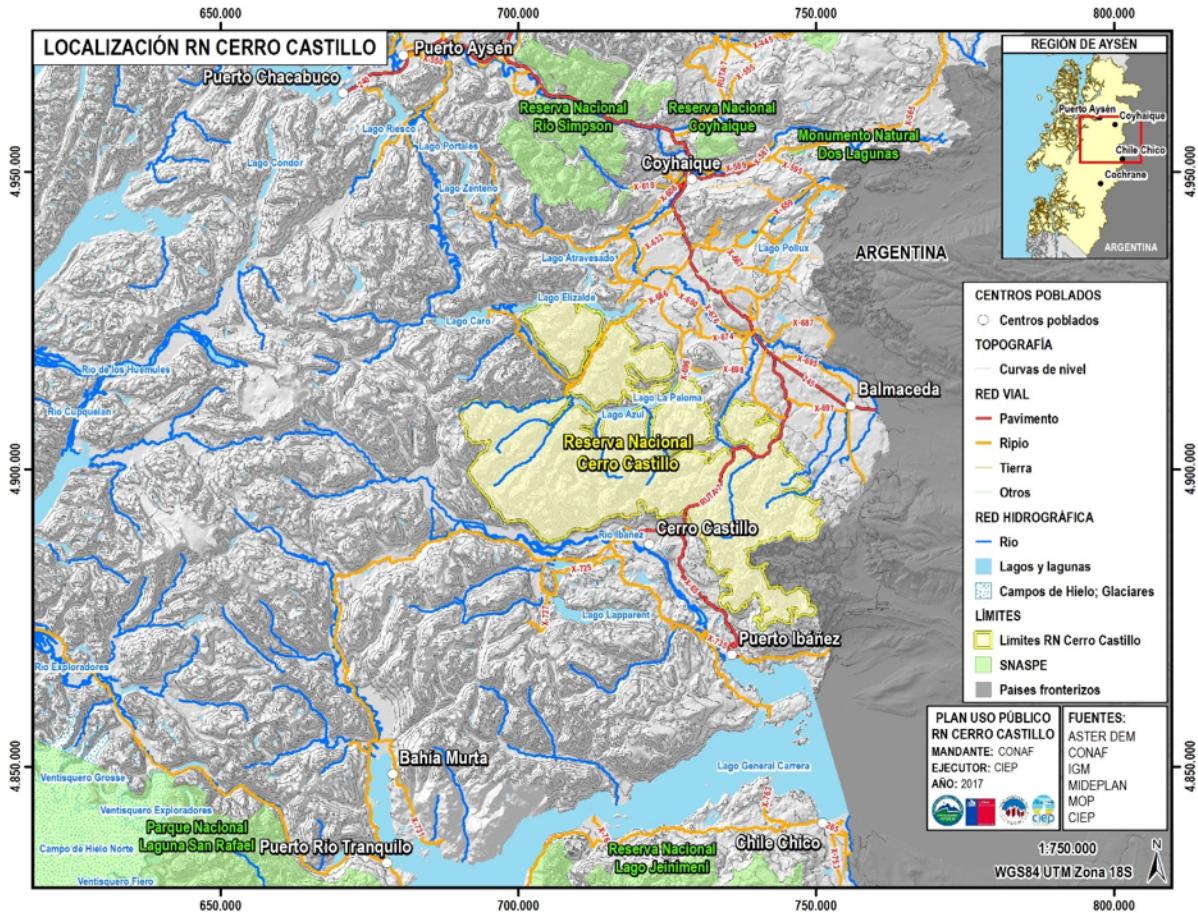


Figure 3: Map of Cerro Castillo National Reserve that shows its position in the region and some of the nearby population centers (Gale, et al. 2017).

More specifically, the resources the reserve seeks to conserve are its flora, fauna, geologic features, soil, and water. The main ecosystems represented include alpine montane, forest, and steppe. Important flora species include *lenga*, *ñirre*, *coihue*, *ciruelillo* and the *calafate*, and important fauna species include the *huemul*, *puma*, *guanaco*, and *red fox* (CONAF, “Parque Nacional Cerro Castillo”). The *huemul*, or south Andean deer, is a charismatic species in Chile. It is an endangered species threatened by habitat loss and fragmentation (from land conversion, road construction, and human settlement), predation, hunting, and disease-transfer from domestic livestock (Black-Decima et al., 2016). Cerro Castillo is an important stronghold

for *huemuls*, though the IUCN identifies unregulated tourism as a threat to the population (Black-Decima et al., 2016).

Much of the Reserve has evaded destructive forms of human intervention, leaving ecosystems in good ecological condition. Other parts, however, bear scars from land clearing during colonization for agriculture and human settlement. After the fires removed much of the native forest, soil erosion emerged as a serious problem. To mitigate these impacts, non-native pine trees were planted, and these pine plantations now cover much of the reserve (CONAF, 2009). Another ecologically detrimental intervention was the construction of the Carretera Austral, which bisects the reserve for 25 kilometers, much of which is important wildlife habitat.

The namesake of the Reserve, Cerro Castillo or Castle Mountain, is a towering, jagged rocky spire visible from Villa Cerro Castillo, the main gateway community. This town of ~500 people is the heart of the “frontside” of the Reserve, which refers to the eastern side that is accessible from the main highway. The “backside” refers to the western side of the park, where rough, winding dirt roads connect isolated rural farms. Recreation opportunities include hikes, backpacking, climbing, and more, with major attractions including glaciers, turquoise lakes, high mountain passes, old-growth forests, and wildlife (Gale et al., 2017).

The following map depicts areas zoned for public use in Cerro Castillo National Reserve. Important to note are the gray zones, which denote trailhead accesses outside of the Reserve. All four of the most popular hikes, for day and/or overnight excursions, begin with access through private property (Sendero Neozelandés, Sendero Laguna Castillo, Sendero Monreal, and Ruta El Turbio or Las Horquetas). The Reserve is an island of public land surrounded by private property, other than the Carretera Austral, though no current trailheads begin directly from the highway. The need for tourists and recreationists to pass through private land to enter the

Reserve generates conflict at some of these entrances. The uncertainty of reliable access is a concern for tourism development in the Reserve (Gale et al., 2017).

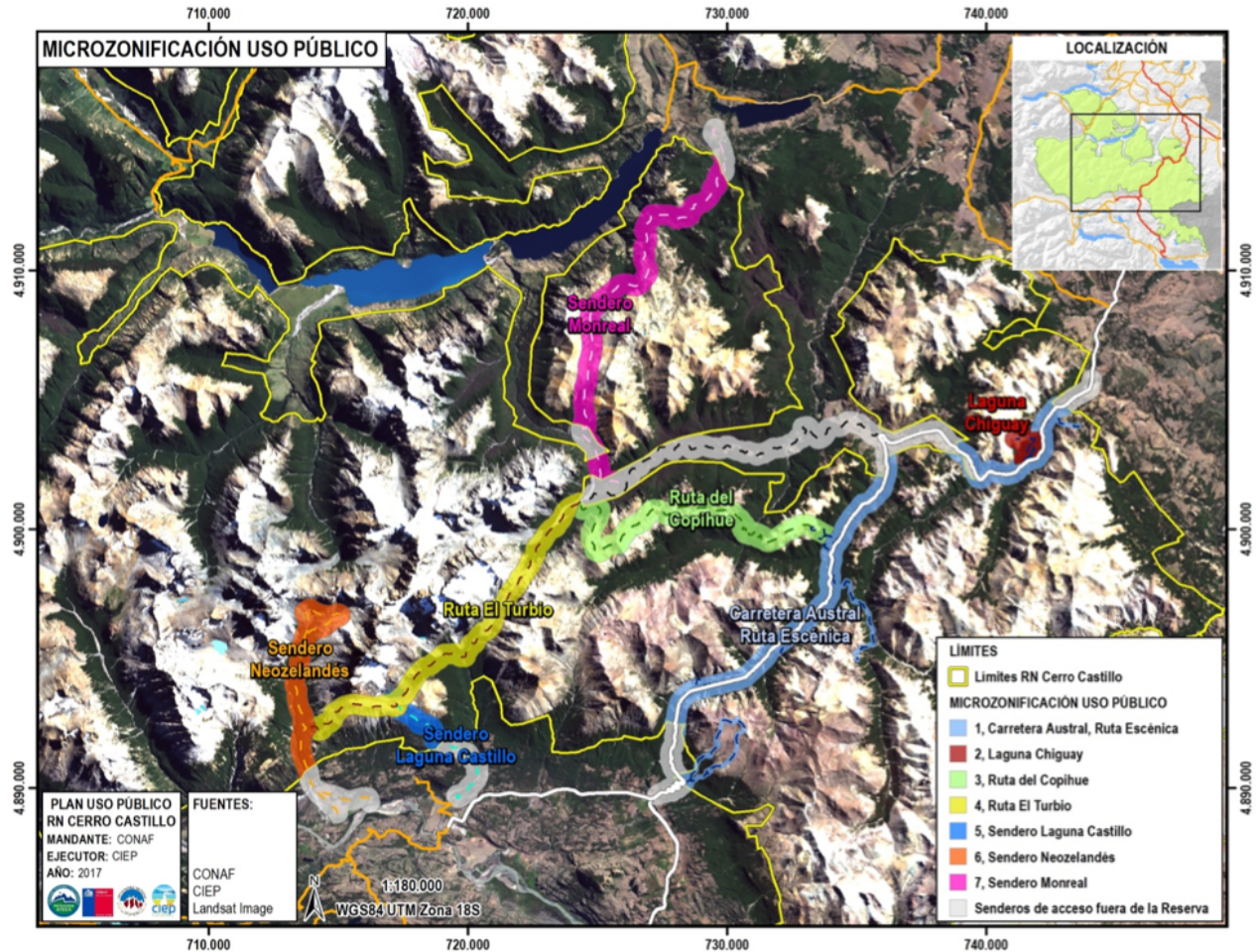


Figure 4: Map of micro-zonification of public use in Cerro Castillo National Reserve (Gale et al., 2017).

CONAF’s records of annual visitation show steady increases in visitation to Cerro Castillo National Reserve. With the exception of 2012, each year between 2007 and 2016 recorded steady growth. This is a 733% increase over ten years. Actual visitation numbers are likely to be significantly higher than this, because the entrances to the Reserve are not consistently staffed and because visitors also enter at undesignated points (Gale et al., 2017).

Figure 5

CONAF Record of Annual Visitation to RNCC 2007-2016										
	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015	2016
National	348	549	781	918	1487	1.017	2.358	1.650	1.906	3.752
Foreign	265	456	552	257	436	558	535	473	917	1.397
Total	613	1.005	1.333	1.175	1.923	1.575	2.893	2.123	2.823	5.149

(Gale et al., 2017)

Visitation is expected to continue to increase rapidly. The Sub-secretary of Tourism prioritized the Reserve as an area with high tourism potential by identifying it as a ZOIT (ibid). This generates uncertainty for planners who hope to promote local and community-based economic development connected to protected area tourism, because the political recognition has the potential to attract large investors, which could usurp opportunities for small business development in areas surrounding the Reserve (ibid). Furthermore, increased international attention and marketing is likely to attract more visitors. On March 15th, 2017, Tompkins Conservation and then President Michelle Bachelet signed a Protocol of Agreement that planned the creation of a “Network of National Parks of Chilean Patagonia” (Tompkins Conservation, 2017). This was part of a land donation imagined by the late Doug Tompkins, in which the Tompkins donated Patagonia National Park to the Chilean government.

A condition of this donation was that Cerro Castillo would be elevated in category from National Reserve to National Park. The March 2017 announcement revealed this vision for Cerro Castillo and two other national reserves, but when I conducted my interviews in May 2017, it was not official. Less than a year later, on October 2nd, 2017, Bachelet signed a decree officially elevating the category of Cerro Castillo from a National Reserve to a National Park (Tompkins Conservation, 2017). Throughout most of this thesis, I refer to Cerro Castillo as “the Reserve” because that’s what it was at the time of my interviews. In the discussion section, I refer to it as “the Park” at times when analyzing the implications of the recategorization.

This project works to document different stories and the voices of people who live in the zone of influence, which aren't always heard. It highlights that even something as good as conservation comes with costs and tradeoffs, and that sustainable tourism is problematic and can be over-romanticized. If visitation continues to increase as rapidly as is projected, the results of this study will become increasingly important—with all trailheads on private land, access issues will increase in relevance, and both the positive and negative impacts of tourism are likely to intensify.

Chapter III—Literature Review

Introduction

Through this literature review, I will review the potential impacts and benefits of protected area tourism, why communities promote it as a sustainable development strategy despite common problems, the barriers to sustainable tourism development in mountain areas, and a hopeful outlook about reframing sustainable tourism that helps explain why people continue to pursue it. While countries initially established protected areas with the primary purpose of biodiversity conservation, management objectives now tend to include goals about benefitting local communities economically and socially (Phillips 2003; Laven, et al. 2015; Strickland-Munro 2014). With this broadened mandate, protected area managers must work to find the elusive, harmonious balance between biological conservation and economic and sociocultural benefit for surrounding communities (Hübner, et. al. 2014). As protected area tourism grows globally and in South America (Barros, et al. 2015; Barros, et al. 2013; Milne and Ateljevic 2001), there is a need to better understand how to navigate this balancing act in order to effectively plan and manage for conditions that will facilitate *sustainable tourism development*.

Benefits and Impacts of Protected Area Tourism

Protected area tourism and sustainable tourism are two concepts often uttered in the same breath, as the nature-based industry presents as a sustainable alternative to extractive options like mining. According to the World Tourism Organization, sustainable tourism is that which “takes full account of its current and future economic, social, and environmental impacts, addressing the needs of visitors, the industry, the environment, and host communities” (“UNWTO,” 2017). The development world grasps onto this as an approach that simultaneously enables the promotion of

economic, social, and environmental objectives; in practice, however, these objectives do not coexist in the simplified way the definition suggests. When applying this form of tourism to protected areas, a range of positive and negative impacts on surrounding communities and the environment present themselves. A review of these potential benefits and risks is useful in trying to unpack how to facilitate the emergence of the favorable aspects while minimizing the undesirable ones.

In the IUCN's 2002 report on Sustainable Tourism in Protected Areas, the authors categorize potential benefits of protected area tourism into three groupings: "enhancing economic opportunity," "protecting natural and cultural heritage," and "enhancing quality of life" (Eagles et al., 2002: 24; Pederson, 2016). Economically, tourism may generate jobs, diversify the economy, spur the production of or create a market for local goods or crafts, and earn money for the protected area's operations (Eagles et al., 2002; Khan 2016; Croes & Rivera, 2016; Strickland-Munro & Moore, 2014; Manning, 2014). Tourism may also provide a desirable alternative to extractive industries such as mining (Croes & Rivera, 2016). The second category of "protecting natural and cultural heritage" encompasses the more traditionally understood objectives of protected areas: biodiversity conservation, protection of natural and cultural heritage, growth of local valuation of the protected area, and more research projects (Eagles et al., 2002). Under the third category, improving quality of life for local residents, protected area tourism has the potential to improve access to healthcare, education, and clean water, enhance communication through local organizations for tourism planning and better roads, generate recreation opportunities, and increase cross-cultural understanding (Eagles et al., 2002; Khan, 2016; Croes & Rivera, 2016). Locals may also benefit from park resources such as recreation opportunities, interpretative materials and environmental education designed for visitors (Eagles

et al., 2002). Local recreation use provides personal benefit to the users themselves, while also cultivating local advocates for conservation.

While tourism development creates opportunities for local residents to access some of these potential benefits, negative environmental, economic, and sociocultural effects are common, if not pervasive. Environmental impacts may include trampling, litter, sewage overflow, overdevelopment, nonnative species introduction, increased emissions, noise pollution, soil erosion, disturbance to wildlife, concentrated use, habitat alteration for infrastructure construction, burdens on water supply, and transportation emissions (Eagles et al., 2002: 33, Table 3.3, 3.4). Economically, financial benefit leakage is a major concern. Leakage “describe[s] the percentage of the price of the holiday paid by the tourists that leaves a destination in terms of imports or expatriated profits, or that never reaches the destination in the first instance due to the involvement of northern-based intermediaries” (Meyer, 2007: 561). Leakage occurs when destination communities rely on imported goods, and when external national or international players purchase property and/or establish tourism businesses that outcompete local offerings (Meyer, 2007; Eagles et al., 2002). Additional economic concerns include dependence on an industry susceptible to external forces, and unequal distribution of financial benefits (Strickland-Munro & Moore, 2014). Also, land prices often rise and the appeal for outsiders to purchase land increases. Socially, tourism “permeates communities,” influencing all parts of a community (Harrill, 2004: 252). It can disrupt the local culture: traditional practices can transform into commodified performances, residents may compare themselves to wealthy tourists leading them to devalue their own lifestyle, and visitor use plans for protected areas may ban residents from traditional use activities within parks (Eagles et al., 2002; Mowforth & Munt, 2016).

Barriers to Sustainable Development through Tourism in Mountain Areas

Despite the extensive compilation of case studies documenting the negative impacts of protected area tourism, park managers and governments continue to latch onto the non-consumptive nature of tourism as a promising form of sustainable development. Because the ideal suggests that economic development and environmental conservation can coexist and thrive harmoniously, it seems like the best available option. Regardless of the long lists of problems, tourism still appeals as an alternative that is much less destructive than mining, large dams, or other extractive pursuits that will undoubtedly disrupt the environment. In the section that follows, I analyze the barriers to achieving the venerated but elusive balance in which conservation and development objectives are valued and upheld equally, specifically in mountain regions.

Both conceptual and physical obstacles inhibit harmonious sustainable tourism development. Though these vary by context and scale, most are interrelated, interacting through feedbacks and as functions of the greater socioecological system.

While it is easy to attribute the ubiquity of negative impacts to tangible shortcomings such as poor planning, a critique of the concept of sustainable tourism in itself is necessary to understand why it often fails to reach its theoretical potential. First of all, the concept of sustainable tourism was formulated on the basis of the “assumption that the world is predictable, linear, ultimately understandable, and basically stable,” rather than recognizing the complexities and uncertainties of present times (McCool, 2016: 8). This simplification fails to consider how different factors interact to influence outcomes across spatial and temporal scales, which has led to “complex problems being reduced to ‘digestible’ parts with ‘solutions’ to each component developed” (ibid: 8). That is, programs and interventions are based on faulty, oversimplified

diagnoses, meaning they are set up to fail because they do not address the root causes of negative outcomes.

Secondly, the definition itself of sustainable tourism is contradictory, in that it suggests as possible the coexistence of socially just, environmentally responsible, and economically viable indicators, without recognizing the tensions among the three. The inherent friction of protected area tourism is that it is an economic activity that depends on both resource use *and* sustaining natural resources (Bosak, 2016: 33). Such an inconsistency underscores the incompatibility of the concepts, as it is impossible to unify “the linear system of development and the circular system of sustainability” (ibid: 36). This is the basis of the “serious mismatch between [the] principles and the realities of tourism and socio-economic development” (Mika, 2015: 10). Principles of sustainability are uncritically assigned to tourism, without critiquing the economic focus. This green washing of tourism assigns the buzzwords of sustainability to it, without actually rethinking how principles of sustainability might reshape the industry in a transformational way, and without recognizing the disagreements between the linear and circular frameworks.

Sustainable tourism’s relationship to capitalism further distances it from its theoretical basis. As an economic activity, the tourism industry depends on capitalism to sustain it, meaning that it also works to sustain an unsustainable system of capitalist growth (Fletcher, 2011). Because tourism functions within the system of capitalism, the driving incentives and forces are economic—which contradicts that “one of the primary principles of sustainability is to limit the consumption of goods and services to a level acceptable in terms of ecology” (Mika, 2015: 11). Tourism is “profit driven” and its “economic return orientation” prioritizes this element of the social-environmental-economic triangle of dynamics to balance (Berno & Bricker, 2001: 8).

Despite this, sustainable tourism is still promoted “as an oppositional force to conventional capitalist resource exploitation,” presenting it as an appealing alternative to direct resource extraction (Fletcher, 2011: 451). This surface-level explanation enables “the world capitalist system” to use tourism as means through which “to overcome inherent contradictions that may threaten [capitalism’s] long-term survival through various spatial, temporal, and environmental ‘fixes’” (ibid: 444).

The first two “fixes” respond to the contradiction that the powerful actors in capitalism want to maximize profit but need to share enough that workers can spend money to sustain the system, which leads to a need for continual growth. As a spatial fix, tourism helps overcome this contradiction by providing new places to invest capital that will contribute to the growth of the whole system. For a temporal fix, tourism works by “displacing excess capital into future return,” such as sale of an experience (ibid: 449). In both cases, redistributing wealth or flow of capital through spending and accumulation across scales helps avoid “an overproduction crisis,” thus enabling continued growth of capitalism itself (ibid: 449).

The final fix is environmental and addresses the contradiction that capitalism’s need “to continually expand in order to survive is ultimately predicated on the extraction of finite natural resources” (ibid: 450). By using the language of sustainability to paint tourism as an environmentally conscious and friendly industry, sustainable tourism facilitates the process of masking the externalization of associated environmental costs, which, in turn, enables capitalism to continue to grow unchecked. That sustainable tourism is deeply embedded in capitalism is one of its primary conceptual flaws: it protects the global economic system as it exists by seeking to achieve sustainability within it, and this façade of sustainability hinders the generation of

conditions that might lead to a more radical reorganization or transformation to a genuinely sustainable system.

Along the same lines as how the ideal of sustainable tourism clashes with capitalism, it also does not seamlessly align with its “parent paradigm” of sustainable development (Sharpley, 2000: 14). Sharpley acknowledges that sustainable tourism is widely championed as a desirable means through which to promote development, but he argues that when one probes the superficial compatibility of the two concepts, sustainable tourism development is an oxymoron impossible to achieve on a large scale. More explicitly, it appeals as “an holistic, equitable, and future-oriented development strategy,” but, in practice, it depends on consumerist mentalities, benefits leak to global networks, local benefits are not equally distributed, and locals often become singularly dependent on tourism (ibid: 14).

According to Sharpley (2000), sustainable tourism development “remains firmly embedded in economic growth-induced modernization theory” (14). Modernization theory assumes that all countries follow a linear trajectory through the stages of development, with all aiming to transition from the undesirable state of underdevelopment to a common end point or final stage of development and modernization (Rapley, 1996). Reflecting this theory, tourism is viewed as a means through which to carry Third World countries forward, enabling them to progress along this uniform continuum.

Sharpley (2000) also contends that the “structure of international tourism [most] accurately reflects the dependency theory of development” (11). Dependency theory, a reaction to modernization theory, contends that core (wealthy and developed) countries progressed at the expense of the periphery (poor and developing) countries, using the resources of the latter to enrich the former (Rapley, 1996). Sharpley’s critique, then, suggests that it is the wealthy

international travelers and businesses that benefit from tourism at the expense of the periphery, rather than spreading the wealth of First World countries in a way that actually benefits the developing countries. For example, “as much as 90 percent of tourism revenues ‘leak’ out of poor host countries due to domination by foreign operators” (Fletcher, 2011: 455). Situating sustainable tourism within these development theories highlights a clear contradiction with the harmonious, save-all, alternative development strategy that it is often championed as. From this perspective, the barriers to achieving the benefits associated with sustainable tourism stem from its grounding in outdated, problematic, flawed theories.

Considering these conceptual barriers and the tensions between social, economic, and ecological objectives promoted by sustainable tourism, it becomes clear that measuring success is another barrier. The extensiveness of indicators recognized in the field reflects the number of problems sustainable tourism is charged with addressing, as well as the vague and differentially interpreted definition of what sustainable tourism actually is (Torres-Delgado & Saarinen, 2013). Choosing which indicators should be used to measure a concept whose definition lacks consensus, then, is a variable, value-based, and confused process. A program’s effectiveness may not be reflected in a report, or it may be misrepresented, depending on how it was measured. This makes it challenging to compare strategies across programs or to draw on lessons learned in order to improve the way sustainable tourism is practiced. If there is no widely accepted and practically implemented way to measure and define success, it is difficult to judge the outcomes and processes of sustainable tourism.

As argued thus far, the barriers to successful sustainable tourism development are rooted in the oversimplification of the problems it seeks to address, the ambiguity and idealized nature of the definition, the dependence on the powerful capitalist system, and the incompatibility with

development theories. Next, I will move into an analysis of the more tangible, physical barriers to sustainable tourism in mountain regions. These highlight barriers that relate to the conceptual flaws, but these are the issues that could be more directly influenced or targeted by managers, communities, and the industry as it exists currently without overhauling, redefining, and reframing the concept in itself.

The geography of mountain areas shapes their susceptibility to a distinct set of barriers to sustainable tourism. While some of the following factors may inhibit sustainable tourism development outside of mountain areas, too, they are likely to be present in all mountain areas with tourism.

Because of geographic locations, mountain regions are often marginal, politically peripheral areas. For many mountainous places, this has meant a “gradual loss of autonomy over resource use or decision-making” (Sanjay & Chipeniuk, 2005: 318), and this lack of control and agency at the local level contrasts with sustainable tourism’s principles around equity and participation. Center-periphery dynamics of political power persist through sustainable tourism, being “produced and reproduced” as “the power relationships associated with older systems of resource domination” (Douglas, 2014: 8, 11) maintain inequitable patterns in access to and control over natural resources. Because the governments and wealthy people have more power than marginalized local residents, they are able to use tourism to connect with capitalist markets in a new way. This critique is closely connected to the conceptual one that sustainable tourism is dependent on capitalism, but it extends in a physical way when thinking about deconstructing political hierarchies.

Furthermore, mountains frequently delineate borders between countries, which means they can be epicenters of “uncertainty and instability” in times of political conflict (Sanjay &

Chipeniuk, 2005: 318). This renders tourism operators vulnerable to outside forces, as border conflicts can lead to decreased desirability of a destination. Decreased visitation resulting from real or perceived danger means the reliability of incomes from tourism can be inconsistent and unreliable, contrasting with the ideal of sustainable tourism.

Another element of the power dynamics is related to how much agency local communities have over decisions about the development of tourism. Meaningful community participation in sustainable tourism planning is an important component of the ideal, yet there are many shortcomings in the processes of participation that can impede attainment of positive outcomes. Because tourism projects influence quality of life, the people impacted should have a say in how it develops through participation in decision-making and planning processes (Shani and Pizam, 2012). This is an important point because designing good participation processes where locals influence policy is a challenging, and many tourism projects are top-down and not context-appropriate or community-supported, which threatens their potential to harness positive benefits and thus their sustainability.

There is no singular, correct way to approach participation, and context-specific conditions determine what citizen participation method is most appropriate. Judging the options according to Arnstein's ladder of citizen participation, which classifies levels of participation on a spectrum of nonparticipation to tokenism to citizen power, is helpful in conceptualizing which methods represent honest, meaningful participation in which citizen opinions and preferences translate into policy and action (ibid, 2012). Flaws in participation design—that is, the selection of inappropriate processes or ineffective implementation of strategies in the chosen methodology—often serve to strengthen existing power dynamics instead of spreading equity among entire communities. Other common issues include lack of government buy-in to the

process, the “paternalistic attitudes of development professionals” (ibid: 555), unrepresentative participation (meaning that only powerful or outspoken people are invited to participate), lack of training or knowledge about how to participate effectively, and physical or logistical access to participation processes. These obstacles inhibit meaningful involvement of local people in tourism planning and development, which is a common barrier to positive outcomes for entire communities from sustainable tourism.

Accessibility is an issue not only in terms of how remoteness has shaped political dynamics and representation, but it also presents challenges for sustainable tourism related to travel. That is, mountain areas are often difficult to access. First of all, this can present difficulties for tourists in terms of reliability of arrival to the destination (i.e. landslides on mountain roads may block access). Secondly, when roads or airstrips ‘open’ a mountain area, this connection facilitates rapid change and interaction with the lowlands, which also enables hasty, “generally unrestricted growth of tourism” (Price, 1992: 89). This rapid pace of change can be a factor limiting sustainability potential, as time may not allow for careful, participatory, system-wide planning and information gathering or community adaptation. Government policy, such as visa restrictions, has the potential to limit this rapid change, but the common view of tourism as an engine of economic development incentivizes short-term, rapid growth.

Accelerated processes of social change accompany this kind of rapid development of tourism, and tourism’s ability to degrade social structures and cultures poses serious threats its sustainability. Tourist travel is often thought of as a boomerang process, in which the tourist enters a community from outside, has an experience that involves the consumption of local goods and services, which injects economic benefit, and then they go home, leaving the community as it was before they arrived. In reality, tourist visitation is much more interactive

and complex, as it spurs “the mixing of cultures” and can “dilute the strength of the original culture,” often through inspiring new, more commodity- and status-oriented aspirations (Price, 1992: 90). In this way, when tourists begin to visit remote mountain areas, they become agents of a “special form of highland-lowland interaction” and “one of the most visible mechanisms of globalization” as they enter communities and become “a potent force in the process of cultural change” (Messerli and Bernbaum, 2004: 226). With privileged tourists visiting places that are often rural and poor, at least relatively, their norms and ideas seep into mountain people’s expectations, which can lead to a weathering of traditional cultural practices and values.

A common trend in the loss of traditional cultural or livelihood practices in mountain areas that threatens the sustainability of tourism has to do with “monetization of mountain cultures” (Price, 1992: 91). As people transition to tourism as a livelihood strategy, subsistence farming is replaced in favor of money-generating tourism activities. The move away from long-established agricultural practices heightens vulnerability to outside forces, rendering mountain communities less sustainable as they lose self-sufficiency and become more vulnerable to outside forces, such as the market or political instability. In addition to the temptation to transition to money-based economic activities as a sign of status, visitor expectations and judgments can make tourism seem incompatible with practices like grazing. That is, visitors may arrive with the expectation of a natural wilderness experience without having learned to recognize the importance of and cultural values connected to diversified economic approaches.

For example, in the Lanzo Valley of Italy, agro-pastoralism at the family farm level has been practiced for centuries as a livelihood strategy. It is deeply integrated into the culture and is important to managing ecological functions such as regulating water supply and soil erosion control. In this area, the newer tourism industry is seen as competition with and a threat to these

traditional practices. Genovese et al. (2017) make the case that “agri-tourism could represent an innovative strategy for family farms” by “diversify[ing] their business,” instead creating an appeal to stay in the mountains through the integration of new economic activities (4). They argue that “the coexistence of primary and tourist activities...[promotes] the sustainability of the whole territory” (ibid: 13). In many cases, however, this unreconciled tension presents yet another barrier to the sustainability of tourism, as tourism is most sustainable when it is part of a host of livelihood strategies, rather than sole reliance on it.

Another tangible barrier to sustainable tourism in mountain areas is their ecological fragility. Because of geological and climatological factors, such as “steep topography, altitude, geology, and climate extremes,” mountain environments are particularly susceptible to damage by the overuse that often accompanies tourism ventures (Sanjay & Chipeniuk, 2005: 319). Furthermore, with a spike in interest in mountain-specific recreation activities, it is problematic that “the control and management of them are more the exception than the rule” (ibid: 319). This presents an example of how the development side of tourism and recreation is prioritized over the conservation side, which is an irony since these fragile environments must be protected from overuse to ensure the sustainability of the recreation and tourism activities into the future.

Climate change impacts are already affecting mountain areas (Beniston, 2003; Weaver, 2011), and these present a number of barriers to the long-term sustainability of tourism. These impacts can influence visitor experience, ecosystem services relied upon by host communities, and seasonality of visitation. In glaciated and snow-dominated alpine systems, higher temperatures accelerate the hydrologic cycle, which leads to increased flow volume of spring runoff (Barnett, 2005; Beniston, 2003). Tourist attractions like hiking and backpacking can be negatively impacted by this shift, as rivers become more dangerous or impossible for the average

recreationist to cross. Furthermore, as glaciers melt and snow accumulation potential decreases, so does the capacity of mountain environments to store freshwater (Beniston, 2003; Barnett, 2005; Kundzewisc et al., 2008). Many mountain communities (as well as lowland areas) depend on meltwater runoff as their primary source of freshwater (Beniston et al., 2014). Threatened reliability of access to freshwater resources will impact host communities, and the severity of water shortages could be intensified by added demand from tourists. Climate change also shifts patterns in seasonality, decreases snow cover, and increases the frequency of extreme weather events. All of these can “become the decisive factors responsible for the instability of development of many tourism destinations in the world” (Mika, 2015: 14), as some destinations lose their appeal to tourists or the times when people will visit become less predictable.

Finally, air travel and its contribution to climate change is a major barrier to sustainability in tourism. Airplanes emit huge amounts of greenhouse gases, and travel by planes often comprises a single person’s greatest direct contribution to climate change. In light of this, there is absolutely nothing sustainable about an industry that relies on air travel for visitors to reach destinations (Fletcher, 2011). This is a physical barrier that edges on being a conceptual one, due to the fundamental contradiction of dependence on an unsustainable form of travel to connect tourists to destinations.

This section highlights the extensive barriers inhibiting sustainable tourism from attaining the objectives of the imagined ideal. It is important to note, however, that a rich commentary exists in the literature about reframing sustainable tourism to be more practical, more relevant, less contradictory, and more fitting for the globalized challenges and complexities of today. Reimagining the objectives and underpinnings of sustainable tourism is important to defining realistic expectations for outcomes, what constitutes success, and how, despite challenges,

sustainable tourism still might be a means towards improving quality of life for mountain people in the future (McCool & Bosak, 2016). The following section explores some ways to operationalize the promotion of benefits from protected area tourism development to communities, despite the shortcomings and challenges.

Overcoming Barriers to Sustainable Tourism

Benefits to surrounding communities are most likely to materialize when policy-makers involve residents in visioning and planning processes, and when people have ownership in the process and the option to dictate what their involvement with industry will look like (Eagles et al., 2002; Snyman, 2016; Hübner et. al., 2014; Mowforth & Munt, 2016). For example, an increase in visitation to a protected area may create more demand for services, but this does not automatically equate to economic development for local residents. To harness an opportunity for entrepreneurship, first, a resident must be aware it exists. Next, he or she must be interested in pursuing it; finally, he or she must have the training, capacity, and support to establish a business (Selby et. al., 2011). Local policies and planning also determine the capacity of locals to harness opportunities (ibid). If a local community, which is often heterogeneous in culture, values, and backgrounds, comes together to create a representative, unified vision for how the tourism industry should develop in or around their home or destination, the vision is more likely to be translated into proactive actions that reflect the needs and desires of that community.

In addition to meaningful participation in visioning and planning from local communities, for protected area tourism to achieve its potential in contributing to sustainable local development, managers must balance conservation objectives with providing opportunities for visitor use. Protected area tourism relies on visitor use, even though it has negative ecological

impacts that must be managed and mitigated (D'Antonio et al., 2013). Managers use indicators to set standards for “minimum acceptable conditions,” and these quantifiable “trigger points” or “thresholds” alert managers to unacceptable conditions (Manning & Freimund, 2004: 558; Monz, et al. 2010; NPS Visitor Use Monitoring). When a threshold or trigger point is reached, managers initiate previously planned actions to restore the condition to an acceptable level (NPS Visitor Use Monitoring), in order to sustain visitor use while also protecting natural resources. Because protected areas are complex socio-ecological systems with interacting “political, institutional, environmental, and social and economic challenges and opportunities,” the methodological approaches that will most effectively inform management about how to plan for diverse objectives must also be inclusive and multidisciplinary (McCool & Spenceley, 2014).

Pederson (2016) points out that cases in which tourist development players explicitly design and structure plans to unite economic and community welfare objectives are lacking. While the emergence of benefits to a local community may accompany a thriving tourism sector, plans are deficient in standards intended to ensure that, for example, “information produced for visitors on local and neighboring cultural attractions...[is] also used in schools to educate local students,” or that “planning the access roads to and from the tourist attraction so that they [will] serve diverse local community needs” (ibid: 51). Considering how to unite these efforts highlights an area of opportunity for how to better extend the benefits of protected area tourism to surrounding communities.

Resident perceptions of the positive and negative impacts are of utmost importance to sustainable tourism development because how people perceive a situation determines how they interpret and react to it. Models and typologies that categorize the attitudes of residents at different stages of tourist development are useful in assessing how a community experiences

tourism. One of these is the *Irridez Model*, which “is used to define attitudes of residents resulting from social impacts in a destination community” (Harroll, 2004: 256). It outlines stages of euphoria, apathy, annoyance, and antagonism, starting from the beginning phases when adventurous travelers begin to visit a place but before infrastructure or amenities develop, to a “final phase” of mass tourism in which “residents no longer welcome tourists and may exhibit behaviors ranging from indifference to hostility” (ibid: 256). While not all communities necessarily follow this path, identifying where in the process a place is could help planners or policy-makers implement regulations that would divert the development from continuing to the less desirable phases. Around Cerro Castillo, for example, most hope to avoid reaching the “antagonism” phase, instead steering the development of tourism to a socially, economically, and environmentally sustainable trajectory.

In addition to meaningful participation from locals, careful infrastructure planning by park managers, and valuing residents’ perceptions and preferences, McCool (2016) suggests a new mental model of sustainable tourism. This model recognizes that searching for a harmonious balance among social, environmental, and economic factors is an idealized, romanticized, and incomplete way to consider its potential. Instead, we must embrace and expect uncertainty and surprises, as well as think critically about potential influences that each intervention or action may have on the socioecological system as a whole. By expecting uncertainty, integrating adaptive planning measures, and viewing the impacts of tourism from a perspective of socioecological systems thinking, strides can be made towards “reframing conventional notions of sustainable tourism to something more useful and appropriate” (McCool, 2016: 3).

Conclusion

To better understand these dynamics and how to promote the positive potential of sustainable tourism, it is critical to research how local residents perceive changes connected to tourism at different stages of development. Cerro Castillo National Reserve is a uniquely interesting place for such a case study for a few reasons: visitation there is rapidly increasing, but it's still in the early stages in which planning could shape the future of development, and protected area managers and many local residents are acutely aware and critical of both the positive and negative impacts connected to these changes. Though contradictions still exist when considering the viability of sustainable tourism development as a save-all solution, this industry does have the potential to be less harmful to the environment than extractive industries like mining. Protecting natural resources and biodiversity from the impacts of increased tourism visitation will require thoughtful planning. Understanding how stakeholders and managers perceive the ways tourism influences a protected area and surrounding communities at a site that is in the early- to middle- stages of tourism development can contribute to a better understanding of how to promote sustainable tourism development in protected areas.

Chapter IV—Methods

Social science research is key for parks and tourism management, particularly as protected area mandates have trended towards extending beyond ecological conservation objectives to include social and economic development goals (Laven et al., 2015). As increasing visitation to Cerro Castillo catalyzes changes in some of the surrounding communities, it is important for park planners and managers to understand how local residents and other stakeholders perceive the current and potential impacts. Because tourism has the potential to influence and to reshape social, economic, and environmental norms, and because the success of sustainable tourism depends on the support of local residents, it is important to explore their perceptions in a way where they can influence policy and management.

My research objective was: *to understand local perceptions of changing patterns of tourism visitation in Cerro Castillo National Reserve and the actual and potential impacts in the Reserve's zone of influence in order to inform the management planning process.* To address this question, I developed the following overarching research question, followed by a series of sub-questions designed to delve into specific aspects of perceptions of change.

- 1) How is increased tourist visitation impacting the lives of people in communities surrounding Cerro Castillo National Reserve (positively and/or negatively)?
 - a. How do people perceive *social* changes in Cerro Castillo National Reserve's zone of influence?
 - b. How do people perceive *ecological* changes in Cerro Castillo National Reserve (and the zone of influence)?
 - c. How do people perceive *economic* changes in Cerro Castillo National Reserve's zone of influence?

The nature of these questions led me to devise qualitative methods, which was the most appropriate way to design an exploratory study about perceptions of a situation layered with many perspectives, narratives, and influences. Creswell (2014) explains that “those who engage in this form of inquiry support a way of looking at research that honors an inductive style, a focus on individual meaning, and the importance of rendering the complexity of a situation” (4). I did not have a hypothesis to test; rather, I wanted to understand people’s lives and livelihoods as they relate to tourism development and conservation policy. To do this, my methodology incorporated participant observation, key informant interviews, semi-structured interviews, and focus groups. I gathered information from different stakeholder groups, including local residents all around the Reserve, tourism practitioners, CONAF employees and park rangers, and representatives from non-profit organizations. Interview and focus group scripts varied slightly among groups. See appendices for the scripts.

Before leaving for Chile, I developed a proposal about perceptions of change connected to increasing tourist visitation in Aysén, but my process for finalizing this proposal was a bit non-traditional because I was determined to create an applied research project that would inform management planning or policy. When I arrived in Coyhaique, I started working as a graduate student researcher with a research center called the Center for Patagonian Ecosystem Research (CIEP) on a project commissioned by CONAF to create Public Use Plans (PUPs) for Coyhaique National Reserve, Río Simpson National Reserve, and Cerro Castillo National Reserve. Funding for the PUPs came from the Special Plan for Development of Extreme Zones (PEZDE, Plan Especial de Desarrollo de Zonas Extremas), a program that funds projects that seek to reduce existing inequities in living standards between Aysén and the rest of the country. The regional government has promoted protected area tourism as a strategy for sustainable development, and

as visitation has increased, the need for strategic planning to ensure the protection of these places and continued economic development opportunity came to light. CONAF contracted CIEP to create six of these plans due to their lack of institutional capacity to complete them on their own.

For my first few months in Coyhaique, I worked with a team of CIEP researchers on the planning processes for Coyhaique National Reserve and Rio Simpson National Reserve. This created time and space for me to learn more about the region, cultural dynamics, and park policy. I also became familiar with the planning process, which enabled me to design my thesis methods in a way that would be compatible with and beneficial to the PUP for Cerro Castillo National Reserve.

This period of immersion was an informal form of participant observation. Participant observation is a qualitative research method in which the researcher is inserted into a community, and his or her interactions and lived experiences enable him or her to procure an understanding of insider viewpoints and perspectives, human experiences, and social phenomena. The researcher's extended presence in an area enables him or her to earn the trust of the community, which can lead to a more honest and comprehensive understanding of the subtle complexities of the context being studied. Two main strategies within this method that I employed included direct observation and casual, informal conversations (Singleton and Straits, 2010). This immersion or participant observation was an important component of my project because of the complicated web of dynamics, stakeholders, forces, and scales implicated in the research questions. The knowledge and understanding I gained before directly starting to collect data prepared me to ask better follow-up questions in interviews, since I understood more subtle references and context-specific conditions, and it also aided me in contextualizing comments in

the analysis process. It also enabled me to determine where in the planning process my research interests were most compatible in order to develop an applied project.

For the planning process for Cerro Castillo, I worked primarily on two sections: visitor experience and public participation. I designed a survey to gather data about visitor experience, which included questions about how visitors experienced access points, crowding, trash, and trail conditions, and I coordinated a group of six undergraduate student interns who implemented the survey in different areas of the park. While this data does not directly inform my thesis, the process familiarized me with the Reserve, which was helpful in conceptualizing the whole situation and in building relationships with park managers and tourism operators.

The public engagement plan is the section where I identified the most overlap with the questions I wanted to explore. The objective of public participation was to gather input from local and regional stakeholders about public use in the Reserve, which overlapped with my interest in understanding how increasing visitation to the area impacted surrounding communities. With support from the research team, I designed interview scripts met the goals of the plan, and they were flexible in allowing me to include questions that extended beyond the scope of the plan, as well.

In order to gather this information, we organized focus groups and household or individual interviews. Because the community is small enough to actually identify all of the stakeholders, the research team collaborated to make a long list, and everyone was invited to participate. We considered stakeholders to be local residents (with an emphasis on adjacent landowners), tourism operators, conservationists, recreationalists, and government or non-profit employees working on projects related to the Reserve. Any community member with an interest in participating was welcome to, even if they had not been directly invited. We specifically

followed up with influential actors and people who own land adjacent to the Reserve to encourage their participation. We invited people to participate by phone, email, paper flyers, radio announcements, and in-person.

The focus groups were held in Coyhaique (1) and Villa Cerro Castillo (2). Coyhaique is the regional capital and a headquarters for government professionals and tourism operators, as well as home to many recreationalists, and eight stakeholders participated. It was held in a meeting room at the CIEP office. Villa Cerro Castillo is the main gateway community, and this town of 400 people has emerged as a center of tourism development, with a few of the most popular trailheads beginning near the town center. A high concentration of stakeholders either live there or nearby, making it a clear choice for a place to prioritize outreach efforts. We organized two focus groups there: one was specifically designed for a group of three key informants developing concession agreements with CONAF, all of whom are influential actors in tourism in the town. This was held in one of their *quinchos*, or rustic cabins near one of the main trailheads. The other was open to all interested stakeholders, and eight people attended. This was held at the community center in town. The total number of participants in focus groups was 19.

Focus groups provided an efficient way to gather a lot of information from many people in a relatively short period of time, which was an important condition for the planning process. They are useful when trying to understand “the range of ideas or feelings that people have about something,” and “to uncover factors that influence opinions, behavior, or motivation” (Krueger & Casey, 2009: 19). It also enabled the exploration of “related but unanticipated topics as they [arose] in the course of the group’s discussion,” which was of particular interest as we sought to learn about the different perceptions and perspectives, and how they intersected and deviated

from one another (Berg, 2007: 148). These conversations highlighted areas of conflict and areas of shared interests in a way that would not have surfaced in individual interviews.

To capture information from stakeholders living in more remote areas, individual or household interviews provided the most practical approach. The “backside” boundary of the Reserve aligns with the properties of many landowning families. Accessing these places is slow, requiring navigation of rough dirt roads, and getting all of these people to the same place for a meeting would have required more hours in a car than was reasonable to request. The focus group and interview questions differed slightly but addressed the same range of topics. I conducted seven semi-structured interviews with a total of ten people. Some were individual, and in some, I interviewed married couples or siblings. These were primarily at people’s homes but in a few cases at offices or an alternate meeting place identified by the interviewee. These interviews followed a set of predetermined questions designed to obtain information about specific topics, while also allowing the interviewer the flexibility to follow up with probe questions or new ones altogether (Singleton and Straits, 2010). This is an appropriate technique for research about perceptions of change because the open-ended questions provide space for people to offer information the researcher may not know to ask about and to explain more completely their viewpoints about complex issues (Botterill & Platenkamp, 2012).

The third component of my methods was independent of the planning process. I conducted semi-structured key informant interviews with three protected area managers at both the regional and park levels. Since this occurred at the end of my stay in Coyhaique, my involvement in other plans and other parts of the CCNR plan enabled me to form connections and comfortable working relationships with regional CONAF staff, while also gaining a deeper understanding of protected area governance and locally relevant issues related to public lands. In

total, between the focus groups and two interview processes, I gathered data from 32 participants.

Lastly, an extensive period of participant observation prior to beginning research was integral to gaining trust and getting to know the context. Though I lived in Coyhaique, I spent much of my free time in and around CCNR climbing, hiking, and backpacking. This helped me build relationships with stakeholders and learn more about the Villa Cerro Castillo community.

Integrating my thesis with the planning process expanded the scale and depth of information I incorporated. My work with CIEP not only introduced me to stakeholders, but also enabled me to develop relationships with them. It associated me to a recognized local institution, which legitimized my presence in introductions with interviewees, particularly helpful as an outsider asking about how people perceive the ways outsiders are changing their place. This approach, however, was not without shortcomings. For all the doors it opened and people it connected me with, from an academic perspective, the focus on the needs of the plan compromised the quality of the research at times.

Sometimes it was out of my control that questions shifted some between focus groups. The interviews and focus groups were designed to be semi-structured, but some varied more than planned. Had my thesis project been independent, the scope of the questions would have been narrower and more focused, rather than including elements that did not specifically address my research questions. While a more narrowly focused set of interview questions would have led to many fewer hours spent transcribing and coding data, relevant pieces of information surfaced in questions that I would not have asked had it not been for the plan. I also benefitted immensely from the connections shared with me through CIEP, as well as the legitimacy my association with CIEP generated with interviewees. Moreover, it is likely that participating in a planning

process compelled people to feel that the time they spent providing information was more important or valid than if they had been talking with a random master's student from a faraway country. Overall, the approach of integrating my project with the planning process added more than it subtracted, and the data fed directly into the writing of the plan.

Back in Montana, I transcribed the audio recordings from the interviews and focus groups. This tedious process familiarized me with the data. I uploaded the documents into the qualitative data analysis software NVIVO. Qualitative software programs are useful in organizing content thematically, as “they help researchers organize, sort, and search for information in the text” (Creswell, 2014: 195). Transcript by transcript, I read through all of the text in NVIVO and assigned a code or codes to each piece of information. This generated 349 individual codes, including “access closed because of family drama,” “anti-outsider sentiment,” “category change- inconsistency with park definition,” “glacial recession,” “grazing-incompatible with *huemul* conservation,” “people from outside buying land,” “social change-youth leaving,” “tourism- as economic development,” “vision for future- work in tourism year-round,” and “visitor use- bad trail conditions.” The next step in the analysis process was to “winnow” the data, or “to aggregate data into a small number of themes” (ibid: 194). This involved sorting the codes into categories, revisiting the text coded into each, and eventually reaching the final 11 categorical themes, which are presented in the results section.

Chapter V—Results

Results yielded eleven categorical themes about perceptions of social, ecological, and economic change in RNCC’s zone of influence. These are: Issues of Physical Access or Barriers to Entering the Reserve (1), Change in Status of Protected Area Category (2), Climate Change (3), Increasing Visitation (4), Undeveloped State of the Tourism Industry (5), Desire for Local Character of Development (6), Interest in Tourism Development—or Not (7), Grazing as a Cultural Symbol (8), Demographic Changes (9), Ideal Vision for the Future of the Reserve (10), and Aversion to Outsiders (11). Each of these categories addresses perceptions of social, ecological, and economic change. I did not divide each category into sub-sections (social, ecological, and economic) because many of the quotes touch on implications that would be categorized as social and economic, or social and ecological, or all three. I describe each category in detail below, with quotes from data collection presented in both English and Spanish.

Issues of Physical Access or Barriers to Entering the Reserve (1)

RNCC is an island of public land encircled by private property. The Carretera Austral, the highway that runs north to south through the Aysén region, juts through the middle of the park, yet the access to all major trailheads requires crossing through private property (Laguna Castillo, Neozelandés, Las Horquetas, and Monreal). Landowners, therefore, possess control over who can reach these trails, and, periodically, they deny access to hikers. Because the trekking is one of the primary draws to the area, such uncertainty connected to inconsistently granted access threatens the development of the tourism industry. Each of the primary four trailheads has its own story, described below.

“One of the principal problems the Reserve has is that many of the accesses are in private hands; for example, just like the case of the old grazing routes that later became the Sendero de Chile,

today the main accesses are closed... therefore, the people come, especially tourists who like trekking, they have maps where the Sendero de Chile appears then they are going to find places fenced off, they find they cannot continue their passage. And they try, jumping over the fence, then a caretaker arrives and throws them out. These are pretty complex situations that leave us all in a bad spot.”

“Unos de los principales problemas que tiene la Reserva es que muchos accesos están en manos de privados; por ejemplo, como el mismo caso de las antiguas huellas para las granadas y que después se transformó en el sendero de Chile, hoy día están clausurados sus principales accesos... entonces, la gente viene, sobre todo turistas que les gusta el trekking, tienen mapas donde está sendero de Chile entonces van a haber lugares que se encuentran con tranquera, se encuentran que no pueden seguir su paso. Y si se internan, saltando la tranquera, llega un cuidador y los echa. Entonces son situaciones bastante complejas y que nos dejan mal a todos.”

While recreation in the Reserve, and the economic development in tourism based on it, are constrained by restricted, uncertain, or a lack of access, ironically, the Reserve is simultaneously subject to threats generated from too much open, uncontrolled access along the Carretera Austral. These include ecological threats to flora and fauna, as well as hazards to visitors themselves. For example, people deposit trash along the highway, camp in undesignated sites with no infrastructure, and cars hit wildlife. In winter, access to a high mountain environment for backcountry skiing and ski mountaineering is easy and direct, meaning people who may not have the skills or expertise to safely explore such terrain can end up in danger.

“So for us, the principal threat is the issue of users of the highway, since it is highway- I have a doubt about if it’s a highway or a trail of penetration or a road, I don’t know, but according to the legislation, it says one can go up to a hundred twenty kilometers on highways in Chile, so people pass through really fast here, the road has many curves, then you find a *huemul*, a fox, a bird, whatever there in a curve, and you can’t manage to react and you run it over.”

“Entonces para nosotros, la principal amenaza es el tema de que los usuarios de la carretera corren bastante, como es carretera- tengo duda si es carretera o es senda de penetración o un

camino, no sé, pero según la legislación, dicen que puede correr hasta ciento veinte kilómetros en carretera en Chile, entonces la gente pasa muy rápido allí, el camino tiene bastante curvas, entonces te encuentras un huemul, un zorro, un ave, lo que sea allí en una curva, y no alcanzas reaccionar y atropellas.”

Sendero Laguna Castillo—Castle Lagoon Trail

This 6.5 km trail is the most popular day hike in RNCC. The trailhead starts in the town of Villa Cerro Castillo, then enters private property for a few kilometers of trekking before entering the Reserve. Hikers are rewarded with an excellent panoramic view of the Río Ibáñez Valley, and the destination is an overlook viewpoint above the bright turquoise lake, backdropped by a hanging glacier that clings to the namesake mountain of the Reserve, Cerro Castillo. A few different tourism operators offer horseback rides on the portion of the trail on private land, and then customers hike to the overlook.

Currently, the entrance to this trailhead is operated by a concessionaire, who has a two-year contract with CONAF. They collect entrance fees to the Reserve in a small hut and are responsible for maintaining the trail and existing infrastructure (trail signs). At present, this entrance is the only one that is consistently staffed to collect entrance fees.

About four years ago, the trailhead was closed for two years, which illustrates the problem of inconsistent access. The current concessionaire and other tourism operators in Villa Cerro Castillo banded together to negotiate an agreement with the landowner, in which they collectively pay a seasonal fee for right to passage. However, this is a temporary solution subject to the whims of the landowning family. CONAF has discussed the option of purchasing “una franja,” or a stripe, of land, but the landowner is only interested in selling the land in its entirety, which is a chunk too large and at too high a premium to be an affordable option for the government to purchase.

“And Garcia [the landowner], why don't they buy or expropriate a stripe there?”

“Because as far as I know, the negotiation with him, he has a large landholding; huge. He wants much more than that and he only wants to sell all or nothing.”

“Y a García, ¿por qué no le compran o le expropian ahí una franja?”

“Porque hasta donde yo sé, la negociación con él, tiene un previo grande; grandote. Quiere mucho más que eso y él quiere vender todo o nada.”

—

“He doesn't want to sell parts but wants to sell all. He wants to sell this, and he wants to sell the other land he has elsewhere.”

“No quiere vender las partes sino que lo quiere vender todo. Él quiere vender esto, y quiere vender otros campos que tiene por otros lados.”

—

“In the end, it's always going to be a threat because Jorge has a two year agreement, I think. It's a threat because if the landowner dies, who said that, and who said this. Sometimes [the agreements] continues, other times they don't.”

“En el fondo, siempre va a ser una amenaza porque Jorge tiene un compromiso por dos años, me parece. Es una amenaza porque fallece el dueño, quien lo dijo, y lo dijo. A veces siguen, otras veces no siguen.”

From CONAF's perspective, purchasing just a sliver of land for passage, instead of an entire property, would actually benefit adjacent landowners in the long-term by enabling them to take advantage of their position adjacent to a major tourist attraction.

“Because we're just talking about a strip. We aren't talking about buying all of the land. We're talking about a strip of passage. They would stay with their land on all sides and we all know that private land next to a protected area is evaluated much higher. And especially if there's tourist movement. And I think that Cerro Castillo National Reserve is one of the protected areas that has tremendous potential and projection to the future in this sense.”

“Porque estamos hablando de una franja. No estamos hablando de comprar el campo completo. Estamos hablando de una franja de servidumbre. Quedarían con su campo al lado y todos sabemos que un predio particular al lado de un área silvestre se evalúa mucho más. Y sobre todo si hay movimiento turístico. Y yo creo que la Reserva Nacional Cerro Castillo es una de las áreas silvestres que tiene un tremendo potencial y proyección a futuro en ese sentido.”

Sendero Montreal

This is a trailhead for multi-day expeditions. The access is currently closed, but it has been used in the past for both commercially guided and independent backpacking trips. The trail starts on private property, where it meanders through working landscapes for 2km before entering the Reserve. After the landowner's death, he subdivided the property laterally among his six children. This means trekkers now must cross through six different properties in those first 2km, instead of just one. There is no alternate entrance to this sector, nor is there an obvious location to build a different trail that would avoid these properties, due to constraints in road position, geography (e.g., steep lakeside terrain), and private property.

I requested interviews from these landowners, and they were the only ones to say no in the whole process. Neighbors, CONAF employees, and others explained the situation in other interviews. The most common story is that the access is currently closed because of interfamilial conflict, wherein feuding siblings close the access off to spite one another. Another interviewee suggested that some of the siblings wanted to close the access because trekkers mistreated their land by camping on it, making campfires, and threatening their sheep herds, instead of just passing straight through to the Reserve. Another speculated that, perhaps, they want to start working in tourism, monopolizing this access point for guided trips of their own and denying others the opportunity.

A (not widespread) rumored conspiracy theory speculates that one of the six landowners, along with one of the landowners in the Las Horquetas corridor, who are related by marriage, plot to coordinate a closure of both entrances as a token with which to manipulate the government into purchasing their land at an inflated price. Having both of these entrances closed would dramatically reduce recreation options in the RNCC, particularly for through-hike backpacking excursions.

“The gentleman...made the succession to his children and divided the land horizontally, between various children and so. Therefore, they cut it and now you have to cross not only one piece of property but like six, so then one, two you cross, the others no.”

“El caballero...hizo la sucesión a sus hijos y dividió horizontalmente el terreno, entre varios hijos y así. Entonces, cortaron y ahora no hay que atravesar solamente un particular sino que como seis, entonces ya uno, dos los atraviesas, los otros no.”

—

“They had personal problems with a brother-in-law, with the widow of my other cousin, and they started to have problems between them, and she decided to close it off to him. But by closing him out, she also closed out the rest and harmed her other sister, my aunt, who has her land there. And so now, they do have the key to the lock, but people cannot pass because of the lock.”

“Ellos tuvieron un problema personal con un cuñado, con el viudo de mi otra prima, y empezaron a tener problemas entre ellos, y ella decidió cerrarle. Pero al cerrarle a él le cerró al resto y perjudicó a la otra hermana de ella, a mi tía Adriana, tiene su campo acá. Entonces ahora ellos sí tienen llave del candado, pero la gente no puede pasar porque está con candado.”

—

“The owner said he could not make income from these places, because he felt harmed. Now, why did he feel harmed? Maybe it was because his land literally bordered the national Reserve. So sometimes his animals would cross into the Reserve, and someone denounced to CONAF that

there were animals, CONAF came and scolded him, then he did not like that. So what they did, they opted, 'you know what, nobody else comes in and with that I live quietly, throw them out, of course, well.' Nobody goes there... The future is that if certain people who closed Montreal see that there is a benefit in the other sectors, either from Ibañez, or from the side of Cerro Castillo, clearly the time will come when they will enter to negotiate and find a way for them to profit. But as long as it is private and there is nothing concrete, it is not very responsible for a company to offer services from this place if there isn't anything signed and they haven't given you a guarantee that you can generate a product in years. Maybe one day the owner can tell you: 'okay, you can pass,' but the next day when I return he says no, and maybe I'll be with clients, who come from other parts of the world to cross, and this guy comes out and says no."

"El dueño dijo que no podía hacer ingresos a esos lugares, porque se sentía perjudicado. Ahora, ¿por qué se sentía perjudicado? Tal vez era por porque su campo limita literalmente con la Reserve nacional. Entonces a veces sus animales se cruzan para lar Reserve, y uno denunciaba a CONAF que habían animales, CONAF llegaba y lo reprendía, entonces no le gustaba eso. Entonces lo que hicieron, optaron, '¿sabes qué? No entra nadie más y con eso yo vivo tranquilo, echan para allá, claro, bien.' Nadie va para allá... El futuro es que si ciertas personas que cerraron Montreal ven que hay un beneficio en los otros sectores, ya sea de Ibañez, o sea del lado de Cerro Castillo, claramente va a llegar el momento en que van a entrar a negociar y buscar una manera de que ellos puedan ganar. Pero mientras sea particular y no haya nada en concreto, es como poco responsable de una empresa ofrecer servicios desde ese lugar si no hay nada firmado y que te de una garantía de que puedes generar un producto en años. Tal vez un día te puede decir el dueño: 'Ya pase,' pero mañana cuando yo vuelva me dice que no, y a lo mejor ya voy a estar con gente comprometida, que viene de otras partes del mundo para cruzar, y el tipo me sale con que no."

Las Horquetas

This is another trailhead for multi-day expeditions, requiring passage through a 14km corridor of private land on an old logging road. The area is actively used for sheep and cattle grazing, and trekkers cross through a number of different gates in fences along the route. Any of these landowners could close a section at any time, denying passage to people trying to reach the

Reserve. A potential concessionaire is in negotiations with CONAF for a contract to operate and to oversee this entrance to the Reserve.

Neozelandés

This trail can be hiked as a day-hike, overnight, or connected to a multi-day expedition. When I hiked here in February 2017, the access was technically closed, and I crawled under a fence and past a sign that read “passage prohibited.” No trail signs marked where to go, and I meandered through private property to reach the Reserve boundary.



Figure 6 (Left): View towards the trail from the public road with sign that reads “Private Property, Do Not Enter,” “*Recinto Privado, No Entrar*”

Figure 7 (Right): A friend crawls under the fence near this sign after we backpacked in the Neozelandés valley

A *poblador* from Villa Cerro Castillo recently purchased land here that spans from the public road to the Reserve. He has a concession agreement with CONAF and plans to open this access officially for the 2018 tourist season. While this means the access should be open in the short-term, the agreement is based in personal relationships that could change at any time.

Lago La Paloma

This access is currently closed and mysterious. It was used historically as a grazing route but has not been used much for trekking. A private landowner is rumored to be developing mountain bike trails on his land, which could eventually connect to the Reserve as a new area of public use and access. Most of the information about these trails is speculation.

“And here the other problem, it’s the other trail one can do, it’s spectacular for trekking, for horseback-riding too, it’s all of this trail here, that was a historic path to take troops of animals. We would take out the troops of animals here, we would cross this drainage and go along the shore, we followed this canyon, and we continued here and exited at Lago La Paloma. There’s also a route the Pancho Villa has done, one year he went through here, too, to exit by Lago Desierto. But now, all of those lands, they were sold to the same foreign company, all of it is in the position of privates, of just one private... some say the real owner is Kenneth Dart*, a large company that has all of this bought up.”

*Kenneth Dart is a billionaire. He was born in the United States but is a citizen of the Cayman Islands, Belize, and Ireland.

“Y acá el otro problema, este es el otro sendero que uno puede hacer, incluso para trekking es espectacular, para cabalgata también, que es todo este sendero acá, que es la huella histórica para sacar los animales con tropas. Nosotros sacábamos a los animales por tropas por aquí, cruzábamos este desagüe íbamos por esta orilla, seguíamos este cañadón, seguíamos acá y salíamos al Lago La Paloma. Incluso hay una carrera que ha hecho Pancho Villa, hubo un año que la hizo por aquí también, para salir hacia el Lago Desierto. Pero ahora todos estos terrenos, que fueron vendidos a una misma empresa extranjera, está todo esto en posición de privados, de un solo privado...Algunos dicen que el verdadero dueño es Kenneth Dart, es una empresa grande que tiene todo esto comprado”

—

“In fact, here they invested millions, in making a mountain circuit on both sides, and as you can see [we were looking at a map], they cleared the land, they took out all the trees, they didn’t leave anything.”

“De hecho, hicieron inversiones millonarias, como hacer un circuito de mountain bike en ambos lados, y como pueden ver ustedes, limpiaron totalmente el terreno, sacaron todos los árboles, no dejaron nada.”

Change in Status of Protected Area Category (2)

A range of differing opinions and speculations about the potential future change in the status of protected area category were evident. As a National Reserve, the mandate allows for the possibility of multiple uses, such as timber harvest and grazing. As a National Park, regulations are stricter and do not allow for these multiple uses. Some people staunchly oppose the re-categorization, others strongly support it, and many believe it would have both positive and negative effects.

“I think the issue of recategorizing as a park...for us it has some threats and some advantages.”

“Yo creo que el tema de que se recatalogue como parque...tiene para nosotros algunas amenazas y tiene algunas ventajas.”

—

“To be a park itself is already a plus, too, a touristic advantage. Because the Reserves are always given less importance because they are like small.”

“Ser parque en sí ya es un plus también, un plus turístico. Porque siempre a las Reservas como que le dan menos importancia porque son como pequeñas.”

Arguments in favor of RNCC becoming a park center around increased conservation potential, reducing vulnerability to pressures related to grazing, mining, and other potential uses. Some tourism operators also believe the change might elevate interest in visit RNCC, which would be beneficial for their businesses. Many in this camp, however, also view the shift with

hesitation due to the lack of communication about concrete implications or any form of public engagement.

“The truth is, I see it as an opportunity, because increasing the type of protection on public land is always good. But at the same time, we know nothing about the plans, and we are the principal people that are using the Reserve.”

“La verdad, yo lo veo como oportunidad, porque siempre aumentando el tipo de protección de un camino público es bueno. Pero en la misma forma, nosotros no sabemos nada de los planes, y nosotros somos la gente principal que estamos usando la Reserva.”

Others expressed neutral responses to the possible change. This perspective suggests that little will actually change in practice, because the RNCC is already managed as a national park in many ways. In practice, only a few grazers would actually be impacted, and people would be more upset about the symbolic loss of access to grazing land than actual loss of access to land that they currently use.

Some respondents explained that a category change would be inconsistent with the legal definition of a national park in Chile because of the prevalence of invasive pine stands, as well as the presence of the Carretera Austral bisecting the Reserve. People of this mindset suggested that a category change could not happen since the area does not fit the legal standard.

"The issue is that with the legislation we have today, neither Castillo, nor Jeinimeni, nor Tamango could be national parks, mainly because we have exotic plantations within these protected areas. And in a national park, due to the condition that it must have for the park category, they do not fit into that category. "

“El tema es que con la legislación que tenemos hoy día Castillo, ni Jeinimeni, ni Tamango podrían ser parques nacionales, principalmente porque tenemos plantaciones exóticas dentro de estas áreas protegidas. Y en un parque nacional, por la condición que tiene que tener para categoría parque no caben dentro de esa categoría.”

—

“Look, I would be embarrassed, I would be ashamed as a local, as I say, I was born and raised here, that Cerro Castillo as it is, is not the same as a park, with the mask that the Cerro Castillo Reserve has. Why? Because all the north zone has I do not know how many thousand hectares of pine, which is an introduced species, that is not ours. And let's say we put Cerro Castillo as a park—first pine park? That is, what insanity is some conservationist going to say? They're going to say: 'what insanity the one who made it-- how stubborn.'”

“Mira, yo me avergonzaría, me avergonzaría como local, como siendo así que digo, soy nacido y criado aquí, que Cerro Castillo no es los mismos parques como está, con la careta que tiene la Reserva Cerro Castillo. ¿Por qué?, Porque toda la zona norte tiene no sé cuantas mil hectáreas de pino, que es una especie introducida, o sea no es nuestro. Y pongámosle 'parque' a Cerro Castillo—¿primer parque de pinos? O sea, qué locura va a decir algún conservacionista, va a decir: 'qué locura le dio al que-- qué testarudo.'”

General uncertainty about what a change in protected area category status would look like in practice is common. Some expressed confusion about the distinction between Reserve and park, what is allowed in each, and which are present in the region. One man even explained that a mysterious “they” want to rename RNCC, clumping it into part of Parque Patagonia.

Other specifically oppose the re-categorization, largely because of loss of access to grazing land and historic *veranadas*. Some lament the loss of possibility to extract timber from the Reserve.

“At the beginning, you mentioned: I hope it doesn't become a park. What do you think about the possible change from Reserve to Park?”

“To a park? A park is more limited.”

“In what sense?”

“The truth is that all of this is still premature, I know that three, four, five, I don't know how many years are going to pass for it to become a park, because this part is newly appearing. I know that it is more limited, I believe this-- I don't really know, so as not to lie.”

“Yes, but just as your opinion?”

“Yes, but it is riskier than what there is now. The park demands more; so you have to know well in what sense it will give-- I think they will operate this at the level of purely concessions, the Park. And it's stricter, more-- in the Reserve there is more freedom.”

“Like to do things with animals? Are you referring to that?”

“No, things with-- CONAF already suppressed everything that was feeding pasture, the parts of the Reserve, so that's it-- but I know it is easier to work now how it is, and that when it is a Park, because a park is more limited in this sense. There is more control, there are more-- I don't know. But this is the opinion that I still have because I read it in a newspaper, nothing more. What is happening, there's a lot of desire-- it said: 'Park in Patagonia,' something like that. And are there parks here? Or it is all Reserves?”

“No, there are Parks, Laguna San Rafael is a Park, and Bernardo O'Higgins is also a Park.”

“Al principio mencionó: ‘Ojalá que no sea parque.’ ¿Qué cree del posible cambio de Reserva a parque?”

“¿A parque? Es más limitado el parque.”

“¿En qué sentido?”

“La verdad es que es todo tan prematuro todavía, yo sé que van a pasar tres, cuatro, cinco, no sé cuántos años para que sea parque, porque está recién apareciendo esa parte. Yo sé que es más limitado, creo que eso-- no conozco bien, para no mentir.”

“Sí, ¿pero como opinión nada más?”

“Sí, pero es más arriesgado que lo que hay ahora. El parque exige más; entonces hay que conocer bien en qué sentido te va a dar-- yo pienso que eso lo trabajarán a nivel de puras concesiones, el parque. Y es más estricto, más-- como Reserva hay más libertad.”

“¿Como para hacer cosas con animales? ¿A eso se refiere?”

“No, cosas con-- CONAF ya suprimió todo lo que era alimentación de pastoreo, las partes de las Reservas, así que eso está-- pero yo sé que es más fácil trabajar así ahora como está, que cuando sea parque, porque el parque es más limitado en ese sentido. Hay más control, hay más-- no sé. Pero esa es la opinión que tengo yo todavía porque yo lo leí en el diario no más. Qué va, hay muchas ganas que-- decía: ‘Parques en La Patagonia,’ algo así. ¿Y hay zonas de parque acá? O son todas Reservas?”

“No, hay parques, la Laguna de San Rafael es parque, y Bernardo O'Higgins también es parque.”

—

“Less protected areas, more productive areas.”

“Menos áreas protegidas, más áreas productivas.”

Park managers say little would change in practice because the Reserve is, in most ways, already managed as a Park. They are hopeful that an elevation in protection status from Reserve to Park would allocate more funding to them for management and oversight.

“The category change in Jeinimeini and in Cerro Castillo, and also Tamango National Reserve, are going to allow much more. But today, as I told you, these two and these three units are managed as a park.”

“El cambio de categoría tanto de Jeinimeini como de Cerro Castillo. Y también de la Reserva Nacional Tamango, van a permitir a lo mejor mucho más. Pero hoy día como te decía esas dos unidades y esas tres unidades se manejan como parque.”

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“This is an important point, today they already managed as a park in a certain sense. Of course, it will be more attractive from the point of view of marketing, but for me it’s marketing, more than something palpable, real, it’s marketing. This is not going to change much, hopefully it will change positively by assigning more human resources, resources to invest, I have the hope that it will be like that. I sincerely do not trust it will happen like this.”

“Ese es un punto clave, hoy día ya se manejan como parque en cierto sentido. Claro va a ser más atractivo desde el punto de vista de marketing, pero para mí es marketing, más que algo palpable, real, es marketing. Eso no va a cambiar mucho, ojalá cambien positivamente en una mayor asignación de recursos humanos, de recursos para invertir, yo tengo la esperanza de que eso así sea. Desconfió sí de que pueda suceder sinceramente.”

Climate Change (3)

When asked about ecological changes in the Reserve, the most common examples cited had to do with impacts of climate change. These included: glacial recession, changes in

precipitation patterns (less snowfall in winter; more rainfall in winter; drier summers), and higher spring runoff. These ecological changes have social and potential economic impacts, many of which are documented in the responses.

Travelers to Patagonia expect to see glaciers. Many of the most popular areas of the Reserve to visit are hanging glaciers above lakes of turquoise hues, caused by the refraction of light on glacial sediments. As these glaciers recede, and eventually disappear, will these places still be as popular with visitors? The glaciers also provide the primary drinking water source for surrounding towns. If population pressure continues to increase and the water source diminishes, this could lead to water supply shortages in the future.

“The hanging glaciers that there are there, are in a major retreat. Photographs that I took, I don’t know, in 2007, to photographs that I took last year, there is a difference, especially where Laguna Cerro Castillo is or in the El Bosque sector, yes, yes, or in El Peñón itself, where you have a glacier on the right that is super small, it’s not that it’s going to disappear in 20 years, but it’s much smaller and it’s going fast.”

“Que son los ventisqueros que hay ahí, están en un amplio retroceso. Fotografías que tomé, no sé, en el 2007, a fotografías que tomé el año pasado, hay una diferencia, ahí especialmente donde está la Laguna Cerro Castillo o en el sector El Bosque, sí, sí, o en El Peñón mismo, donde tú tienes un glaciar a mano derecha que está súper chico, no es que va a desaparecer en 20 años, pero está mucho más pequeño y va rápido.”

Respondents also reported changing patterns of precipitation, which included both less snowfall (and more rainfall) in winter, as well as drier summers. One operator horseback-riding tours highlighted the impact on tourism of this ecological change, explaining that the combination leads to dustier conditions in the summer, which negatively impacts the experience of riding horses and visitors complain.

“Yes, now we have so many changes in the climate, so many, in the sector where I live, every winter we were used to having 70, 80 centimeters of snow, every winter. At this time of year

[May, or late fall] we already had snow, and for the past two years we don't have snow, so this also influences a lot, the land influences us a lot because in the sector where we would do horseback-riding, the trail was marked, two years ago the ground broke because it was very dry. That didn't happen before, because the soil was always moist, the grass maintained itself the same, it was marked but didn't break, and now recently it broke, and dust rose in some parts...so this worries us, to maintain dampness, the parcel no, because many clients, they complain instantly.”

“Sí, ahora último tenemos hartos cambios de clima, hartos, en el sector donde yo vivo, estábamos acostumbrados nosotros todos los inviernos a tener 70, 80 centímetros de nieve, todos los inviernos. Este tiempo ya teníamos nieve, y hace dos años que ya no tenemos nieve, entonces eso igual nos influye a nosotros hartos, al terreno le influye bastante porque en el sector que nosotros hacíamos cabalgatas, el sendero se marcó, hace dos años rompió la champa porque está muy seco. Entonces antes no lo hacían, porque siempre el terreno estaba húmedo, el pasto se mantenía igual, marcaba pero no rompía, y ahora último si rompió, se levantaba polvo en algunas partes...entonces eso nos preocupaba a nosotros, de mantener húmedo, la parcela no, porque hay muchos clientes, reclaman al instante.”

Connected to higher temperatures and changing precipitation patterns is higher spring runoff, as warmer temperatures and more rain on snow weather events lead to peak surges in rivers. Many of the trails require river crossings without bridges, and quick increases in river runoff can leave people trapped on the other side unprepared until they subside, spotlighting the social impact of this ecological change.

“The rivers, the flood of the rivers, suddenly downpours come from the high mountains, and it happens that the rivers from the mountain ranges become impassable in three hours, you can't pass, this is something to consider...if you take food for only two days and the river increase forces you to be out another day and a half more, you barely have enough food.”

“Los ríos, la crecida de los ríos, de repente esos aguaceros de las altas montañas, pasa que los ríos de cordilleras en tres horas están incruzable, no se pueden pasar, eso es algo que considerar...si tú llevas comida para dos días y la crecida del río te permite estar otro día y medio más, estás demasiado justo con el tema alimentación.”

"Well you know that climate change is here to stay and the mountain ranges have suffered from the absence of snow. We used to have streams that go through my field that I would go in the morning and the oxen—I worked with oxen also, yeah, I am half *campesino*—and in the morning the oxen passed here at the knuckle of the leg, and in the afternoon when you wanted to cross, to the top. Why? Because the heat is increasing according to the level of the day, is not it? And in the afternoon the waters increased, and some started calling the streams the deceivers because they passed on horseback and could not return when they came back. Of course, it goes up a lot, there was a lot of accumulated snow, eternal snow, thaw, and streams went down. "

"Bueno usted sabe que el cambio climático llegó para quedarse y las cordilleras han sufrido la ausencia de nieve. Nosotros teníamos unos arroyos que pasan por mi campo que yo iba en la mañana y los bueyes—yo trabajaba con bueyes igual, si soy medio campesino—y el buey hasta el nudillo aquí de la patita para arriba pasaba en la mañana, y en la tarde cuando usted quería cruzaba hasta arriba. ¿Por qué? Porque el calor va aumentando de acuerdo de acuerdo al nivel del día ¿no es cierto? Y en la tarde aumentaban las aguas, y algunos le pusieron a algunos arroyos el engaño porque pasaban a caballo ya la vuelta no podían volver. Claro, sube mucho, había mucha nieve acumulada, nieves eternas, deshielos, y bajaban los arroyos."

An attitude of resignation to climate change is apparent in many responses, which is ironic considering the concurrent promotion of tourism as a path to sustainable development, since this industry is dependent on visitor air travel, which is a huge emissions source of greenhouse gases.

"But it's a matter of there not being anything to do, we are conscious of the criterion that global warming exists, but what can we do?, well, nothing."

"Pero es un tema de que no hay nada qué hacer, estamos en conciencia en criterios de que existe el calentamiento global, ¿pero qué vamos a hacer?, o sea nada."

“Well, climate changes, clearly, I believe there has been glacial recession, up high, but I don’t know if this can be tackled. I believe it’s already a natural part of the system now, that is change is already underway.”

“Bueno, el cambio climático, claramente, yo creo que hay retrocedimiento del glaciar, arriba, pero eso yo no sé si se puede atajar. Yo creo que eso ya es la parte natural del sistema, que ya va en marcha de este cambio.”

Increasing Visitation (4)

Interview responses corroborate the trends evident in CONAF’s RNCC visitation statistics, seconding an obvious increase in visitation in recent years. This is useful to document because CONAF’s records incomplete, failing to catch all visitors that enter since entrance stations are not consistently occupied throughout the year. The comments about increasing visitation extend beyond RNCC to Villa Cerro Castillo and the surrounding area. This category highlights social, economic, and ecological changes related to increasing visitation.

“But the quantity of visits has increased, every year it’s increasing, and it’s going to continue to increase; it’s because the attractiveness, there is a lot of dissemination, it is well-researched, SERNATUR promotes the region, for better or for worse, but they have done it...”

“Pero ha aumentado la cantidad de visitas, todos los años está aumentando, y va a seguir aumentando; es el tema de lo atractivo, hay harta difusión, se investigó harto, SERNATUR promociona la región, bien o mal, pero lo han hecho...”

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“Every year it is increasing more...this year... it was an impressive quantity of people. Here [in Villa Cerro Castillo], I don’t know, a bus used to bring people here maybe once a week. Today, sometimes it’s every day. So, there’s a tremendous amount of people.”

“Cada año va aumentando más... este año...era una cantidad de gente impresionante. Aquí, no sé, por los que traían a la gente puede ser que llegara un bus a la semana. Hoy día es diario a veces. Entonces, hay una cantidad de gente tremenda.”

Not only is there an increase in the number of visitors arriving, but there is also a diversification of the type of visitor that comes. In the past, it was most common for mountain-savvy adventurers to visit the area, and now, many more city-dwelling, unprepared visitors arrive. This generates ecological concerns as people unaccustomed to backcountry etiquette increasingly visit, as well as safety concerns for the visitors themselves.

“In the beginning, when we recently started to enter, very few people entered Castillo, and those those who entered were literally adventurers who were going to climb, and more than going for a trekking tour. There were very few people who could ski that we could find, those first years we never found anyone, so I'm talking about 2007, 2008, 2009. And later, I think they were making the trails with the groups we would pass, although the groups were quite sporadic, between December and January, it also happened that we literally marked the trails ourselves. So, we also went along making provisional bridges, like placing logs that were lying down, dead.”

“En un principio, cuando recién empezamos a entrar, era muy poca gente que entraba a Castillo, y los que entraban literalmente eran aventureros que iban a escalar, más que por ir a hacer una ruta turística de trekking. Eran muy contadas las personas que podían hacer esquí que nosotros podíamos encontrar, esos primeros años nunca encontramos a nadie, entonces estoy hablando de 2007, 2008, 2009. Y después, yo creo que los senderos se fueron haciendo con los grupos que pasábamos, y si bien eran grupos esporádicos, entre diciembre y enero, también pasaba de que nosotros marcábamos las sendas literalmente. Entonces, también íbamos haciendo puentes provisionarios, como poniendo troncos que estaban acostados, muertos.”

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“I would say that in 10 years I believe that we are going to need to have a greater quantity of service providers within the Reserve and with the principal objective to protect the experience and safety of visitors. It's mainly those two elements that are coming to us, that is the increase in visitation and the range of visitor profiles is distributed among people who never should have

entered there, and those people have to be protected so that they come out healthy, alive, and happy.”

“Yo diría que en 10 años yo creo que vamos a tener que tener mayor cantidad de prestadores de servicios dentro de la Reserva y con el objetivo principal de resguardar la experiencia y la seguridad de las personas. Principalmente esos dos elementos se nos vienen encima, o sea aumenta la visitación y se distribuye el abanico de perfiles de visitantes en personas que no deberían haber nunca entrado allí, y esas personas hay que resguardarlas para que salgan sanas, vivas, y felices.”

People express concern about lack of preparedness to manage a greater number of tourists in the Reserve. While increasing visitation provides opportunity for economic development, it also is accompanied by risks connected to visitor impacts.

“We are not suddenly prepared for their arrival, I don’t know, of a quantity of tourists to the Reserve. With the diffusion they are suddenly doing, many more tourists could enter or arrive. And that is what one doesn’t know what problems this could bring to the Reserve.”

“Nosotros no estamos de repente como preparados para que lleguen, no sé, una cantidad de turistas a la Reserva. Con la difusión que de repente se hace, pueden entrar o llegar muchos más turistas. Y eso es lo que uno no sabe qué problemas puede traer a la Reserva eso.”

Increasing visitation also highlights a range of issues connected to lack of funding for effective management of the Reserve. CONAF operates with a low budget for maintenance and limited human resources, and with the current finances, they logistically cannot have a presence in all zones of public use around the Reserve. This forces local tourism operators and residents to informally assume some of the responsibilities of park management, such as rescues.

“Therefore, the issues of registration and controls and access are fundamental in the issue of how you go to the mountain. I have to know that with jeans I can’t go to the mountain, why?, because they’re cotton. That is, there needs to be a prior requirement, it’s not that I don’t want to let you pass, it’s that I’m preventing you from having a bad time when you go up high. This is what we say to people here. But the people who don’t have culture of what the mountain is, [say] ‘No, I’ll

go and come back,' 'yes, you go and come back,' but many times they do not come back. It's us who has to go find them."

"Entonces, igual es el tema de los registros y controles y accesos son muy fundamentales en el tema de cómo vas tú a la montaña. Yo tengo que saber que con los jeans no puedo ir a la montaña, ¿por qué?, porque es algodón. O sea, tiene que haber una exigencia previa para que yo no es que no te quiera dejar pasar, es que estoy previniendo para que tú no lo pases mal cuando tú vayas para arriba. Eso es lo que nosotros le decimos a la gente acá. Pero la gente como no tiene cultura de lo que es la montaña, 'No po, si yo voy y vuelvo,' 'Sí, usted va y vuelve,' pero ha pasado que muchas veces no vuelven. Tenemos que nosotros ir a buscar."

CONAF is working to find creative solutions to address the funding shortage, including the development of concessions agreements. Under such an agreement, a third-party concessionaire assumes responsibility for management and maintenance of a sector of the Reserve and generates income by collecting entrance fees. The contracts remained in progress at the time of my interviews, and their degree of effectiveness remains unknown. Park planners and managers hope that the integration of small-scale concessions will strengthen management capacity and also provide opportunities for local economic development.

"We are looking for this relationship with concessionaires to be able to face the gap...between the need for a better territorial deployment of our personal to be able to attend the demands of visitors, and the possibility that the state will not allocate the resources. Therefore, we are seeing that the relationship with third parties comes to fill that gap. It comes to support us in that there is management of public use in places where park rangers don't have the possibility to be because we don't have enough rangers, and that a concessionaire could transform into our eyes and at the same time have their business."

"Nosotros estamos buscando esta relación con terceros para poder enfrentar esta brecha...entre la necesidad de tener un mejor despliegue territorial de nuestro personal para poder atender la demanda de los visitantes, y la no posibilidad de que el estado te asigne los recursos. Entonces, estamos viendo que la relación con terceros viene a ocupar esa brecha. Viene a apoyarnos en que haya gestión del uso público en los lugares de los cuales los guardaparques no tenemos

posibilidades de que estén porque no tenemos el número de guardaparques suficientes y que a través de un tercero puede transformarse en nuestros ojos y a la vez él tener su negocio.”

From an environmental standpoint, the increase in visitation creates angst over associated negative impacts, but it also generates hope that more visitation will contribute to the formation of more conservation advocates. The more people that use and love the land, the more they will care to protect it.

“I believe that recreation, public use, and tourism enable the achievement of the objectives of protected areas, because ultimately people will appreciate and will take care of what they know, you understand? So they will understand how important it is to conserve the place they are getting to know, and this will also allow a projection, it will enable the country to have a good future environmental policies, it will allow a lot of things. Why? Because people will protect what they are getting to know, and this is what public use enables, this is what tourism development enables.”

“Yo creo que la recreación, el uso público, y el turismo permiten conseguir los objetivos de creación de las áreas silvestres, porque la gente en el fondo va a apreciar y va a cuidar lo que conoce, ¿se entiende? Entonces ellos van a entender lo importante que es conservar el lugar que están conociendo, y eso va a permitir también una proyección, va a permitir de que un país tenga buenas políticas ambientales futuras, va a permitir un montón de cosas. ¿Por qué? Porque la gente va a proteger lo que está conociendo, y eso lo permite el uso público, eso lo permite el desarrollo del turismo.”

Undeveloped State of the Tourism Industry (5)

Regional agencies promoted the Aysén region as a tourist destination with the idea that if the people come, the industry will develop. These efforts to attract visitors have proven successful, and as more and more come each year, locals and park managers struggle to catch up with the demands. CONAF’s operations budget is limited and has not increased at all in conjunction with the increase in visitation; their oversight capacity is very limited. Information for tourists is scarce and inconsistent; signage is mediocre; trails described online sometimes

have their accesses closed. These conditions, and lack of preparedness for an onslaught of visitors, generate ecological, economic, and social impacts.

“Basically, the Reserve is our goose that lays golden eggs, so to speak. In the sense that it is the only and grand attraction that we have which is seen, up close it is even more attractive, but it is the most striking. Without a doubt, there has been, in the last five or six years, a notable increase in people coming to see the lagoon...and that it will continue...it’s recently starting here. This—the tourism here is in diapers, so to say. In five more years, or six more years, hope that all these issues we are seeing are resolved so everything will go well, that there aren’t these stops- what is private, what is public.”

“Básicamente, la Reserva es nuestra gallina de los huevos de oro, por decirlo de alguna manera. En el sentido de que es como el único y gran atractivo que tenemos nosotros, que se ve, así bien de cerca hay más atractivo, pero es el que más llama la atención. Sin duda que ha sido la-- estos últimos cinco o seis años el aumento notable de gente que viene a conocer la laguna...y que va a seguir...está recién comenzando allí. Esto-- El turismo aquí está como decir en pañales. En cinco años más, o seis años más, esperar que todos estos temas que estamos viendo se resuelvan para ir bien de todo lo-- que no hayan estos topes, que es privado, que es servicio público.”

The increasing presence of visitors in Villa Cerro Castillo generates new economic opportunities for residents. Some have harnessed these by creating small businesses in lodging or restaurant service, but the offerings often fall short of visitor expectations. Especially outside of the high season, most businesses are open inconsistent hours or sporadically close. In my personal experience, we would not rely on restaurants or the small grocery stores being open there; instead, we purchased food in Coyhaique. This could create a negative experience for tourists who do not know to do this. Additionally, service tends to operate much more slowly than most visitors expect. In most cases, the restaurant owner started a restaurant because people were around who would buy food, not because they are a chef or waiter.

“From the family in the field that you passed with your backpack and they said to you, ‘stay here, dear, and serve yourself a piece of bread,’ and that will happen to you, and I: ‘good.’ They pass through to enter a campsite, to sell the bread, to sell the barbecue, to sell the music with the guitar

and the accordion. But they did it out of necessity or because they saw a business niche, not because they had trained in tourism, or know about attention to visitors, or receiving visitors, or how to check information, or how to prepare a good product or a good service. Everything with them is done out of necessity. And that's something you have to sink your teeth into a lot, because to get to a community or a restaurant to order a sandwich, and they say: 'it's closed,' or 'you arrived late.' That already gives you signs that something is missing there.”

“Desde la familia en el campo que tú pasabas con tu mochila y te decía: ‘Quédese aquí mijito, y sírvase un pancito,’ y que te vaya a ocurrir, y yo: ‘Bueno.’ Pasaron a entrar a un camping, a vender el pan, a vender el asado, a vender la música con la guitarra y el acordeón. Pero lo hicieron por una necesidad o porque vieron un nicho de negocios, no porque ellos se habían capacitado en turismo, sepan de atención de visitantes, de recepción de visitantes, sepan checar información, sepan preparar un buen producto o un buen servicio. Todo con ellos lo hacen por necesidad. Y eso es algo en lo que hay que hincarle bastante el diente, porque llegar a una comunidad o a un restaurante a pedir un sándwich, y te diga: ‘está cerrado,’ o ‘llegó tarde.’ Ahí ya te da señales de que falta algo ahí.”

Information about tourist activities as well as regional history, geography, and culture is also insufficient or underdeveloped. This is improving thanks to regional government funding dedicated to the creation of better information (e.g. Patagonia Por Descubrir), but the Reserve needs better interpretation materials, both online and on the ground, in order to provide an honest and authentic visitor experience.

“One of the aspects that the visitor to our region most negatively criticizes, is the lack of accurate information, and the lack of accurate information is our fault, of us who are from here. Because if we are not capable of being firm when a television producer comes and say: ‘Look, this is like that and you say this like this,’ because we continue talking about Colmenero Parado, when one reads it, the rural people all say, ‘cut the wood,’ and we have made these concessions ourselves, we have allowed that they show us to the outside in an inappropriate way. So, the same video we were watching here, I realized that the written information that goes out had a series of errors. That is, what do we call Central Patagonia? It says: ‘The Cerro Castillo is the highest peak in Central Patagonia,’ and, as far as I know, San Valentín is in Central Patagonia, and measures 4,058, and San Lorenzo, is even taller, El Chaltén is even taller. So, sometimes when these types of things appear we all get angry, but also we are responsible for not demanding that when a

program comes out it isn't a lie; that is, not say: 'Villa O'Higgins is just 200 kilometers to the south of Coyhaique,' when it is 540. So, sometimes some information that comes out in the programs is overwhelming, overwhelming from the point of view of errors."

"Uno de los aspectos que más critica negativamente el visitante de nuestra región, es la falta de información precisa, y la falta de información precisa es culpa nuestra, de los que somos de acá. Porque si nosotros no somos capaces de ser firmes cuando viene un productor de televisión y decirle: 'Mira, esto es así y se dice así,' porque seguimos hablando de Colmenero Parado, cuando lo lea, la gente en el campo todo le dice 'cortar el palo,' y esas concesiones las hemos hecho nosotros mismos, hemos permitido que nos muestren hacia afuera de una manera inapropiada. Entonces, en el mismo video que estábamos viendo acá, me di cuenta que en la información que sale escrita había una serie de errores. O sea, ¿a qué le llamamos Patagonia Central? Dice: 'El Cerro Castillo es la cumbre más alta de la Patagonia Central,' y yo que sepa el San Valentín está en la Patagonia Central, y mide 4.058, el San Lorenzo, es más alto, El Chaltén es más alto. Entonces, de repente cuando aparece ese tipo de cosas a todos nos da rabia, pero también somos responsables nosotros por no exigir que cuando salga un programa no se nos mienta; o sea, no decir: 'Villa O'Higgins apenas a 200 kilómetros al sur de Coyhaique,' cuando está a 540. Entonces, de repente unas informaciones que salen en los programas pero que son abrumadoras, abrumadoras desde el punto de vista de errores."

It is important to remember that the increase in visitation is concentrated primarily on the eastern side of the Reserve in areas accessible from the Carretera Austral (Sendero Laguna Castillo, Las Horquetas, and in the Neozelandes valley), while many other parts still see little to no visitation. In Villa Cerro Castillo, many services in tourism are insufficient to support the number of visitors arriving; around other parts of the Reserve, like on the Monreal side, services hardly exist, if at all.

"The tourism boom is little here" [on the Monreal side].

"Es poco aquí el auge del turismo."

Instead of proactive planning, most responses to increasing visitation have been reactionary. Residents and park managers alike call for better planning and coordination to

confront the rapid changes, hoping that more strategic planning will temper the harmful environmental and social impacts connected to increased visitation. They also call for coordination among providers and improved quality of services, and the building of creative solutions despite shortages in funding.

“Yeah, it’s like when you react to an emergency, instead of preventing the emergency. You are reacting before a tragedy happens, and that’s what is happening today. The state is reacting to an event, they didn’t make a projection to the future, and it is different to plan when you have an emergency, and when you plan before it happens.”

“Sí, es como cuando tú reaccionas ante una emergencia, en vez de prever la emergencia estás reaccionado ante el suceso trágico, y eso es lo que está pasando hoy día. El estado está reaccionando a un suceso, no hizo una proyección a futuro, y es distinto la planificación cuando tú tienes la emergencia, a cuando tú la planificas antes que suceda.”

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“I would like for CONAF to have done things in a direct way, and to have all the resources that are needed because I believe that we do not even have the basics. It embarrasses me that the Chilean state doesn’t achieve this form, but we can’t remain in this status quo of saying they don’t give it, I don’t have it, I can’t do it, and watching things happen, and at best this that is happening has to make change in the paradigm that I see, because this is my vision- not the institutional vision, it’s my vision that CONAF is the one that would have to be in all the points, would have to have 50 rangers in Castillo, this is my vision. But I feel that everything indicates to us that this is never going to come, and so we have to reinvent ourselves.”

“Me gusta que las cosas la CONAF hubiese hecho de forma directa, y tener todos los recursos que se requieren porque creo yo que ni siquiera tenemos lo básico. A mi me da vergüenza que el estado de Chile no logre esa forma, pero no nos podemos quedar en ese estatus quo de decir no lo dan, no lo tengo, no lo puedo, y viendo que están pasando cosas, y que a lo mejor esto que está pasando tiene que hacer cambiar el paradigma que yo veo, porque es mi visión- no es la visión institucional- que es mi visión de que la CONAF es la que tendría que estar en todos los puntos, tendría que tener 50 guardaparques en Castillo, esta es mi visión. Pero siento que todo nos indica que eso no va a venir nunca, y entonces hay que reinventarse.”

“Castillo Reserve will have to have more service providers, on the one hand, that have sufficient space to assemble a chain of providers, not necessarily one provider but a chain of providers. It’s very difficult, it’s weathering, but I find it very valuable that it be like that, because also it obligates you to generate linkages between the providers, and this makes you a society ultimately, it makes the chain stronger and the links very well-joined.”

“La Reserva Castillo va a tener que tener más prestadores de servicio, por un lado, que tiene espacio suficiente para armar una cadena de prestaciones, no necesariamente un prestador sino que una cadena de prestadores. Es súper difícil, es desgastador pero lo encuentro muy valioso que sea así, porque además te obliga a generar encadamiento entre los prestadores, y eso te hace sociedad en el fondo, te hace que la cadena se fortalezca y los eslabones estén muy bien unidos.”

Desire for local character of development (6)

Those who are interested in the development of the tourism industry emphasize the importance of promoting a local character of development in line with regional identity. This highlights the reality that tourism influences the social, aesthetic, and economic makeup of communities. Many residents cite Torres del Paine National Park as an example of the type of mass tourism they hope to avoid becoming. For example, people envision infrastructure that matches the pioneer style, serving to preserve and share that piece of their culture, rather than the castle-like structures built by the Tompkins in Parque Patagonia.

“We have always thought that, at least, the infrastructure should be original, for example, when one goes to Parque Patagonia and it’s really beautiful, but does it seem like Patagonia? No, no it doesn’t seem like it. So, that it be something original, something good.”

“Como nosotros siempre pensamos que por lo menos, la infraestructura que sea algo original, por ejemplo, que uno va a Parque Patagonia y es súper bonito, ¿Pero se parece a Patagonia? No, no se parece. Entonces, que sea algo original, que sea buena.”

I think the great challenge is to have good instruments for protected area planning that allow you to have sustained development, but also controlled, because ultimately, the people that come to Patagonia, to a protected area in Patagonia, come in search of an experience, and this experience can be really different if you convert the area into, for example, a Torres del Paine, you understand? We want to avoid this, we want to maintain the experience, and I believe that this can be achieved with a good planning instrument, and that this instrument should be respected transversally, something that allows you somehow the increase in visitation, but that also maintains certain levels of experience for all types of public: the people that come as a family, the people who look for a solitary experience, the people that like more extreme activities, but believe this is fundamental: I believe it's a challenge to sustain the planning instrument over time.

“Yo creo que el gran desafío es tener buenos instrumentos de planificación del área silvestre que te permitan justamente tener un desarrollo sostenido, pero también controlado, porque en el fondo, la gente que viene a la Patagonia, al área silvestre de la Patagonia, viene a buscar una experiencia, y esa experiencia puede ser muy diferente si tú la conviertes por ejemplo en Torres del Paine, ¿me entiendes? Nosotros queremos evitar eso, queremos mantener el tema de la experiencia, y yo creo que eso tú lo puedes lograr con un buen instrumento de planificación, y que ese instrumento sea respetado de manera transversal, cosa que te permita de alguna manera el crecimiento en visitación, pero que también te mantenga ciertos niveles de experiencia para todo tipo de público: la gente que va en familia, la gente que busca la experiencia solitario, la gente que le gusta más actividades extremas, pero yo creo que eso es fundamental; el instrumento de planificación yo creo que es un desafío poderlo sostener en el tiempo.”

Many residents highlight the importance of having local guides who are educated and knowledgeable about local history. Again, they provide examples of places they do not want to become, such as Puerto Tranquilo—a town to the south where a lack of planning and foresight led to an explosion of kiosks, mostly run by outsiders, lining the main drag during the summer season, blocking the view of the lake. As an alternative, residents and park managers alike reference the potential benefits associated with small concessions run by local people.

[We hope] “Also that with the Public Use Plan will always give priority to the local people, because I at least haven’t seen that a lot of people from outside have come, like in Tranquilo, for example. In Tranquilo, a ton of people arrived that sometimes aren’t from the region to work there in Tranquilo; in Castillo, the majority of the people are from Castillo. And so, this plan should have these criteria, I don’t know how to say it— if they are criteria, orientations, or emphasis— but it should have an emphasis towards benefitting the surrounding communities.”

[Esperamos] “También que el Plan de Uso Público dio prioridad siempre a las gentes locales, porque yo no he visto por lo menos que se hayan instalado mucha gente afuera, como Tranquilo, por ejemplo. A Tranquilo, llega harta gente a veces que no es de la región a trabajar ahí en Tranquilo; en Castillo, como que la mayoría de la gente es de Castillo. Y entonces, que este plan tenga estos criterios, no sé cómo se plantea-- si con criterios, orientaciones o énfasis-- que tenga un énfasis hacia el beneficio de las poblaciones aledañas.”

Local tourism operators understand the value of the Reserve from the standard attraction viewpoint of the beauty and grandeur of rock and ice, but they also want to promote a cultural element to tourism around the Reserve. Many mention the importance of the school in Villa Cerro Castillo as a place to educate guides not only in wilderness leadership, but also in cultural history. By promoting cultural tourism, tourism becomes a way to preserve traditions, making grazing and tourism compatible, rather than mutually exclusive livelihood options. Cultural tourism, in the ways they imagine it, means sharing the pioneer lifestyle with visitors and thus ensuring it is sustained; this includes sheep ranching and sheering, horseback riding, and traditional cuisine.

“The community also as a tourist attraction, conserving its traditions. I feel that the it’s not just the Reserve that’s an attraction, but also it’s an attraction here, the local traditions.”

“Y a la comunidad también como un atractivo turístico, conservando sus tradiciones. Siento que no solo es atractiva la Reserva, sino también es atractiva de acá, las tradiciones locales.”

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“A family arrived from Concepción, and we started to talk about the first settlers. And the first settler that arrived here was my grandfather, and it was right here to this old house that they arrived. And I started telling them about the history of my grandfather, and they preferred not to go to the mountain and they stayed here the whole time talking with us.”

“Llegaron una familia de Concepción, empezamos a conversar ahí el tema de los primeros pobladores. Y el primer poblador que llegó acá fue mi abuelo, y está ahí mismo la casa antigua donde ellos llegaron. Y les empecé a conversar esa historia de mi abuelo, y ellos prefirieron no ir al cerro y quedarse todo el rato ahí conversando con nosotros.”

“Timber resources, livestock and ranching resources, everything can change. But tourism, on the other hand, people are going to keep coming. And also it’s a— it’s a type of economy that can be very useful for inhabitants to maintain their culture, and to maintain their economic forms. Because it’s not the same if you make a marinated rabbit as a typical dish as if you make a lamb roast. Because the rabbit never belonged to our culture. It never did. It’s an introduced species, it doesn’t belong to our culture, and it’s something that we shouldn’t even offer, because even though people from Europe eat rabbit, here we don’t eat rabbit. We would give rabbit to the dogs. But lamb is part of our culture and we grew up with lamb meat. And we have a culture associated with lamb, and therefore we should never stop raising sheep, because effectively our cultural is associated with the lamb, the young lamb, the sheep, the ram. So, our typical plates have lamb because that is the raw material with which we prepare our food. Then to have a kind of consistency. In other words, there has to be a consistency between culture, economy.”

“Los recursos madereros, los recursos de la ganadería, todo puede cambiar. Pero en cambio el turismo, va a seguir viniendo gente. Y también es una--es un tipo de economía que puede servir mucho a los pobladores para que mantengan su cultura, y mantengan sus formas económicas. Porque no es lo mismo que tú hagas una liebre escavechada como un plato típico a que hagas un cordero al palo. Porque la liebre nunca perteneció a nuestra cultura. Nunca fue. Es una especie introducida, no pertenece a nuestra cultura, y es algo que nosotros no deberíamos ni siquiera ofrecer, porque aunque la gente en Europa coma liebre, nosotros acá no comemos liebre. Las liebres se las daban a los perros. Pero sí el cordero es parte de nuestra cultura y nosotros nos criamos con carne de cordero. Y tenemos asociada una cultura de cordero, por lo tanto nosotros no deberíamos dejar de criar nunca ganado lanar, porque efectivamente nosotros tenemos una cultura asociada al cordero, al capón, a la oveja, a borrego. Entonces, nuestros platos típicos

tienen que tener cordero porque esa es la materia prima con la cual nosotros preparábamos nuestros alimentos. Entonces para haber un tipo de consistencia. O sea, tiene que haber una consistencia entre la cultura, la economía.”

Interest in Tourism Development—or not (7)

This category focuses on perceptions of the potential for economic changes through involvement in tourism. Local residents on all sides of the Reserve express interest in tourism development, and CONAF planners are clear about their objective to provide the conditions for locals to derive financial benefit from the Reserve, for the Reserve to be an incubator of economic development. Those most obviously able to take advantage of economic opportunities associated with increasing visitation to the Reserve live in Villa Cerro Castillo, the main gateway community.

Villa Cerro Castillo is home to the trailheads for the two most popular day hikes, it's the ending point for the 3-day Las Horquetas backpacking trip, and it is also on the Carretera Austral, which means that anyone traveling by land to destinations farther south will pass through. Other recreation activities, such as horseback-riding and rock climbing, are accessible just outside the Reserve boundaries, providing a wealth of recreation potential and reasons for visitors to stay there for multiple days. Through activities in land adjacent to the Reserve, visitors enjoy views of the Cerro Castillo massif, which is the most popular feature of the Reserve. These recreation opportunities and the physical location on the highway position Villa Cerro Castillo as a focal point for the tourism industry.

While some tourism operators there decided to enter the industry by choice, based on education, training, or interest, others have started in working in tourism out of necessity or by

default. Many view tourism as the most reliable livelihood option, and as a strategic way to diversify the economy while also maintaining their cultural practices and traditional economies.

“Because the communities have not been trained in tourism. The people that provide services in horseback-riding, in lodging, in food service, in information in the small communities have done it out of necessity. They have done it because it’s better than the price of wool, because the fields are no longer as productive, because the price of animals varies so much that, in the end, they don’t make much money. Because their costs, today, so their kids can study, have increased, so the family has to generate more income. So, there’s a diversity of factors that obligated, to say it like that, many local people to open this other productive line or to work in tourism, about which they knew nothing.”

“Porque las comunidades no han sido capacitadas en temas turísticos. La gente que se dedica a prestar servicios de cabalgata, de hospedaje, de alimentación, de información en las comunidades pequeñas lo han hecho por necesidad. Lo han hecho porque mejor precio de la lana, porque los campos ya no son tan productivos, porque el precio de los animales varía tanto que, al final, no ganan tanta plata. Porque sus costos, hoy en día, que sus hijos pueden estudiar, han aumentado, entonces la familia tiene que generar más ingresos. Entonces, hay una diversidad de factores que obligaron, por decirlo así, a muchas personas de las localidades a abrir ésta otra línea productiva o trabajar en turismo que cosa que ellos no sabían”

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“The owners, the neighbors of the Reserve can no longer shepherd, they used to extract timber but now they can’t, this part is very limited. So, what is it that they can do? The enjoyment of the landscape, trekking, walks, horseback rides that can be authorized, as long as it’s within a controlled limit. There should be places where there are known routes that are advertised for people, and someone should invest- that someone, I do not know- to give better services; because Cerro Castillo, which is the closest area that is there, there are not many services and many foreign people arrive.”

“Los dueños, los vecinos de la Reserva ya no pueden pastorear, la extracción de leña que también la hacían no la pueden hacer, es bien limitada esa parte. Entonces, ¿qué es lo que puede hacer? El goce del paisaje, hacer trekking, hacer paseos, cabalgatas que pueden estar autorizadas, siempre y cuando eso esté dentro de un límite controlado. Que haya lugares, que

haya rutas conocidas para la gente que se publicite eso y que alguien invierta -ese alguien, no lo sé- para dar mayor servicio; porque Cerro Castillo que es la zona más cerca que está ahí, no son muchos los servicios que hay y llega mucha gente extranjera.”

“Actually, I have land adjacent to the Reserve; the trail passes through my property. When I bought the parcel there was a very old house, so we applied for project and completely remodeled it. And now we have the idea to start working this season; because last season we were not able to. So this year we want to work in this. A few details are still missing, like installing bathrooms. I already have the water installed.”

“De hecho, tengo un campo que colinda con la Reserva; el sendero pasa por mi propiedad. Cuando compré una parcela había una casa muy antigua, entonces postulamos un proyecto y la remodelados completa. Y ahí estamos con la idea de empezar a trabajar esta temporada; porque la temporada pasada ya no se pudo. Así que este año queremos trabajar en eso. Me faltan todavía algunos detalles, por ejemplo, instalar baños. Ya el agua la tengo instalada ya.”

Though residents of Villa Cerro Castillo have the most direct access to economic opportunity in tourism at present, locals from all sides express interest in attracting visitors to their sectors and developing tourism offerings or small businesses in lodging, guiding, or food service. While current infrastructure is limited both inside and outside the boundaries of the Reserve, the recreation opportunity, and thus tourism development potential, is extensive everywhere.

“We [CONAF] have tried to open the vision towards other communities in productive terms because today, Villa Cerro Castillo is the only one that brings in money, or let’s say, that is generated in the Reserve through tourism, as there are a lot of activities around it that can be potentially good businesses for the communities.”

“Hemos tratado de abrir la visión hacia las otras comunidades de temas productivos porque hoy día solamente Villa Cerro Castillo es el que se lleva la plata, digamos, que se genera en la

Reserva por temas turísticos, habiendo un montón de atractivos alrededor que pueden ser potencialmente buenos negocios para las comunidades.”

As residents witness neighbors or other communities begin to work in and make money from tourism, they become interested in trying it out for themselves. This social dynamic spurs interest and investment in tourism.

“If they saw that already the other started to harvest, and they say, ‘hey, and why not me? Oh, I’m really not participating. Let’s see, now I want to participate and see what the benefit is. ’”

“Si ya vieron que el otro empezó a cosechar, y dicen: ‘Oye, ¿y por qué yo no? Ah, de veras que yo no estoy participando. A ver, ahora quiero participar y ver cuál es el beneficio.’”

The Monreal sector of the Reserve is remote but accessible by dirt roads, and this is one area in which locals express extensive interest in tourism development. This is also an area in which people from outside the region purchase property, with rumors of future tourism ideas. A few lakes, most notably Lago Monreal and Lago La Paloma, provide kayaking, fishing, and boating opportunities. A couple of small companies based in Coyhaique offer kayak tours. Many Coyhaiquinos use a beach on the shore of Lago Monreal on warm summer days for lounging, swimming, and *asados*, or traditional barbecues. One local woman described how she recently and informally started to sell products to these visitors at the lake.

"Now we just started, since more people started to go to the Lake and there is nothing there. There is no restaurant, there is nothing. Then we started going to sell. As here [at the house] we make cheeses, jams, then we go to sell the products there at the lake. "

“Ahora nomás que empezamos nosotros, que empezó a ir más gente para el lago y para allá no hay nada. No hay restaurant, no hay nada. Entonces nosotros empezamos a ir a vender. Como nosotros aquí [en la casa] hacemos quesos, mermeladas, entonces vamos a vender los productos allá al lago.”

Residents of this area live on isolated rural farms and many expressed interest in tourism development around the lakes. While some of these areas, like the beach on Lago Monreal, are not part of the Reserve—the Reserve boundary is the other side of the lake—opportunities for tourism development in this area would benefit from the opening of an official access point to the Reserve in this sector, either the established but closed Monreal entrance, or through new trail development near one of the lakes. Some people who own land on the private side of the lake discuss interest in tourism development connected to their private property; again, the likelihood for these to develop into lucrative businesses would increase with Reserve access, as it would draw more visitor traffic to this remote area while also providing more recreation opportunity.

“I have a peninsula [on Lago La Paloma] that must be a stadium and a half, more or less—with some beautiful natural waterfalls, that are about 60 or 50 meters. It’s beautiful.”

“Yo tengo ahí una península que debe de ser un estadio y medio, más o menos—con unas cascadas de agua natural preciosas, pero tienen como 60 metros, 50 metros. Es hermoso.

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“And also so there is encouragement that they themselves provide services to visitors. Because if a person passes through the Reserve, it’s unlikely that they will have a shelter and place, a cafeteria or something, where they can get a sandwich, or they can buy something to eat. But in the fields the person could have that! That suddenly the tourist says: well, since I know there’s a sector in Lago Azul where there’s a place to have a fire and I am going to be able to eat a roasted lamb. I record and say: on this day 30 kayakers are going to pass, I need two lambs that day. Because in these places where there are lakes, not only can you trek, you can kayak and mix it with trekking. You can horseback ride, and services can exist.”

“Y también para que exista el fomento que ellos mismos proporcionen servicios a los visitantes. Porque si una persona pasa por la Reserva, es difícil que tú tengas un refugio y un lugar, una cafetería o algo, donde la persona pueda servirse un sándwich o pueda comprar algo para

alimentarse. Pero sí que en los campos la persona pudiera tener eso! De que de repente el turista dice: bueno, como yo sé que en el sector de Lago Azul hay un lugar donde hay un fogón y yo me voy a poder comer un asado al palo. Lo grabo y digo: tal día van a pasar 30 kayakistas, necesito dos corderos tal día. Porque van a llegar 30 kayakistas que después van a hacer trekking. Porque estos lugares donde hay lagos, tú puedes hacer no solamente el trekking, puedes hacer kayak y mezclarlo con trekking. Hacer cabalgata y que existan los servicios.”

In addition to opening an access, people also call for CONAF to invest in infrastructure for visitors in the Monreal sector, such as trails, a camping area, or a shelter, in order to attract more visitation to the area, thus facilitating locals to participate in economic activities associated with visitation in this sector. People also look further into the future, highlighting the potential for their children to pursue tourism development on private property adjacent to the Reserve, with the partnership and support of CONAF.

“It should exist. Something should exist—I don’t know if CONAF, if CONAF administrates because someone should invest more so that people could arrive to a large refuge, that they could have a camping area, water, food. Yes, well, let’s see, it would be marvelous because this is really beautiful, it’s really beautiful.”

“Debería existir. Debería existir algo en que-- Yo no sé si, la CONAF, la CONAF ellos administran porque alguien que invirtiera más que la gente pudiera llegar a un refugio grande, que pudiera tener zona de camping, agua, alimentos, si pues, a ver, sería maravilloso porque es muy lindo eso, es muy lindo.”

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“My son I think he likes tourism and our land provides for tourism because there are very high Reserves and pure forests, but there has to be a trail, apply to projects and make trails, and there you couldn’t take anything else because that is prohibited, it’s not like now where I put on my coveralls and I take out a little wood, taking it out. The Reserve is for tourism now, I would have to leave a single part divided, because a management plan hasn’t been made to recover the forest.”

“A mi hijo yo creo le gusta el turismo y el campo da para turismo porque son Reservas altísimas y puros bosques, pero hay que ser sendero, sacar proyectos y hacer senderos, y ahí ya no podría echar nadie más porque eso se prohíbe, no es como ahora yo echo mis batas, saco leñita quitando ahí con Reserva ya para el turismo, tendría que dejar una sola parte dividido, porque todavía no se ha hecho un plan de manejo para que se recupere el bosque.”

Puerto Ibáñez is a town well-positioned to access the economic benefits of tourism, since it is the port town for the major ferry system on Lago General Carrera. This ferry provides the most direct connection between Coyhaique, the regional capital, and Chile Chico, one of the larger towns in the Aysén region, as well as a border crossing into Argentina. That is to say, the visitor traffic already exists in Puerto Ibáñez, but people typically zip through without stopping. If there were a trailhead to the Reserve, or more consistently open restaurants, or other attractions, people might decide to stay a night or two; they are already there, after all. While some restaurants and pottery shops are there now, they are often closed and not very service-oriented—the town is sleepy. Places open most often if a tour group calls ahead, or maybe the hour before or after a ferry departs or arrives.

“One vision we have is how Puerto Ibáñez, with all the potential it has, can reactive so that it’s not a community that is lethargic, or only is [visited] in transit for people going to the ferry.”

“Una visión que tenemos es cómo Puerto Ibáñez, con todo el potencial que tiene, se puede reactivar para que no sea una comunidad que está aletargada, o que solamente sea de tránsito para gente que va a Barcaza.”

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“We still have the problems with Puerto Ibáñez that the people don’t come, because there are few productive opportunities, or little vision about the productivity that could be, because Ibáñez has a tremendous potential, but it lacks a vision of the potential it could have.”

“Todavía tenemos problemas con Puerto Ibáñez que la gente no viene, porque hay pocas oportunidades productivas, o poca visión de lo productivo que puede ser, porque Ibáñez tiene un tremendo potencial, pero falta esa visión del potencial que puede tener.”

“There’s also the people from Puerto Ibáñez that also have an interest in a sector of Cerro Castillo National Reserve, remember that the Reserve has more than 250,000 hectares. So there’s a sector that’s adjacent, that seems to me that there’s a lagoon, and I don’t personally know this sector, but there’s a lot of interest, there’s always been an interest from the people of Puerto Ibáñez in developing this part...this sector that’s closest to Ibáñez, where there could be routes, there’s interesting things, and also it’s an important part of the steppe in the Reserve.”

“También está la gente de Puerto Ingeniero Ibáñez que también tiene el interés sobre un sector de la Reserva Nacional Cerro Castillo, recordemos que la Reserva tiene más de 250.000 hectáreas. Entonces hay un sector que está aladaño, que me parece que hay una laguna, yo no lo conozco en lo personal ese sector, pero que hay mucho interés, siempre ha habido un interés de la gente de Puerto Ibáñez en desarrollar esa parte...ese sector como más cerca de Ibáñez, donde pueden haber rutas, hay cosas interesantes, y además que también es parte importante de la parte de la estepa de la Reserva.”

“Then, one of the-- of these potentials that we have identified, is the possibility of making a trail that links Puerto Ibáñez with the Reserve. And that the people of Puerto Ibáñez have the opportunity to work or sell a product associated with other things that can be generated by it...then they can make a path that connects them with the other trails in the Reserve, to help to put together a group of guides there in Puerto Ibáñez, to work with the municipality, and to generate a beautiful product because there is a lot of attractiveness in that sector, it is very nice both in species and in landscapes. So something quite interesting can be generated there.”

“Entonces, uno de la-- de estos potenciales que hemos identificado, es la posibilidad de hacer un sendero que una a Puerto Ibáñez con la Reserva. Y que tenga la gente de Puerto Ibáñez la oportunidad de trabajar o vender ese producto asociado a otras cosas que se pueden generar por el...ellos pueden hacer un sendero que se conecten con los otros senderos de la Reserva, poder ayudar a ordenar un grupo de guías ahí en vía en Puerto Ibáñez, trabajar con la municipalidad,

y generar un producto bonito porque atractivo hay bastante por ese sector, es muy lindo tanto en especies como en paisajes. Entonces se puede generar algo bastante interesante.”

The regional CONAF office is very interested in facilitating economic development opportunities for communities surrounding the Reserve, through tourism. They see it as a strategy of conservation, because if people depend on tourism as a part of their livelihoods, they are more likely to value and protect the Reserve. They approach this objective by looking at possible future trail development within the Reserve, and other ways of increasing recreation opportunity, as well as through creating contracts with small concessionaires that are small enough they would not be appealing to a larger company. By creating the conditions for small concessions, they also provide more potential employment for locals.

“Because for us, it’s extremely important to invest in infrastructure in protected areas because of the development this produces in adjacent communities to the protected areas. You understand? To strengthen the development, that the activities of large hotels, cabins, and other camping sites, restaurants, guide services generate outside the protected areas- this is how you empower a community.”

“Porque para nosotros es re importante que se invierta en infraestructura en las áreas silvestres porque el desarrollo se produzca en las comunidades aledañas de las áreas silvestres. ¿Se entiende? Para fortalecer el desarrollo, que las actividades de grandes hoteles, cabañas, otros sitios de camping, restaurantes, servicios de guía se generen afuera del área silvestre, así uno potencia la localidad.”

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“What we have talked about a lot with the team is generating the conditions so that communities are beneficiaries, ingredients for the visitor to arrive, if the community— if we make more trails, probably people will stay for more time in the communities or will like the communities more, or some people in the communities will be guides, or the restaurants will have more demands, the lodging, the camping areas; this is our vision, to generate more things that generate income from the Reserve or are productive for the community.”

“Lo que hemos conversado bastante con el equipo es generar condiciones para que las comunidades sean beneficiadas, ingrediente al visitante que llegue, si la comunidad-- si nosotros asociamos más senderos, probablemente la gente se va a quedar más tiempo en las comunidades o le va a gustar más las comunidades, o algunas personas de las comunidades se dedican a ser guías, o los restaurantes van a tener más demanda, los hospedajes, las zonas de acampar; esa es nuestra visión, generar más cosas que a partir de la Reserva generen ingresos o sean productivos para la comunidad.”

“On the other hand, the small ones give an opportunity for the local system to develop...by permitting smaller concessions, you are going to permit participation from local people, and the integration of these people into real development. And I’m not saying, ‘no, we don’t want development,’ ‘we don’t want concession inside the protected areas,’ — there can be concessions inside the protected area, but at a small scale; so this permits a local actor to have, for example, a kiosk, or for a local actor to have a service to concession the bathrooms, they’re in charge of the bathrooms; and this, exactly this, is development for local people. It’s not for other people, that will invest hundreds of thousands of dollars, and the most probable is that these hundreds of thousands of dollars that they put in, will remain outside; on the other hand, this other way it would stay here in the region.”

“En cambio, los pequeños le dan una a la oportunidad para que se desarrolle el sistema local...tú al permitir concesiones más pequeñas, vas a permitir la participación de gente local, y la integración de esta gente al desarrollo real. Y yo no estoy diciendo: ‘no, no queremos desarrollo,’ ‘no queremos concesiones dentro del área silvestre’ — puede haber concesiones dentro del área silvestre, pero a pequeña escala; entonces eso te permite al actor local, tener por ejemplo un quiosco, o al actor local, tener los servicios de concesión de los baños, se hace cargo de los baños; y eso perfectamente, es desarrollo para la gente local. No es para esta otra gente, que invierte mil de millones de dólares, que lo más probable es que esos miles de millones de dólares que ellos ingresan se quedan afuera; en cambio, esto otro queda acá en la región.”

Residents of Villa Cerro Castillo and Coyhaique, that is, those already working in tourism, express interest in creating recreation offerings that will draw tourists year-round, not just in the summer high season. A small but avid group of local recreationists backcountry ski

and ice climb in the Reserve, and ice climbing events have been held there over the past few years. One politician mentioned his vision to build a ski resort; others imagine a less invasive form of development, like a warming hut as a base area for backcountry skiers. Many people see the potential for this to become a winter destination for these types of activities and are interested in how this could equate to year-round work in tourism.

“A long-term project in the area of winter tourism, is that the eastern side of the slope of the Ibáñez Curve, lends itself to develop- I was looking there- some spectacular ski runs, so, the logical thing is also to look at it as potential- winter tourism could complement that of the summer.”

“Un proyecto de largo aliento en el área de turismo invernal, es que del lado oriental de la bajada de la Cuesta Ibáñez, se presta para desarrollar- estuve mirando ahí- unas canchas de esquí espectaculares, entonces, lo lógico es también mirarlo bajo el potencial- turístico invernal como complementario del de verano.”

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“We have it very identified, we have skied it a lot. Like I told you, all of these studies are with pitches, profiles, and the business part, everything. And here there should be infrastructure.”

Lo tenemos muy identificado, lo hemos esquiado mucho. Como te digo, todo esto son estudios con calicata, perfiles, y el manto negocio, todo. Y aquí debería estar la infraestructura.”

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“It’s not going to be a resort, it could be a gondola or it could a thing that is much less invasive...there are good ski runs, there are, and we have to be thinking that a ski center in the region also would pay off.”

“No va a ser un resort, puede ser un teleférico o puede ser una cosa mucho menos invasiva...hay canchas de esquí buenas, las hay, y hay que ir pensando que un centro de esquí en la región también hacía frutos.”

Grazing as a cultural symbol (8)

Sheep grazing is central to the cultural identity of the descendants of Patagonian settlers, who comprise the local communities around the Reserve. When the pioneers arrived in Aysén, the central government offered them land titles in exchange for clearing land for productive use (primarily for grazing) by burning and clear-cutting forests. Find a way to make a living and create a new life in this remote, cold, isolated place made for a harsh and arduous lifestyle, and the tough and rugged character of these people is an intimately honored part of local identity—and it's deeply connected to raising sheep.

While a number of local residents recognize the potential to pReserve grazing traditions through cultural tourism, others understand grazing and tourism as mutually exclusive, and they view tourism as a threat to the persistence of this traditional livelihood practice.

Anger over the possibility of the category change is often explained in terms of what would be lost with reference to grazing access, even though most *veranadas* within (and outside of) the Reserve have not been used in recent years. Still, the idea of forever losing access to these historically important places becomes an attack on identity, and, during this time of changes precipitated by outside influence, is perceived by many as an attack on local identity.

From a conservation perspective, grazing is threatening to the endangered *huemul* because of disease transfer between the domestic livestock and wild animals.

“A...threat is the entrance of livestock to the Reserve, or the presence of properties within the Reserve, like in the Las Horquetas sector, where there are cows. These animals are transmitting diseases to the *huemuls*. So we have a very strong threat there that still is not quantified, because the last *huemuls* died which were three between October and now [May], had a battery of diseases- between five and seven illnesses each- and all were transmitted from domestic animals.”

“Una...amenaza es el ingreso de ganado a la Reserva, o la presencia de predios intermedios en la Reserva, como en el sector de Las Horquetas donde hay vacas. Entonces esos animales están transmitiendo enfermedades a los huemules. Entonces tenemos una amenaza bastante fuerte allí que todavía no está cuantificada, porque los últimos huemules que murieron que fueron tres de octubre a la fecha, tenían una batería de enfermedades- tenían entre cinco y siete enfermedades cada huemul--- y todos transmitían desde animales domésticos.”

One park manager explained that if the livestock were not a threat to wildlife, and if ranchers identified a high alpine pasture with sufficient forage, he would be open to the possibility of granting grazing permits within the Reserve; however, under the designation of a Park, this would not be permitted. To minimize the threat of disease transfer, livestock would need to be regularly vaccinated.

*“So, now, if one understood that if livestock were managed well sanitarilly, that they are going to manage them well in the *veranadas*, that the *veranadas* have been chosen because they are *veranadas* that have sufficient grass, that they are not pastures used by wildlife, and etc.? I would think about it, but as a Park they cannot do this. They would not be able to do this.”*

*“Entonces, ahora, si uno entendiera si ese ganado está bien manejado sanitariamente, que ellos van a manejarlo bien en las *veranadas*, que las *veranadas* han sido escogidas porque son *veranadas* que si tienen el talaje suficiente, que no son *veranadas* de fauna silvestre, y etc.? yo lo pensaría, pero como Parque no lo pueden hacer. Eso no lo van a poder hacer.”*

Park managers and conservationists explain that contemporary advances in ranching methods suggest that using *veranadas* is actually an outdated practice that is not great for the animals, due to the long distances traveled to reach them as well as drier, lower quality grasses. They lament, however, that this message has not been successfully transmitted to ranchers.

“On the other hand, the fact of showing them that having animals on a pasture lower down, with water, with softer grass, without having walked up the hill who knows how many kilometers, they will have a better animal, with better meat, etc...this has not been shown to them, and I do not think they believe it either.

Por el otro lado, el hecho de demostrarles que el tener los animales en un predio más bajo, con agua, con pasto tierno, sin haber caminado cerro arriba no se cuántos kilómetros, va a tener un animal mejor, de mejor carne, etc...eso no se les ha demostrado, y yo no creo que ellos lo crean tampoco.

Despite the fact that few ranchers still use or rely on the Reserve for access to *veranadas*, and that, even if they did, new technology offers better alternates, access to historic grazing lands remains a contentious and emotional issue, often used by politicians as a token of support for rural communities.

An important element of this argument, from the conservation perspective, is the time scale on which grazing has been practiced there. The modern human settlement in the Aysén region dates back only to the late 1800s at the earliest, and in this area, it was mostly in the early- to mid-1900s. This punctures the reasoning that families have always engaged in the traditional practice of raising livestock, since it has only been their traditional practice for (at most) a century. For conservationists, this delegitimizes the

On the flip side, though, during that century, ranching became central to cultural identity. This is the truth lived and understood by many families. Who decides what counts as cultural history, what we value? The issue raises the ethical question about how long a group of people must exist in a place to garner respect for traditional cultural practices (e.g. indigenous groups who have occupied an area for thousands of years are typically championed by social justice advocates, rather than questioned as the ranchers around the Reserve are).

“It turns out that nowadays, the Ministry of Agriculture has all these instruments of development to improve the pasture, the improvement of livestock, the sheds, the forage, the improvement of grasses —so what they did before in an extensive form, today they can concentrate. So, there is a cultural theme, there’s a cultural theme that every spring I go to leave my animals, they raise themselves alone, I go to look for them. But this ‘always’ is forty years; it’s not even a thousand years. It’s not even a thousand years, or a hundred, or a hundred.”

“Resulta que hoy día, el Ministro de Agricultura tiene todos estos instrumentos de fomento para la mejora de las praderas, la mejora de la ganadería, los galpones, el forraje, la mejora de los pastos -- entonces lo que hacían antes en forma extensiva, hoy día pueden concentrar. Entonces hay un tema cultural, hay un tema cultural de que yo voy todas las primaveras a dejar los animales, se crían solos, los voy a buscar. Pero ese siempre son cuarenta años; tampoco es mil años. Tampoco son mil años, ni cien, ni cien.”

“It’s the same as the problem with horseback rides. It’s the same problem! It’s as if they had a loudspeaker because everyone listens to them, the whole world listens to them, but when you say, how many are they? Three, four, five, ten. So, the proportions are not adequate, that is, if one was to say that the town lives from *veranadas* because all their lives, because they would bring herbs to dry and the infusion and the health of grandmother... that’s enough!... we’ve taken it too far, no... let them keep doing it, it’s their wellbeing, you understand? And the grandmother of the grandmother used to go up high and everyone was born up there, but this isn’t the case, it’s not the case. So with this you see why it is more of a political doll, for show, that we did it again. We have been in the process in which CONICYT has gone, INDAP has gone, CONAF has gone, and none of the services have approved or recognized that there’s sufficient grass available to take the animals. And the political authorities say, so let’s take them.”

“Es lo mismo que el problema con las cabalgatas. Es el mismo problema! Es como que tuvieran un parlante porque todos los escuchan, porque todo el mundo los escucha, pero cuando tu dices, y cuántos son? Tres, cuatro, cinco, diez. Entonces, las proporciones no son adecuadas, o sea si uno dijera que el pueblo vive de las veranadas porque toda la vida, porque traen hierbas para secar y la infusión y la salud de las abuelitas... ya po... estamos cagándola, no... que sigan, su bien, cachai? Y la abuelita de la abuelita iba pa arriba y todos nacieron arriba, pero no es el caso, no es el caso. Entonces tu por eso ves que es un muñeco más político, más de viste, que lo logramos de nuevo. Nosotros hemos estado en proceso en los cuales ha ido el CONICYT[?], ha ido el INDAP, ha ido la CONAF, y ninguno de los servicios aprueba o reconoce que hay talaje suficiente para llevar los animales. Y la autoridad política dice, entonces los llevamos.”

“This will bring us, surely, many problems with people from the surroundings who believe that livestock management should still be extensive. I think there’s a point there that hasn’t been handled, no, no... we [CONAF] do not have a political floor either because never, never has the livestock part been subject to conservation. And every time there is a political possibility to say good, ok, let in the animals—they have given it to them. They’ve given it to them! Because it's politics, it's not real need. I do not believe those ranchers need the *veranadas*.”

“Nos va a traer, seguramente, muchos problemas con algunas personas del entorno que creen que todavía la gestión del ganado debe ser extensiva. Yo creo allí hay un punto que no se ha manejado, no, no... no tenemos tampoco piso político porque nunca, nunca la parte ganadera ha estado supeditada a la conservación. Y cada vez que hay una posibilidad política de decir bueno, ya, mete los animales—les han entregado. Le han entregado. Porque es política, no es necesidad real. Yo no creo que esos ganaderos necesiten las veranadas.”

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“For us [CONAF], there are other things that are much more important than this [grazing], but for them [locals] it is important, but we have not been able to transmit that there are other values of this territory than are more important than the 100 cows they can put in.”

“Para nosotros [CONAF], hay otras cosas que son mucho más importante que eso [ganadería], para ellos [locales] eso es importante, pero no hemos sido hábiles en transmitir que hay otros valores de ese territorio que son superiores a las cien vacas que pueden meter.”

Demographic changes (9)

By demographic change, I refer to changing characteristics in population structure, such as age and income. These changes have many drivers, including shifts in social values and the economy, and they lead to changes in social structure and livelihood practices.

These types of shifts are evident in communities around the Reserve. As grazing and ranching operations become less lucrative and desirable, youth are flocking to cities, either the

regional capital of Coyhaique or bigger cities farther north in Chile, like Valdivia, Puerto Montt, and Santiago.

“The livestock industry is being lost, the *campesino* is being lost, the young person who wants to work in the fields is being lost, he’s looking for other work.”

“La ganadería se está perdiendo, el campesino se está perdiendo, el joven que quiere trabajar en el campo se está perdiendo, está buscando otro trabajo.”

This exodus of youth is connected to changing economies and trends in rural to urban migration, as young people seek different work and access to education. Another influential factor that helps explain why youth leave (as well as the changing patterns in land ownership that fill the vacuum of their absence) is the way land inheritance is practiced, wherein a parent’s landholding is divided among all of the children after they die. In large families, this leaves each child with too little land off of which to make a living, so they deem it unuseful and sell it—often to companies, Santiaguinos, or foreigners.

“This is what’s bad. Here we are natives of this region. Before in the Simpson Valley, almost everyone was a relative of ours. There were the uncles, great uncles of everyone; today few relatives remain because they divided the land and started to sell it to big companies.”

“Eso es lo malo. Aquí nosotros somos nativos de esta región. Antes en Valle Simpson casi todo eran parientes nuestros. Estaban los tíos, tíos abuelos de todo; hoy día quedan muy pocos parientes de nosotros porque se dividieron los campos y empezaron a vender a las grandes empresas.”

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“Now we divided sectors because people got poor and sold, there wasn’t any money, there was nothing; a very big crisis, so the people didn’t have 500 hectares like before but they only had 50 or 20...sometimes they divided land among ten siblings, what am I going to do with that and they sell it; so the big companies— now the new rich are here, the Puchis*.”

*Victor Hugo Puchi is the president of AquaChile, a large fish farming company with contentious environmental practices

"Ahora repartíamos los sectores porque la gente se empobreció y vendían, no había plata, no había nada; una crisis muy grande, entonces la gente no tenían las 500 hectáreas de antes sino que tenían 50 o 20 no más...a veces los diez hermanos se repartían esos campos, que voy hacer con esto y lo vendían; así los empresarios grandes-- ahora están los nuevos ricos, los Puchis"

"It's that when the elders die, afterwards they divide and then the land is made into pieces, parcels, just parcels, and since they're so small, they prefer to sell and they go somewhere else. So some arrive, and buy."

"Es que cuando mueren los mayores, después se reparten y ahí el campo lo hacen pedazos, parcelan, puras parcelas, y como es tan chica, prefieren vender y se van a otro lado. Así que llegan unos, compran."

"And the *gringos*, well the foreigners, there's a lot of parcels that belong to foreigners."

"Y los gringos, bueno los extranjeros, hay un montón de parcelas que son de extranjeros."

"It's that there's a lot parcels. And the parcels, livestock isn't strong on the parcels, because everything is already divided up, and the livestock need to be on wider lands, so that there is good infrastructure, for example, cutting forage, having good sheds. On a parcel, what can you have? Instead, you can have smaller things. And have livestock. But few. But more for tourism so the people can see the sheering, for example. But not on a large scale, because a field of 50 or 20 hectares will not have livestock development that sustains a family. Instead, livestock can exist, but accompanied by tourism so there are other extra incomes, getting more out of the lands."

"Es que hay mucha parcela. Y las parcelas, la ganadería no es el fuerte de las parcelas, porque ya está todo parcelado ya, y la ganadería tiene que ser en un terreno más amplio, para que haya una buena infraestructura, por ejemplo, cortar forraje, tener buenos galpones. En una parcela,

¿qué va a tener? En cambio puede tener cosas más pequeñas. Y tener ganadería. Pero poco. Pero más de turismo para que la gente vea esquilar, por ejemplo. Pero no en gran escala, porque en un campo de 50 o 20 hectáreas no van a tener un desarrollo ganadero que sustente una familia. En cambio puede existir la ganadería, pero acompañada con el turismo para que haya otros ingresos extra, sacarle más provecho a los terrenos.”

As referenced in the last quote, people’s livelihood options are diversifying—many people are working in both ranching and tourism. Many hope that expanded work opportunities in the tourism field will encourage youth to stay in rural areas around the Reserve. In Villa Cerro Castillo, the local school developed a training program to prepare young locals to be guides, with a focus on English and technical mountain skills.

“Without this option many young people go to the city...but more would stay with tourism. Because here there are landscapes that don’t exist in other parts of Chile. So a person recognizes [this]. We don’t recognize it much because we were born here and always saw this. But when one leaves, goes to Argentina, for example, and sees the immense pampas that don’t even have a tree, or a plant, they don’t have a stream, then one misses one’s region. Or if you go here, when you leave for Puerto Montt to the north it’s also different, the people are different, everything is different.”

“Sin esa opción van muchos jóvenes a la ciudad...pero con turismo se quedarían más. Porque aquí hay paisajes que en otras partes de Chile no existe. Así que uno reconoce. Nosotros no reconocemos mucho porque nacimos y siempre vimos esto. Pero cuando uno sale, uno va a la Argentina, por ejemplo, ve esas pampas inmensas que no tiene un árbol, no tiene una planta, no tiene un arroyo, ahí echa de menos su región. O vas aquí, cuando sales de Puerto Montt al norte también es diferente, es diferente la gente, es diferente todo.”

A major driver of demographic shift on the backside of the Reserve is connected to the government denying historic land claims. A long process attempting to prove the existence of land titles that predate the establishment of the Reserve proved unsuccessful. At one point, CONAF agreed to discard some of the land that is part of the Reserve, returning it to the descendants of the original modern settlers, but the decision was overruled. This prompted many

of these families to sell their land, seeing it as no longer worth it or valuable without access to their *veranadas*. The following account is lengthy, though it is important to document, as it highlights evidence of a history of injustice of the Reserve establishment that might help explain some negative attitudes towards conservation from former ranchers. Parts of the following quote are bolded in order to emphasize the main points.

“And in the times of your grandparents, before the Reserve was established, were any areas of theirs taken by the Reserve?”

“Effectively, yes. There’s a sad story that I can summarize for you and it’s good for CONAF to know about it because all of the files are in the records of [the Ministry] of National Assets and the records of CONAF. Before the creation of the Reserve, in the year 68-69, they measured the fields and in fact it was measured by the engineer Castro, who worked for National Assets at that time, in the Office of Lands, and they did the measurements for the majority of these lands that had occupation permits. Everything indicated that for people to have the position of domain title, they had to measure the parts that they occupied and make the encryption or ask the state, through a decree, to grant a definitive title. But some had provisional titles and others than permits to occupy, but there was no legal tenure. We’re talking about the year 69. **In 1970, when they created the Reserve where Cerro Castillo is, only the lands that were with titles remained in the position of their owners, and everything that was called this time a *veranada* or solicitations for *veranada* land, was incorporated into the Reserve and was not given to the settlers. The settlers, for many years, continued to complain.** I’m talking about the Lago Azul sector—not just my family, but also our neighbors...on the side of Lago Desierto, everyone was in the same position. And they did a measurement in the year 86. And a surveyor came from Temuco, Daniel Toro Ulloa, I even remember his first and last name because I accompanied him to take the measurements, along with my father and my uncles. At this time my father was still alive. They made the trip in the summer and I was on vacation, I was already a university student, so I went with the tachymeter on my shoulder so they could reach all the points and so they could measure where we told him...Then, they finally make a report...the product of that measurement, **year 88, CONAF issues a decree where it discards all those areas that were measured. Because CONAF considered that this area should be discarded, because it had no forests and was absolutely-- they were poor soils and they had been devastated by forest fires and they had no use that could be conserved, and it was better to deliver it to the cultivation of animal grazing, as requested by the inhabitants.** And because of this, in the year 88, they issue

the decree that discards this area, and starting in 88, all the plans that CONAF had of Cerro Castillo Forest Reserve appeared with these areas discarded. But the issue was, that when the change to democracy came, the governments of the center-left, no—National Assets never incorporated the lands discarded by CONAF, and in the year, around 2002, 2003, **I realize that this—that the maps weren't compatible**, those that National Assets had, versus those that CONAF had. Because after my father died, **my father never was able to get the title for the veranada, which was 88 hectares** to the southeast of Vidal Creek. Then I continued with the request, then National Assets told me 'we cannot grant this because it belongs to Cerro Castillo Forest Reserve.' I went to CONAF and CONAF told me, 'but if it is discarded, that is of National Assets.' **They said, 'and you get all the gains because you have the measurements?'** Finally, when there was no agreement, there was a moment when National Assets, like CONAF, accepted what I said and they realized these lands were discarded since the year 88 and that there was no decree of incorporation by National Assets to their patrimony. Then what do they do to resolve the issue with CONAF? They prepare resources and ask a consultant to evaluate the feasibility and form a commission composed of CONAF and National Assets to go back to evaluate the consistency of these lands. Then, finally, the Neighbors Council of Cerro Castillo Forest Reserve also intervenes and this Council orders in favor of us, in favor of it being done and considering because the inhabitants had been requesting for a long time and more if those lands were discarded by CONAF. **The report came out totally in favor of the inhabitants and both National Assets and CONAF agreed to turn over these veranadas to the inhabitants that they had been asking for**, and on top of it all they had the historical requests about these lands and they had been measured and the papers existed in the names of these and those people. According to the director of National Assets at the time, all of this information was shipped to the minister and **the minister ruled against it, that is, the minister ordered that all those lands, all, return to Cerro Castillo Forest Reserve**, so we are left with the desire. **As a consequence of this, the majority of the inhabitants that were left without veranadas sold, they sold all of their land, all of it...the whole world sold, this was one of the triggers."**

"Y esos tiempos de tus abuelos, antes de que se haga la Reserva ¿algunos sectores de ellos fueron tomados por la Reserva?"

"Si, efectivamente. Hay una historia triste que la puedo resumir y que es bueno también que CONAF la sepa porque están todos los archivos en los expedientes de bienes nacionales y en los expedientes de CONAF. Los antes de la creación de la Reserva, en el año 68-69, se mensuraron

esos campos y de hecho los mensuró el ingeniero Castro, que trabajaba para Bienes Nacionales en esa época, se llamaba "Oficina de tierras"; y ellos hicieron las mensuras de la mayoría de esos previos que tenían permiso de ocupación. Porque todo indicaba que la gente para tener la posición del título de dominio, tenía que mensurar las partes que tenía ocupadas y hacer la encipción o pedir que el Estado, a través de un decreto, le otorgara el título definitivo. Pero algunas tenían título provisorio y otras tenían permiso de ocupación, pero no había la tenencia legal. Estamos hablando del año 69. **El año 70, cuando se crea la Reserva donde está el Cerro Castillo, solamente los campos que estaban con título, quedaron en posición de sus propietarios, y todo lo que se denominaba en ese tiempo veranada o solicitudes de terreno de veranada, fueron incorporados a la Reserva y no se le fueron entregados a los pobladores. Los pobladores, durante muchos años, siguieron reclamando.** Estoy hablando de todo el sector del Lago Azul—no solamente mi familia, sino de todos los vecinos...en el lado de Lago Desierto, estaban todos en la misma situación. Y se hace una nueva mensura en el año 86. Que vino un agrimensor de Temuco, Daniel Toro Ulloa, que me acuerdo hasta del nombre y del apellido porque yo lo acompañé a hacer las mensuras, junto con mi papá y mis tíos. En ese tiempo todavía estaba vivo mi papá. Como hicieron el viaje en el verano y estaba de vacaciones, ya era estudiante universitario, así que, anduve con el taquímetro al hombro para que pudieran llegar a todos los puntos y pudieran mensurar donde le decíamos nosotros... Entonces, se hace un informe finalmente...el producto de esa mensura, **el año 88, la CONAF emite un decreto donde desafecta todas esas áreas que fueron mensuradas. Porque la CONAF consideraba de que esa área debía quedar desafectada, producto de que no tenía bosques y estaba absolutamente-- eran suelos pobres y que habían sido arrasados por los incendios forestales y que no tenían un uso susceptible de conservar, y que era mejor entregarlo al cultivo del pastoreo de animales, como lo solicitaban los pobladores.** Y por eso, en el año 88, emiten un decreto donde desafectan esa área. Y a partir del año 88, todos los planos que tenía la Reserva Forestal Cerro Castillo de la CONAF aparecían con todas esas áreas desafectadas. Pero el tema fue, que cuando viene el cambio a la democracia, asumen los gobiernos de La Concertación, no—Bienes Nacionales, jamás incorporó los terrenos desafectados por la Conaf, y el año, más o menos el año 2002, 2003, **yo me doy cuenta de que esa—de que los mapas no eran compatibles, los que disponía Bienes Nacionales, versus los que tenía la CONAF. Porque después que falleció mi papá, mi papá nunca pudo tener el título de la veranada, que eran 88 hectáreas que quedaban al sur oriente del Arrollo Vidal.** Entonces yo seguí con la solicitud, entonces Bienes Nacionales me decían 'no te podemos otorgar eso porque pertenece a la Reserva forestal Cerro Castillo.' Iba a CONAF y CONAF me decía 'pero si está desafectado, eso es de Bienes Nacionales.' **Me decían 'y ustedes tienen todas las ganadas porque tienen las mensuras?'** Finalmente, como no hubo acuerdo, hubo un momento en que tanto Bienes Nacionales, como la CONAF, aceptaron lo que

*yo decía y en el fondo se dieron cuenta que esos terrenos estaban desafectados desde el año 88 y que no existía el decreto de incorporación por parte de Bienes Nacionales a su patrimonio. ¿Entonces qué hacen ellos para resolver el tema desde la CONAF? Se disponen recursos y le piden a un consultor que evalúe la factibilidad y forma una comisión integrada por CONAF y Bienes Nacionales para ir a evaluar nuevamente la consistencia de esos terrenos. Entonces, finalmente, interviene también el Consejo Consultivo de la Reserva Forestal Cerro Castillo y este Consejo dispone a favor de nosotros, a favor de que se haga y se considere porque los pobladores llevan mucho tiempo solicitando y más si esos terrenos estaban desafectados por la CONAF. **Salió el informe totalmente favorable a los pobladores y tanto Bienes Nacionales como la misma CONAF estaban de acuerdo en entregar esas veranadas a los pobladores que lo habían solicitado**, y sobre todo aquellos que tenían solicitudes históricas sobre esos terrenos y habían sido mensurados y existían los papeles a nombre de tales y tales personas. Según el director de Bienes Nacionales de la época, toda esa información se despachó a la ministro y **la ministro falló en contra, es decir, la ministro dispuso que esos terrenos, todos, vuelvan a la Reserva Forestal Cerro Castillo**, por lo tanto nosotros quedamos con las ganas. **Como consecuencia de eso, la mayoría de los pobladores que quedaron sin veranada vendieron, vendieron todos sus campos, todos...todo el mundo vendió, ese fue uno de los detonantes.**”*

Changes in land ownership also have implications in the access debate, as norms about private land have shifted. Historically, landowners permitted others to cross their land, with the only condition that they left the gates however they found them, open or closed.

“But the other areas of the Reserve than are less well-known and, since first they have to pass through private land, people do not enter because the majority say: “Do Not Enter. Entry Prohibited.” And this is because the old settlers aren’t there, because the old settlers never closed the passage to anyone. Within the community, an understanding existed that the roads, even without being local, were of public use. So, there was not problem with passage. People just had to respect that if the gate was closed, you had to leave it closed. If it was open, you had to leave it open.”

“Pero las otras áreas de la Reserva son muy poco conocidas y, como primero tienen que pasar por sectores privados, la gente no entra porque la mayoría dice: "No Entrar. Prohibido Entrar". Y es porque ya los pobladores antiguos no están porque los pobladores antiguos nunca cerraron el paso a nadie. Existía dentro de la comunidad el hecho de que los caminos, sin ser vecinales,

eran de uso público. Entonces, no había problema de paso. Lo que había que respetar era que si el paso estaba cerrado, había que dejarlo cerrado. Si estaba abierto, había que dejarlo abierto.”

“In other words, the generations—the first generations that came to the region and those who owned the land around what is now a Reserve—they never cared or cared whether people passed or not. It was not an issue. ‘If you want to, pass.’ You understand? ‘Leave the gate closed,’ ‘Don’t make fire,’ maybe. But not now, because now those old folks have already passed away. Their children inherited their lands, the grandchildren, and it is the grandchildren who are seeing the part of the *lucas*, the money. ‘But if this guy passes and he leaves me three *lucas* maybe it’s nothing for me, I need a lot more,’ and that’s where they start as to actually negotiate with CONAF—I’m not sure with who—because they want to get a lot, a lot of money. I think they hope for something like some agreement or something with CONAF, where, I do not know, where CONAF or the government pays something very big.”

“O sea, las generaciones—las primeras generaciones que llegaron a estar región y quienes fueron dueños de campos alrededor de lo que es Reserva hoy día—a ellos nunca les interesó ni les importó si la gente pasaba o no. No era un tema. ‘Si quiere, pase,’ ¿cachái? ‘Déjeme la tranquera cerrada,’ ‘No haga fuego,’ tal vez. Pero ahora no, pues ahora esos viejos ya se fueron. Heredaron sus tierras los hijos, los nietos, y son los nietos los que están viendo la parte de luca, de plata. ‘Pero si este tipo pasa y me deja tres lucas tal vez no es nada para mí, yo necesito mucho más,’ y ahí es donde empiezan como a negociar en realidad con CONAF—no sé con quien corresponda—porque quieren sacar mucho, mucho dinero. Creo que esperen algo de algún convenio o algo así con CONAF, en donde, no sé, en donde CONAF o el gobierno pagan algo muy grande.”

Ideal vision for the future of the Reserve (10)

This category deals with residents’ future visions of how they hope the Reserve will shape the local economy and culture. The following comments summarize these visions.

Residents envision a future in which the communities surrounding the Reserve recognize the tourism industry as a significant contributor to the local economy that enables the preservation of traditional economic activities like sheep herding.

“That we feel that we are prepared for visitors, that we also see it as an economic opportunity, and that we also see it as an opportunity to help us together to preserve this heritage.”

“Que nosotros sintamos de que estamos preparados para los visitantes, que también lo vemos como una oportunidad económica, y que también lo vemos como una oportunidad de ayudarnos juntos a preservar este patrimonio.”

Many imagine community management of the Reserve, with locals as concessionaires that maintain an excellent relationship with all community members.

“I imagine that the community participates in all that relates with the Reserve. And as the community also as a tourist attraction, conserving its traditions. I feel that it is not only the Reserve that is an attraction, but also here is attractive, the local traditions. And therefore also, I believe that, like I said before, the Reserve is an asset of the community. So it would be marvelous, and I know this is a really ambitious dream, but that the community concedes the park and advises through discussions, and that it would be this same community that could concession the use of the Park, with advice from third parties that were technical experts in management, but that the community were more empowered by the Park.”

“Yo me imagino a la comunidad participe en todo lo que se relaciona con una Reserva. Y a la comunidad también como un atractivo turístico, conservando sus tradiciones. Siento que no solo es atractiva la Reserva, sino también es atractiva de acá, las tradiciones locales. Y por lo mismo también, yo creo que, como lo dije anteriormente, la Reserva es un activo de la comunidad. Entonces sería maravilloso, yo sé que es un sueño muy ambicioso, pero incluso que la comunidad concesionara el parque, y se asesora a través del dialogo y que fuera la misma comunidad la que pudiera concesionar el uso del parque, asesorar a través de terceros que fueran expertos técnicos en el manejo, pero que la comunidad estuviera más empoderada del parque.”

This includes a training program at the school in Villa Cerro Castillo, where the young generation is trained and studies to become guides or to work in hospitality. People hope these

opportunities would appeal to the youth, and they would stay in the small, rural towns, breaking the trend of urban migration.

“This small group from the school, which are 12, or 15, or 10 children who have a teacher, a visible head, perfectly well we could give them a stretch of trail that they work in summer, make a concession with them, with the municipality, with whomever, something that in the low season would serve them as a practice area, of how to build a trail, how to interpret, to go see birds, to study the forest, to do a math class, to go seeing areas.”

“Este grupito del colegio, que son 12, o 15, o 10 niños que tienen un profesor, una cabeza visible, perfectamente a ellos les podríamos entregar un tramo de sendero y que lo trabajen en verano, hacer una concesión con ellos, con la municipalidad, con quien sea, cosa que en temporada baja a ellos les sirva como una zona de práctica, de cómo hacer sendero, de cómo interpretar, de ir a ver aves, estudiar el bosque, hacer una clase matemáticas, ir viendo superficies.”

Ideally, all entrances to Reserve are open, and the heart of park is La Bombacha, an area along the Carretera Austral that is currently undeveloped. A new system of trails stems from a visitor center here, and these connect to existing trails.

“And in this context it is super probable that they proposed a new administrative center, and that is possible in La Bombacha, I don’t know if you know it. The idea is that this generates a center that is more bound to Cerro Castillo for operations and everything, that from here one can leave on a trail maybe to Ibáñez, maybe to Monreal, ultimately think of it as a heart, and that is has a winter program... a cafeteria, an administrative ranger station.”

“Y en ese contexto es súper-probable que se proponga como nuevo corazón administrativo, y es posible en La Bombacha, no sé si la conocen. Y la idea de esto es generar un corazón que esté más ligado a Cerro Castillo por operaciones y todo, que de ahí pueda salir un sendero quizás a Ibáñez, quizás a Monreal, en el fondo pensarlo como un corazón, y que tenga algún programa invernal... que haya una cafetería, una guardería administrativa.”

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“What I want, and my future vision of the Reserve...what I would like with all sectors, including my own property, is that easements of passage exist for all kinds. For all the standards. Where there is a vehicle road, that exists, it should be a public road. Where there are trails for animals and trails for walkers, whatever they want to do, that these are open. Of open access. And also free access to any area of public use.”

“Yo lo que quiero, y mi visión a futuro con la Reserva...también me gustaría con todos los sectores, incluso con mi propio predio, es que existan las servidumbres de paso para todo tipo. Para todos los estándares. Donde hay camino de vehículo, que exista, que sea camino público. Donde hay senderos para tropas de animales y senderos para peatones, para que quieran hacer, que eso sea libre. De libre acceso. Y también libre acceso a cualquier área de uso público.”

The Carretera Austral is designated as a Scenic Route, which reduces the speed limit and imposes penalties for littering or harming wildlife.

“The Scenic Route rises as a need to slow down the pace of the road, ultimately it is like a place...of enjoying the landscape, of seeing huemuls, more than a highspeed highway.”

“La Ruta Escénica se levanta como una necesidad para ralentizar el paso por la carretera, en el fondo que sea como un lugar...de disfrutar del paisaje, de ver a los huemules, más que una carretera a alta velocidad.”

People come to see the Reserve, but they also come to learn about the culture of the locals, and they visit the sheep ranching operations, and maybe buy some wool products that came from the sheep they meet (see “Desire for Local Character of Development” for quotes about a desire for cultural tourism).

The tourism industry is viable year-round because the Reserve becomes a winter recreation destination for ice climbers, skiers, and mountaineers.

“Then, that in ten years, we are functioning the whole year. That our entrepreneurship generates a situation where I can give work to her, so that she is with me in the winter season, if she likes it, or in the high season. That we can say calmly, we continue our work, but we have our people working, our office functioning.”

“Entonces, que en diez años, estemos funcionando el año completo. Que nuestro emprendimiento genere como para que yo le pueda dar trabajo a ella, para que esté la temporada invernal conmigo, si le gusta, o en temporada alta. Que nosotros podamos decir tranquilo, sigamos nuestra pega, pero tenemos nuestra gente trabajando, o nuestra oficina funcionando.”

Neighbors of the Reserve and residents of local communities see the value of conservation of the Reserve, instead of seeing it as an area lost to grazing, and they want to protect it from mining or other forms of extractive development, because they directly benefit from it.

“But yes, that is has this environmental benefit, ecosystem and social equally, it interests me very much to develop the social line with communities because they are the actors that we have in the territory, the main conflicts are with the principal allies that we can have, the people of the communities. And this is a way to integrate with them- if they know they’re receiving benefits from the protected area, they’re going to stop seeing it as a lost territory that could be full of cows, or could be with the chainsaw chopping down wood, or I don’t know what other resource they could exploit in the Reserve, it could probably be an area exploited for mining. So we must take these actions with people so that we can have them as allies, they commit themselves to the territory, and we don’t appear as the bad guys who are protecting a territory and they can’t even obtain a concrete benefit from it, because in the end, the only people benefitting from the area are those in tourism, 80% of the communities, apart from having a nice place, conversation topics, I don’t know, saying they have a protected area next to them... they do not receive a direct benefit.”

“Pero si, tiene ese beneficio ambiental, ecosistémico y social igual, que a mi me interesa mucho desarrollar la línea social con las comunidades porque son los actores que tenemos en el territorio, los principales conflictos con los principales aliados que podemos tener es la gente de las comunidades. Y eso es una forma de vincularse igual con ellos- ellos saben que están recibiendo beneficios del área protegida, van a dejarle de verla como un territorio perdido que podía estar llena de vacas, o podía estar con la motosierra hachando quebaja, o no sé otro recurso podrían explotar en la Reserva, podría ser una explotación minera probablemente. Entonces hay que hacer esas acciones con la gente para que poder tenerlos de aliados, ellos se comprometan con su territorio, y no nosotros aparecer como los malos que estamos protegiendo

un territorio y ni ellos pueden obtener un beneficio concreto, porque al final lo que se benefician de las comunidades en este momento, es solamente la gente que está promocionando el turismo, el 80% de las comunidades, aparte de tener un lugar bonito, temas de conversación, no sé, contar que tienen una área protegida al lado... no reciben un beneficio directo.”

Locals and CONAF develop a close working relationship with a strong foundation in trust. They coordinate objectives and planning together and thus create a mutually beneficial relationship, striving towards shared goals together and accomplishing more as a partnership.

“And that Villa Cerro Castillo could generate a good relationship with the Reserve—it’s fundamental for the vitality of the Reserve. For management, for care, for everything in the life of a Reserve, it’s fundamental.”

“Y que la Villa Cerro Castillo pueda generar una buena relación con la Reserva—es fundamental para la vitalidad de la Reserva. Para el manejo, para el cuidado, para todo lo en la vida de una Reserva, es fundamental.”

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“What I feel at least is that with arrangements based on local reality, with rules based on local reality and local experience, I believe very good ordinances or very good standards can be generated. But if we base ordinances on what comes from the central level and we do not adjust them to our reality, they won’t serve us at all. That is to say that the ideal is these rules emerge from a common agreement between local people and CONAF itself, whether it is face to face that CONAF tells us we are interested in you helping us with this. And we say, ‘it interests us that you help us with this other thing’ and we work together. Because obviously for us we are interested in the forest Reserve being maintained and preserved. Because also it is part of our common future, we share a common space.”

“Lo que yo siento al menos es que con disposiciones que sean basadas en la realidad local, con normas basadas en la realidad local y en la experiencia local, yo creo que se pueden generar muy buenas ordenanzas o muy buenas normas. Pero si nos vamos a basar en la ordenanza que vienen desde el nivel central y que no se ajustan a nuestra realidad, no nos sirven de nada. Es decir lo ideal es que estas normas surjan de común acuerdo entre los mismos pobladores y la misma CONAF, que sea en un cara a cara donde la CONAF nos diga a nosotros nos interesa que

ustedes nos ayuden con esto. Y vosotros decís "A nosotros nos interesa que nos ayuden con esto otro", y trabajar juntos. Porque obviamente a nosotros nos interesa que la Reserva forestal se mantenga y se pReserve. Porque también es parte de nuestro futuro común, compartimos un espacio común."

“And also especially that there exists some type of promotion by the State for the landowners with properties that border with Reserve areas so that the people help take care. And also that there is some encouragement that they themselves provide services to visitors. Because if a person passes through the Reserve, it’s unlikely that you have a refuge or a place, a cafeteria or something, where the person can get a sandwich or buy something to eat. But yes, that in the fields the person could have all of that.”

“Y sobre todo también que exista algún tipo de fomento de parte del Estado para los propietarios de los predios que colindan con áreas de Reservas para que la gente ayude a cuidar. Y también para que exista el fomento que ellos mismos proporcionen servicios a los visitantes. Porque si una persona pasa por la Reserva, es difícil que tú tengas un refugio y un lugar, una cafetería o algo, donde la persona pueda servirse un sándwich o pueda comprar algo para alimentarse. Pero sí que en los campos la persona pudiera tener eso.”

This relationship between local residents and CONAF is based on mutual understanding, in which park managers recognize the reality that locals need to use some natural resources. For example, locals are permitted to use fallen trees or other resources in cases when it would not hinder conservation objectives.

“Also understand that the local population lives from the resources that his fields give him. So, what would be more beautiful than, at the spur of a moment, every time a *lenga* tree falls, product of the wind, CONAF goes, marks it, and tells the local. He can do whatever he wants with it, that is to say take it and use it, not watch as every year trees fall and fall and they stay plugging the route because I can’t use them because they belong to CONAF because they’re inside of the Reserve and the family is dying, sometimes they have to buy firewood because their fields don’t have wood because all the wood that there was is rotten and of poor quality.”

“También entender a la población local que vive de los recursos que le otorga su campo. Entonces, qué más bonito sería que, de repente, cada vez que cae un árbol de lenga, producto del viento, la misma CONAF vaya, lo marque, y le diga al poblador. Puede hacer con él lo que usted quiera, o sea que pórtelo y úselo, no ver como todos los años caen y caen arboles que quedan tapando la ruta y que no los puedo utilizar porque son de la CONAF porque están dentro de la Reserva y la familia esta muriéndose, a veces tiene que comprar la leña porque ya su campo no tiene leña porque toda la leña que había está podrida y de mala calidad.”

A massive restoration project is implemented to extract the pine plantations and replant these areas with native trees. The pine wood is donated as firewood to vulnerable populations, and some is used for construction of Reserve infrastructure.

*“The issue of management of the plantations- eliminate the pines that are affecting the normal cycle of water, that are drying streams, that are limiting water for *huemuls*, that are affecting soil quality, right? So the vision of the team is to bring these pine plantations into an agreement with some municipalities so they can give them to communities, and for it to be free for them- for the elderly, for preschools, I don’t know for the municipalities so they use it, and another percentage of these pines can go towards wood for building, I don’t know, bathrooms, emergency shelters, preparing houses for elderly people (a patio, a little window). So this is something we have on the docket, we need to meet to look at it but it would be a good business for everyone to do this, for conservation of fauna it would be excellent because when we take out the pine, the people from Reforest Patagonia can help us plant southern beeches.”*

“El tema de el manejo de las plantaciones- eliminar los pinos que están afectando el ciclo de agua normal digamos, están secando los arroyos, están limitando el agua para los huemules, les están afectando la calidad de suelo, cierto? entonces la visión del equipo es traer esas plantaciones de pino con un convenio de algunas municipalidades para que se lo pueden entregar a las comunidades, y ser gratis para ellos- para los adultos mayores, jardines infantiles, no sé ir a los municipios para que se lo ocupan, y otro porcentaje de esos pinos puede salir algo de madera para construir, no sé, latrinas, casetas de emergencia, prepararle casa a la gente de tercera edad (patio por aquí, la ventanita). Así que es un tema que tenemos en carpeta, tenemos que juntarnos para verlo pero sería un buen negocio para todos hacer eso, para conservación de fauna sería excelente porque cuando nosotros saquemos pino la gente de Reforestemos Patagonia puede ayudarnos a poner lengas.”

"You have to manage not only the wildlife populations but you have to manage resources that are there to exploit, that is, deep down, the pine plantations have to be exploited and you have to start doing restoration, and at best, you have to generate another model or apply a [different] model to the Reserve."

"Hay que manejar no solamente las poblaciones de vida silvestre sino que hay que manejar recursos que están ahí para explotar, o sea en el fondo, las plantaciones de pino hay que explotarla y hay que empezar a hacer restauración, y a lo mejor, hay que generar otro modelo o aplicar un modelo de Reserva."

"Cut the pine, and give the pine as firewood to vulnerable sectors. Use the wood to make houses, too."

"Cortan el pino, y el pino lo entregan en leña a sectores vulnerables. Ocupan madera para hacer casas también."

Aversion to outsiders (11)

The region's geographical isolation during the pioneer years bred an attitude of aversion to outsider influence. In the Aysén region, anyone who is not from the region itself is an outsider—foreigners and people from other parts of Chile alike. When settlers arrived, they had little support from or contact with the national government. Over time, this forced self-sufficiency morphed into an identity of staunch independence, in part fueled by the trend of large companies coming to exploit the natural resources of the area. This mistrust extends to most outsiders who come to the region to exert influence—it doesn't matter whether an organization wants to conquer a village or beautify it. Locals will be skeptical and mistrust the outsider.

“Independent of the vision that many people in community might have that it could be something negative, or of what is this gentleman, what does he bring, because Patagonians, as it is, we are distrustful. Then you converse with the people and they say: ‘No, this gentleman wants to buy land,’ or ‘he is imposing things, like Tompkins did,’ or ‘because I have a lot of money and I come, I am going to do this, if you like it, I’ll do it, if you don’t like it, I’ll do it anyways.’ So this vision of that they come to impose something also is in the community.”

“Independiente a la visión que puedan tener mucha gente de la comunidad de que puede ser algo impositivo, o de qué este caballero, qué se trae, porque los patagones somos desconfiados de por sí. Entonces tú conversas con la gente y dice: ‘No, este caballero quiere comprar campos’ o ‘Te está imponiendo cosas, como lo hizo Tompkins,’ o sea ‘porque tengo mucha plata y vengo, voy a hacer esto, si te gusta, lo hago, y si no te gusta, lo voy a hacer igual.’ Entonces esa visión de que te vienen a imponer algo también está en la comunidad.”

This creates an interesting dynamic for the growing tourism industry, which obviously depends on outsiders visiting. It’s important to note that most people are welcoming and friendly to those passing through, though perhaps less openly than friendly than many other cultures. People become skeptical and mistrustful of those who buy land, start businesses, or acts of that nature.

The local people’s skepticism of outsiders is warranted: countless examples of major outsider influence speckle the region. To name a couple, the Tompkins purchased a large swath of land operated as a sheep ranch and turned it into a national park, and a multinational dam company tried to construct five hydroelectric dams that would’ve brought little benefit to the region itself. When foreigners and Santiaguinos purchase land around the Reserve, locals fear these wealthy people will usurp the economic opportunities associated with tourism. They see them as having better access to opportunities in tourism because their financial capital provides them the ability to purchase land and invest in business endeavors.

“A lot of people are going to arrive here, there are a lot— the *campesino* is already watching, point one; point two, a lot of people are coming with a lot of money and it is they who will have the best chances for progress.”

“Aquí van a llegar muchos, hay muchos-- el campesino ya se está vigilando, punto uno; punto dos, está entrando mucha gente con mucho dinero y hay quien le da las mayores posibilidades para que progresen ellos.”

Local residents express a lot of frustration over not having a say in decision-making processes. For example, the *Red de Parques* or Network of Parks, a vision of the late Doug Tompkins, has the mission of promoting a route of nature-based tourism through Patagonia, and is likely to draw many visitors to Villa Cerro Castillo, a major stop on the route. In one interview, a local resident expressed exasperation over not having been consulted about this project, since they are the ones who will bear the burden of any changes. Even though the vision of the project is to promote local tourism, this resident doubted that it would provide opportunities for local businesses, instead believing the network would create more opportunity for larger companies run by outsiders. This exemplifies the type of suspicion of outside influence—even though the project is designed to help locals, locals believe it will not help them.

"Maybe I'm a bit uninterested on the subject, with the subject of the Red de Parques Nacionales, it seems to me- or the new network or this new announcement, it seems to me another centralist imposition. Because I have spent time listening to this and I've never heard in any occasion of being invited to a table like this to see what it is we would want out of a network. So yeah, it really catches my attention that the announcement in Pumalín with Tompkins, with the president of the republic signing a commitment with the people, on the backs of the inhabitants of the region of Aysén who, in the end, are the ones who are going to have to coexist with this network. I, and many people, see it as a centralist imposition. I don't know what benefits this obtains for the local tourism industry. Because evidently, it opens more opportunities to exploit, but at best, they would be opportunities for foreign companies to exploit. So yeah, I believe that they skipped a step again.”

“A lo mejor estoy un poco desentendido en cuanto al tema, con el tema de la red de Parques Nacionales a mí me parece -o de la nueva red o esto nuevos anuncio-, me parece que es una imposición centralista igualmente. Porque del tiempo que llevo escuchando esto no había escuchado en ninguna ocasión en que se le invitara a una mesa como esta para ver qué es lo que queríamos para idear una red. Entonces sí me llama bastante la atención que se largue el anuncio en Pumalín con Tompkins, con la presidente de la república firmando un compromiso con la población, de espalda a los habitantes de la región de Aysén que finalmente son los que van a tener que convivir con esta red. Yo y mucha gente lo veo como una imposición centralista igual. Yo no sé qué beneficios obtiene esto para la industria del turismo local. Porque evidentemente se abren más oportunidades de explotar, pero a lo mejor serían oportunidades de explotar para empresas foráneas. Entonces sí creo que se saltaron un paso nuevamente.”

This mistrust leads to conspiracy theories about powerful people from outside of Aysén to explain why they are buying up land. For example, there is one conspiracy theory that Jewish people are trying to build a second Jewish homeland.

“Well, I don’t know if it’s a gringo, others say it’s one of those Turks that comes from Israel, I don’t know, but there are some of these that have no idea, because they’re snatching up [land] here in Lago Paloma, at the entrance to Lago Paloma, even when they already are landowners in Cerro Castillo, because they bought the land from the Ramirez association, the one that reaches La Rionda, the part almost adjacent with the other little part that I told you that’s by Lago Paloma, and I’m going to tell you where these gringos are from that say they are gringos, because they’re Turks, I don’t know what the hell, whatever it is. And the other thing, they bought up the other side of Lago Azul. The part where the Galindos are, where there used to be various settlers, yeah like they bought it all from them.”

“Bueno, no sé será gringo, otros dicen que es de estos turcos que viene de Israel...no sé pero hay algunos de esos que no tienen ni idea, porque esos están agarrando de acá del Lago Paloma, la entrada del Lago Paloma, incluso ellos son propietarios antes del Cerro Castillo porque compraron el campo de la asociación Ramírez que eso llega a La Rionda, a la parte casi colindante con esa otra partecita que le digo yo que está del Lago Paloma, y voy a decir de donde son los gringos esos que dicen que son gringos, pero son turcos, no sé que diablos, sea lo que sea. Y lo otro, compraron del otro lado del Lago Azul. La parte donde están los Galindos que ahí habían varios pobladores, sí como que eso le compraron a todos.”

In the focus group in Villa Cerro Castillo, two representatives from Fundación Patagonia attended, and their presence stirred up some anger among local residents. The organization's mission is to promote sustainable development in the Aysén region by supporting community tourism, with efforts focused in Villa Cerro Castillo. While the mission aligns with the visions for the future of many residents, and their work does appear to genuinely support economic development there (no ulterior motives), many are still wary of them and are skeptical of their intentions. The conversation got heated, with residents saying the employees of the foundation had no right to be in the meeting as part of the voice of the community. This interaction illustrated the mistrust towards outsiders felt by many locals.

“Listen up...we, for example, we are the people who live here, we cannot— that is, you guys—I think you shouldn't be here and giving opinions because the native people here or those who live here should be the ones giving opinions.’

‘Yes, I am starting here with the Foundation, I have been coming here.’

‘But your opinion is going to equally represent something here all the same, of what we are going to make within this meeting of neighbors here in the workshop.’

‘Yeah, but what happens is there is public participation like that of the community, let's say; and the Foundation, I have understood that it's actor that social climbed the unit...’

“They invited us as actors. Like inviting some businessman maybe, that lives here or works here. They invited us also as actors that participate within the community. We have worked in the school for two years already and I believe the — what's your name? Excuse me.’

‘It's not important.’

‘No, it's to meet you. To be able to—’

‘I already introduced myself here.’

‘But I wasn't here. Well, it doesn't matter. But ultimately it is supposed to be something a little friendly, let's say. We want to contribute. I don't know if you have participated in the—’

‘No, I do not participate within the Foundation. I have not helped them because when someone comes to you asking for something in return, this is very easy.’

‘I totally respect your opinion, and it's super valid that there is mistrust in the activities we do.

But for the same reason, because one always doubts that if they give me this, what will they

want in exchange. And it would be odd if you did not question it. And I think it's very valid, but foundations and organizations and NGOs like this function in this way.”

“*Oye... nosotros, por ejemplo, que somos gente que vivimos acá, no podemos-- O sea, ustedes-- Yo pienso no deben estar y opinando porque la gente nativa de acá o los que vivimos acá estén opinando.*’

‘*Sí, yo estoy empezando acá con la Fundación, he estado paseando.*’

‘*Pero su opinión igual va a representar igual en usted también va a representar algo aquí, vamos a hacer el dentro de ésta reunión de vecinos acá en el taller.*’

‘*Sí, pero lo que pasa es como hay de participación pública está dentro como el de comunidad, digamos; y La Fundación, tengo entendido que es un actor que escalaba la unidad...*’

‘*A nosotros se nos invitó como actores. Así como se invita a lo mejor a algún empresario quizás, que vive acá o que trabaja acá. Nos invitó también como actores que participamos dentro de la comunidad. Hemos trabajado en el liceo ya van dos años y yo creo que-- ¿Cuál es su nombre?*’ ‘*Perdón.*’

‘*Eso es lo de menos.*’

‘*No, porque es para conocerlo. Para poder—*’

‘*Yo ya me presenté acá.*’

‘*Pero yo no estaba. Bueno, no importa. Pero en el fondo se supone que esto debería ser algo un poco amigable, digamos. Nosotros queremos contribuir. No sé si usted ha participado de la... No, yo no participo dentro de La Fundación. No lo he ayudado porque cuando a uno le vienen a dar pidiendo a cambio algo y así es facilísimo.*’

‘*Yo respeto totalmente su opinión, y es super válida que haya desconfianza en actividades como las que hacemos. Por lo mismo, porque uno siempre tiene la duda de que si me dan qué es lo que quieren a cambio. Y sería raro que no se lo cuestionaran. Y yo creo que es muy válido, pero la fundaciones y las organizaciones y las ONGs funcionan de esa forma.*’

“First, I insist, I do not agree with how it is now, because two people cannot come to give opinions that are not from the area. She says that they are here but they are employees of someone.’

‘Or maybe the mission is that the community is not affected.’

‘But here we are people. But I say now, your interests are going to be those that are going— your opinion of them.’

‘But if you give your opinion it could be very different.’

‘I am talking about education of the kids at the school, this is what my paper says. Has that been expressed here? Have you expressed that?’

‘No but—’

‘So then my presence, is it positive or negative?’

‘For me it’s negative, you come from— you both come for us and I also would go for them’

‘I don’t have businesses that...you, yes, can have business.’

‘I am a *campesino*. I sustain myself and everything here...’”

“‘*Yo primero, insisto, yo no estoy de acuerdo así como está ahora, porque no pueden venir dos personas a opinar que no son de acá del sector. Ella dice que están acá pero ellos son empleados de alguien.*’

‘*O tal vez su misión es que la comunidad no se vea afectada.*’

‘*Pero aquí somos personas. Pero yo digo ahora, sus intereses van a ser los que van a-- su opinión de ellos.*’

‘*Pero si das tu opinión puede ser muy distinta.*’

‘*Estoy hablando de educación de los chicos del liceo, esto es lo dice este documento. ¿Eso se ha expresado acá?, ¿habían expresado eso?*’

‘*No pero—*’

‘*Entonces mi presencia, ¿es positiva o negativa?*’

‘*Para mí negativa, vienes de-- vienen por nosotros y yo también iría por ellos.*’

‘*Yo no tengo negocios que...usted sí puede tener negocios.*’

‘*Yo soy un campesino. Yo me sustento y todo aquí...*’”

Many recounted stories of outsiders approaching them to buy their land, or of outsiders purchasing land near their homes.

“I have a *gringo* that says to me, ‘How much, how much?’ There is a man from here from Puerto Varas that calls me every time he comes. He says, ‘I want to buy this peninsula,’ and it’s not for sale. I charge them 10 million, I charged them and they said, ‘it’s [??] because they should remove the rocks. For me it’s worth it.’ One day I was going to buy myself a metal detector and I was going to get gold because there are some places even more beautiful here [laughter].”

“*Si no le digo que tengo gringo que me dice, ‘¿Cuánto vale, cuánto vale?’ Hay un señor de acá de Puerto Varas que cada vez que viene, me llama. Me dice, ‘yo quiero comprar esa península,’ y no está en venta. Yo les cobro 10 millones, les cobraba y me dijeron, ‘Es [??] porque debían*

quitar las piedras. Para mí vale.' Incluso un día iba a comprarme un detector de metal e iba a sacar oro porque hay unos lugares más lindos aquí [risas]."

“‘And have a lot of people come to buy land here, who aren't from here?’

‘Yeah, over here, it seems that a deputy presented a bill so that foreigners cannot have more than a thousand hectares and buy land. Tompkins had a lot, I don't know how many thousands, but that foreigners cannot have more than a thousand hectares. Up there in Lago Monreal, there they sold to an association that divided the land, and this has been sold a lot but to people from Santiago, they have parcels all along the shore of the lake, and people have bought that don't have anything yet, they haven't built. Other have built, yes. Others have cabins, but others have this— they bought. But it's that there are many foreigners that are buying lands and they leave it to the same people.’”

“‘¿Y hay muchas personas que han venido a comprar campos acá, que no son de acá?’

‘Sí, por acá, parece que un diputado presentó un proyecto de ley para que no puedan los extranjeros tener más de mil hectáreas y comprar terrenos. Tompkins tenía mucho, no sé cuántos miles, que los extranjeros no pueden tener más de mil hectáreas. En el Lago Montreal arriba, ahí vendieron uno que se repartieron ahí una asociación, y eso han vendido harto pero a gente de Santiago, tienen las parcelas toda la orilla del lago, y la gente ha comprado que no tiene nada todavía, no han hecho. Otros han hecho, sí. Otros tienen cabañas, pero otros tienen eso-- compraron. Pero es que hay muchos extranjeros que han comprado los campos y se lo dejan a la misma gente.’”

“Claudio Banes and this other one that has the casino, Claudio Fischer, these are the ones that bought the fields and don't even live there. On the Salmone road, they bought a field with cows [laughs] and they have a salmon farm, all of them who want to be are owners. And the *gringos*, well the foreigners, there are a ton of plots that belong to foreigners.”

“Claudio Banes y esta este otro que tiene casino, Claudio Fischer, esos son los que compran los campos y ni siquiera viven ahí. En el camino de Salmone compran un campo con vaca [risas] y tienen la salmonera, todas las que quieran son dueños. Y los *gringos*, bueno los extranjeros, hay un montón de parcelas que son de extranjeros.”

“This is what’s bad. Here we are natives of this region. Before...almost everyone was a relative of ours. There were the uncles, great uncles of everyone; today few relatives remain because they divided the land and started to sell it to big companies.”

“Eso es lo malo. Aquí nosotros somos nativos de esta región. Antes...casi todo eran parientes nuestros. Estaban los tíos, tíos abuelos de todo; hoy día quedan muy pocos parientes de nosotros porque se dividieron los campos y empezaron a vender a las grandes empresas.”

“Now we divided sectors because people got poor and sold, there wasn’t any money, there was nothing; a very big crisis, so the people didn’t have 500 hectares like before but they only had 50 o 20...sometimes they divided land among ten siblings, what am I going to do with that and they sell it; so the big companies— now the new rich are here, the Puchis*.”

*Victor Hugo Puchi is the president of AquaChile, a large fish farming company with contentious environmental practices

"Ahora repartíamos los sectores porque la gente se empobreció y vendían, no había plata, no había nada; una crisis muy grande, entonces la gente no tenían las 500 hectáreas de antes sino que tenían 50 o 20 no más...a veces los diez hermanos se repartían esos campos, que voy hacer con esto y lo vendían; así los empresarios grandes-- ahora están los nuevos ricos, los Puchis.”

“And here the other problem, it’s the other trail one can do, it’s specular for trekking, for horseback-riding too, it’s all of this trail here, that was a historic path to take troops of animals. We would take out the troops of animals here, we would cross this drainage and go along the shore, we followed this canyon, and we continued here and exited at Lago La Paloma. There’s also a route the Pancho Villa has done, one year he went through here, too, to exit by Lago Desierto. But now, all of those lands, they were sold to the same foreign company, all of it is in the position of privates, of just one private... some say the real owner is Kenneth Dart*, a large company that has all of this bought up.”

*Kenneth Dart is a billionaire. He was born in the United States but is a citizen of the Cayman Islands, Belize, and Ireland.

“Y acá el otro problema, este es el otro sendero que uno puede hacer, incluso para trekking es espectacular, para cabalgata también, que es todo este sendero acá, que es la huella histórica para sacar los animales con tropas. Nosotros sacábamos a los animales por tropas por aquí, cruzábamos este desagüe íbamos por esta orilla, seguíamos este cañadón, seguíamos acá y salíamos al Lago La Paloma. Incluso hay una carrera que ha hecho Pancho Villa, hubo un año que la hizo por aquí también, para salir hacia el Lago Desierto. Pero ahora todos estos terrenos, que fueron vendidos a una misma empresa extranjera, está todo esto en posición de privados, de un solo privado...Algunos dicen que el verdadero dueño es Kenneth Dart, es una empresa grande que tiene todo esto comprado.”

Chapter VI—Discussion

My results indicate that increasing tourist visitation to the Aysén region catalyzes sociocultural and economic change in communities, and this coincides with ecological changes that, together, contribute to ongoing processes of rapid change for local people. From the eleven categories of results, three overarching themes emerged that describe perceptions of changing conditions: access, external influences, and rural transition as a global trend. Each of these connect resident understandings of social, economic, and ecological changes that respondents witness, experience, discern, and interpret. In this chapter, I delve into these three areas, drawing on relevant literature and elaborating on what these findings reveal about the current state of affairs in Cerro Castillo's zone of influence.

Access

Many elements of the results can be framed within the theme of access. Traditionally defined, access is “a means of approaching or entering a space or place” (Miriam Webster, 2018). The Reserve faces a number of problems with this kind of physical and direct access, since the entrances to trailheads are all on private land. Ironically, though, the problem of closed or uncertain access through private property is juxtaposed with access that is too open and uncontrolled along the Carretera Austral.

Access issues extend beyond this, though, to a much broader, less tangible interpretation of the definition. In interviews, ideas of access to opportunity to benefit from tourism, access to decision-making power, and lost access to traditional livelihood practices were dominant, recurring themes. Considering tangible and intangible forms of access provides a framework for understanding the many ways the Reserve and tourism interact with people's lives and

livelihoods. Viewing them together strengthens our understanding of people's perceptions of change in Cerro Castillo's zone of influence.

Ribot and Peluso (2003) theorize the concept of access, defining it as “the ability to benefit from things—including material objects, persons, institutions, and symbols” (153). That is, “focusing on *ability*, rather than *rights*...brings attention to a wider range of social relationships that can constrain or enable people to benefit from a resource without focusing on property relations alone” (ibid: 154). This conceptualization includes not only direct physical access to natural resources or trailheads, but it extends to considering access to benefits from protected area tourism.

People's ability to access benefits from tangible or intangible resources depends on a complex web of social relationships. Therefore, who controls or maintains access is a function of their position within a political and economic power structure, and this position changes, making access a process rather than a fixed position. A variety of factors can influence access to benefits, including “technology, capital, markets, knowledge, authority, social identities, and social relations” (ibid: 165). This is useful in considering how and why local residents experience an uneven range of benefits from the Reserve.

In this case study, it becomes clear that power dynamics shape many access outcomes, which necessitates a consideration of tourism development through the lens of political ecology before proceeding. Political ecologists seek to identify and examine the root causes of environmental problems, explaining that “contemporary patterns of unequal social, ecological, and economic progresses are conditioned by historical patterns of inequalities in power” (Nepal et al., 2016: 1). Under this definition, power is “the ability to achieve a desired objective” (ibid: 4). Inequality among actors is understood as the manifestation asymmetrical power structures

and dynamics, which are political, economic, and very present in tourism (Duffy 2006; Douglas 2014; Nepal et al., 2016). Those with the more power exercise it “at the expense of others,” which can lead “disadvantaged sections of the society...vulnerable to...inadequate control of and access to resources” (Nepal et al., 2016: 1).

In considering conservation, it is thus political power and actions that shape policy outcomes. While the government is an obvious primary holder of power, in many cases, international NGOs increasingly exercise the determining power traditionally held by governments. These groups create the power they need to implement conservation objectives through “the ways they provide funds for ecotourism development, or promise rewards to governments,” (i.e., the conditional land donation of the Tompkins) (Duffy, 2006: 4). In this way, non-governmental actors operate in a political role, utilizing power through conduits of international networks and capitalism to access decision-making authority or control over policy.

Governments (and in some of these cases, international NGOs) politicize tourism through various channels, thus distancing local actors from access to agency over outcomes in their involvement with tourism (ibid). They control how land is allocated to protected areas (ibid). In the case of the Reserve, this dynamic is evidenced in the documented, unrecognized land claims on the backside, as well as the central government’s role in upgrading the protected area category without local consultation. The political power of governments in tourism also is apparent as they identify where to invest money in tourism development, meaning they control what regions and communities are allocated resources for tourism-enabling infrastructure like road construction or airports (ibid). This means that they “often focus on developing areas within local communities where tourists [already] visit, eschewing the development of areas that will not provide short-term returns” (Mathie & Rose, 2016: 67). This is evident in Cerro Castillo,

both with road construction positioning the frontside for visitation and with government investment in tourism projects in the more easily accessible areas. (It is important to remember, though, that this is not a critique of regional park managers, who are acutely aware of the potential for protected area tourism around the Park to contribute to economic development in other areas).

Another means through which government or international NGOs access power to influence tourism development is their role in determining what images are shared about the place. Adams and Hutton (2007) explain that “the actual state of nature needs to be understood materially as the outcome of political processes, but also that the way nature itself is understood is also political (149). This means that governments and international NGOs, which have ready access to networks of information sharing, define what image of a place is promoted (Duffy 2006). This shapes how outsiders understand the local reality and it may or may not align with the dominant local understanding of nature and culture. Often, the formation of image is driven by an interest in drawing visitors to the area, which leads to an “image of a developing country as pristine, lacking in modernity, unspoiled or even primitive” because this is what is appealing to visitors (ibid: 3) or with protected areas as wild, un-peopled, and pristine (Adam & Hutton 2007). In the case of Aysén, the intentional production of space by government actors at different moments in time imposed a new construction of identity that entirely contrasted with the previous one, changing from a grazing frontier to a pristine landscape (González et al., 2017).

What is important to note is that most local residents do not possess the political power to influence what version of their places (and thus identities) are produced and reproduced. For most of the 20th century, settlers and their descendants viewed Aysén’s forests as barriers to grazing. As government actors sought to facilitate economic development, around the 1990s, this

same physical nature began to transition as “a great Reserve of potential use values...before to extract, today to conserve” (González et al., 2017: 212). The “re-appropriation of nature” capitalizes on the pristineness of the place, redefining the forest as “sacred” (instead of as a “weed”), which then becomes a product for tourists to consume (ibid: 210, 214). This shift in production of space dispossesses ranchers from an identity that was, not long ago, respected and central to the region, and the new values of nature define it as a place that needs to be protected and conserved, which devalues grazing (ibid). Tourism development in the region is built on the view of the forest as sacred and the production of nature as pristine; these types of places are thus what visitors expect to see, which impacts land management practices and values. Local people did not actively band together to decide to shift the way they construct space, place, and nature; these changes occurred outside of systems that *gauchos* could access. Gale (2006) similarly corroborated the role of “macro-level policy” in the transformation of “micro-environment(s)” in “specific places and livelihoods” in the Aysén region (59). As tourism development continues to expand, it is important to recognize who holds this access to the power to determine how spaces are produced, because it highlights the differential agency among stakeholders and helps explain frustrations about how new constructions of nature devalue traditional practices.

From here, keeping in mind the role of politics and economics in distribution of access to power, I will first describe the physical access issues to the Reserve and how property ownership empowers certain stakeholders to influence conditions in and around the Reserve, as this is an important dynamic to this case study. Next, I will describe how protected area regulations influence lost access to resources historically used within the Reserve by local people. Then, I will move into an analysis of how these geographies of access position some people to connect with benefits, opportunities, and decision-making more than others, creating uneven and

inequitable situations. Finally, I will analyze the multi-scalar influences at play that interact to dictate who makes decisions and whose voices are delegitimized or dismissed.

Property ownership is a traditional way of thinking about access, and while it is just one of many mechanisms through which access to resources is controlled, it is an important and relevant one to this case study (Ribot & Peluso, 2003). As mentioned, Cerro Castillo is completely surrounded by private property, and access to all major trailheads necessarily involves crossing through private land. In the results section, I presented the details of the situations of closed access at each of the major trailheads. These illustrate the different power dynamics that property ownership creates, as the decisions of a handful of landowners influence access for everyone.

Because the park is an island of public land surrounded entirely by private property, the only public access is from the highway that dissects the middle of the park, which generates its own set of problems as no trailheads start from the road. The juxtaposition between closed access and this uncontrolled access along the Carretera is an irony highlighted by increased visitation to the region. Park rangers report that people frequently dump trash bags along the road, as well as smaller deposits of litter tossed out car windows. Car speed along the highway at rapid paces, and they hit animals, including *huemuls*, which generates outrage. Park managers and wildlife biologists express frustration about the speed limit, arguing that it should be reduced through the protected area. Road bikers camp at undesignated sites, disrupting vegetation in the areas and leaving behind human waste. As visitation to the region continues to increase, and CONAF remains unable to oversee unsanctioned use of lands lining the Carretera corridor, this type of access threatens conservation objectives within the Reserve.

While the uncertainty in access to trailheads inhibits the reliability of tourism access and, thus, diminishes the safety of depending on this as a livelihood strategy, denial of access has also impacted other forms of livelihood strategies, like grazing. Historically, pioneer settlers and their descendants utilized *veranadas*, or high alpine grass pastures used for sheep grazing in the summer months, within the Reserve boundaries. People used these for around a hundred years before the Reserve was established. Through this time, the tradition of using *veranadas* became an important cultural practice and part of people's identities. This illustrates an example of how "social actors may derive benefits from resources without holding property rights to them," which makes them vulnerable to changes in the land ownership or regulations. (Sikor & Lund, 2009: 4). Even though few people continue to use or need to use the *veranadas* today, lost access to them is a topic central to most discussions about tourism development and changing conditions around the Reserve.

The most outspoken critics of tourism development in the area tend to be ranchers, who view conservation of the Reserve as a loss of productive land they could be using. This follows the trend that "negative attitudes toward tourism [are] strongest among those engaged in traditional industries" (Harrill, 2004: 255). Again, though the number of people who actually lost access to grazing land is small, the lost access to land for grazing generates anger and passionate opposition to conservation.

Protected areas can be understood as a form of land control that "creates a new frontier of value, for the land in its vicinity as well as for new commodities, which might be species or products or services" (Peluso & Lund, 2011: 671). This value can be understood as different "profiteering possibilities" than those which could have existed, commodifying conservation instead of using natural resources. As part of this, natural resources in a protected area become

“enclosures,” which means “dispossession of certain users or the exclusion of some bodies and inclusion of others from rights of use and control” (ibid: 672). This is a mechanism through which to guarantee access. That is, “by establishing fences – physical or institutional – around certain resources, enclosures and privatization are intended to secure access for the actors in control” (ibid: 672). Furthermore, “from the prior (or contemporary) residents’ point of view, expanding conservation land has the effect of removing land from their own and their children’s future or Reserve sites of production or accumulation” (ibid: 672), which can be interpreted as lost access to those resources.

In 2002, World Bank and regional development banks reconceptualized the definition of displacement, moving from physical relocation (i.e. loss of home or land) to a broader understanding. The new definition extends the forms displacement recognized to include “restriction of access,” considering “the imposition of ‘restricted access’ to certain resources in protected areas as a *form of involuntary population displacement*” that includes “occupational and economic dislocation not necessarily accompanied by the physical (geographical) relocation of the local users” (Cernea, 2006: 9). This moves away from lost personal property, specifically acknowledging the hardship that can accompany lost access to natural resources when a protected area is established. Furthermore, it addresses the meaning of place, explaining that “people’s place is their land too, not only the roof above their heads, land is livelihood and identity” (ibid: 11). These situations warrant compensation just like physical displacement does, and the policy says that “the means of livelihood subtracted from those affected must be replaced with access to alternative and sustainable means of livelihood” (ibid: 21).

The redefinition of displacement feeds into the narrative told by many residents around Cerro Castillo about lost access to lands historically used for grazing in the summertime, and it is

useful in conceptualizing both historic and contemporary loss of access to natural resources within the Reserve. When the Reserve was established, locals lost access to land they and their families had used for grazing since pioneer settlement. Some had tried to secure land titles before it was established, while others did not. With the recent upgrade in category from National Reserve to National Park, resource restrictions are even tighter, and locals lose access to the right to harvest timber or to secure a grazing permit within the Reserve. Even though people were not harvesting timber or grazing at the time of the category change, the definitive loss of all potential future access generated outrage. This is particularly upsetting to those people with documented historic land claims. Under the definition of the World Bank, such restrictions would both count as displacement and require some form of compensation; however, since this is not a World Bank project, these policies do not directly apply. Still, it is significant that such an influential global organization recognizes the gravity of impacts of lost access to common resources.

This legitimizes the complaints of ranchers around Cerro Castillo, which are often overshadowed as conservation is valued more than these historic livelihood practices. Negative impacts associated with “loss of access to common natural resources [is] closely associated with social disarticulation, landlessness, loss of identity, increased morbidity, and mortality and marginalization” (Cernea, 2005: 49). In light of these impacts, loss of access to resources as displacement raises the question about how the definition applies to historic cases. How is past loss of access quantified and compensated? Furthermore, how do we place a value on restrictions in access to practices that not only were economically important, but also were deeply connected to identity and culture?

According to Peluso & Lund (2011), “E.P. Thomsen once wrote that conflicts over land in the forests, parks, and commons of seventeenth century England were not over land use *per*

se, but rather over ‘power and property right’” (676). This describes the situation in Cerro Castillo for locals who are angry about loss of access to the right to graze. Most people are not upset about the existence of the park itself, but rather, their loss of control over what they are allowed to do in that space. They are angry with the fact that outsiders use power to exert control over their lives and livelihoods, rather than anger about the changes specifically.

On the other side of the argument, restriction of access to natural resources can be necessary for biodiversity conservation, even in light of the concentration of impacts at the local level. From the perspective of CONAF, conservationists, and wildlife biologists, grazing in and around the Reserve poses a severe threat to *huemuls*, the endangered Andean deer. This group of stakeholders discuss protecting habitat for *huemul* conservation as passionately as descendants of pioneer settlers talk about lost access to grazing land. The species is charismatic and beloved, revered and respected by most in the way polar bears are in the United States. One of the major threats to this vulnerable population is transmission of diseases from sheep, cows, and dogs. When authorities examined recently deceased *huemuls* to determine cause of death, each presented with between five and seven diseases from domestic animals.

Furthermore, recent studies in livestock ranching demonstrate that shepherding animals thousands of feet up rocky trails to the *veranadas* is not good for the animals or the quality of the meat. Better agricultural technology exists that enables ranchers to provide animals with enough food to keep them in the lowlands year-round, avoiding this taxing journey to the alpine. These scientific advancements alter the interpretation of lost access to grazing land—while people did lose access to traditional livelihoods, this issue is more complicated than simply losing access: they are also dealing with the symptoms of technological change.

In thinking about geography of access, it is important to consider how place influences access to power. The physical location of property ownership plays a role in dictating how much power landowners have or lack—and power enables access—both to decision-making and to opportunity. In some cases, this kind of power is random. The descendants of pioneer settlers who own land adjacent to the Reserve have access to choices. They are well-positioned to pursue tourism development if they want to, or they can try to sell their land at an inflated price, or they can deny visitors access to the Reserve through their properties, either to try to maintain their lives as they were, or as a form of manipulation to bribe someone to get something they want.

Even among this group, though, the access to power and/or to decision-making agency is uneven. Many protected area “benefits are spatially localized,” meaning that “some sectors of society potentially enjoy greater benefits from protected areas because they have more ready access (either they live nearer or they have better access to private roads)” (Booth et al., 2010). This is an important consideration in thinking about differential access to the benefits of tourism development. Those who happen to own land in more favorable areas for tourism development have more access than others. For example, landowners with property in more remote areas experience less connectivity to the market, public transportation, and roads, which means their access to opportunity is more limited in the immediate future. For this group of landowners, such access to power or opportunity is theirs by chance, as the land was chosen by an older generation before they understood it would someday have this additional value and desirability. Uneven access to benefits leads to uneven development, which is exemplified in comparing how tourism generates much more opportunity on the frontside than on the backside of the Reserve.

In other cases, access to power is purchased by wealthy people who see the opportunities associated with land adjacent to the Reserve. People from outside of the area, and sometimes

outside the region or the country, form a new wave of landowners around Cerro Castillo, and they operate at differing levels of transparency related to their plans or motives. For them, their wealth affords them the luxury of access to benefits; they purchase access to power, to decision-making, and to opportunity.

Wealthy people seek to buy up large areas of land for a range of reasons, including “spiritual, material, practical, and existential” ones (Geisler, 2015: 243). One of the most relevant explanations for motives to buy land is power: “power and property are first cousins, if not siblings,” meaning that the more property one owns, the more it bolsters a person’s power (ibid: 244). Property ownership is a form of land control, which is further defined as “practices that fix or consolidate forms of access, claiming, and exclusion for some time” (Peluso & Lund, 2011: 668).

Elites also buy land because of the associated prestige it attributes to them, and because of the “option value,” or the opportunity to decide to use that land for profit “at an appropriate time” (Geisler, 2015: 244). The power of option value is also key to recognize; this means that the elite then have the power to choose how that land will be used, which can influence an entire community (i.e. choosing to invest in tourism development has the power to bring tourism to the area). For example, the landowner with property that borders the backside of the Reserve who is building mountain biking trails will presumably eventually precipitate increased visitor flow to an area that, at present, is seldom visited. Whatever the motives of land purchases, concentration of lands in the hands of the elites contributes to social inequalities and uneven power dynamics.

In thinking about land ownership as mechanism for access, it is important to broaden the scope to include land away from the Reserve. Doug and Kristine Tompkins, former apparel industry executives turned environmental philanthropists, purchased 200,000 acres of land in the

Chacabuco Valley, located a few hours to the south of Cerro Castillo. Previously, this valley had been home to an active sheep ranch, and 40 families leased land and grazed there. After the purchase, the Tompkins forced the families to relocate, and they transformed the area into a national park—initiating grassland restoration projects, removing fences, and building trails and campsites. Their objective was always to donate this land to the Chilean government. Kristine Tompkins and former President Michelle Bachelet publicized the details of the agreement they reached in March 2017: as a condition of the donation, three National Reserves in the region would be upgraded in category to National Parks—including Cerro Castillo. In this case, therefore, land ownership away from the location itself enabled the property owners to exert dramatic influence there.

This illustrates an example of the idea that “powerful groups and institutional coalitions may still exercise what are essentially political decisions about people’s access to resource and benefits” (Sikor & Lund, 2009: 2), since the change in category happened because of powerful non-governmental, foreigners use of power derived from wealth to exert control over people’s access to resources. Such “successfully and less-successfully legitimized decisions about how resources are distributed in society” is relevant, too—in thinking about who decides what is legitimate, and how different groups interpret legitimacy differently (ibid: 1-2). That is, people with ranching histories are likely to interpret the lost access as illegitimate, citing the outsider influence; while conservationists are likely to judge the increased protection as legitimate, celebrating the increased conservation.

Access—both physical and to opportunity—is intimately connected to place. Where a person or family lives, and what borders, roads, or infrastructure are nearby, shapes the kinds of options people have as far as livelihoods and agency in decision-making. Property ownership

enables control over access in many ways, and this control can be random or purchased. In both forms, it is a token of power, and people use this power in different ways. Understanding these dynamics is important to conceptualizing how tourism impacts lives and livelihoods of residents in Cerro Castillo's zone of influence, especially with the recent rise in property ownership by outsiders.

External Influences

The Aysén region is a place marked in many ways by the influence of outsiders. The government, as discussed in the previous section, shapes social identity and constructions of nature. The forces of globalization touch even the most remote towns. Multinational companies implement and propose top-down style projects in natural resource industries like aquaculture, mining, and hydropower that do not benefit locals. Approval processes for such projects bypass laws and regulations when central government leaders support proposals. With development and conservation, money talks, and power relations drive policy—and this tends to frustrate local residents. Examples from the daily lives of local residents in shifting social, economic, and ecological conditions reveal the repetitive and ongoing theme of external influence in a remote place.

Aysén's geographic features "impeded the physical integration with the rest of the country and the internal connectivity in the region" until the construction of the Carretera Austral (Muñoz & Salinas, 2010: 448). This dramatically increased connectivity with the outside, enabling people from secluded Patagonian towns and ranches to access the regional capital in a fraction of the time the journey took before. The road increased access to the market, which simplified transport of sheep and facilitated the development of other forms of economic activity.

It also enabled tourists to reach these remote, isolated places, which generated new options in the service industry. As more tourists and companies visited the region, new ideas and expectations about modernity and development permeated communities. The road construction thrust the region into the throws of the capitalist realities the rest of the country was already experiencing, and this integration started to alter economic, social, and cultural norms of the isolated past.

In situations involving natural resource use or management, linkages among stakeholders at different scales and the power dynamics that form from interactions among them influence policy outcomes. When resource use is at play, “there are inevitably multiple external stakeholders making claims and calls on natural resources” (Adger et al., 2005). The ways different forms of natural resource governance function in terms of stakeholder interactions across scales influences outcomes for local resource users. This is useful in mapping how cross-scale interactions have a dramatic influence on local-level realities in Cerro Castillo.

The role of outside players influencing natural resource decision-making is common, and “virtually all resource management systems have some external linkages and drivers at different scales.” These linkages can be horizontal (i.e. communicating with a stakeholder group in a different place but with similar resource conditions) or vertical. The vertical linkages are those with an uneven power, with power being “the application of action, knowledge, and resources to resolve problems and further interests” (ibid). The “vertical interplay” among stakeholders at different scales can either be beneficial or detrimental to the less powerful. While vertical interaction can manifest as “coercive dominance,” it can also present “potential gains” (ibid).

Because Patagonia is revered as a gem of a natural place internationally, despite the extensive ranching history, the external linkages there are particularly influential and widely recognized. To the world outside of Aysén, the story told by international actors dominates.

Power is tied to money, and “unequal power relationships inherent in unequal distributions of wealth lead to undesirable outcomes” for the less wealthy (ibid). Around Cerro Castillo, the poorer, less powerful locals who oppose the ideas posited by powerful external stakeholders face diminished access to decision-making. In contrast, power is endowed to those who share the goals of the powerful. This illustrates how interlinked power and money are to how global conservation efforts shape policy across scales and nationalities.

Chile’s centralized government structure locates Aysén at the periphery, and with the smallest population of any region in the country, most agencies in Aysén consistently lack sufficient funds to carry out all of their objectives effectively. This includes CONAF, which finds itself in “a legally precarious and chronically underfunded situation,” and such a weak institutional condition paved the way for the expansion of private protected areas to fill the gaps (Tecklin, 2014: 206). This created an opportunity for the evolution of “a new form of environmental property” (ibid: 207), which generated a new type of institution that has sway and influence in the political landscape. That is, “today nation-states and institutions or individuals within nation-states make alliances that cut across national boundaries, defying old ‘state-to-state’ or ‘business-to-business’ combinations” (Peluso & Lund, 2011: 670). The Cerro Castillo case illustrates an example of this new individual-driven institution to state relationship, in which the Tompkins used their power and influence to determine the future of a public area by demanding that CONAF upgrade Cerro Castillo National Reserve to a National Park as a condition of their land donation.

This new form of environmental property, in which the Tompkins’ ownership of a large swath of land endowed them with substantial power to influence environmental policy, maneuvers through the pervading avenues of capitalism. Chile’s neoliberal economy, grounded

in the ideologies of free-market capitalism, enabled wealthy northerners to purchase a large swath of land (Holmes, 2012). Tapping into past experience as apparel industry executives, the Tompkins “directly transferred their contacts, networks, and strategies from the business world to conservation” thereby utilizing “market mechanisms and business principles to realize conservation goals” (Jones, 2012: 258, 251). In this way, their work in conservation is directly and inextricably tied to capitalism, meaning that powerful outsiders are able to exert control over local livelihoods through the mechanisms of capitalism, which locals do not have the means to access (Jones 2012; Holmes 2012). This uneven power, and subsequent local loss of agency in land management decision-making, is structural. This extends to Cerro Castillo, in that the capitalist economy precluded any potential for local agency in decision-making about the future of the protected area category status.

The Tompkins influence in the Aysén region is met with mixed reactions, and their ability to exert such widespread influence accentuates the points made about access to power through property ownership. Understanding residents’ reactions to the planned land donation and conditional category upgrade of Cerro Castillo can be better understood by reviewing attitudes towards a similar project to the north of Aysén, Parque Pumalín.

In the case of Parque Pumalín, purchased by Doug Tompkins and also eventually donated back to the Chilean government, the land “purchases were challenged by nationalists and government officials anxious that his holdings compromised national security, constitutes sovereignty breaches, and handicapped Chile’s economic development by taking those lands out of extractive industrial use” (Hendlin, 2014: 152). This is helpful in understanding the aversion to outside influence felt by many around Cerro Castillo. While most of the *pobladores* who are upset about loss of access to grazing land would not articulate their sentiments using these terms,

the discourse connects their comments to a larger trend in the south of Chile of anger about outsiders dictating that land will be conserved, like it or not. In the south of Chile, many people think that enough protected areas already exist, and they feel frustrated that more “land that could be used for development” continues to become parks that limit productive uses of natural resource (ibid: 153).

Furthermore, “opponents typically represent Tompkins’ park as putting a padlock on the area’s development so as to limit future resource extraction and infrastructure. ‘Development’ in this case is understood as synonymous with the availability of resources for the market” (Tecklin, 2014: 208). This, again, echoes comments from my interviews, illustrating that the trends in perceptions in relation to tourism development, change, and outside influence are not new or unique to Cerro Castillo. The attitude that the wealthy can promote conservation through “the use of property rights to remove resources from the market,” and that “people think that creating a protected area means locking up lands from development forever” (ibid: 208) also comes up in Cerro Castillo for former or current ranching families, who view the park as an enemy to their traditional livelihood activities. Ironically, though, it is by using the market that these actors are able to remove land from market activity for local people (Holmes 2012).

In reaction to his purchase of Parque Pumalín, people made “accusations that Tompkins aimed to create a Jewish homeland in Chile,” a comment that also surfaced in my interviews (Tecklin, 2014: 208). There is no evidence to support this claim; instead, it illustrates how fear or uncertainty can motivate outlandish comments as people grasp for explanations. Another “common oppositional discourse to emerge was that Pumalín represented a threat to the colonization or small-holder settlement that had constituted the Chilean state’s strategy for securing sovereignty over the extreme Austral regions since the late nineteenth century” (ibid:

208), which also resonates with comments related to Cerro Castillo and outsider influence around Cerro Castillo.

In March 2017, Kristine Tompkins and former president of Chile Michelle Bachelet announced that the donation of Parque Patagonia would be part the formation of the Ruta de los Parques, which would include raising the category of three National Reserves to National Parks—Cerro Castillo, Jeinimeini, and Tamango. I conducted my interviews in May, two months later. Even though they announced the future change protected area category, it was not official. Most respondents doubted it would happen anytime soon. Many speculated it wouldn't happen at all, citing the reality that Cerro Castillo did not fit the legal definition of a National Park—it did not contribute a new ecosystem type to the protected area system, and it remains filled with stands of invasive pine trees.

This proved to be an interesting moment in time to record these skeptical and uncertain responses, because Cerro Castillo National Reserve officially became Cerro Castillo National Park less than a year later, in October 2018. This example spotlights a case in which power superseded the law—and not only power, but a powerful couple of *gringos* decided the fate of public land with no consultation or input from local people. This fits into a common critique of private protected areas: “private foreign conservation investment’s flaw of often overlooking the need to cooperate with local inhabitants and its checkered reputation in (not) working with other (indigenous) groups with a legacy of sustainable living is glaring” (Hendlin, 2014: 154). Many people actually support the upgrade in category from Reserve to Park in itself, as it is beneficial for tourism and conservation, but they are frustrated with the process. According to Hendlin (2014), it is critical that “conservation investment must at least gesture towards social justice concerns in its assertions of power” because of “its reliance on international cooperation, donors,

and public image” (154). By failing to involve locals in the process earlier on, the conservation project is shelved in with the ranks of environmentally destructive top-down projects, instead of inspiring a route forward grounded in community-supported sustainable tourism.

Even some of the most dedicated conservationists question the Ruta de los Parques bolstered by Tompkins Conservation. While it does promote tourism, which many conservationists recognize as a better alternative to dams and mining, the region lacks adequate visitor services, oversight capacity, and regional strategic planning to effectively manage for the adverse ecological impacts or to protect communities and local culture from being overrun. To this point, a regional park manager lamented:

“How irresponsible to promote the parks of Patagonia when there isn’t even infrastructure or personnel to face the avalanche of tourism. I think we are not yet prepared to receive the Chinese, who are a tremendous problem for other parks in the world with their mass visits.”

“Que irresponsibilidad de promocionar los parques de la Patagonia cuando aún no existe infraestructura y personal para hacer frente a la avalancha de turista. Creo que aún no estamos preparados pa recibir menos a los chinos q son un tremendo problema sobre todo en otros parques del mundo con sus visitas masivas.” (Facebook status from a CONAF friend, November 18, 2018).

This demonstrates the fear that mass tourism will descend on the region before planners and locals have the chance to prepare for the increased visitation in a way that will enable a positive, beneficial, conservation-oriented version of tourism development.

This air of skepticism about outsiders is common in conversations about visions for the future of tourism around Cerro Castillo. Interviewees emphasized the desire to promote a local character of development, unlike the mass tourism of Torres del Paine to the south. Locals hope that large concessions will not be allowed to operate within the park; similarly, they hope that large hotels will not swoop in to usurp opportunity for small business development. In a time of

change, the overwhelming clarity of these visions for future development that pReserves culture and traditions highlights the trajectory locals hope to avoid—the path in which large concessions dominate and local communities are overrun by tourists.

A final representation of outside influence warrants mention. In the midst of the growing tourism industry, just one year after Cerro Castillo National Reserve was upgraded in category to Cerro Castillo National Park, the Ministry of National Assets approved a reduction in the limits of Patagonia National Park (Seguel, 2018), which had been expanded to include Jeinimeini and Tamango National Reserves, the other conditional recategorizations of protected areas that accompanied the Tompkins' donation. The piece of land in question is part of Jeinimeini. The fluidity with which the central government can transfer lands between protected area categories highlights their power to determine environmental outcomes; in this case, President Piñera, who took office in March 2018, undid what former President Bachelet had so recently agreed to with Kris Tompkins. In response, regional senator Ximena Ordenes stated:

“If as the State we have resolved to give maximum protection to this territory, raising its category from Reserve to National Park, it is a contradiction to install as a neighbor a mining extraction that, undoubtedly, will cause irreparable damage to this territory...if the preoccupation of the government was to generate employment in the zone, they would have taken the path of investing in the natural and touristic capacities that the Region of Aysén has, that have first-rate international projections and that is our proposal for development of the zone, but not to take the path of extraction, which will leave environmental waste and will destroy our natural wealth.”

“Si como Estado hemos resuelto dar el máximo de protección a este territorio, elevando su categoría de Reserva a Parque Nacional, resulta una contradicción instalar como vecino una labor de extracción minera que, sin duda, causará un daño irreparable a este territorio...si el preocupación del Gobierno fuera la generación de empleo en la zona, se habría tomado el camino de invertir en las capacidades naturales y turísticas que tiene la Región de Aysén, que tiene proyecciones internacionales de primer nivel y que es nuestra propuesta de desarrollo para

esa zona, pero no tomar el camino del extractivismo, que dejará residuos ambientales que destruirán nuestra riqueza” (ibid).

The ease with which seemingly permanent declarations of conservation, like upgrading an area to a National Park, can change, is frustrating for environmentalists and people who advocate for a future of sustainable tourism development. This announcement implies that similar reductions in protection status could occur in Cerro Castillo, which has historic mining claims within its boundaries. Varied pathways of external influences—private eco-philanthropy and central government action—can and do serve the interests of both conservationists and those who seek development through extractive projects.

As protected area tourism continues to expand, and as it continues to present an alternative to resource extraction proposals around the region, it is useful to look towards other places that have undergone economic transitions from natural resource industries to tourism to review trends.

Rural Transition as a Global Trend

No one who knows the Aysén region would deny that it is in a state of change. As the tourism industry grows, it challenges the traditional economic industries based in natural resource use. This shift and the associated questions of identity, coupled with demographic changes, are not isolated occurrences. This section draws connections to different elements and outcomes of demographic transition across geographies in order to better understand what is happening around Cerro Castillo, while also locating the realities among global trends of shifting norms of rurality. While it is critical to analyze different historical, political, social, economic, and ecological factors across places, comparisons of transitioning places is useful in better understanding each case.

The burgeoning tourism industry in Cerro Castillo and the Aysén region more broadly diversifies the economy away from natural resource extraction, offering a non-consumptive alternative to primary resource use. Much is written about similar trends in the transition from the Old West to the New West in the United States, referring to the shift from low population densities and economies grounded in extractive industry to service-based economies across the intermountain west. Robbins, et al. (2009) highlight that “this region is not unique, but largely reflective of larger scale socioecological forces playing out in similar ways around the postindustrial world” (356).

The way the “Old West” was imagined in popular American culture is similar to how Patagonia is perceived by outsiders, which lays the foundation for the comparison. For much of the 1900s, the intermountain west was “long known as the ‘wild’ West” with “vast tracts of unsettled or undeveloped land” (Hansen et al., 2002: 151). Gosnell and Adams (2011) describe it similarly, explaining the West was “traditionally envisioned as America’s ‘outback,’ a rural, remote frontier characterized by open spaces, low population densities, and the dominance of primary sector activities such as ranching, logging, and mining” (305). This description resembles how Patagonia is described relative to Chile—the faraway, rural, remote place with a low population density, dominated by natural resource activities. Chile’s highly centralized government and the remoteness of the region meant that, especially in the early years of settlement, it “contained an element of lawlessness,” comparable to the Old West in the US (Gale, 2006).

In both the Old West and Aysén, “natural resource activities such as mining, logging, farming, and ranching” made up local economies (Hansen et al., 2002: 151). Both were areas rich in natural resources, yet geographically remote from manufacturing centers and

transportation networks. In contrast, in the New West, the “service-sector and high-tech industries” dominate, meaning the “region’s scenic landscapes are increasingly valued more for the aesthetic and recreational amenities they provide than for their stocks of precious metals, timber, or forage” (Gosnell & Abrams, 2011: 305-306). In Aysén, tourism increasingly follows this path. Landscapes that have moved away from primary use are considered “post-productivist” or “multifunctional,” which references “non-agricultural representations of rurality, the rise of the consumption of rural landscapes, and the movement of urban ideals and expectations to rural places” (Gosnell & Abrams, 2011: 306; Robbins et al., 2009).

A key component of this type of transition is the shifting ideologies about economic development, as at least some segments of the population in the Western US begin to believe that “the basis for future economic growth and development lies not with the exploitation of natural resources, but with the exploitation of the natural environment as a place” (Shumway & Otterstrom, 2001: 493). This shifting set of ideas about the relationship between the environment and economic development is a key component of the transition, as protected lands come to be seen by some as beneficial rather than as a loss.

With this new conception, “the principal driving force in this new economy is environmental quality,” which “is encapsulated in such items as an unspoiled natural environment, recreation opportunities, cultural richness, reasonable costs of living, safe communities, and quality public services” (ibid: 493). These natural amenities draw visitors or migrants, and people begin to see that policies that “favor timber harvesting over scenery, mining over water quality, or intensive livestock grazing over wildlife habitat might actually inhibit rather than expand economic growth” (Hansen, et al., 2002: 160). This is a key component of the

Old West to New West transformation, as protected lands come to be seen as economically beneficial rather than as a loss.

Around Cerro Castillo, many residents, especially those involved in tourism, perceive the Reserve and its conservation as an economic strategy. These lands, however, are connected to histories as working landscapes and people who worked those lands have identities connected to those livelihoods. This leads some to view “public lands detrimental to local economic development,” with “efforts to establish nature Reserves to preserve public land [are] seen as restricting the use of vital natural resources” (ibid: 151). This highlights an interesting similarity to the sentiments of ranchers or former ranchers in Patagonia, as well as those who support mining or other natural resource industries.

It is important to consider what these changes mean for the local residents, especially those whose identities are shaped by and tied to the old economies. That is, the “shift has had an effect on the perception of what the West was and is,” and the “rural West as a place with a particular identity...[is] shifting along with economic, land-use, sociocultural, and demographic characteristics” (Shumway & Otterstrom, 2001: 492). This is the case around Cerro Castillo, as many local residents fear an onslaught of mass tourism that disrupts local communities, culture, and character, especially as grazing becomes less and less relevant.

The Catalan Pyrenees of Spain also underwent a “shift from agriculture, ranching and industry, to conservation and services” (Vaccaro & Beltran, 2007: 254). The Pyrenees, like Aysén, count a large percentage of the territory as protected areas (33.35%), it is also an historic ranching region. As the Spanish started to perceive the Pyrenees as important to patrimony and national heritage, government-driven conservation efforts sought to preserve these landscapes “because they are valuable not just to the local communities but the national society at large”

(ibid: 256). Similar attitudes are evident for Patagonia, which is viewed by many Chileans as a national treasure. In both the Pyrenees and Aysén, conservation policies include objectives in cultural preservation. At the same time, though, the means through which institutions preserve culture are in themselves forces of cultural transformation, as it moves “from the direct use to intrinsic and contemplative values” (ibid: 256).

When analyzing these types of rural transitions, context will obviously elicit different results, but if rural change is imagined as linear process, the U.S. is much further along in the demographic transition. In the New West, areas with good access to recreation opportunity, nature, wilderness, and open space record the most dramatic increases in population. In Aysén, patterns are emerging that foreshadow these kinds of changes, but the shift is far less extreme at this point in time. Though foreigners and Santiaguinos are buying property there, amenity migration is not widespread like in Moab or Jackson. There may some amenity migrants, but the more interesting points of comparison stem from the influence of rural economic diversification on land values.

The influences of amenity migrants (in the West) and tourist visitors (in Aysén) overlap, and both fill the role of outsiders spreading urban ideas in rural places. In other words, “the sudden arrival of outsiders who import their own expectations and values, as well as their own constructions of rurality, can significantly alter the social context in receiving communities” (Gosnell & Abrams, 2011: 310). This dynamic “is especially the case where newcomers control large parcels of land and view the purpose of that land differently from ‘traditional’ local expectations,” which highlights a point of particular importance for Cerro Castillo (ibid: 310). This connects to the previous section about aversion to outsiders: as illustrated with the

Tompkins, “in-migrants change the local balance of political power” (ibid: 310). This leads valuation of conservation over resource use.

Even though this external influence on local policy is a forceful instigator of transition, it is important to recognize forms of local agency in the midst of change. Yes, change is driven by outside influences, yet it “is not only a story about local dispossession, but also about local ingenuity” (Vaccaro & Beltran, 2007: 254). In the Pyrenees, local people “fostered and took advantage of each one of the changes that affected valleys and mountains” (ibid: 268). In and around Cerro Castillo, local small business development in service-based activities is extensive, and many people continue to engage in traditional livelihood activities simultaneously. Traditional activities also persist in the Pyrenees, with “shepherders...are still roaming around these mountains because at some level it still makes economic sense” (ibid, 2007: 269).

Interactions between old-timers and newcomers (permanent or temporary) elicit changes in social norms. For example, “increasing rural heterogeneity can complicate long-established traditions and implicit understandings having to do with management across private property boundaries” (Gosnell & Abrams, 2011: 310). Extending beyond the conservation versus extractive ideological clash, “Yung and Belsky (2007) found that newcomers on ranchlands along the Rocky Mountain Front in Montana demonstrated stricter interpretations of property rights than longtime owners, often posting their land (with no Trespassing signs) and eschewing overtures from neighbors regarding cross-boundary management and public access” (ibid: 310). This dynamic is clear around Cerro Castillo, too, as multiple respondents reflected on the times of the past when no property owner would never deny access to anyone who wished to pass through—which makes sense, since ranchers depended on open access to move their animals around.

People are often resistant to change, but this overlooks the benefits and opportunities that also accompany outsider presence. Though “the American West...is full of stories of rural areas ‘ruined’ by an influx of wealthy outsiders” (ibid: 311), good changes accompanied the less desirable ones. First of all, “in-migrants represent a highly educated and politically active class of people,” and “they have the potential to improve their adopted locales through the mobilization of unique skills and abilities and new forms of capital” (ibid: 312). In Cerro Castillo, Beneventes’ establishment of Fundación Patagonia exemplifies this, as he invests capital into Villa Cerro Castillo’s education system, services, and town aesthetics. Secondly, “in many places, amenity migration is responsible for reversing decades-long population declines, creating renewed—if transformed—possibilities for the continuation of rural communities” (ibid: 312). As rural Patagonian youth leave for cities because of a lack of opportunities, the ones that arise in tourism present alternatives that could reinvigorate the rural economy into the future.

The newer economy of the American west “based on high technology and outdoor recreation” aligns better with conservation, but it is important to note that migration to areas of natural value is also “altering ecosystem processes and biodiversity because of where people are choosing to live and play” (Hansen, et al., 2002: 152). The same contradiction arises around Cerro Castillo: while tourism is less necessarily impactful than mining or timber harvest, it still carries its own set of impacts, which connect back to the challenges and contradictions of sustainable tourism highlighted in the literature review. Furthermore, in Aysén, while tourism does present a conservation-oriented alternative, extractive industries continue to operate (especially aquaculture) and proposed projects continue to gain political support needed for approval (like the recently proposed mining project).

While it is useful to make connections across geographies, context-specific factors need to be understood to explain specific outcomes. For example, the massive population influx of amenity migrants in the intermountain west propelled changes in rurality and economies there. In Aysén, foreign eco-philanthropists and government agencies catalyze change, and the Patagonian tradition of land inheritance is an influential factor explaining patterns in demographic change. After parents die, the land is divided among the siblings, which often leaves descendants with landholdings too small to make a living through traditional means, and many sell it. With the area positioned for continued tourist growth, wealthy outsiders are attracted to collect small parcels.

Both Aysén and the western U.S. seem to be at crossroads between the extractive industries and the service-industry-based future. Though many scholars discuss the extractive past of the West, neither the West nor Aysén have abandoned industries based in natural resource extraction. The attitude shifts associated with the New West, like the increased valuation of conservation among longtime local residents and newcomers, is present in both cases, which challenges the morality and viability of extractive projects. Still, the ideological battle of conservation versus development, conservation as development, and development instead of conservation charge on without consensus about an imagined future of place.

Chapter VII—Conclusion

The objective of this research was to understand how stakeholders in Cerro Castillo National Reserve's zone of influence perceive the actual and potential impacts of increasing tourist visitation in order to inform the management planning process. Through a qualitative methods approach based in interviews and focus groups, I explored questions of social, ecological, and economic changes, with a focus on the role of tourism development both within the protected area and in surrounding communities. This methodology served the dual purpose of exploring questions from an academic perspective and directly contributing to regional park policy, forming an example of an applied research project.

As in all conservation and development projects, tourist visitation to Cerro Castillo National Park presents tradeoffs in impacts and benefits. As the promise of growth in tourism diversifies the economy, many residents imagine a future based in sustainable protected area tourism instead of ranching, mining, timber harvest, hydropower, and aquaculture. Change can be simultaneously exciting and threatening, and this is reflected in the results, as many people celebrate and capitalize on the opportunities for small business development in service-based industries, while others mourn the loss of the pioneer lifestyle and suffer identity crises as their historic livelihood forms become less relevant.

Even though many processes of transition associated with tourism growth are well underway, the Park's zone of influence finds itself in an interesting position, in a phase of tourism development still infant and malleable enough to enable interventions that mitigate of some of the social, economic, and ecological burdens. While the Park may be slated to experience an unprecedented increase in visitation, the numbers are still benign relative to protected areas that experience mass tourism, like Yosemite or Torres del Paine National Parks.

Cerro Castillo National Park and its zone of influence can still be shaped differently through proactive measures. Recommendations follow, though, to the dismay of everyone who's ever studied issues at the intersection of conservation and development, I propose no formula for how to reconcile the competing interests of the two into a harmonious balance.

- Tourism is far from a clear fit as a path to sustainable development and should be treated as such. Still, conservationists continue to turn to its potential with optimistic eyes, hopeful and determined to merge the two. This is because, even riddled with flaws, it *still* might be better than alternatives. Unlike copper mines or large dams, tourism is not abruptly and intrusively destructive, but it still generates a plethora of negative impacts. Considering this, *tourism projects should be evaluated with the same level of scrutiny as any other project that claims the objective of economic development*, with an environmental impact assessment and impact mitigation planning.
- Similarly, thorough cross-agency *planning should precede the introduction of any tourism projects*. Negative impacts often spur the creation of regulations, infrastructure construction, or other action, but proactive rather than reactionary management is much more effective. Generating plans specifically tailored to the context that are adaptable to uncertain future conditions is a necessity, not an aspiration.
- *Laws or policies should prevent the development of large-scale concessions*, as they directly contrast with local goals to distribute economic opportunity among community members in areas surrounding the Park. If tourist visitation increases at the projected rate, businesses that operate as concessionaires and hotel chains are

likely to become interested in capitalizing on the opportunity. Local residents' desire for local character to persist and thrive is clear; now is the time to ensure these visions are honored and upheld, before companies in mass tourism attempt to get involved.

- External influence is a contentious issue for locals. When outsiders (foreigners or Chileans from other regions) wish to purchase a large area of land, the regional government should require that the interested buyers present a plan of their intentions to a committee of local residents. This committee could then evaluate the motivations of the purchase and create conditions, resembling those in a conservation easement, to ensure that the purchase aligns with local strategic plans and values.
- *Find ways to use external influence for the benefit of local communities.* For example, park managers and local tourism operators could collaborate to organize a platform through which to rally international donations to secure open access to the Park. Capitalism is nosy and intrusive and accompanied by a host of negatives, but opportunities to tailor its influence to the advantage of locals exist and should be further explored.
- Instead of the typical type of public participation practiced in the region (informing), *meaningful mechanisms for participation must continue to be explored—those in which participants play a principal, determining role in defining future conditions.* The frustration with top-down policy and lack of access to decision-making power is clear, placing a heightened importance on creative, ongoing, inclusive public engagement. Such strategies may be less straightforward, and the jury is still out on what techniques are most effective in the region. Continued exploration, attempts, and learning-by-doing are necessary to foster a community resilient to future

uncertainties. As the way conservation is globalized and politicized continue to be revealed at the case study level, it is more important than ever to find ways to return power and agency to communities in order to uphold social justice and to generate support for protected areas.

Future research should investigate the role of external influence in protected area management and conservation policy. In light of the findings connected to power, it would be interesting to assess resident perceptions of change using a political ecology approach. Detangling the manifestations of uneven power dynamics would yield insights about the mixed attitudes toward conservation among locals, as well as how local communities might break away from the histories of incomplete political representation and limited agency in decision-making processes. It would also be interesting to consider the ethical questions tied into this case study, such as questioning the idea of conservation at the expense of social justice, and what happens in a case in which the two are in conflict (i.e. establishment of a protected area benefits global biodiversity and conservation objectives, yet dispossess a local person from a historic livelihoods and identities).

In conclusion, Cerro Castillo National Park and its zone of influence are in an undeniable state of change. With proactive planning, community participation and collaboration, and a critical mindset, the potential to shape the future of tourism development in the area remains within reach. Continued innovation in context-specific policy, along with reimagining the meaning of sustainable tourism itself, is essential in the quest to honor the need for both economic development for local communities and biodiversity conservation.

Appendix A—San Francisco Chronicle Sunday paper (July 24, 2016)

Example of an article advertising the Aysén region in the United States. The headline reads: “Uncovered Corner of Patagonia: Remote Queulat National Park in Chile offers same wonders, fewer crowds.” The photo and description suggest an endless expanse of wild to explore; however, Queulat National Park offers only two developed hiking trails and limited camping. At present, crowding is an issue, and current visitor use infrastructure struggles to support the increasing visitation.

San Francisco Chronicle
SUNDAY, JULY 24, 2016

Travel

UNCOVERED CORNER OF PATAGONIA

REMOTE QUEULET NATIONAL PARK IN CHILE OFFERS SAME WONDERS, FEWER CROWDS. PAGE 4

Wow - Now that's a view!
TRENDING IS THERE MORE TO PHILLY THAN CHEESESTEAK? PAGE 2
SPUD HILTON PRO TRAVELERS WEIGH IN ON LONG LINES PAGE 3 | ONE DAY, ONE PLACE NEW DELHI PAGE 6
RICK STEVES AND THE TRAVEL TROUBLESHOOTER PAGE 7 | UNESCO NAMES 21 NEW SITES PAGE 8

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Appendix B—Focus Groups, Villa Cerro Castillo and Coyhaique

Para empezar (10:00 – 10:15)

- *Introducción:* Explicar que CIEP está desarrollando el PUP por CONAF; enfatizar la importancia y el rol de la participación pública en el proceso
- *Nuestros objetivos son:* entender la visión de la comunidad sobre el futuro de la Reserva; aprender sus perspectivas sobre las amenazas que enfrentan; opiniones sobre proyectos e infraestructura proyectados
- *Compartir que:* está perfectamente bien si personas no están de acuerdo. Hoy día, la meta no es llegar a un consenso
- Vamos a hacer dos actividades (explicar un poco)
- Antes de empezar con estos, si cada persona puede presentarse y decir algo que le valora sobre la Villa Cerro Castillo

Actividad 1 – Visión (10:15 – 11:30)

Objetivo e introducción

- El objetivo de esta actividad es expresar los valores de la comunidad asociados con la Reserva Nacional Cerro Castillo. Voy a hacer una serie de preguntas, y ustedes escribirán unos pensamientos en sus papeles y después compartiremos
- Cada grupo tendrá una persona tomando apuntes – es importante que escriba las palabras de la persona (parafrasear está bien, pero no cambiar la idea)
- A cada persona se le solicitará que exprese 3 ideas para cada pregunta y éstas se anotarán el papel en la pared. Posterior a la ronda, cada participante votará por las frases/ideas que encuentra más apropiada y coincidente con su visión
- Con esto, identificamos valores comunes o compatibles, y también los que potencialmente son diferentes o incompatibles

Las Preguntas

- ¿Qué valoran más sobre la Reserva Nacional Cerro Castillo?
- ¿Qué tipos de cambios han notado en la Reserva Nacional Cerro Castillo en los últimos 10 años?
- Sociales
- Ecológicos
- Económicos
- ¿Cómo es la influencia del turismo alrededor de la Reserva?
- ¿Cuáles son los problemas con el uso público hoy en día?
- ¿Cómo se imagina el desarrollo del uso público de la Reserva Nacional Cerro Castillo al largo plazo [**visión**], especialmente considerando estos cuatro ejes principales: recreación, turismo, educación ambiental, investigación científica?

Descanso (11:30 – 11:40)

Actividad 2 – Mapeo interactivo (11:40 – 1:00)

- El objetivo de este ejercicio es recopilar información sobre **problemas/conflictos/puntos peligrosos (rojo)**, **amenazas a la conservación (amarillo)**, y **zonas de valor desde el**

punto de vista de uso público y personal (verde), e infraestructura proyectada (morrón)

- Marcan un punto o polígono con marcador en el mapa para identificar lugares, escribir en lápiz el número al lado, y escribir una breve nota sobre por qué identificaron los lugares
- Por ejemplo:
 - Amenazas a la conservación (la carretera, ganadería, incendios, talaje furtivo, etc.)
 - Problemas (acceso y pagos, estacionamiento, aglomeración, basura, desechos, etc.)

Appendix C—Focus Group, Concessionaires

- ¿Podrían empezar contándonos un poco sobre ustedes mismos y sus historias con trabajo en turismo en Cerro Castillo?
- ¿Qué observa sobre la relación y las dinámicas que hay entre la RN y las comunidades aledañas?
- ¿Qué tipos de cambios se ha notado aquí en los últimos 10 años?
 - En términos sociales (*aumento de visitación, caminos y accesos nuevos, etc.*)
 - En términos ecológicos (*cambios en el clima, precipitación, nieve, alteraciones producto de especies de flora y fauna introducidas, etc.*)
 - En términos económicos (*industrias en que trabajan la gente, oportunidades diferentes, sistemas de arriendo/talaje limitrofes, etc.*)
- (En torno al crecimiento de visitación)—¿cuáles señales de crecimiento de visitación han visto acá?
 - En sus opiniones, ¿Es algo bueno o malo? ¿Por qué?
 - ¿Cómo afecta el ambiente del pueblo?
 - ¿Provee buenas oportunidades económicas a personas de la comunidad?
 - ¿Cuales son las barreras del potencial que tiene la Reserva para apoyar a la comunidad?
- ¿Cuáles son los dificultades que existen entre vecinos o propietarios al borde de la RN CC? *Accesos cerrados (Monreal, Estero Parada)*
- ¿Cómo empezaron a tener interés en desarrollar una concesión? ¿Por qué tuvieron interés?
- ¿Qué tipo de servicio e infraestructura piensan (o les gustaría) desarrollar?
- ¿Aspectos que dificultan (dificultarían) y que facilitan (facilitarían) sus propuestas?
- ¿Cuál es su visión y factibilidad de concesionar áreas dentro de la RN CC y/o fuera de ésta en codependencia?

Appendix D—Resident Interview Script

- 1) ¿Podría empezar contándonos un poco sobre su historia personal y familiar en torno a la RNCC?
 - a. ¿Cuántos años ha vivido en _____?
 - b. ¿Cuál es su ocupación?
- 2) ¿Cómo se relaciona usted con la Reserva en su vida diaria? (cuales sectores usa?)
- 3) ¿Qué tipos de cambios han notado en _____ en los últimos 10 años?
- 4) En términos sociales (aumento en visitación?)
 - a. En términos ecológicos (cambios en el clima, precipitación, nieve, etc.)
 - b. En términos económicos (industrias en que trabajan la gente, oportunidades diferentes, etc.)
 - c. En términos del uso de la tierra (nuevos compradores particulares, estancias, fundos, haciendas, empresas privadas (Mininco)
- 5) ¿La Reserva es un apoyo económico la comunidad de _____?
 - a. En caso afirmativo, ¿Cómo?
 - b. En caso negativo, ¿Por qué no? ¿Podría apoyar la comunidad?
 - i. Cuales son las barreras de la potencial que tiene la Reserva para apoyar a la comunidad
- 6) ¿Cómo es la relación entre _____ y la Reserva?
 - a. ¿Ha visto algunos señales del crecimiento de turismo y visitación acá?
 - i. ¿Es algo bueno o malo (o está indiferente)?
 - ii. ¿Ha afectado el ambiente del pueblo o comunidad o sector? ¿Cómo? ¿Es bueno o malo?
 - b. Históricamente, ¿cómo se usaba la tierra que hoy es la Reserva?, ¿historias de contrabando de animales y lugares donde se realizaron?
- 7) ¿Dónde se ve su comunidad en los próximos 5 o 10 años?
 - a. Cuáles son sus esperanzas/ visión ideal/ de sueño de cómo puede llegar a ser
 - i. Considerando el crecimiento de visitación a la Reserva,
 - ii. Y las posibilidades de cambio que vienen con el cambio a un parque nacional, etc.
 - iii. ¿Cuál cree que es la vocación de la Reserva tradicionalmente, y cree que esta es correcta?
- 8) ¿Hay alguien más de _____ con quien nos recomienda que hablemos?

Appendix E—CONAF Interview Script

- 1) Cómo usted llegó a ser encargado de Cerro Castillo recién, también trajo mucha energía nueva y visiones. ¿Puede comentar sobre este dinámico?
- 2) ¿Cómo ha sido, y cómo es, la relación entre la relación entre Conaf y personas que viven alrededor de la Reserva?
- 3) Cuales son los principales amenazas a la conservación?
- 4) ¿Cuáles son los servicios ecosistémicos que provee la Reserva a comunidades en sus alrededores?
- 5) En los últimos 10 años, ¿cuáles tipos de cambios ecológicos se ha notado en la Reserva?
 - a. *Cambios en clima o tiempo, precipitación, acumulación de nieve, de vida silvestre*
- 6) En los últimos 10 años, que tipos de cambios relacionados al aumento de visitación se ha notado?
 - a. En su opinión personal, se ve eso como algo bueno o malo?
 - i. ¿Presenta oportunidades económicos para las comunidades aledañas?
 - ii. Cuales son las barreras de la potencial de presentar oportunidades económicas a la comunidad, que tiene el aumento de visitación?
- 7) ¿Cuáles tipos de desafíos anticipa al futuro?
 - a. Considerando el crecimiento de visitación a la Reserva,
 - b. Y las posibilidades de cambio que vienen con el cambio a un parque nacional, etc.
 - c. Social, ecológico, económico
- 8) ¿Puede hablar un poco sobre su visión para la vinculación con la comunidad de Puerto Ibáñez?
 - a. Y también un poco sobre las otras comunidades – Cerro Castillo es el pueblo más obviamente conectado...
- 9) ¿Cómo anticipa que la Reserva cambiará en el futuro?
 - a. Cuál es su visión ideal o de sueño de cómo puede cambiar en el futuro?
 - i. En términos sociales
 - ii. En términos ecológicos
 - iii. En términos económicos
- 10) ¿Cuáles son las implicaciones del posible cambio a un Parque Nacional? ¿Cómo afectará la gestión?
 - a. Programas propuestas, objetivos de manejo, etc.
 - b. Antes, había contratos de arriendo de sectores que ocupaban para talaje y leña?

11) He escuchado que hay mucha incertidumbre sobre lo que va a pasar con cambios institucionales, y donde quedará CONAF como agencia. ¿Qué influencia puede tener en el manejo y los proyectos que ya están?

12) ¿Tiene algún otro comentario sobre la potencial de turismo sustentable en la Reserva?

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