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УСТОЙЧИВОЕ ХОЗЯЙСТВОВАНИЕ, ЗЕМЕЛЬНОЕ ПРАВО И ТРАДИЦИОННЫЕ ЗНАНИЯ:

**Опыт проекта «Образовательное,
научно-исследовательское и документационное
обеспечение развития устойчивого
лесопользования у общин мапучи в Чили»**

SUSTAINABLE MANAGEMENT, LAND RIGHT AND TRADITIONAL KNOWLEDGE:

**The experience of the project ‘Institutional
Training, Research and Documentation
for Development of Sustainable Agroforestry
in Mapuche Communities, Chile’**

В статье обобщается опыт, полученный автором в процессе выполнения научно-практического проекта «Образовательное, научно-исследовательское и документационное обеспечение развития устойчивого лесопользования у общин мапучи в Чили» в 2007 – 2011 гг. Территориально проект охватывал два региона Чили: Де Лос Риос и Де Ла Араукания и выполнялся в сотрудничестве с представителями местных общин мапучи. Научное руководство проектом осуществлял межведомственный центр исследований по проблемам коренных народов Америки университета г. Сиена (Италия). Проект выполнен при финансовой поддержке итальянского института латинской Америки. Его цель состояла в улучшении качества жизни локальных сообществ мапучи за счет развития практики устойчивого традиционного-хозяйственного использования местных природных ресурсов. Проект позволил урегулировать ряд острых конфликтных ситуаций в отношениях общин малочисленной народности мапучи с органами государственной власти и национальными парками, лежащих в области территориальных споров и противоречий, а также предложить сбалансированную модель отношений на основе многостороннего согласования традиционной практики лесопользования. Для решения этих задач была разработана специализированная геоинформационная система, отражающая реальные режимы и характер традиционного лесопользования мапучи. В основу используемого автором корпуса источников научных данных положены собранные им материалы интервьюирования представителей местных общин мапучи, а также аудио-визуальные данные собственных наблюдений.

Premises. The project “Institutional Training, Research and Documentation for the Development of Sustainable Agroforestry in Mapuche Communities” (Formazione Istituzionale, Ricerca e Documentazione per lo Sviluppo Agroforestale Sostenibile delle Comunità Mapuche del Cile, hereinafter “the project”), was carried out between November, 2007 and June, 2011 (field activities ended in March, 2010) in the XIV Region de los Rios (Coñaripe) and IX Región de la Araucanía (Currarehue and Lonquimay), in close collaboration with traditional authorities of the communities involved. Scientific supervision was conducted by the CISAI (Centro Interdipartimentale di Studi sull’America Indígena - Interdepartmental Center for Studies on America Indígena, University of Siena). Executive management was carried out by the Centro Studi Americanistici “Circolo Amerindiano”, Local Partner Observatorio Ciudadano (Temuco). The project was funded by the ‘Istituto Italo Latino Americano’ (IILA).

The project. The CISAI has carried out numerous research activities in the area of the Mapuche communities in Chile, especially in the area of Temuco¹. The consolidation of links with local organizations led to a request to create a development project that would help to improve the quality of life for the local natives, to be carried out in collaboration with local communities. In 2005, Luciano Giannelli of CISAI, asked me to draw up some draft proposals for a project in collaboration with the Mapuche organization leader and search for funding opportunities. After a consultation with local authorities, we started to draft the project, inspired by a project, which had been launched in the Currarehue² in the same year.

Background. In Chile, the claims for rights by the Mapuche and other indigenous peoples have often resulted in clashes between the police and protesters. Chilean authorities applied antiterrorism laws after the events of September 11, 2001, and in several cases this resulted in an escalation of hostilities, many of which were in violation of human rights. One of the Mapuche organizations, the Coordinadora Arauco Malleco, declared war on the Chilean State in 2009. In this context of growing tensions, we considered it important to support peaceful and legal forms of reclaiming lost lands in view of the pending ratification by the Chilean Government of Convention 169 of the International Labor Organization [1]. The Mapuche communities

adjacent to the Parque Nacional Villarrica, in the area of Coñaripe, advanced requests for the recognition of traditional use and rights of consultation of the territories included in the national park. The most common uses include summer pastures and the harvest area of piñones, a traditional food, fruit of the Pewen (*araucaria araucana*), a sacred tree for Mapuche pewenche. Moreover, the Pillan, the Villarrica volcano located in the park, is an important element in the Mapuche religion and worldview. An area within the national park are subject to the regulations of nature conservation and tourism promotion, and as often happens, these regulations do not take into account traditional activities that were carried out in the same areas (see [1], article 23). In wider terms, problems of communities in the area are linked to increasing pressure from businesses related to tourism and industrial exploitation of valuable timber and water resources. The few local employment opportunities and the increasing emigration of young people are damaging the social fabric and causing an ongoing loss of cultural identity.

Objectives and actions. The overall objective of the project was “to empower the Mapuche communities and local organizations in a participatory and sustainable management of local resources”. The main activities to be implemented with participatory methodologies were:

- Participatory survey of material and non-material resources and the creation of a GIS and management design plan.
- Supporting negotiations towards the recognition of traditional land-use rights, with production of documentation in support of the applications, training, and financial support for logistics.
- Training of local people in social communication, audiovisual production and oral history recording for preservation of oral heritage, support of other project activities, training and research.
- Continuing ethnobotanical research, integration and comparison of the results of previous research, compilation of a glossary of plant species in Mapudungun and the setting up of a methodology for data collection, analysis sharing, peer review, and recursive examination among researchers, for interdisciplinary and transdisciplinary research. The activities started in three communities near Coñaripe and subsequently extended to the area of Currarehue and Lonquimay (Fig. 1).

Ethnobotanical research. The research was aimed at detecting the lexicon used locally by the Mapuches to describe the environment and major plant species in common use. The fieldwork was carried out at the beginning of 2009 (mid-project) in order to have time to

¹ [3-6] The Italian full text of cited articles, can be found on <http://www.unisi.it/cisai/11conosud.htm> and on the project website: <http://sites.google.com/a/unisi.it/mapuche/Home/schedario>.

² Project ‘Community Resource Management Planning in the Maichin River Valley, CesaGen, University of Lancaster’.

strengthen relationships with the community and to have time to repeatedly illustrate the work that we were going to do, so as to clarify the objectives, methods, and purposes. Despite these efforts, we encountered certain mistrust in the research from certain people. This was due in part to the fear that our true purpose could be seen as an attempt to steal secrets of traditional medicine in order to patent them, and in part due to the dynamics related to the project.

The research work is part of the theoretical framework of a larger study conducted by Luciano Gianneli, the scientific director of the project [2; 3]. In this

field research, we improved recording techniques and data analysis in order to facilitate the exchange of information among researchers and local organizations.

Informants were requested to carry out a sort of “guided tour” for people who wanted to learn Mapudungun, and to freely point out names of plant species or landscape features that were considered important. During the tour, the researchers were supposed to avoid taking control of the conversation and to ask questions only for reference term clarification while maintaining the interaction.

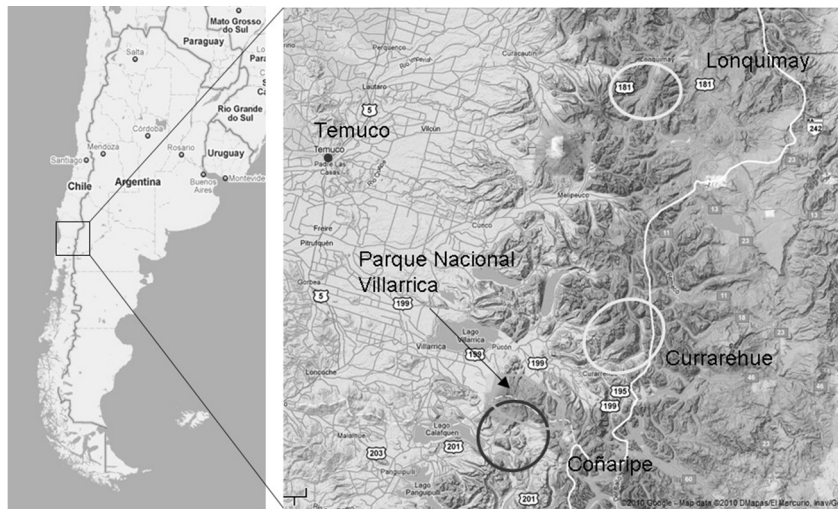


Fig. 1: Localization of the activities. Note: the initial project area (dark ellipse) and location where the methodology was utilized in collaboration with other projects (bright ellipses).

In previous research surveys, analog recording instruments (cameras and tape recorders) were used. The adoption of digital tools¹ allowed the expansion of data collection and data interpretation. Moreover, the use of software for qualitative analysis permitted an in-depth analysis and easy exchange of data and analyses for cross checking the findings with other researchers.

The recordings could be made with ease for more than 5 hours without interruption and allowed access to additional levels of analysis. For example, they were used for reconstruction of verbal interaction between researchers and the informants, including conversation pauses. Each route was traced with a GPS device and synchronized internal clocks of all recording devices (photo camera, video camera and audio recorders) so that each data could be geo-referred with sufficient accuracy. The use of professional wireless microphones allowed maximum freedom of movement to the informant, ensuring good quality of recording in

every situation.

Management of audio and video recordings: the software Transana.

Ideally, most of the activities of the project were related to audio/video recording: safeguarding intangible cultural heritage and traditional knowledge, training of local staff, circulation of information between the communities, documentary postproduction, validation of the map point and ethnobotanical research.

It was therefore necessary to adopt a software program that would allow us to identify the syntagma required within the recording corpus, in order to quickly trace the source, and, if necessary, to listen to the syntagma in the context of the original conversation. This ensured a sufficient degree of intersubjectivity, similar to references for textual sources, when we list author, title of publication and page.

After a comparison among different software, we chose Transana (www.transana.org), software designed for qualitative data analysis, which was cost effective and distributed under GPL license. This allowed access to source codes and the possibility of

¹ Equipment: digital recorder Olympus WS320 and WS321; wireless microphone Sennheiser EW100; camcorder miniDV Canon XM2; cameras Canon Power Shot G9 and Canon A 570; GPS Garmin GPS MAP 60.

making adaptations. Transana, as well as allowing the functions mentioned, is a complete tool for advanced ethnographic analysis, such as transcription, coding, data mining, searching for syntagmas, hypothesis testing, and data exchange between researchers and archiving.

Land classifications: the role of ethnography.

The sustainable management of an area where multiple stakeholders interact involves interfacing with heterogeneity of representations, languages, modes of action, obligations and interests. The role of the ethnographer is essential in order to help describe and accurately represent these different representations and to promote mutual understanding. Furthermore, the ethnog-

rapher can present deeper analysis on the interpretation, representation and validity limits of the information collected.

For example, Fig.2 shows a possible classification made by an agrarian technician, while Fig. 3 shows a possible Mapuche classification.

In particular cases such as this, I find it useful to define culture as “a shared way by a group of subjects to interpret and perceive reality (understood as a set of physical and emotional stimuli), to represent problems and hypothesize solutions.” [4:53]. Different names assigned to apparently similar areas sometimes imply substantial differences in meaning and in the set of possible actions on those areas.

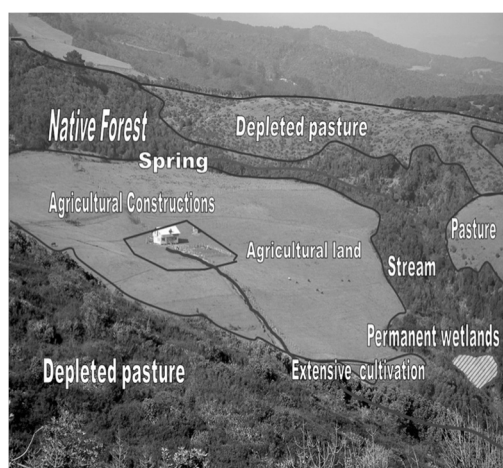


Fig. 2: Example of a possible technical classification



Fig. 3: Example of a possible Mapuche classification

For example, among the areas in the lower left corner of the photo, classified as ‘depleted pasture’ in Fig. 2 and ‘Xen Xen’ in Fig. 3, there are substantial differences. The first indicates an area considered unused, which could recover fertility after a rest or a renovation process, while areas called Xen Xen are traditionally places of refuge in case of danger. The type of vegetation visible allowed us to hypothesize the presence of edible species and medicinal plants that could be used by resident households. A second level of differences is represented by the areas, which are absent in Fig. 2. Paliwe and Ngillatuwe are ritual areas that could not be occupied by crops. They can be used under certain conditions for grazing. A more detailed investigation may highlight additional levels of detail, such as small habitats favorable to vegetable species important for food security and sovereignty.

Resources survey, cartography and GIS. “I conclude that a GIS is best defined as a decision support system involving the integration of spatially referenced

data in a problem-solving environment” [5]. The GIS is a tool that allows you to easily display and edit the data entered and can help to show tangible and intangible resources, as well as multiple representations of the territory. For these features it is a useful tool to establish a dialogue based on explicit and shared information.

The survey began with a series of meetings with local communities in order to clarify the objectives, answer questions, plan the work methodology and reach an agreement on the management of data.

The second step consisted of a series of workshops with communities to draw paper maps of the territories which belong to the areas considered for traditional use, resources, points of sociocultural relevance and to collect news and information and plan the field survey. The repetition of these meetings was needed in order to complete the listings and ensure the greatest possible participation. At the same time the people selected by the communities began the training course on geo-

referencing and documentation.

The field survey was held in various expeditions with representatives of the communities and informants chosen by the community for the narrative. Every excursion was followed by a camera crew, made up of participants in the course of social communication, for filming the activities and record oral histories of participants for each point considered relevant.

Included in the GIS, in addition to basic map layers, was a digital elevation model (DEM) (Fig. 4) and a vegetation cover map (Fig. 5). The DEM model allowed us to perform complex processing, such as the

calculation of the solar exposure for each unit of land, depending on the orientation, the slope and the morphology of the surrounding areas, useful data matched to soil composition, for the location of a specific habitat.

The level of ground cover was produced using data from satellites with ASTER NDVI (Normalized Difference vegetational Index) and the indices of Catastro de Bosque Nativo of National Forestry Corporation (CONAF), as well as a series of sample checks on the ground by comparing the result of data processing to the real vegetation.

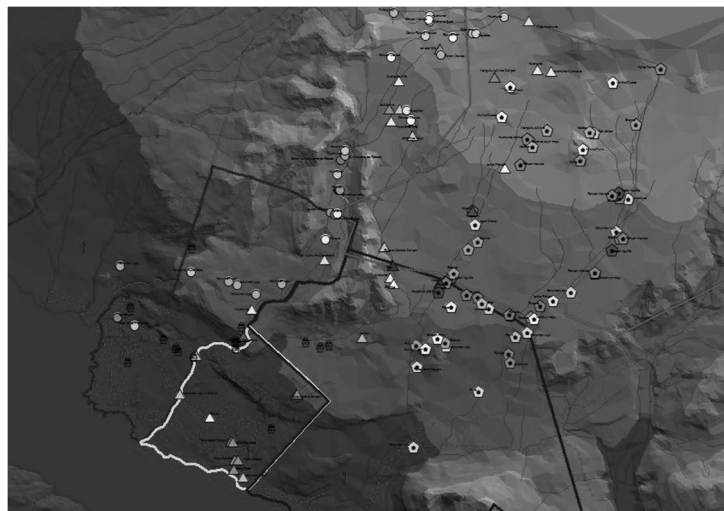


Fig. 4: DEM level with superimposed sites of socio-cultural importance shown by triangles, diamonds and circles depending on the community. The lower area (surface of the lake Calafquen) is in dark. Shades from bright to dark represent increasing altitude. The polygons represent the boundaries of the three communities.



Fig. 5: Vegetal cover map (detail)

GIS and data validation. When researching the traditional uses of land, frequently oral sources are the main source of information. It is not advisable to assume a naive attitude when addressing oral tradition; and we must not accept as true everything that comes from oral tradition, and this is important in order to establish the validity criteria, both explicit and shared. Information from historical sources and topography in many cases is not sufficiently detailed nor is it reliable in confirming or refuting the findings.

For data validation, we decided to consider each point detected as a hypothesis, provided with supporting data (images, references and syntagm of audio/video recordings), for which the principle of falsifiability is valid (in the sense of Popper) and for which it is possible to create an index of 'reliability' in relation to the validation criteria. In the case of disputes, an analysis can be made of the sources of point and contest its validity without necessarily calling into question the entire project.

Conclusions. One of the main results achieved in the community where the activities of the project took place was a trend towards consolidation of the leadership of traditional authorities. The training of local technicians in audiovisual communication and georeferencing has strengthened the autonomy of various organizations. With regard to the claims of traditional land rights, we concluded the work on property claims based on Community Titulos de Merced. A review of the borders jointly with the Chilean government authorities shows that some claims were unfounded and it appears that there were other unclaimed areas where communities seem to have rights.

The claim of traditional uses, instead, was more complex than expected, and experienced a setback due to the change of government, which occurred in 2010. When President Michelle Bachelet returned to the government in 2014, the possibility of resuming the interrupted path was opened up. Legal advice, support in negotiations and training in participatory management was provided by Observatorio Ciudadano de Temuco¹.

We could not conclude the evaluation process due to the earthquake that devastated the region in 2010. From the data that we do have, however, the evaluation of the work was positive. Some representatives of local authorities recognize that our intent to explain clearly and respect the ways of traditional local government have encouraged even older people to understand the utility of new technologies.

Requests from the community were clear: execution

of the activities in support of indigenous rights, reproduction of the surrounding areas, completion of the GIS, implementation of sustainable management plans; support for circulation and exchange of traditional knowledge.

Ethnobotanical research. The introduction of a workflow which was entirely digital and the use of software for the qualitative analysis (Transana) allowed us to greatly improve the quality of the analysis and allow the exchange of data between researchers. At the time, the analysis and coding of data with Transana had been completed only in the records of the ethno linguistic research.

To consider the experimentation completed, however, it is still necessary to carry out a study on the existing literature regarding the limitations of the use of recordings for a variety of purposes and secondary analysis.

With regard to the integration of ethnographic information in the GIS, we are still at an early stage, and it is necessary to compare our experimentation with other applications, in order to understand better the limits and potential of these important tools.

On the subject of the GIS, integration between the database software for qualitative analysis and the GIS database still needs to be developed, so one can select which elements are displayed on the map through keywords without having to cut the recordings in standalone files for each point. In this way it would be possible to have the combined benefits of software for qualitative analysis and a GIS. The decision to use open source software as Transana was made based on the possibility of modifying the source code.

At this time, traditional knowledge, local knowledge and participation are considered more and more often and included in many sustainable development projects related to mitigation and adaptation to climate change. I think that it is important to pursue methods for the effective management of oral sources.

'Certification of tradition' and preservation of intangible cultural heritage. One of the intended uses of the maps created with GIS was to support the claims of traditional land use. It was therefore necessary to address the ethical and methodological issue of the "certifier of tradition" role, which was, explicitly or implicitly, often attributed to the ethnographer. It was subject to requirements such as: "Is this a traditional territory or not?" or to summarize the results as 'simplified', which is often very difficult to fulfill for a researcher whose method has its roots in the study of complexity. The role of the anthropologist-expert has been extensively discussed by various authors [6].

The various strategies described in this text have

¹ www.observatorio.cl; <http://www.observatorio.cl>

been developed keeping in mind this set of problems. Another difficulty, which confronted us, was the practical application of the principles contained in the three conventions [1; 7; 8], which used the management of data collected as a framework drawing up the agreement, and derived products.

The agreement was intended to ensure sufficient freedom for the researchers to analyze data without affecting the protection of the information collected. Unfortunately, the preservation of Intangible Cultural Heritage may also prove to be a double-edged sword: recorded or transcribed traditional knowledge can become a 'material object' subject to laws and rights. The right of original peoples to keep and preserve tradition, placed in a context of existing copyright laws, can turn shared oral heritage into a commodity subject to the laws of supply and demand.

Basic research and development co-operation projects. One of the issues, which came up during the design, was how to combine basic research, applied research and a development cooperation project. These activities supposedly can coexist, but in practice, it is very likely that the problems of each can enter into negative synergy, thereby endangering all activities. There were many events that put a strain on the resistance of the work group and that of the project itself.

A crucial factor for success of the workgroup was to be able to work while respecting and enhancing the skills and experiences of each person. This was not easy, especially during times of increased pressure. I believe that dialogue between basic research and application is essential. This dialogue must occur in an open environment of continuous and respectful feedback.

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ЭТНИЧЕСКАЯ ПОЛИТИКА В РЕСПУБЛИКЕ МАКЕДОНИЯ ПОСЛЕ ОХРИДСКОГО РАМОЧНОГО СОГЛАШЕНИЯ

ETHNIC POLICY IN THE REPUBLIC OF MACEDONIA AFTER THE OHRID FRAMEWORK AGREEMENT

Республика Македония – мультикультурное и многоконфессиональное общество с повышенным риском возникновения конфликтов. Фактором, сдерживающим их развитие в Республике является Орхидское рамочное соглашение, целью которого является сохранение в стране межнационального и межконфессионального мира на основе одобрения этнического и культурного разнообразия, пропорцио-