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Kelly Bauer, *Negotiating Autonomy: Mapuche Territorial Demands and Chilean Land Policy*. Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 2021, 190 pp. ISBN: 9780822946663.

In *Negotiating Autonomy: Mapuche Territorial Demands and Chilean Land Policy*, political scientist Kelly Bauer examines the negotiation and administration of indigenous land policies in the post-Pinochet era. The book is a welcome addition to the growing cross-disciplinary scholarship of Mapuche studies that continues to sculpt a more detailed understanding of Mapuche history and culture. Bauer's study places Mapuche demands for land rights in conversation with regional indigenous struggles of the 1980s and 1990s that moved away from the class-based organizing of previous decades and instead centered collective identity, ancestral rights, and self-determination. *Negotiating Autonomy* also offers a significant intervention in agrarian studies by scrutinizing the Chilean government's implementation of Article 20B of the 1993 Indigenous Law 19.253. Bauer demonstrates that Mapuche territorial demands were consistently thwarted to benefit the market economy. Through a critical examination of power and politics in the Chilean neoliberal age, Bauer highlights how both center-left and right-wing governments utilized state violence as another side to the Chilean state's Janus-faced approach to indigenous land policy. While Bauer's research exposes what she calls "the façade of policy," her goal is to show through data collection and interviews the contested space of decision-making, examining the arbitrary rulings made by government officials, the recognizable influence of the timber industry, and the negotiating ability of Mapuche communities.

Bauer explains in her introduction that she interviewed state bureaucrats who worked at CONADI (National Corporation for Indigenous Development) from 1990 to 2014 to better comprehend the policies, criteria, and informal rules that guided directives regarding land purchases. Even though the CONADI government agency was created in response to Indigenous Law 19.253 (1993), whose legal blueprint emerged from the *Acuerdo de Nueva Imperial*, 1989 (New Imperial Accord of 1989), indigenous understandings of land reform were ultimately erased through a series of modifications.

Bauer details two significant research and analytical methods. The first is her interpretation of neoliberalism as an ideology that dictates both Chilean state and economic power. She begins with Michel Foucault's description of the "neoliberal anti-state" in which "the state [is] under the supervision of the market rather than a market supervised by the state" (p.

9). She cites Aihwa Ong's argument that neoliberalism governs through freedom, which complements David Harvey's analysis that neoliberalism functions as a utopian and political project. Bauer builds on Harvey's analysis by incorporating her second method, which is a Foucauldian approach of scrutinizing the *how* (rather than the *why*) or "the techniques of government used to implement a project of neoliberalization" (p. 10). This approach allows her to probe the *degrees of autonomy* with which Mapuche communities can win piecemeal territorial claims even when such decisions do not follow clear criteria.

Chapter One, "Bureaucratizing Territory into Land Policy," places Article 20B in historical context. Bauer situates Chile as part of a regional 'territorial turn' of the early 1990s "to formally recognize Indigenous communities' territorial rights" (p. 32). She anchors this conceptual shift with the International Labor Organization's (ILO) 1989 Indigenous and Tribal Peoples Convention (ILO 169), describing it as "the most significant and only binding international law on Indigenous rights," which states that "governments shall respect the special importance for the cultures and spiritual values of the peoples concerned of their relationship with the lands or territories, or both as applicable" (pp. 36-7). While subsequent Chilean governments promised the ratification of ILO 169, this did not happen until 2008. Bauer notes that Chilean legal language became more precise in 1999 when a government document differentiated "land ([as] an economic concept) and territory ([as] a political concept)". That same document directed CONADI's interpretation of Article 20B, suggesting that "indigenous communities broaden their economic base beyond agriculture" while expecting land conflicts to be resolved by 2010 (pp. 52-3). While neither of those projections transpired, as Bauer shows in the rest of her book, that did not stop the central government from pushing and CONADI officials from enacting that mandate.

The second chapter, "Negotiating Land for Peace," offers a detailed overview of how each presidential administration from 1990 to 2014 approached Article 20B. The first post-Pinochet democratic administration under Patricio Aylwin (1990-1994) focused on drafting Indigenous Law 19.253. Still holding some influence, Mapuche activists proposed to house CONADI in Temuco, making it the only state office located outside Santiago. The administration also formed CONADI's sixteen-person national advisory board, comprising indigenous and government representatives in addition to a state-appointed national director. According to Bauer, in 1997, the Eduardo Frei administration (1994-2000) promoted the Ralco dam project over the objections of indigenous communities, which heightened tensions as the government forced state CONADI representatives to resign, including the national director who was replaced with the first non-Mapuche appointee. Political violence spiraled as Mapuche communities increasingly moved away from institutional strategies and the government responded "with militarization and criminalization" (p. 69). The government enacted a divisive strategy of negotiating with the CTT (Consejo de Todas las Tierras) while criminalizing the CAM (Coordinadora Arauco Malleco). The Ricardo Lagos administration (2000-2006) continued in Frei's developmentalist footsteps but, significantly enough, was the first administration to use the Pinochet-era Anti-Terrorist Law (1984) against Mapuche activists, whereas previous administrations had applied the National Security Law (1954). The Michelle Bachelet administration (2006-2010) reopened discussions

through Re-Conocer or the Multicultural Social Pact. While the criminalization of the Mapuche movement continued, the government made olive branch moves by ratifying ILO 169 and creating a land purchase waiting list. Lastly, Bauer describes the Sebastian Piñera administration (2010-2014) as the most explicit in its neoliberal reforms regarding indigenous land policy.

In chapter three, “Navigating Land Policy,” Bauer focuses on eight Mapuche community case studies in Padres Las Casas near Temuco. She compares these cases with interviews she conducted with CONADI officials, in order to map a community’s land application in relation to CONADI’s decision-making process. She also considers whether Mapuche community protests impacted outcomes. Her interviews with government officials underscore the use of formal and informal strategies to demobilize Mapuche communities. One interview stands out, in which a CONADI official explained that they will not move forward with a case unless the community “insists.” Bauer notes that there is no clear definition of “insistence,” which can range from an organized protest to a political alliance between the community and a local politician who offers to call CONADI in exchange for votes. Lastly, a central player dictating CONADI rulings is the forestry industry. Bauer details how the forestry industry has responded aggressively to Mapuche mobilizations, with notable government support. She underscores the hypocrisy of a Chilean land policy that refuses to process land claims unless a community “insists” while picking and choosing which Mapuche communities to criminalize.

The final chapter, “Quantifying Mobilization and Land Purchases,” summarizes Bauer’s findings. She developed a data set of 266 Mapuche communities that received land through Article 20B from 1994 to 2013. Bauer notes that even though a first-time community applicant was more likely to receive a response if they mobilized, political mobilizations had no significant impact on later applications. She also researched the impact of national perception by reviewing national newspaper coverage of Mapuche land claims from 1994 to 2013. The conservative newspaper *El Mercurio* stood out for its skewed reporting, focusing on a few communities who were mostly not mentioned by name and reproducing a national narrative about the unruly few. Bauer points out that communities mentioned in *El Mercurio* experienced a 1 percent increase in first-time CONADI land purchases, but there was no statistical increase for future land agreements. She also examines the relational impact of the forestry industry, arguing that the industry has the most impact in dictating CONADI land purchases, considering that it owns “the majority of [lands] which Mapuche communities claim as ancestral land” (p. 121). Bauer ultimately finds that land claims connected to timber-producing lands provide preemptive opportunities to appease possible protests and an avenue for forestry companies to sell unwanted lands. The last variable she examines is the assumption that the Mapuche are politically conservative. She demonstrates that unlike most Chileans, the Mapuche are more confident in local governance and rely on clientele relationships to achieve their goals, whether that leads to an alliance with a right or center-left politician. Yet her data shows that in districts with greater right-wing support and with smaller Mapuche populations there are fewer government land purchases, showing that the argument that “the Mapuche tend to vote conservative” is unsubstantiated.

To conclude, *Negotiating Autonomy* is an important study that demonstrates how a multi-faceted research approach can bring to light the everyday methods of decision-making that institutionalized Chile's neoliberal indigenous land policy. It shows how post-Pinochet administrations shared the strategy of demobilizing the Mapuche movement while promoting neoliberal assimilationist and consumer citizen politics. While I hope that this book becomes a case study about a long-gone neoliberal system, for now, *Negotiating Autonomy* is a testament to the obstacles that the Mapuche must face as they struggle to regain their stolen lands.

**Romina A. Green Rioja**

*Claremont McKenna College*

ORCID: <https://orcid.org/0000-0003-3889-1948>

