# Inhabiting in the City: the Aymara People in Arica, Chile. Social and Cultural Factors in Government Housing Programmes an Interdisciplinary Study

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**VOLUME I**

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**ABSTRACT**

The Aymara population in America is divided between Bolivia, Perú and Chile, with smallest percentage in this last country. Even so, in Chile the Aymara people are the second largest indigenous group, with a population of 48.000. They are located in northern Chile, especially in the "Arica Parinacota" and "Tarapaca" regions. In the past three decades, the Aymara people have migrated mainly to the large coastal urban centres, the cities of Arica and Iquique. With this situation they recovered their position in all ecological zones of the area (the highlands, the valleys and the costal area), after being confined to the highlands after the Spanish conquest.

However, the migration process has meant a large number of transformations. The traditional ways of inhabiting have to adapt to the housing programme conditions given by the Chilean state. This research attempts to document the current situation of how Aymara families live in the city of Arica, through an understanding of their traditional cultural roots.

**NOTES**

About terms in other languages:

- The terms altiplano or highlands are used interchangeably in the text to refer to the high geographical area within the coastal areas of the regions of Arica and Parinacota called Tarapacá, the traditional inhabiting space of the Aymara people in Chile.

- The Aymara words used in the text are written in Italics, for example: *uta*. Meanwhile the Spanish words maintained to name some concepts are written with quotation marks, for example: "allegados".

Translations:

- All translations from Spanish to English of sources and individuals are made by me unless otherwise stated in the text.

About the photographic record of the studied cases:

- In the twelve cases the photographic record of the spaces of the houses was discussed during the interview, in some of the cases a request to photograph the bedrooms was refused and that was respected. Meanwhile in cases 8 and 10. the owners and interviews decided that no photographic record should be performed.

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[1] Photographic library of Tacna City Council, Peru
[2] Ibid
[3] Sordo E. (1995) Las resducciones en Potosí y su character urbano. Revista Complutense de Historia de América nº 21, pp. 231-239
[4] Van Kessel, J. (1996) Los aymara contemporaneos en Chile. in Hidalgo, J. et al. ed. (1996) Etnografía. Sociedades indígenas contemporaneas y su ideología, Editorial Andres Bello. Santiago

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[1] Solc, V. (1975) Casa Aymara en Enquelga. Annals of the Náprstek Museum N° 8, pp. 111-146
[2] Ibid
[3] Ibid
[4] Ibid
[5] Ibid
[6] Ibid
[7] Ibid
[8] Ibid
[9] Ibid
[10] Ibid

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[1] Gross, de R. (1985) Imagen ambiental de Santiago 1810-1930, Ediciones universidad Católica de Chile, Santiago.
[2] Ibid
[3] Palmer M. et. al. (1988) Separata, Reseña de la Vivienda Social en Chile, CA, Revista Oficial del Colegio de Arquitectos de Chile A.G, Santiago
[4] Ibid
[5] MINVU (2004) Chile, un siglo de politicas en vivienda y barrio, Pehuen Editores, Santiago
[6] Ibid
[7] Ibid
[8] Ibid

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# INTRODUCTION

This investigation was developed in Chile, a country located in the extreme southwest of South America. Unique geographical features of the Chilean territory affect the cultural reality of the country. It is a narrow strip of land more than 6000 kilometres long and just over 400 kilometres at its widest point (Fig. 0.1). This results in significant climatic differences in different parts of the country, from a hot desert north to a south that is cold and rainy. Chile is divided administratively into 15 regions, and the capital is the city of Santiago de Chile, located in the Metropolitan Region (Fig. 0.2), with a population of 6 million inhabitants, a third of the total population (16.5 million). The republic's official language is Spanish, however the Indigenous Law 19,253 of 1993 notes the existence of native peoples and their languages.

## AIM OF THE INVESTIGATION, HYPOTHESES AND RESEARCH QUESTIONS

The aim of this research is to analyse the current situation of the Aymara families living in social housing units in the city of Arica. From this specific starting point, I hope to contribute to the understanding of the realities facing this ethnic group in regard to inhabitation, particularly from the point of the valorisation of the analysis of

vernacular architecture as a useful study tool to be utilized in areas where different cultures coexist, as is the case with this city in northern Chile.

There are 9 recognized indigenous peoples in Chile today: The Aymara, the Rapanui, the Mapuche, Quechua, the Atacameños, the Kolla, the Kawesqar, the Yagan, and the Diaguitas. Chile's indigenous population is estimated at 4.6% of the total population (692,192 people). The Mapuche people have the highest population at 604,349, followed by the Aymara at 48,501 according to the National Census of 2002. Most of the indigenous groups in the country have followed a migratory process moving from their origins in traditional communities to cities. The Aymara people are largely located in the large coastal urban centres of northern Chile including the cities of Arica and Iquique.

The migration processes have caused changes in the way of inhabiting of the Aymara people. This can be seen from the return to certain ecological zones (highlands, valleys and costal area) of those who had been marginalized after the Spanish colonization until their incorporation into the general dynamics of Chilean society. This incorporation has allowed them to be beneficiaries of certain state aid programmes because of their socioeconomic characteristics. Among these benefits are access to social housing, which may be the essential way in which the Aymara families obtain housing in the coastal cities of northern Chile.

This research will focus on the situation of the Aymara families living in the city of Arica. This city has been selected on the basis of its growth characteristics and the diversifying of the population along with the economic activities in this coastal city. The presence of the Aymara population (besides being the largest with respect to other Chilean cities) is a fundamental part of the social and economic dynamics of the city, establishing themselves as one of the most important social segments.

Moreover, the social housing programmes of the Chilean state do not consider cultural variants in the definition of the architectural form and space in the housing units. Uniformity is present in the programmatic typology for the entire national territory (for example modifying its materials based on the needs of the climate). The question then arises as to whether, if the beneficiaries of social housing units in the country do not have a cultural common background, then how does the way of inhabiting change according to the cultural group residing in the dwelling spaces?

The traditional way of inhabitation, as well as the traditional Aymara house itself, is not an issue that has been studied in detail in regard to its architecture, and it has only been briefly discussed by anthropologists and ethnographers. I will seek to gather the existing information and contrast it with information to be collected from oral sources and in fieldwork. With this information as a background, I will discuss the reality of the Aymara families currently living in the social housing units extended through self-construction. In this way I will be able to see if there is some overlap of traditional inhabitation within this new situation of the different geographical and cultural space of the city.

The hypothesis that I will try to answer in this research is:

- Despite the changes caused by migration to the cities, is it still possible to find Aymara families living in houses obtained through state social housing programmes in the city of Arica in Chile, with characteristics of their own traditional inhabitation?

The main research question will be then:

- Do the Aymara families living in state social housing units in the city of Arica in Chile retain some of the specific characteristics of their traditional inhabitation?

To help us to understand the scope of this main question and answer it, the following sub-questions arise:

- What are the characteristics of traditional Aymara inhabitation?

- How do Aymara families inhabit today within the state social housing units in the city of Arica?

- What are the characteristics of the original state of social housing units that were given to the Aymara families in the city of Arica?

**LIMITATIONS OF THE RESEARCH**

This research does not attempt to present a definitive answer towards how to deal with the housing situation of the Aymara people living today in the city of Arica, nor does it intend to exhaust the possibilities for the analysis of the traditional inhabitation of this ethnic group. This is because our efforts are limited by the reality of a PhD research being performed by a single investigator and with limited financial and logistical resources. And since understanding a reality as specific as the Aymara families in Arica, which presents so many levels of variables, each of them inexhaustible in nuance, in order to achieve a deep understanding, it is undoubtedly necessary that efforts from different disciplines especially social sciences and architecture be carried out together.

Therefore I cannot expect that the results and conclusions of this research be considered as definitive, I just want to add with our results to a subject matter that is, I firmly believe, still very poorly studied and little considered in the national reality. The vernacular architecture in Chile has not yet had an important presence in academic discussions.

Government policies and studies conducted by anthropology and ethnology have not paid sufficient attention to the role that the built environment can have for a more complete understanding of the cultural reality of the Aymara people in particular, and the indigenous groups in general. I hope that this small research effort will serve to open this field and can principally cooperate in improving inhabitation for the Aymara people in the city.

Even though I've tried to do this research from a neutral viewpoing, I am aware of the inability to act without one's own cultural background becoming present, even if it is unconsciously. In this respect, this work must be understood on the basis that I do

not belong to any of the indigenous groups present in Chile, but rather I am part of the mestizo majority. Due to my family formation, I have a special admiration and understanding of the Aymara culture that I appreciate, maintaining strong bonds of affection and friendship with members of this ethnic group. Furthermore I possess a critical view regarding the process of access to social housing promoted by the Chilean state, particularly in the eighties and nineties. These clarifications seem relevant before starting to read the following pages and will serve to put into context the work done, which as I said is not intended to be definitive. Rather it seeks, with this limited effort, to open a research field that will allowi in the future a better and more complete understanding of cultural phenomena that occur in the region where I live.

**THESIS STRUCTURE**

The thesis is divided into two volumes. The first one is dedicated exclusively to the written part of the investigation, while volume two contains the images referenced in the text in addition to drawings of the case studies.

Volume I is divided into seven chapters. After the introduction and the formulation of the hypothesis, the primary and secondary questions and the limitations of research, in chapter one I will review the concepts of vernacular architecture and anthropology, both in general terms and in Chile. It consists of a literature review of basic texts and authors who have dealt with the issues central to this investigation.

Chapter 2 provides an introduction to the Aymara people. First I will review the general reality of the Chilean Aymara people, seeing it as part of the total American population, but with the Aymara having a particular history that contrasts with most of the Aymara people living in Peru and Bolivia. The second issue addressed is the "Chilenization" process that occurred after the Pacific War, by which Chile, as triumphant in the war, imposed on the territories annexed a policy of forced

assimilation that established the way of relating to the Aymara people and the rest of the Chilean population, in particular the regional and urban society.

The Chapter 3 is dedicated to Aymara, concepts of organization and society, family and land occupation. In addition I will address the Aymara worldview, including the religious syncretism and the maintenance of what they call the "custom". I will see the formation of the Indian villages established as the central villages during the colonial time, in addition to its ritual significance. I will end with the main Aymara house, the *uta*, how it is constituted, its construction process as well as its cultural and symbolic significance.

Meanwhile in the Chapter 4 I discuss from a historical point of view the development of the Ministry of Housing in Chile and particularly the development of social housing policies.

Chapter 5 focuses on the current situation of the Aymara families in the city of Arica and examines the second and third research objectives (know how do Aymara families inhabit today within the state social housing units in the city of Arica and what are the characteristics of the original state of social housing units that were given to the Aymara families in the city of Arica). A description of the life stories told by the interviewees in each of 12 cases studied, as well as the story of the installation process in the city, how they obtained the housing unit and the self build process. In addition there will be a description of the spaces observed in each of the 10 studies, looking at their social housing from when the original unit was delivered to the current reality, in addition to what happened with the two cases of houses purchased in the private market. The four issues that arise following the analysis of the case studies will be reviewed in the Chapter 6. These come to answer the research question regarding the maintenance of certain features of the traditional Aymara way of inhabitation, as well

as the appearance of situations which tell us about an acceptance of certain ways of living that are common to the rest of urban society. In the conclusion I will explore the possible next steps regarding this research topic.

# CHAPTER 1

## 1.1 VERNACULAR ARCHITECTURE: ABOUT ARCHITECTURE AND ANTHROPOLOGY

If we want to study Vernacular architecture it is necessary to combine elements from several other areas. We must review architecture theory and also look at history, geography, ethnology and anthropology. All this focuses on understanding the houses, buildings and traditional constructions, which are at the same time associated with the specific physical environment and the human societies and cultures that built them, modified them, and have lived in them throughout their history. In other words we are talking about buildings with a common cultural background in a specific time and place.

The buildings have an ethnographic quality, meaning they can provide information that is not available through other methods of ethnographic research[1]. However it was not until the second half of the twentieth century that this area of research was actually considered as a useful tool.

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[1] Social anthropology as a specific discipline was developed in England and began to be issued under the name of anthropology or ethnography at the University of Oxford since 1884. As a method of social or cultural anthropology, ethnography facilitates the understanding of a particular social and cultural context, usually in a human community with its own identity.

The interest of studying, recording and analysing ancient architectures can be found as far back in time as in Palladio's description of ancient works and reconstruction of archaeological remains in Rome in his Book IV, from the point of view of architectural history, this was born in the late nineteenth century as product of a growing curiosity about the classical period and was established during the following decades as a respected discipline academically[2]. Having evolved this way, it is not surprising that the study has only focused on monuments or major buildings, those whose design was the responsibility of architects or specialized professionals. Later, architectural history has been subject to analysis, documentation and critiques of trends and styles, which some researchers call "cultured" architecture, without worrying about another architecture, the informal one. Bernard Rudfosky described it as architecture "without architects" in 1964[3] and is not only a matter of preoccupation just for romantic architects with an interest in the ethnographic: it should be a major issue if we think that it represents about 90% of the buildings on the planet[4].

The term vernacular architecture[5] itself has not necessarily been taken easily by researchers and in the field of classification within architecture. It has been used as a synonym for rural, traditional or popular. This has served to confuse the development of this concept as an on-going theoretical aspect within architecture.

We can locate the first interest in the vernacular in England in the nineteenth century, as a critical response to the industrialization process. In some way the Arts and Crafts movement was to highlight the vernacular as a way to get back to the craft-made tradition. It followed the ideas of John Ruskin relating to the respect for the

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[2] Carter, T. and Collins, E. (2005) *Invitation to Vernacular Architecture: A Guide to the Study of Ordinary Buildings and Landscapes*, University of Tennesse Press, Knoxville.
[3] Rudofsky, B. (1972) *Architecture without architects: a short introduction to non- pedigreed architecture*, Academy Editions. London.
[4] See Rapoport, A. (1969) *House Form and Culture*, Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, Inc.
[5] The term vernacular derives from the Latin word *vernaculus,* which it self comes from *vernus* and *verna* meaning slave born in the house itself. Today the term is used to describe something that relates to the native, domestic, indigenous or proper to a place.

nature of materials, the processes of implementation, and the rescue of the craft skills[6].

So the traditional English country house or the English farm were reborn not as a matter of stylistic picturesque but as a real exercise of rescuing their simplicity, strength and integrity[7]. The Arts and Crafts established some of the theoretical and practical bases from which the modern movement began to take shape, at least in what concerned the honesty of materials. However, as we will see, the modern movement eventually acted as a homogenizer.

From the point of view of the contemporary architecture, or in the attempt to bring it within the current scope of vernacular architecture, we must return to the dichotomy between it and what we call high or cultured architecture[8]. This high architecture can be related to a premeditated intent to exercise an original stylistic discourse that goes beyond functionalist intentions[9], as can be seen for example in the modern movement, not considering, at least at the first moment the traditional construction techniques, local materials, or cultural characteristics of each human group. On the contrary, it showed pride in the power of create a new dwelling for a new man, a man who from a general point of view was thought of as having common needs beyond a specific local reality[10].

The positivist concept of an international style was based on the idea of a universal architecture. However, following an analysis of the works resulting from the initial period of the modern movement, despite what one would anticipate, it was not able to exclude vernacular factors mainly because of the weight of traditional training attributed to the modern pioneers. We can mention for example the importance that Le

[6] Tillería, J. (2010) *La arquitectura sin arquitectos, algunas reflexiones sobre arquitectura vernácula*. Revista AUS nº 8, pp. 12-15

[7] Benton, T. and Millikin, S. (1982) El movimiento Arts and Crafts, Adir Publishing, New York.

[8] See Pevsner, N. (1998, first published in 1943) An outline of European Architecture, Penguin, London.

[9] See Erten. E (2011) *"The hollow victory" of Modern Architecture* in Guillery. P. ed. *Built from Below: British Architecture and the Vernacular*, Routledge, London. pp. 145-168

[10] This can be seen directly in the slums neighbourhoods that appear around the city of Brasilia, example of modern urbanism, during the construction as workers short term houses and remained there after its completion. In their quality as vernacular architecture, the one without architects, contrast with the functionalism and real construction of an modern international style embodied in the city.

Corbusier gives to the traditional architectures of Turkey, Italy or Greece in *Le Voyage d'Orient* (1911) or the interest in Japanese vernacular building tradition demonstrated by Frank Lloyd Wright[11]. It was not until the arrival of this idea to the architecture classrooms that generations of architects would come out without a professional training and background that included concepts of traditional construction and design[12].

Once texts critical of the modern movements emerged on the sixties[13] we were able to see more clearly a specific assimilation of precepts of vernacular architecture precepts by major authors such as Joseph Rykwert who shares the idea of Ernst Cassirer and Christian Norberg-Schulz and tunes in with Bernard Rudosky that architecture made by architects is not capable of finding a comparable beauty as the one present in the buildings of traditional cultures[14].

However, it is also important to note the difference between what is called primitive architecture and vernacular architecture[15]. With primitive, we mean the differentiation between constructions made by human societies defined be anthropology as primitives, or those in which there is a diffuse knowledge of everything by everyone. There is no technical vocabulary because practically the idea of specialization doesn't exist and each of the aspects of the tribal life is a matter of concern to all of its members (considering only differences by age and sex). Any member of the human group can build his dwelling and there are not significant differences between the buildings produced. By contrast, within vernacular architecture it can be seen in that in the process of design and construction there is the inclusion of a qualified craftsmen. This is beyond the fact that each member of society knows

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[11] Tillería, J. op.cit., pp. 12-15
[12] Blundell Jones, P. (1985) *Implicit Meanings*, in Architectural Review, 6. Pp 34-39.
[13] Tournikiotis, P. (2001, first published in 1999) *La historiografía de la arquitectura moderna*, Libreria Mairea y Celeste Ediciones, Madrid. p. 10
[14] Montaner, J. M. (2013, first published in 1999) *Arquitectura y crítica*, Editorial Gustavo Gili, Barcelona. pp 80-81
[15] Rapoport, A. (1969) *House Form and Culture*, Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, Inc.

perfectly what characteristics each home should have, and to a certain point has knowledge of the basic principles of how to build it.

The particular mastery of the craftsman / builder is only a matter of degree[16] and it is within in this expertise that we can find the greatest number of variations, depending on each household starting from a basic general model. We could say that vernacular architecture is based more as a process of repetition that one of invention, without trying to say that there are no changes, it more reflects the term described by Claude Levi-Strauss in 1962 as *bricolage*: the assembly of pre-existing parts to solve a problem, make a tool or create a physical solution[17].

The built form of vernacular housing cannot only be seen as a result of physical factors, but must also be analysed as the result of various elements that shape and determine it, without letting us to being able to recognize just a single factor. Each one of these factors is in a greater or smaller way responsible for giving it its total shape. Here we can look towards the ideas of Rapoport who says that we should analyse the physical factors (climate, topography, soil type, vegetation, etc.), the available materials, construction techniques developed, etc. then take into notice that the cultural and social factors (traditions, myths, social customs, religion, etc.) are all equally important.

The processes of modernization have consequences on human societies, especially within third world countries. Among its many effects, it is important to highlight the issue of migration; specifically the transfer of population from rural to urban areas as the "depopulation" of rural communities and the increase in city

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[16] García, F. (2010) Arquitectura vernácula del Sotavento, Ediciones del programa de desarrollo cultural del Sotavento, Mexico. p. 17
[17] Ibid, p. 18

residents generates profound changes in the inhabitation of the population that is transferred.

For my research, it is vernacular architecture that offers the chance to understand the particular situation facing Aymara migrants from northern Chile accessing social housing in the city of Arica, since the leaving of their communities of origin not only involves the "journey" to a new space for urban development, but also a "forced" adoption of new models of inhabitation that are given because of the globalizing construction and programmatic decisions in the cities.

This type of vernacular architecture (which we can also refer to as native, traditional or folk) incorporates a subject that for many years has been developed by researchers in the social sciences. This is closest to the study of a society and what they build, looking at the more complex social and cultural systems that arise from the interrelationship of the human groups with their environment. Thanks to the modern movement we can see today that these subjects are receiving greater interest in the field of architectural theory and analysis besides the more technical areas such as construction methods studies[18].

Broader efforts to understand this type of architecture may be found in studies such as Guidoni's "Primitive Architecture"[19] or in Duly's "The Houses of Mankind"[20] and then in a definitive way with the vast effort of Paul Oliver in his various works[21] that give us an overview of the topic through examples across the entire planet. Today, however, research on this type of architecture has becomes more important as part of a broader

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[18] Tillería, J. op. cit., pp. 12-15
[19] See Guidoni, E. (1987) *Primitive Architecture,* London: Faber.
[20] Duly, C. (1979) *The houses of mankind*, Thames and Hudson, London.
[21] See Oliver, P. (1987) *Dwellings : the house across the world*, University of Texas Press, Austin; --- (2003) *Dwellings : the vernacular house world wide*, Phaidon, London; --- (Ed.) (1997) *Encyclopedia of vernacular architecture of the world, Vol.1-2-3, Theories and principles*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge; --- (2006) *Built to Meet Needs Cultural Issues in Vernacular Architecture*,: Architectural Press, Italy.

theoretical process[22], given the acceptance of difference as a virtue[23] and as a response to the globalization and homogenization of architecture in the world[24].

There are several investigations that serve as examples about vernacular architecture in contemporary societies and how through built form, cultural concepts can be understood in different countries and cultures around the world[25], along with analysis of urban popular housing; or from the point of view of the vernacular idea understood as environmental factors influencing the construction of buildings[26]. Moreover the studies of a particular situation of a culture can be the starting point for an analysis of the overall relationship between architecture and anthropology, using the tools of social science to understand the living space[27].

Space, in particular architectural space, is a cultural fact that we cannot consider unequivocally, since it takes part in different realities or different interpretations: the disciplines of architecture and of anthropology, representatives of creative and analytical aspects of space respectively. But it is still missing another point of view to complete the approach to the architectural object: society. In each of these three realities, space acquires different names and meanings. In the context of society and the practical approach, the spaces acquire sense given the activities taking place: space becomes place. This site, for anthropology, has been an object of study that is accessed from an analytical approach, in order to seek the precise meaning it has for

[22] Asquith, L. and Vellinga M. (eds.) (2006) *Vernacular Architecture in the Twenty-First Century Theory, education and practice*, Taylor & Francis, New york. p. 27.

[23] See Dixit, S. (2008) *Contemporary vernacular : a new approach*, Thesis (M.Arch.Studies) - University of Sheffield, School of Architecture.

[24] See De Solà-Morales, I. (1996) *La forma de la residencia: habitaciones. Presente y futuros: Arquitectura en las ciudades*, XIX Congreso de la UIA, Barcelona; Umbach, M. and Hüppauf, B. (Eds.) (2005) *Vernacular modernism : Heimat, globalization, and the built environment*, Stanford University Press, Stanford.

[25] See Fathy, H. (1973 First published in 1969) *Architecture for the Poor An Experiment in Rural Egypt*, The University of Chicago Press, Chicago.

[26] See Xing, Y. (2006) *Lessons from the vernacular environmental principles in architecture, Xinjiang China*, Thesis (M.Arch. Studies) - University of Sheffield, School of Architecture; Heath, K. W. (2009) *Vernacular Architecture and Regional Design: Cultural Process and Environmental Response*, Routledge, New York.

[27] Waterson, R. (1997) *The living house: an anthropology of architecture in South-East Asia*, Thames and Hudson, London.

society. But for the anthropologist, the space of the society in question is also part of it and gives it a proper meaning: it is the anthropological field.

Within the social sciences and especially anthropology, the study of the living space, its construction, and its daily use, have been made since the beginning of the discipline as a way to establish understanding of the general cultural concepts, though intermittently and with different objectives. Lewis Henry Morgan's "Houses and House Life of the American Aborigines" from 1881[28] can be considered a starting point for this type of research and analysis of spatial organization, research which has been continued by other researchers such as Mary Douglas[29] or by the sociologist Pierre Bourdieu[30].

Therefore we could summarize the work of anthropologists regarding the understanding of architecture as not only representing a society, but also as part of what shapes a society[31]. It is this kind of social approach to the symbolism of the built form which we are interested in looking at when attempting to understand the material available concerning housing and traditional Aymara inhabitation.

In Chile, the study of vernacular architecture began in the last three decades to be a subject of interest of architects, who have mostly focused on the constructive qualities of materials used in the different geographical areas of the country[32]. There have also been more general discussions of this type of architecture in the country's

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[28] Morgan, L. H. (1881) *Houses and House Life of the American Aborigenes*, Govt. Print. Off, Washington.
[29] See Douglas, M. (1984 First published in 1966) *Purity and Danger An Analysis of the Concepts of Pollution and Taboo,* Routledge, New York.
[30] See Bourdieu, P. (1972) "The Kabyle house or the world reversed", in Bourdieu, P. *Algeria 1960 Essays by Pierre Bourdieu*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.
[31] Buchli, V. (2013) *An Anthropology of Architecture*, Bloomsbury, London.
[32] See Hartmann, P. (2001) *De Tortel a La Moneda, un largo camino*. Revista de Urbanismo, n° 4, F.A.U. Universidad de Chile. pp. 87-99; Guerra, J. (2001) *Habitar el desierto, Tesis Doctoral 2001*, Departamento de construcciones Arquitectónicas, Escuela Técnica Superior de Arquitectura de Barcelona, universidad Politécnica de Catalunya; Blaitt R. (2007) *Una tradición constructiva del Norte Chico.* ARQ (Santiago) n° 65, En territorio / In territory, pp. 20-21

panorama[33], but always putting the main emphasis on construction processes and materiality[34]. Also investigated were different craft techniques used in construction with the emergence of craft master builders[35].

In the area of the Chilean Altiplano, research work carried out by architects has focused, as in the rest of the macro Andean region, on the urban structure of the "Pueblos de Indios"[36] (central villages built under Spanish influence) and primarily in the resulting colonial / mestizo architecture[37]. Special study has been directed towards on the religious architecture developed in the Andes[38], because of the undeniable influence it has had as an element of order within villages and life in them. On the Chilean Andean space the work of study and compilation by Benavides, Marquez de la Plata and Rodriguez in their book "Arquitectura del Altiplano"[39] is particularly relevant because is the first attempt of a systematic recording of the Andean architecture in the Chilean territory made by investigators in the field of architecture.

Churches, chapels, and temples have become the ultimate manifestations of what some historians call the architecture of the New World[40], a process we mentioned as being of the Architectural "mestizaje" in which the very rationalism of the modern age

[33] Lobos J. (2004) *La arquitectura cultural*. Revista de Urbanismo, nº 11, F.A.U. Universidad de Chile. pp. 76-84

[34] See Rojas, E. (1994) *Arquitecturas leves, efímeras o precarias.* Revista Ciudad y Arquitectura, Colegio de Arquitectos de Chile, nº 78. pp. 33-38; Vásquez, V. And Avellaneda, J. (2004) *Arquitectura Vernácula en Maderas Nativas de Autoconstrucción Sostenible en Situación de Borde Mar: Caleta Tortel, Patagonia de Chile*, Barcelona: ETSA. Universidad Politécnica de Catalunya.

[35] Tillería, J. op. cit., pp. 12-15

[36] See Gutiérrez, R. (Ed.) (1993) *Pueblos de Indios. Otro urbanismo en la región andina*, Ediciones Abya-Yala, Quito.

[37] This type of architecture, responded to the influence of the European architecture in the context of hybridization with the local Andean cultures, especially notable in the religious buildings and in the urban form of the villages founded. See Gisbert T. and Mesa J. (1985) *Arquitectura andina 1530-1830. Historia y análisis*, Colección ARSANZ y VELA Embajada de España en Bolivia, La Paz

[38] See Donoso M. ed. (2006) *Iglesias del desierto,* Dirección de Asuntos Culturales (DIRAC) del Ministerio de Relaciones Exteriores, Santiago; Games L., Games C. (2010) *Iglesias Atacameñas del Altiplano Chileno*, Ediciones Universidad Católica del Norte, Antofagasta.

[39] See Benavides J., Márquez de la Plata, R. and Rodríquez L. (1977) *Arquitectura del Altiplano*, Editorial Universitaria, Santiago.

[40] Irarrázaval A. (1990) *Asentamientos indígenas en la región de Tarapaca* (Chile) in R. Gutiérrez ed. (1993) *Pueblos de Indios: Otro urbanismo en la región andina*,: Ediciones Abya-Yala, Quito

that the Spanish conquistadors accomplished had strange points of coincidence with the indigenous world and its tradition, cosmology and symbology[41].

In our study area (the region of Arica, Parinacota, and Tarapacá), the conformation of the "pueblos de indios" has been studied not only as a precedent regarding the new political and administrative organization of the sector,[42] but as a new spatial occupation that has been imposed and in terms of the way spatial organization has impacted upon the Aymara people, with the imposition of a new modern urban paradigm and broader concepts about the meaning behind the shaping of urban space and the ideal concept of the colonial villages. The symbolism behind these ceremonial villages or *markas* studied by anthropology at the level the Andean space[43] and the urban concept based on the Spanish idea of a grid plan (but example of this point is an encounter with the indigenous reality) has also been dealt with by researchers[44] and raises questions about the impact on religious life of community and meeting spaces as a result of the new situation in the city.

More recent studies are due to the efforts of the Chilean state to raise awareness of the realities of vernacular architecture in different parts of Chile: in the particular case of the extreme northern area I can name the "Guia para el diseño arquitectónico Aymara, para edificios y espacios públicos" a guide that provides recommendations on how to build buildings and public spaces in *marka* villages. It can be considered a remarkable effort, but I believe it is only stylistically focused, without going into cultural issues and certainly forgetting the reality of multiple dwelling within

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[41] Gisbert T. and Mesa J. (1985) *Arquitectura andina 1530-1830. Historia y análisis*, Colección ARSANZ y VELA Embajada de España en Bolivia, La Paz. p. 51

[42] Silva, F. (1962) *Tierras y pueblos de indios en el reino de Chile. Esquema histórico y jurídico*, Editorial Universitaria, Santiago. pp. 65.

[43] See Van Kessel J. (1996) *Los aymara contemporáneos en Chile*, in J. Hidalgo et al. ed. (1996) *Etnografía. Sociedades indígenas contemporáneas y su ideología,* Editorial Andrés Bello, Santiago.

[44] Lozano A. (1993) *la concepción cultural de la ciudad andina, implicaciones simbólicas y técnicas.* Dialogo Andino, Universidad de Tarapacá nº 11-12.

Aymara families in northern Chile. That is to say the *uta*, the house type in the territory where the traditional Aymara inhabitation is developed[45].

Currently we can differentiate between two realities in the contemporary rural Aymara people of northern Chile, which have been extensively analysed by anthropologists: the situation of those who inhabit the high valleys and those who live in the highlands. Within the first, agriculture is the main economic activity, while in the highland sector it is cattle raising[46]. On this particular point we must emphasise that research into the Aymara dwelling has mainly been conducted by those in the social sciences. Their descriptions established the rich symbolism behind traditional housing (*uta*) and the cosmological reconstruction present in the construction process[47]. The ceremonies that are performed during this process give us an insight concerning broader aspects of Aymara culture and religion[48].

The most complete description of the Aymara traditional house in Chile was made by Vaclav Solc (ethnologist) in the area of Enquelga (south altiplano) published in 1975[49]. This work gives an accurate account of the situation of the area with respect to its composition of inhabitants and houses as well as the construction process of the home, including photographs and descriptions of each of the construction stages. The symbolism of the traditional Aymara house[50] can be considered as the starting point for a later analysis to be performed on the current situation after the migration processes,[51]

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[45] Consultora AURA Ltda. (2006) *Guia para el diseño arquitectónico Aymara*, MOP. Santiago
[46] Gundermann, H. And Gonzalez H. (1989) *La cultura aymara. Artesanías tradicionales del altiplano*, Museo Chileno de Arte Precolombino and Ministerio de Educación, Santiago. p. 19
[47] Arnold D. et al. (1993) *Hacia un orden andino de las cosas*, Hisbol/ICA, La paz. p. 34-39
[48] Loza G. (1970) *La vivienda aymara*, Pumapunku/Inst. de Cultura Aymara, La Paz.
[49] Solc, V. (1975) "Casa Aymara en Enquelga", in *Annals of the Náprstek Museum N° 8*, Myris Trade Ltd, Prague: pp.111-146
[50] Palacios F. (1990) El simbolismo de la casa de los pastores Aymara. in J. Flores ed. (1990) *Trabajos presentados al simposio "Rur 6. El pastoreo altoandino: Origen, desarrollo y situación actual"*, Cuzco: 46 Congreso Internacional de Americanistas.
[51] Grebe, M. E. (1986) *Migración, identidad y cultura aymara: Punto de vista del actor.* Revista Chungará, Universidad de Tarapacá n° 16-17.

to verify where there are still characteristics of the traditional inhabitation manifesting themselves today in the social housing units that they occupy in Arica.

Finally, in direct response to the current situation of the Aymara families, we have as an antecedent the situation of social housing in Chile (that we will see in detail in the following pages) being one of the themes behind this research: the exclusion of cultural diversity as a factor of the social housing programmes in Chile. Housing policies in Chile have been the subject of various studies, some historical[52] and others critical in tone[53]. The truth is that there is agreement that, especially in recent decades, the policies have led to problems of spatial segregation manifested for example in the formation of ghettos[54]. It has also addressed the issue of housing quality regarding their programme sizes and materiality. It is common for these homes suffer processes of "informal" extensions to suit the real needs of families[55].

## 1.2 SOME NOTES ABOUT ETHNOGRAPHY

As mentioned in the previous pages, this study focuses on an aspect little known and / or recognized of the indigenous reality of Chile, related to the transformations that have caused the profuse migrations of recent decades, which have ended with the installation of the majority of the indigenous population in the

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[52] See Bravo, L. (1959) *Chile: el problema de la vivienda a través de su legislación (1906-1959)*, Editorial Universitaria, Santiago; --- (1993) *Chile: 50 años de vivienda social, 1943-1993*. Valparaíso: Universidad de Valparaíso; Haramoto, E. (1983) *Políticas de vivienda social. Experiencia de las Tres Ultimas Décadas*. In Mac Donald, J. Ed. (1983) *Vivienda Social*, Corporación de Promoción Universitaria (CPU). Santiago; Chaparro, M. (1994) *La propiedad de la Vivienda y los sectores populares, Santiago de Chile 1900-1943*, Santiago: Documento de Trabajo nº6, Serie Azul, Instituto de Estudios Urbanos, Pontificia Universidad Católica; Hidalgo R. (1999) *La vivienda social en Chile: La acción del estado en un siglo de planes y programas*. Scripta Nova Revista Electrónica de Geografía y Ciencias Sociales, Universidad de Barcelona nº 45 (1).
[53] See Godoy, G. (1972) *Rol de la Corvi en el problema habitacional*. Santiago: Seminario, Facultad de Arquitectura y Urbanismo, Universidad de Chile; San Martin, E. (1992) *La arquitectura de la periferia de Santiago. Experiencias y propuestas*, Editorial Andrés Bello, Santiago. pp 67-89
[54] See Ducci, M.E. (1997) *Chile, el lado oscuro de una política de vivienda exitosa*, in Revista Latinoamericana de Estudios Urbanos Regionales EURE. Vol. XXIII, No 69, Santiago. p. 109; Cáceres G., Sabatini F. (eds.) (2004) *Barrios cerrados en Santiago de Chile: entre la exclusión y la integración residencial,* Lincoln Institute of Land Policy/Instituto de Geografía, P. Universidad Católica de Chile, Santiago.
[55] Rodríguez A., Sugranyes A. (2004) *El problema de vivienda de los "con techo".* Revista eure vol. XXX, N°91, pp. 53-65.

urban areas of the country. This is the general context from which we asked specifically about the persistence of elements of the traditional Aymara inhabiting the new housing in the city of Arica, particularly that provided by Chilean government agencies.

The new cultural reality of the urban residence that affects and impacts on the Aymara and other indigenous groups in the country, must be understood in relation to their historical patterns of integration into the regions of belonging. These patterns involved the specific characteristics of each ethnic group, that deal not only with their own cultural characteristics of origin (agricultural economy, socio-political and cultural tradition structures), but also with particular regional models of development and modernization that they lived.

In order to clarify the theoretical route followed to address this research, in which we have complemented architecture with ethnography, I propose to review the implications of the concepts of culture, post-colonialism, identity, hybridity and diaspora, which allow us to understand and to better situate our study objectives.

Anthropology uses the concept of culture to record the diversity of forms of life that humans present. However, no single or conclusive definition of this concept has been defined, since its meaning has changed over time in relation to the dominant theoretical preoccupations at the moment[56]. As Ingold (2003)[57] points out, the concept

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[56] In the beginning, according to the prevailing evolutionary perspective, the term culture was considered synonym of the civilization process. Later, when a relativistic perspective replaced the idea of progress, for which the beliefs and practices of a society can only be judged by the values and norms prevailing in that same society, anthropologists began to speak of 'cultures' in plural form, and each culture was regarded as a traditional way of life, manifested in a particular set of common behaviours, institutions and artefacts. Then, when the emphasis on behaviour patterns was replaced by concern about the underlying structures of symbolic meaning, each culture was seen as a shared system of concepts or mental representations, established by the conventions and reproduced by the transmission of traditions. But then, even this point of view became challenged by an approach that places the generating source of culture in the practices, located in the relational context in which the actions of individuals in the social world operates, not on structures of significance in the physical world where it is represented.

involves a very high level of abstraction, because culture is not something we can always expect to find 'in the field'. What is observed are people whose lives are moving through space and time in environments that seem to be full of significance, using both words and material artefacts to do their thing and communicate with others and, in his view, they always use metaphors that weave networks of symbolic equivalence. Instead of saying that people live in a culture, it is more realistic to say that people live culturally (Ingold Op. Cit). We must understand the concept of culture as a dimension that echoes the difference that has developed in a certain place and situation, more as an adjective than as a noun (Appadurai, 2001)[58].

Among definitions of culture, the one that had the greatest resonance was an understanding as a system of symbols, under the influence of Clifford Geertz (2003 (1973))[59] . However, this conception left out the material and practical dimension of culture, underestimating the material dimensions such as food production, handicrafts or housing construction, the latter an issue specifically addressed in this research (taking vernacular architecture as a framework with respect to the theoretical conceptual field of architecture). Although this lack of concern for certain issues may have been  related to a more general tendency in anthropology, in one of the most renowned anthropology encyclopedias in two articles related to our topic an author claims that an anthropological science techniques have to start from scratch, although they are always present in the cultural life daily (Sigaut, 2003)[60]; while another says that the study of the spatial organization and the built environment has been neglected by anthropology, and there is not a focus or a conceptual vocabulary agreed upon to address it, even though the life of all human beings takes place in a environment

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[57] Ingold, T. (2003) *Introduction to culture*, in *Companion Encyclopedia of Anthropology. Humanity, Culture and Social Life*, Routledge, New York. pp. 329-349
[58] Appadurai, A. (2001) *Globalization,* Duke University Press, Durham
[59] Geertz, C. (2003 First published in 1973) *La Interpretación de las Culturas*, Editorial Gedisa. Barcelona
[60] Sigaut, F. (2003) *Technology,* in *Companion Encyclopedia of Anthropology. Humanity, Culture and Social Life*, Routledge, New York. pp. 420-459.

extending in space, and everywhere they 'build' culturally their environment (Rapoport, 2003)[61].

Since at least the 1980s, anthropology has assumed that it is not possible to find bodies of thought with sharply bounded and exclusionary practices, endorsed by all those who share them and in which their lives and their works are fully encapsulated. Humanity cannot be divided into a multitude of discrete cultural realities, each one with the potential to be a subject of anthropological study, when the interconnection of people around the world is evident, not only in the modern era of communications and transport. The idea of culture 'isolated' and peoples 'without history' was a product of Western anthropological imagination, especially that of colonial Europe (Wolf, 1982)[62]. Johannes Fabian (1983)[63] criticizes the way in which anthropology builds its object precisely by treating the "other" as if they lived in another time, and the need to question these 'politics of time' highlighting the coevalness of humanity.

The origin of anthropology as a discipline studying the 'primitive' peoples is linked to colonialism, to the construction of an "other uncivilized' opposite the Western world,  'us the civilized' (Kearney 1996)[64]. Even after World War II, with the appearance of the development paradigm, in which peasants are incorporated as a new object of anthropological study, these were treated as isolated groups and with an traditional culture opposite to modern urban culture (Redfield 1947)[65], as an 'other undeveloped'.

Although an anticolonial thesis arising from the establishment as independent nation states of the former colonies was echoed in anthropology (particularly in France,

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[61] Rapoport, A. (2003). *Spatial organization and the built environment*, in *Companion Encyclopedia of Anthropology. Humanity, Culture and Social Life*, Routledge, New York. pp. 460-502.
[62] Wolf, E. (1982) *Europe and the People Without History*, University of California Press, Los Angeles CA
[63] Fabian, J. (1983) *Time and the Other. How Anthropology Makes Its Object*, Columbia University Press, New York.
[64] Kearney, M. (1996) *Reconceptualizing the Peasantry. Anthropology in Global Perspective*. Westview Press, Colorado.
[65] Redfield, R. (1947) *The folk society*, in American journal of Sociology 52 (3). pp 293- 308

under the influence of George Balandier), postcolonial studies will be the ones that will move the constituent paradigms of classical anthropology rejecting the colonial representations of the 'otherness', especially since the impact of the book Orientalism by Edward Said ([1978] 1997)[66], who reviewed the European construction of "other" showing the links between human sciences and imperialism.

The term post-colonialism has been utilized in three distinct but related acceptations: temporary (P. Williams and L. Chrisman 1994[67], F. Jameson 1995[68]), discursive (E. Shoat 1992[69], ML Pratt 1977[70]) and epistemic (E. Said 1978[71], G. Spivak 1999[72]; H. Bhabha 1994[73], R. Guha 1987[74], B. Parry 1987[75], A. Aijaz 1992[76]; W. Mignolo[77]). This last one characterises the "postcolonial theories" that emerged during the 1980s in England and the United States, whose principles are relevant to our study.

Unlike the anti-colonial narratives that established an opposition between colonizers and colonized, giving the latter a place of moral "externality", cultural, and even metaphysical about their rulers, postcolonial theorists understand colonialism as a balance of power where no externalities fit. Influenced by Foucault (genealogy), Derrida (deconstruction) or Lacan (psychoanalysis), they criticised the role of the humanities in the consolidation of colonial rule (R. Guha 1987), Third World

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[66] Said, E, (2002 first published in1978) *Orientalismo*, Debate, Madrid

[67] See Williams P. and Chrisman L. (eds) (1994) *Colonial Discourse and Post-colonial Theory: A Reader*, Columbia University Press, New York.

[68] Jameson, F. (1995) *Posmodernismo o la lógica cultural del capitalismo avanzado*, Paidós, Barcelona

[69] Shohat, E. (1992) *Notes on the Postcolonial*, in Social Text, nº 31/32. pp. 99-113.

[70] Pratt, M. L. (1977) *Toward a Speech Act Theory of Literary Discourse*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, Indiana.

[71] Ibid.

[72] Spivak, G. C. (1999) *A Critique of Poscolonial Reason. Toward a History of the Vanishing Present*, Cambridge, Massachussetts.

[73] Bhabba, H. (1994) *The location of culture*, Routledge, London and New York.

[74] Guha, R. (1997), *Dominance without Hegemony: History and Power in Colonial India*, Harvard University Press, Cambridge.

[75] Parry, B. (1987) *Problems in current theories of colonial discourse*, in Oxford literary review, nº 9, 1-2, pp. 27-58.

[76] Aijaz, A. (1992) *Theory: Classes, Nations, Literatures*, Verso, London.

[77] Mignolo, W. (2000) *Local Histories/Global Designs: Coloniality, Subaltern Knowledges, and Border Thinking*, Princeton University Press, Princeton.

nationalism (A. Aijaz 1992), a rhetoric of Marxism imperialism (R. Young 1990[78]), an essentialism of anticolonial discourses (G. Spivak 1999), or the narcissistic character of European representations of the "other" (H. Bhabha 1994) and its patriarchal implications (A. McClintock[79], Ch. Mohanty[80]).

In the field of Latin American studies, postcolonial debate initially focused on the question of its heuristic applicability. While For some authors the postcolonial paradigm could not be used to study the colonial situation in Latin America (Adorno 1993[81]; Klor de Alba 1992[82]; Vidal 1996[83]), others showed the hermeneutical benefits of poststructuralism for the analysis of Latin American colonial period (Seed, 1991[84]; Barker, Hulme and Iverson 1996[85]); even though they also criticised the lack of attention given by Edward Said and other postcolonial theorists to Latin America, highlighting the fact that it was precisely Latin American authors, and specifically Caribbean ones, hat were the real pioneers of postcolonial theory (Franz Fanon, Aimé Césaire, Edouard Glissant, Fernando Ortiz and Roberto Fernandez Retamar). The Caribbean was the only Latin American region where there was a complete extermination of the native population, which favoured the emergence of anti-colonial narratives that did not accentuate the defence of the native, but rather looked at the contact areas, the cross identities and hybrid spaces, advancing the problems posed by the current phenomenon of globalization, challenging mono-culturalist

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[78] Young, R. (1990) *White Mythologies. Writing History and the West*, Routledge, New York.
[79] McClintock A. (1992) *The Myth of Progress. Pitfalls of the Term Post-Colonialism,* in Social Text, nº 31/32. pp. 84- 97.
[80] Mohanty C. (1988) *Under Western eyes. Feminist Scholarship and Colonial Discourses,* in Feminist Review, nº 30. pp. 60-88.
[81] Adorno, R. (1993) *Reconsidering Colonial Discourse for Sixteenth- and Seventeenth- Century Spanisch America*, in Latin American Research Review, nº 3. pp 135-145.
[82] Klor de Alva, J. (1992) *Colonialism and Postcolonialism as (Latin) American Mirages*, in Colonial Latin American Review nº 1-2. pp. 3-23.
[83] Vidal, H. (1993) *The Concept of Colonial and Postcolonial Discourse. A Perspective from Literary Criticism*, in Latin American Research Review, nº 3. pp 112-119.
[84] Seed, P. (1991) *Colonial and Postcolonial Discourse*, in Latin American Research Review nº 3. pp. 181-200.
[85] Barker, F., Hulme, P. and Iverson, M. (1996) *Colonial Discourse/ Postcolonial Theory***,** Manchester University Press, Manchester.

representations and discrediting the great historical cartographies of modernity drawn from the centrality of the West.

In Latin America, although no one disputes the importance of the theoretical and political aspects, the debate on "postcolonialism" and "postcolonial theory" has had a great development, especially in the Andean region. However, in recent decades, Latin American intellectuals have worked on creating a particular concept called "posoccidentalismo" (postwesternism) which would be the "key to articulate the intellectual discourse of decolonisation from the legacies of thought in a Latin word" (Mignolo 1998, p.144) [86]. This concept is proposed as a "regionalization" of postcolonialism, a continuation and intensification of postcolonial critique, but this time made from a Latin American specificity. Its insertion into a debate that has been restricted mainly to the former territories of the Commonwealth pursues not only the particular Latin American postcolonial condition, but also the reformulation of postcolonial theorising, from the theoretical originality coming out of specific sources of Latin American thought.

Regarding the Andes, the first implication of this reflection can be based on the words of Mignolo "... those for whom the colonial legacies are real (ie, have hurt them) are more inclined (logically, historically and emotionally) than others to theorise the past in terms of colonial histories "(Mignolo 1996, p. 120)[87]. Including Latin America in the theoretical scenario postcoloniality means incorporating the particular colonial condition of Andean space, as "... a geographical and cultural entity created in connection with the imperial designs and within the framework of capitalist / colonial architecture and the modern westernized world "(Pajuelo, 2001, p. 13)[88]. This means

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[86] Mignolo, W. (1998) *Posoccidentalismo: el argumento desde América Latina*, in Cuadernos Americanos, Año XII, nº 64, UNAM, México.
[87] Mignolo, W. (1996) *Los estudios subalternos ¿son posmodernos o poscoloniales? La política y las sensibilidades de las ubicaciones geoculturales*, in Casa *de las Américas, n°* 204. pp. 20-40
[88] Pajuelo, R. (2001) *Del "poscolonialismo" al "posoccidentalismo". Una Lectura desde la historicidad Latinoamericana y Andina*, in Comentario Internacional, n° 1, Universidad Andina Simón Bolívar, Quito. pp 113-131.

exploring, from a postcolonial perspective, the links that have taken place in the Andean territories with centuries of colonial and republican life and links with the global historical processes, but also with the local history of a diverse and ancient area, where extraordinary cultural developments took place prior to the formation of the modern/colonial European world system. The historical depth of this space is a key component for the construction of a postcolonial or postoccidental perspective made from local stories that reveal the diversity of colonial sub-areas with the geo-historical specificities found in Latin America (Achugar, 1998)[89]. Considering the long-term history to reveal its implications in shaping contemporary postcoloniality is even more important if we consider that the Andes is a region with a strong indigenous composition. From knowledge gained from its own local historicity, it is essential to establish both the past and the future of postcolonial spaces and of people that live in this area.

The Aymara of northern Chile have not been strangers to the historical processes occurring in the area. Their culture cannot be understood as a pure or isolated culture. Andean cultures in general were impacted by the regional colonial and neocolonial processes (the modern nation) when their place of effective settlement was still rural and the migration to cities had not yet occurred. These were "mixed" indigenous cultures, constituted by continuities and discontinuities in a temporal order rather than a spatial one.

The Aymara people currently in Chilean territory have been exposed to at least four restraint systems: the Inca domination, the Spanish colonization, the inclusion in the Peruvian State and finally the annexation by the Chilean State (with the "chilenization" process that we will describe later), each phase having its respective characteristics. The complexity of these processes make difficult to identify and / or

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[89] Achugar, H. (1998) *Narciso o la representación del otro*, in Foro hispánico, vol. 12. pp. 65-77.

define the existence of "one" postcolonial era. The Inca colonial domination was replaced by the Spanish, and the emergence of independent nations (the republics of Peru and Bolivia for the Aymara at that initial moment) did not necessarily mean a process of decolonization. The dismantling of the Spanish colonial system did not involve a complete decolonization of the indigenous peoples of the Andes. On the contrary, the administration by the newborn republics that replaced it, despite some liberal promises of equality among citizens, continued to exert a colonialist action (González and Gundermann 2009)[90]. Regarding the continuity of the indigenous system of taxation, the historian Sanchez-Albornoz (1978, p. 195)[91] says:"The Phrygian cap of the republic rested on a still colonial body".

Pointing out the difference between colonial (economic and political systems of imperial type) and colonialism (political practice), the emergence of modern nations represents only another stage of colonialism to the Aymara people, a new condition of subordination, so they had to adapt and assume the imposition of new social, political and cultural rules dictated by the (non-indigenous) ruling classes that carry out the processes of foundation of the new republics and their ideologies of independence (Mignolo, 2000)[92]. Following the position of authors like Arturo Escobar (2003) and Nelson Maldonado-Torres (2007), who claim that there is modernity without colonialism, it is even possible to postulate that the constant stage of modernisation exerted by the Chilean State, following the occupation of the territory corresponding to the current northern regions of this country, meant that the action of colonialism continued and it is even visible in government policies, including those concerning the state supply of housing solutions for vulnerable sectors of society, through the imposition of models that look for the maintenance of a hegemonic culture of "modernity".

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[90] González, H. and Gundermann, H. (2009) *Land property right access, community and collective identities among Aymara communities in northern Chile (1821-1930),* in Chungara-Revista de Antropologia Chilena, nº 41-1. pp. 51-70.
[91] Sánchez-Albornoz, N. (1978) *Indios y Tributos en el Alto Perú*, Instituto de Estudios Peruanos, Lima.
[92] Mignolo, W. op.cit.

The Aymara communities can no longer be considered as traditional rural entities, closed and isolated, opposed not only spatially but also economically, socially and culturally to modern urban centres (Carrasco y González, 2014[93])[94]. This is because for at least three decades the "modernisation" has been incorporated into the same rural sector, including modifications to traditional housing and its equipment. It is also because most of the Aymara population is currently installed in the cities, following a migratory process that began in the early 1950s to the city of Arica (corresponding to its designation as "Puerto Libre" (tax free port), as will be seen in more detail in the following chapters) and then to the city of Iquique.

Therefore, the current chilean Aymara society cannot be defined as rural, as was done formerly (Gonzalez and Gavilán, 1992[95]; Carrasco and Gonzalez, 2014[96]; González, Gundermann and Hidalgo, 2014[97]), following a view first indicated by Gupta and Ferguson (1992)[98] about the disappearance of the antagonistic and closed relationship between rural and urban that had been sustained in the anthropology for long time. Replicating a phenomenon that has been observed in other areas of Peru and Bolivia (Alber 1999[99]); Paerregaard 1997, 2000[100]), the Chilean Aymara maintain a system of social networks that link their rural and urban experiences (maintenance of

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[93] Carrasco, A. M. and González, H. (2014) *Movilidad poblacional y procesos de articulación rural-urbano entre los aymara del Norte de Chile,* in Si Somos Americanos. Revista de Estudios Transfronterizos, Vol. XIV, n° 2. pp. 217-232.

[94] The process of deterritorialisation caused by migration processes can no longer be understood in models such as the rural-urban continuum proposed by Redfield in 1947 that left in marked contrast to the rural-traditional with modern-urban and that was fundamental in the American anthropology concerned of the social changes and modernizing processes taking place in Latin America between the decades of the 1950s and 1970s.

[95] González, H. y Gavilan, V. (1992) *Cultura e identidad aymara en el norte de Chile*, in Revista Chungara, vol. 25. pp 143-158.

[96] Carrasco, A. M. and González, H. op. cit., pp. 217-232.

[97] González H., Gundermann, H. and Hidalgo, J. (2014) *Comunidad indígena y construcción histórica del espacio entre los Aymaras del norte de Chile*, in Chungará, revista de antropología chilena, vol. 46, n° 2. pp. 233-246.

[98] Gupta, A. and Ferguson, J. (1992) *Beyond "Culture": Space, Identity, and the Politics of Difference*, in Cultural Anthropology, Space, Identity, and the Politics of Difference, vol. 7, n° 1. pp. 6-23.

[99] Alber E (1999) *¿Migración o movilidad en Huayopampa? Nuevos temas y tendencias en la discusión sobre la comunidad campesina en los Andes*. Instituto de Estudios Peruanos, Lima.

[100] Paerregaard, K. (1997) *Linking Separate Worlds: Urban Migrants and Rural Lives in Peru*, Berg Publishers, Oxford.

land and animals, employment and trade in cities, participation in organisations, attendance at festivities, goods and money remittances, division or expansion of family groups, among others), implying a high mobility between the two sectors and the presence of multiple residence systems (Gonzalez, 1996 [101]). In this way, the experience of habitation by the Aymaras families also shows the maintaining of several simultaneous housing situations in both rural areas of traditional residence and the new reality of urban life.

The mobility between rural and urban areas and the persistence of the relation of migrants with their home communities observed in the Aymara people of northern Chile refers to a notion of diaspora that is been used by thinkers such as Benedict Anderson (2000)[102], Arjun Appadurai (1999)[103] Avital Brah (1996)[104], James Clifford (1997)[105], Aihwa Ong (1999)[106] and Ella Shohat (2006),[107] that theoretically address the particular characteristics of the current mobility of population at a regional, national and global levels. Some examples of this concept in Latin America can be found in the studies of Jorge Durand and Douglas Massey (2003)[108] and Abril Trigo (2004)[109]. For their importance within a country, we can mention the work of Jorge Duany (2002)[110] that interprets Puerto Rico as a "divided nation" and "nation in movement", where the concept of nation transcends the geographical territory itself and it is positioned as a transnational phenomenon.

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[101] González, H. (1996) *Características de la migración campo-ciudad entre los aymaras del norte de Chile*. Corporación Norte Grande, Serie Documentos de Trabajo, Arica
[102] Anderson, B. (2000) *Imagined Communities*, Verso, London – New York .
[103] Appadurai, A. (1999) Globalization and the Research Imagination, in International Social Science Journal, nº 160. pp. 229-238.
[104] Brah, A. (1996) *Cartographies of Diaspora*, Routledge, Nueva York.
[105] Clifford, J. (1997) *Routes: Travel and Translation in the Late Twentieth Century*, Harvard University Press, Cambridge.
[106] Ong, A. (1999) *Flexible Citizenship: The Cultural Logics of Transnationality*, Duke University Press, Durham.
[107] Shohat, E. (2006) *Taboo Memories, Diasporic Voices*, Duke University Press, Durham.
[108] Durand, J. and Massey D. (2003) *Clandestinos, Migración México- Estados Unidos en los albores del siglo* XXI, Porrúa, México.
[109] Trigo, A. (2004) Practices: introduction, in Sarto, A., Ríos, A. and y Trigo, A. (eds.), *The Latin American Cultural Studies,* pp. 347-73.
[110] Duany, J. (2002) *The Puerto Rican Nation on the Move: Identities on the Island and in the United States*, University of North Carolina Press, Chapel Hill.

Diverse authors such as Paul Gilroy (1993)[111], Stuart Hall (1996)[112], Iain Chambers and Lidia Curti (1996)[113] and James Clifford (1997)[114], have linked the results of the processes of diaspora with the concept of hybridity or cultural hybridisation of materials and symbols. This concept has been used in postcolonial studies to explain the tension that occurs in the symbolisms and meanings created by colonialism in dialogue with the "other" that is colonised, on the border of cultures that have very different expectations. According to Homi Bhabha (1994)[115], the production of hybridisations is precisely the most conspicuous effect of colonial power, and its recognition allows us to discuss the ways of subversion and resistance, as the discourses of power begin to have unpredictable results and therefore, to lose their ability to dominate and control. Following this approach, it would not be possible to distinguish the current situation of indigenous people in their relationship with the Chilean government without denoting this dual condition present in their speech, which marks the difference between us (non-indigenous Chilean society) and the others (in this case Aymara people), but at the same time shows the conscious, or unconscious, desire for the other and the location of the problem within clear policies for inclusion.

The anthropologist García Canclini (1995) suggests that crossing boundaries between countries or living in large cities present spaces that condition formats, styles and specific contradictions of cultural hybridisation[116]. In our case, the "traditional" mode of habitation of the majority of Aymara people who have settled in the city and are beneficiaries of public housing policies corresponds to the highland area, a border

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[111] Gilroy, P. (1993) *The Black Atlantic: Modernity and Double-Consciousness*, Mass. Harvard University Press, Cambridge.
[112] Hall, S, (1996) *Critical Dialogues in Cultural Studies*, Routledge, Londres, Nueva York.
[113] Chambers, I. and Curti. L. (1996) *The Poscolonial Question. Common Skies, Divided Horizon,* Routledge, Nueva York.
[114] Clifford, J. (1997*) Routes: Travel and Translation in the Late Twentieth Century*, Harvard University Press, Cambridge.
[115] Bhabba, H. op. cit.
[116] The contribution is this author is located within the perspective of cultural studies of the School of Birmingham. His approach is also relevant to our investigation regarding the necessity to collect the contribution from different disciplines to study the processes of hybridization.

tripartite social space (Chile, Peru, Bolivia); while their life in the city means their insertion in the urban cultural cosmopolitanism of a city like Arica. Among other conditions of large cities, this subjects them to state models of what should be the social housing type for vulnerable social sectors in general, without distinction of possible cultural differences. Then we should understand the phenomenon of hybridity as a translation par excellence, as the place of interstices where de-territorializations and re-territorializations, recodings and reinventions, are generated in a process where it is forming a new logic of supplementarity, of "non-simultaneity of the simultaneous" of phenomena that seem to belong to different times but are given at the same time (Rincón, 1995)[117].

The concept of "hybrid cultures" is relevant to our investigation, as from architecture we approach the built form that the Aymara housing acquires in the city as a place of hybridisation, because from a built basic unit given by the Chilean state, that seeks the homogeneity of the population, the process of self construction creates a new housing form that finally gives them their own identity, that spatially combines a way of living institutionalised by the state politics with the traditional one, in a process of constant dialogue. The result may be more or less close to one of the two models, but certainly it is already impossible to read as a homogeneous solution.

The concept of identity, which will be a recurring theme in this research, was initially considered inseparable from culture, and understood as a differential entirety, because identities could only be formed from different cultures or subcultures to which individuals belonged or participated (Gimenez, 2000)[118]. The contradictions and provisions of the sociocultural environment exert a profound impact on the creation of identity, since for their development people should necessarily resort to the available

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[117] Rincón, C. (1995) *La no simultaneidad de lo simultáneo: postmodernidad, globalización y culturas en América Latina*, Editorial Universidad Nacional, Bogotá.
[118] Gimenez, G. (2000) *Etnia Estado de la Cuestión*, in Leticia Reyna (coord.), *Los retos de la Etnicidad en los Estados-nación del siglo XXL,* pp. 45-70.

cultural resources within their social networks (Frosh, 1999)[119]. However, with the postmodern turn, the concept of identity has been revisited and revised, questioning his durability or immutability over time, and instead recognising their plastic capacity (Gimenez, 2002)[120], in line with the postmodern approach that considers cultures as hybrid (Giménez, 2000)[121]. Identity and culture remain concepts hard to separate, but in the current context of globalization, subjects are said to have "fragmented" (Hall, 1996)[122] or "liquid" (Bauman, 2000)[123] identities.

The causes that bring about these different identities can even sometimes become contradictory (Hall, 1996)[124]. For example, the emergence of feminism helped polarise the concept of identity and identification to promote differentiation between man/woman, father/mother, sons/daughters (Giménez, 2000)[125]. This situation may be no less important in our study, considering the role of women in the use of housing as a productive space, linking the urban situation with the traditional when they weave. Also, both in rural areas and in cities, Aymara people have had to adapt to the cultural changes of Chilean society as a result of their cultural connection to the rest of the world; This also involves the process of globalization which would be related to fragmented identities, according to Stuart Hall. In the case of indigenous Chileans in general and the Aymara people in particular, the presence of identity politics should also be noted, promoted by the Corporation for Indigenous Development (CONADI), the state agency created by the Indigenous Law No. 19.253 in the year 1993, which has resulted in a repositioning of indigenous identities.

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[119] Frosh, S. (1999) *The Politics of Psychoanalysis*, Macmillan, London.
[120] Gimenez, G. (2002) *Paradigmas de la identidad*, in Sociología de la identidad Aquiles Chihu Amparau. Coordinador. UAM Iztapalapa México, pp. 35-62
[121] Ibid.
[122] Hall, S, op. cit.
[123] Bauman, Z. (2000) *Liquid Modernity*, Polity, Cambridge.
[124] Ibid.
[125] ibid.

The new politics of identity constitutes the reaction Latin American governments to the emergence of large indigenous movements during the decades of 1980-1990 (Albo, 2002[126]; Bengoa, 2004[127]). For some authors, this response must be understood in the context of neoliberal multiculturalism, the space opened by the social and cultural reforms promoted by neoliberalism, the new hegemonic system that seeks no confrontation and opens a favourable scenario of negotiation between indigenous groups and the state (Hale, 2002[128]). The new politics of identity are also part of the western culture's agency, not necessarily that of the native cultures, although that finally promotes their repositioning.

In this way is possible to think that in all of Latin America relations of domination have relied historically on the legitimacy of Western culture through mechanisms of colonial or neo-colonial administration. As a result, those positions that rescue the past cultures in an absolutist and idealising way, and describe them as a harmonious and egalitarian, should be discussed, because they have been subjected to constant processes of socio-cultural domination and subordination.

Concepts of culture and identity are based on practices of individuals exposed to historical contexts, in this case of subordination to dominant societies (Inca, Spanish, Peruvian, Chilean). So when we refer to the Aymara culture or cultural traditions, we are not talking about a monolithic and enduring totality, but rather one exposed to constant processes of additions and modifications. The ideas, values and practices that have been inherited from past generations and have given meaning to social life at a particular time, have steadily been exposed to homogenising attempts.

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[126] Albo, X. (2002) *Pueblos indios en la política*. CIPCA, La Paz.
[127] Bengoa, J. (2004) *La emergencia indígena en América Latina*. Fondo de Cultura Económica, Santiago.
[128] Hale, C. (2002) *Does multiculturalism menace? Governance, cultural rights and the politics of identity in Guatemala*, in Journalof Latin American Studies, nº 34. pp. 485-524.

As discussed in the research, with the move of most of its population to the coastal cities and the same kind of modernisation of the communities in the rural sector, "western" values and meanings imposed by the Chilean nation-state have affected the Aymara people, making their culture more hybrid, but not less their own.

## 1.3 METHODOLOGY

Given the central aim of the study, to verify the persistence of elements of traditional Aymara inhabitation in the new housing units provided by the Chilean government agencies to residents of this ethnic origin in the city of Arica, we consider it appropriate to supplement our methodological focus with an ethnographic qualitative approach, based on field work that combines observation with interviews.

Ethnography is the characteristic method of anthropology, the discipline that historically has been commissioned for the study of the culture of indigenous peoples. It is characterized by its flexibility, because it "does not require extensive design prior to field work, such as social surveys and experiments, [because] the strategy and even research orientation can be changed relatively easily, according to the changing needs required by the process of theoretical elaboration "(Hammersley and Atkinson 1994 [1983]): 38)[129]. This possibility lies in its epistemological foundations, since it "seeks to understand the social phenomena from the perspective of its members (understood as 'actors', 'agents' or 'social subjects')" (Guber 2001: 12-13)[130]. With this change of perspective, focusing on the "other" in their own experiences is intended "gather our socio-cultural universe with the empirical-factual world, combining abstraction and sensitivity, to articulate the subject and object" (Lisón 1998: 3)[131].

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[129] Hammersley, M. and Atkinson, P (1994 first published in 1983) *Etnografía. Métodos de investigación*, Paidós, Barcelona
[130] Guber, R. (2001) *La etnografía. Método, campo y reflexividad*, Norma, Buenos Aires
[131] Lisón, C. (1998) *Antropología Social*, in Lisón, C.(ed.) *Antropología: horizontes teóricos*, Comares, Granada. pp. 1-22.

The flexibility and interlocution between different cultural actors (the researcher and the study subjects) that provides ethnographic fieldwork was supplemented with the use of the basic techniques of collection and analysis of architecture, a process of drawing and planimetric survey of the different spaces, and a photographic record of each case studied.

Ethnography usually results in monographic studies in which the group or social phenomenon are presented as a complex total. The representativeness of the cases can be exemplary (one or more cases considered demonstrative of a greater reality) or theoretical (two or more cases chosen according to the conceptual criteria included in the research questions (Yin 2003[132]). This study considers a case study of 12 homes of Aymara migrant families living in the city of Arica. The choice was based on a representation of the variety of types of social housing provided by the state, including the basic housing solution (single room + bathroom) feature of the late 1980s and early 1990s, social housing apartments on two levels, forming paired blocks of 8 homes, as semi attached types.

Two cases of Aymara families whose house was bought in the private market were also considered, in order to know the reality of space built without the space limitations and constructive presuppositions of the social housing. Also this privileged the possibility of deepening the knowledge and the control of internal and external factors affecting the families studied; cases where it was possible to access information from the three different types of housing were chosen.

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[132] Yin, R. (2013) *Case study research. Design and methods*, Sage, Thousand Oaks

Table 01. Summary information of the interviewed cases.

| CASE N° | TYPE OF HOUSING | GENDER | AGE | EDUCATION LEVEL | OCCUPATION | BIRTHPLACE | RELIGION |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 01 | Social housing unit | Female | 39 | Did not complete High School | Craftswoman | Palca | Catholic |
| 02 | Social housing unit | Male | 40 | Completed High School | Transporter | Arica | Catholic |
| 03 | Social housing unit | Female | 55 | Did not complete Elementary School | Craftswoman | Mauque | Evangelic |
| 04 | Social housing unit | Female | 43 | Did not complete High School | Craftswoman | Arica | Catholic |
| 05 | Social housing unit | Female | 50 | Did not complete Elementary School | Domestic labour | Huallatire | Evangelic |
| 06 | Social housing unit | Male | 43 | Did not complete High School | Merchant | Belen | Evangelic |
| 07 | Social housing unit | Female | 44 | Did not complete High School | Goldsmith | Arica | Catholic |
| 08 | Social housing unit | Female | 41 | Did not complete High School | Craftswoman | Guallatire | Catholic |
| 09 | Social housing unit | Male | 42 | Complete High School | Administrative clerk | Arica | Agnostic |
| 10 | Social housing unit | Male | 50 | Did not complete High School | Merchant | Colchane | Catholic |
| 11 | Private market housing | Female | 48 | Did not complete High School | Craftswoman | Cariquima | Catholic |
| 12 | Private market housing | Female | 50 | Complete High School | Craftswoman | Portezuelo | Catholic |

Regarding the techniques for collecting the information, these were related to the research strategy combining the ethnographic and architectural approach, which included:

a) Consultation of publications concerning relevant aspects of the research problem.

b) Consultation of publications referring specifically to Aymara housing, social housing and vernacular architecture.

c) Observations and field notes from the physical reality of living space in the city of Arica and in the rural locations.

d) Semi-structured interviews to the family leader from each of the 12 cases studied in the city.

e) Planimetric drawings of each of the 12 urban cases studied, considering the base unit and the current reality after informal processes of enlargement.

f) Observation, field notes and planimetric survey of 3 cases of traditional dwelling located in rural areas of the highlands.

The process of compiling the bibliographical material on specific subject matter was executed by traveling to Chile during the months of June and July in the years 2011 and 2012. Libraries of different universities in Santiago and Arica, of the Association of Architects of Chile and the Ministry of Housing and Urban Development were reviewed, as well as contacts with and access to private and non-governmental organisations' libraries.

Interviews and observation of cases were conducted during the months of June and July of 2012 and 2013 during fieldwork travel to Chile. The observations included regular visits to the houses for the planimetric survey. A basic thematic order, which was divided into four general categories of information, was used for semi-structured interviews: migration to the city, housing in the city, the process of self-construction and the forms of traditional housing. Each of the categories was composed of different sub-categories containing themes of interest for the research and allowing easy ordering of the information collected for further analysis. Categories and subcategories within the basic pattern of interview are shown in the following summary table:

Table 02. Categorization of the questionnaire

|   | CATEGORIES |   | SUB CATEGORIES |
|---|---|---|---|
| A | Migration to the city | A.1 | Dates. |
|   |   | A.2 | Reasons. |
|   |   | A.3 | Chronology. |
|   |   | A.4 | Houses used before obtaining the social housing benefit. |
| B | House in the city | B.1 | Process to obtain the housing unit. |
|   |   | B.2 | Inhabitants of the house. |
|   |   | B.3 | Seasonal visitors. |
|   |   | B.4 | Weaknesses of the original housing unit. |
|   |   | B.5 | Importance of spaces. |
|   |   | B.6 | Space for work. |
|   |   | B.7 | Traditional ceremonies / house in the city. |
|   |   | B.8 | Traditional ceremonies / city. |
| C | Self construction process | C.1 | Chronology. |
|   |   | C.2 | Process. |
|   |   | C.3 | Privileged spaces. |
|   |   | C.4 | Future plans. |
| D | Traditional house | D.1 | Description of the family place of origin. |
|   |   | D.2 | Characteristics of the traditional house. |
|   |   | D.3 | Traditional construction process. |
|   |   | D.4 | Traditional house spaces and uses. |
|   |   | D.5 | Traditional ceremonies / house. |
|   |   | D.6 | Traditional ceremonies / central village. |

Finally, fieldwork was conducted in the northern highlands of Chile during the month of July 2012, with the aim of learning the realities of the traditional houses. This included the measurement and drawing of plans of three of them in different areas along with making a photographic record of the dwellings and of the traditional geographical territory in order to make comparisons between the information collected through the interviews and that collected about traditional housing and its habitation from the bibliographical material reviewed.

# CHAPTER 2

*THE AYMARA PEOPLE IN CHILE AND THEIR RELATIONSHIP WITH THE STATE*

The Chilean Aymara people are the subjects of our investigation. Although we will talk about them during this entire research, it seems important to make a brief presentation so I can later focus on the issues relevant to our testing of hypotheses and the compliance with our research objectives. It is not intended in the following pages of general information about the Chilean Aymara people to create a definitive or complete history of such a rich and complex culture. The only intention is to try to write some guidelines to begin to understand this people and their current reality in Chile.

A fundamental issue to understand about the Aymara people in Chile and their differentiation from the Peruvian or Bolivian Aymara population is a process or event led by the Chilean State known by social scientists and historians as Chilenización (Chilenization). Devoting a few pages to describe this process will help us to understand the relation between the Aymara people and the Chilean State, and their adaptation to the current situation of feeling part of Chilean population, as well as part of the Aymara ethnic group.

## 2.1 THE CHILEAN AYMARA PEOPLE

When we speak of the Aymara people in Chile we mean Aymara language speakers, groups, or individuals, who came to live in the regions of Arica and Parinacota and Tarapacá in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. This displacement was a part of a more general and expansive one, of military character, which took place from the northern sector of Lake Titicaca (now Bolivia) to the south of the Andean highlands. The Tarapacá area (which includes both regions Arica and Parinacota within it) was inhabited, before the arrival of the Spanish, by two types of groups: Hunter-Gatherers, in the colonial literature called *Changos* or *Kamanchakas*, and farmers, called *Yungas of the Coast*. The Chilean Aymara people belong to one of the most important American ethnic groups, whose total population is estimated around 3 million people, most of whom are located in Peru and Bolivia (Fig. 2.1). Although it is not possible to give an exact figure on the number in northern Chile, it is known that approximately thirteen thousand Aymara people are living in the rural sector of the Arica, Parinacota, and Tarapacá regions, and it is estimated that more than double that number reside in urban centres on the coast. The massive move to cities began in the 1950s. Until then, most people still inhabited small highlands communities, dedicated to traditional agricultural activities. Today most are located in the cities of Arica and Iquique, in some small towns in the desert, and even outside the region. Thus, they are now present in all areas where they were at the time of the Spanish conquest (*altiplano*, valleys and coast). However, the social, political and economic structures are not the same, so this recovery has not been without a painful and dramatic process of change, loss, adaptation and reformulation of the economy, society and culture[1].

The geography of northern Chile differs significantly depending on altitude and climatic conditions, which affects the productive activities of the Aymara. In the

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[1] Carrasco, A. M. ed. (2003) *Conociendo la Historia y Cultura de nuestra región*, Edición conjunta TEA-UTA- Gobierno Regional. Conicyt/Explora, Arica. p.12

highlands, livestock of llamas, alpacas and sheep predominate. Pastoralists use the supply of natural forage that grows with summer rains and snowmelt. They practise a system of shepherding that requires large areas of land. Associated with the livestock activities, they still maintain the production of textiles and cordage that result in fine and beautiful clothing. In some areas of the southern highlands, in the communes of Colchane and Pica, where the weather and the height of the land makes conditions more favourable, we can see that they practise the traditional crop of quinoa and potatoes, normally as subsistence production. In recent decades they have added garlic crops, introduced as a commercial alternative for migrants returning from the lower lands[2].

In the valleys the development of agricultural activities depends on the management of small watercourses through irrigation systems, and management of the irrigation by terracing and platforms. At lower altitudes, where climatic conditions allow year-round agriculture, the crops that predominate show a clear commercial orientation (corn, tomatoes, fruit, etc.). Livestock (camelids, sheep, goats, pigs, cattle and horses), are less important. In the high valleys where the climate is more difficult, the Aymara cultivate potatoes and corn, mainly for their own consumption. Also in some sectors some crops, such as oregano and garlic, have been introduced to the market. Anyway, most of the fields are often covered with alfalfa, which is fodder for breeding animals: mainly sheep, camelids and, in a small proportion, cattle. In the coastal cities or nearby in suburban lands, a good number of Aymara migrants from inland areas continue to develop agricultural activities, taking advantage of the proximity of valleys (Lluta and Azapa in Arica) or sectors of suburban groves (as in Pozo Almonte Alto, Alto Hospicio and Alto Molle in Iquique). However, most of the

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[2] Gundermann, H. and Gonzalez H. (1989) *La cultura aymara. Artesanías tradicionales del altiplano*, Museo Chileno de Arte Precolombino and Ministerio de Educación, Santiago. p. 16.

Aymara people living in these urban spaces concentrate their occupation in typical cities as labourers[3].

Until a few decades ago it was common for Aymara ranchers to travel to the highland valleys for economic exchanges, using semi-mercantile modalities based on barter at agreed rates. For the transport of goods they organised llama caravans, carrying out their products (dried meat "Charqui", fabrics, cordage products, quinoa, potatoes, etc.) and bringing back what they needed (dried fruit, corn, stock items, etc.). This activity lasted until the opening of the interior by a system of roads and the spread of motorised transport. Currently the trade flows have adopted monetary forms and are directed almost entirely to the cities where the main markets for agricultural and livestock production are located. Also there are butchers and even exporters of camelids. The use of llamas for transportation of goods has been replaced by trucks or Japanese vans introduced by the Tax Free Zone of Iquique (ZOFRI)[4].

Although the Aymara people maintain many of their traditional production practices, their economy is linked to the national and even worldwide economies. Studies on the composition of household income show that, even in the most remote areas, although a part of the production is used for their own consumption, they are forced to sell animals, crops and agricultural products in local or regional markets, to satisfy a pattern of consumption which has made it increasingly important to acquire goods and services from external sources, all with monetary value[5]. This also explains temporary or permanent mobility to other places in search of paid work, and the importance of financial subsidies provided by the state through the rural municipalities.

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[3] Gundermann, H. and Gonzalez H. op. cit., p. 21.
[4] Ibid, p. 26
[5] Gundermann, H. and Gonzalez H. op. cit., p. 23.

Until some years ago, the typical Aymara family was of an extended type, including parents with their unmarried children and the married older ones with their families. Currently, the predominant type is the nuclear family, composed only of the father, mother and unmarried children. However, the Aymara family can still be "extended" when it includes elderly parents who take care of the livestock, or if the family ranch is in the community of origin, while their children reside elsewhere; or when a family moves to the house of a brother to begin their process of installation in the city. Also it can be "fragmented" when part of the family group lives in the rural community dedicated to agricultural production while another part of the family is elsewhere, in the city for example, where there are children of school age or urban occupations to supplement the family subsistence[6].

The Aymara usually form their families at an early age. The means to start married life are usually obtained from anticipated inheritances, gifts or savings. The traditional marriage, civil and religious, is preceded by a stage of courtship, engagement and premarital living arrangements. In some cases, the couple elope as a way to precipitate events and obtain the approval of their parents. The various secular and ritual activities of marriage revolve around the harmony of the couple and their families, the propitiation of divinities, the arrangements for the allocation of farms or livestock, and the construction and furnishing of the home. The godfathers, who are in a "neutral " position in relation to the respective family groups, help and give advice, but they can also reprimand or even punish the young couple if they break the ideal of marital behaviour assigned to the roles of husband (chacha) and wife (*warmi*). When the individuals get married, they reach the category of *xaqi*, which means something like "whole person". In this position they reach a full integration into society, and take on the roles, rights, and responsibilities that this implies.

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[6] Carrasco, A. M. ed. op.cit., p.19.

The Aymara recognise as relatives, family members of both branches, the ones on the side of the father and of the mother, towards which there are established multiple forms of relationship (respect, solidarity, etc.). However, this bilateral guidance system operates preferably at the level of the domestic unit, household or productive unit.  At the level of wider kinship groups, the more important lineages are groups of people who consider themselves descendants of a common ancestor, real or fictitious, in an unbroken line of descent. In the highlands, where they have more background history, lineages are patrilineal, since they have been established by parentage on the paternal side. Over time, a patrilineage can be separated into two or more sub-lineages. Usually this involves a territorial separation of the space that a family controls, including grazing land and the village where they live, which is known as an *estancia* or ranch. A patrilineage is an exogamous unit; men must look for spouses in other lineages. It is patrilocal also, since the residency rule provides that a woman must live in the house of her husband's family until they build a house, and then always within the field of the husband's relatives.

In the Andean world there is the concept *ayllu* with several connotations. In northern Chile, specifically in the highlands where it is documented, it is a grouping of communities conforming to patrilineages or successional communities when analysed from the point of view of the access to land. It is also a spatial unit, as it is formed by territorially contiguous lineages. Currently this form of social grouping is relatively effective only in the communities of Isluga formed by four *ayllus*: I*sk'a*, *Ach'a*, *San Juan* and *Collana*, and *Cariquima* with two *ayllu*: *Manqh'a* and *Araj*. Among the Aymara it is common to have dual systems of social organization. In Chile, the best-known example is the community *Isluga*, which was divided between *araxsaya* (the top half) and *manqhasaya* (the bottom half or inside), each made up of two *ayllu*. Each half (*saya*) traditionally elected their own community authorities: the *mallku* or *caciques* (chiefs). With their ceremonial canes in their hands as symbols of office (*santurey*), followed by

their wives (*taclla*), they presided at the grand ceremonies and directed the "councils" (*kawiltu)* or group meetings. The position of chief was renewed annually and rotated among householders of each partiality. The council and its rotation system were very important for the Aymara socio- political organization, allowing them to manage the potential tensions or antagonisms that could arise between the halves or within them, acting as mechanisms to achieve unanimity, and removing the danger of divisions or conflicts.

As a result of measures promoted by the Chilean government during the first decades of the XX century within the Chilenization[7] process, the large communities lost their political function and subsequently their ritual function. Today the basic cell is a much smaller community, both in terms of territory and population. Thus the community organisation lies with the president and the directors of the neighbourhood council. Unlike in earlier periods, people in these positions tend to be more permanent, because a special preparation for confronting the outside world (education, experience of the outside world etc.) is required. As the new community can also be grouped around other objectives (such as trade associations of farmers or livestock ranchers), it is not uncommon that the same people also hold positions in those other organisations. Anyway, as with the previously exposed tension between the individual and the community, the new directors need to stand up to the criticism of the community, an issue that was earlier resolved by rotating the positions of power.

The Aymara religiosity has an "open" or " exoteric" component, which is expressed in what is known as syncretism of the Andean Catholicism, and a "closed" or "esoteric" component that is considered linked to practices extending back to pre-Columbian times. The Aymara usually refer to the first as "religion", the second as

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[7] The Chilenization process is an immediate effect of the end of the Pacific War (1879). As we going to analyse later the Chilean State made effort to create a Chilean identification on the population of the new territories added specially affecting to the Aymara population whom inhabited this geographical areas.

"custom". In recent years, the influence of Christian sects has affected both components; proposing the elevation of saints, the Virgin and the festivities of religion, while at the same time demonising the traditional customs and rituals as pagan acts. The Aymara worldview recognizes three levels: *arajpacha*, the world above, similar to the conception of heaven in the Christian world, the *akapacha*, our world where we live, and the *manqhapacha*, the world of below, similar to hell[8]. To the ground level correspond figures such as God, the Virgin, and the patron saints, which are worshipped in public ceremonies held in churches and presided over by Catholic priests. To the upper level correspond figures such as guardian hills (*mallku*), the earth (*pachamama*), water springs (*juturi*) and similar phenomena, worshipped in private cults held in hills, pens or farms and led by the elderly, who know the custom. At the third level belong certain demonic figures such as the "*aparecidos*" (ghosts), those known as the "condemned ones" (lost souls who are condemned to remain in this world), all invoked through secret cults led by individuals who are classified as witches (*laika*)[9].

The Aymara perform a series of rituals and religious festivities associated with the passage of individuals through stages on their life cycle, and agricultural fertility and celebration of festivities in the Christian calendar are reinterpreted in terms of community or family welfare. Perhaps the most important rituals in terms of prominence, level of community involvement, extension, and permanence in time, are the celebrations for the saints of each village and the carnival.

As already mentioned, the majority of the Chilean Aymara people is currently living in large coastal cities in the northern part of Chile, while the population of the rural areas has in general declined, or at least remained since the 1950s in the same

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[8] See Van Kessel J. (1996) *Los aymara contemporáneos en Chile*, in J. Hidalgo et al. ed. (1996) *Etnografía. Sociedades indígenas contemporáneas y su ideología,* Editorial Andrés Bello, Santiago.
[9] Gavilán, V. and Carrasco A. M. (2009) *Festividades andinas y religiosidad en el norte chileno*. Chungara. Vol. 41, No 1, 2009; pp. 101-112.

numbers. The population crisis of the traditional communities is reflected especially by an absence of people between 15 and 55 years, which indicates how migration is related to the pursuit of educational opportunities and economic improvement. Among the Aymara the demand for education has become very strong, and this pursuit cannot be achieved in the rural areas because the schools located there usually only provide education until the sixth grade, so further study demands migration to cities. Today the average years of schooling among young Aymara people have increased significantly and do not differ from those of urban non-Aymara of the same age. Education appears to have been viewed by parents not only as a mechanism for social mobility, but also as ethnic transit to stop "being Aymara", all because of some discrimination problems[10]. However, it is precisely the same young people with higher levels of education, college educated, from which emerged in the mid- eighties organisations making ethnic identity claims, posing proudly in their condition as "indians", and proclaiming the enormous value of preserving their traditions and customs, their language and culture[11].

The reasons for migration to the urban centres in search of better economic opportunities are varied. Apparently, in the 1950s there was a contradiction between population growth and sustaining productive capacity in rural communities. The population increased because the same fertility rates are were maintained while infant mortality was reduced, and there was an improvement of health conditions in general. In contrast, the productive capacity of the land remained relatively unchanged, since the level of technological development did not vary much from pre-Columbian times. Added to this was the impact of recurrent climatic shocks and a decrease in rainfall, causing long periods of drought. Commercial revenues decreased due to competition from domestic or imported products that arrived from the south of the country with the

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[10] These discrimination problems are related particularly to a vision of superiority of the Chilean urban society regarding the Aymaras, for example disparagingly referring to them as "cholos" or making negative references to their ethnic proximity to Peru, product of the Chilean-Peruvian enmity resulting from the Pacific War.

[11] Gundermann, H. and Gonzalez H. op. cit., p. 39

improvement of land transport, or even from abroad, thanks to the special low customs duty that existed in the region. All this led to a general impoverishment of family economies that were still based largely on agricultural production[12].

At the same time, the monetisation of household consumption was definitively consolidated, because of an increased demand for industrially manufactured products, such as sugar, flour, rice, clothing and any other goods not self-produced. Alongside all this, urban centres became points of migratory attraction associated with better economic prospects, and coastal cities grew through the implementation of emergency measures, such as free tax ports, the association for progress ("Junta de Adelanto") and the industrial growth of Arica, or the fisheries development law and later, the ZOFRI in Iquique. Special mention should be made of the expansion of acreage for cropping in the Azapa and Lluta valleys in Arica, which generated a large new suburban area of agricultural colonisation, used by the Aymara people who came down from the highlands.

The Aymara differ in their attitude to the structure of urban labour from the other inhabitants of the cities. They have higher rates of labour force participation; they join the labour force in a major proportion. If we consider the types of job categories, with them waged labour is much less important than self-employment: quite the opposite as compared with the general population. The Aymara people in the cities are concentrated mainly in commercial activities, agricultural production, and transportation. Aymara migrants (not only Chileans, but also Bolivians) have cornered the majority of positions in terminals, fairs and agricultural markets in coastal cities, as well as in the Lluta and Azapa valleys in Arica. Their presence can also be found among the street traders, stores, and butcheries of the poorest marginal urban sectors. They are

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[12] Carrasco, A. M. ed. op. cit., p. 21.

frequently also responsible for rural-urban transport mainly within the region, or are involved in public urban transportation. Carrying out these activities within certain socio- economic areas of cities or suburbs where they are in the majority, they can also retain their relation to people of the same ethnic origin, constantly re-creating cultural links with their own group even in urban areas. Moreover, self-employment or informal labour allows the Aymara people in cities to continue using an economic diagram based on "family" work, very similar to the "peasant" economy of their homeland. Within this scheme, wage labour (temporary or permanent) of some members can also be incorporated into the strategies for the family's economic production, as with the traditional community in the highlands engaged in off-farm occupations[13].

Gradually the Aymara have been making their culture visible in the cities and in the surrounding areas[14]. They brought offerings to mother earth (*pachamama*) for the fertility of their lands to sites like the Lluta and Azapa valleys, where they also celebrated the festival of the Cruz de Mayo. The Day of the Dead in San Miguel, a village near Arica in the Azapa valley, has become a massive event, where migrants celebrate their recent dead with food, drink and music. Like the celebration at the agricultural terminal at Arica, the Carnival of this same village is a great and colourful party, where residents recreate the customs of their hometowns.

Slowly in the last decades, the Aymara New Year celebration has been institutionalised, taking place in late June, during the winter solstice, when the Aymara community climb to some selected hills near the city, recalling the guardian hills (*mallku*) of their traditional communities, where they pray and sacrifice an animal (*wilancha*). All these customs and celebrations, copied or re-created after the ones practiced at their places of origin, have been slowly shaping a type of urban Aymara

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[13] Carrasco, A. M. ed. op. cit., p. 18
[14] Especially since the return of democratic governments and the creation of the National Corporation of Indigenous Development (CONADI) in 1990.

culture, while their difference from the customs of other inhabitants of the coastal cities teaches us that the predicted death of their culture through the effects of migration to cities has not been fulfilled.

In addition to the points discussed above, many migrant families remain related to their areas of origin in economic and cultural terms. The economic relationship may be direct when they still retain some form of agricultural production, for which they rely on the work of family members or regularly travel to the interior lands of their origin. It can also be indirect, when they hold assets and/or rights through various kinds of accommodations with the effective occupants of the land, involving agreements such as rent payments (in sharecropping and leases) or just as matters of custody, care or irrigation[15].

But the relationship with the interior homeland also has a cultural dimension, allowing the updating of the social and religious ties of migrants to the villages from which they came. It is common, for example, for returning migrants to influence the social organisation of communities, as when they represent their relations in city in procedures or legal issues, or when they are directly involved as members of organisations (neighbourhood associations for example), for which they visit the village during the most important reunions, often ones concerned with decisions about relevant topics or the visit of a political or administrative authority.

They can also create organizations in cities that are a mirror image of their traditional communities, the so-called "centros de los hijos de pueblos" (centers of the village's children). However, the most significant relationship that endures even after losing direct and indirect economic links is participation in the festive - religious

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[15] González, H. y B. Guerrero, editores 1990 *Desarrollo Andino y Cultura Aymara en el Norte de Chile*. El Jote Errante, Iquique. p. 20

celebrations in their communities, such as days of patron saints, carnival, *floreo* (celebration related to the marking of the herd), the day of the dead or those associated with the cleaning of irrigation channels. It has been postulated that the possibility of further relations with their areas of origin has been favoured by the strategy to conceive urban work as a family business, because with self-employment they are not subject to strict schedules and obligations, and they can release or capture the labour of their work members according to their own requirements[16].

The Aymara of today are not the same as in the past. Currently, most of them live in cities and according to the vitality that their culture still shows even in this new space, it is no longer possible to understand their society, economy and culture from what occurs exclusively in rural communities, because normally they are now "completed" by an urban extension. The community does not have a strictly "local" embodiment; we mean that it is no longer limited to historical boundaries. To be more accurate, we should note that the contemporary Aymara community has a "trans-local" understanding. On the other hand, the fact that they maintain residence or remain attached to several geographical places and move between them, splitting families or developing different formulas and arrangements with other people, teaches us that it is necessary to conceive a notion of "networks" of people coming and going between city and countryside, moving or passing through different points. All this poses a challenge to anthropological research in particular and the social sciences in general.

## 2.2 THE CHILENIZATION PROCESS

Historically, the Aymara people have not been isolated from the social, economic and political dynamics that have been generated in the region. The Chilean State has played a fundamental role generating a series of actions (education, obligatory military service, evangelization), that allowed the early adoption by the

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[16] Carrasco, A. M. ed. op. cit., p. 18

Aymara population of a series of elements, symbols and conducts related to a nationalistic ideology favourable to the new state.

The control of the territory has been realized by the installation in the northern regions (Arica and Parinacota and Tarapacá), especially in rural sectors, of police and military detachments, which allowed intervention into the historical relations between Aymaras of similar ecological sites, but now belonging to different countries. Also it intended to put the population under the effective jurisdiction and the empire of the law and of national procedures. Also, the schools were run by the state, while other educational agents and the ecclesiastical authorities helped promote this project of national homogenization[17].

In this historical context, the Aymara communities experienced, fundamentally during the republican period of Chilenization between ends of the 19th century and up to approximately the third decade of the XXth century, a complex process of economic, social and ideological transformations. Nevertheless, until today, and in spite of the permanent cultural exchange under which this society has lived, and also as a product of their subordinated position in the national social structure, they continued to identify and reproduce the sense of otherness conferred on them by the Chilean society. The Aymaras today share the project of "western society" with the majority of the Chileans. Nevertheless, the form and the motives of appropriation by the same project has been and will be different from the rest of the Chilean society.

In 1880, and as one of the direct and immediate consequences of the Pacific War,[18] the Chilean troops' occupation of the Andean sector of Tarapacá and Arica took

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[17] González, H. y B. Guerrero, ed. op. cit., p. 35

[18] In 1879 the "Pacific War" broke out. This armed conflict lasted till 1883 between the Republic of Chile and the Republics of Peru and Bolivia. The main reason for this war was the immense economic value that was being acquired from the desert of Tarapacá through the exploitation of "guano" and nitrate. The pretext of Chile to start military action was the failure of tax rates among Chilean people who possessed

place. Once the conflict ended, an Agreement of Peace and Friendship was signed between Chile and Peru (1883), determining immediately that the territory of Tarapacá's department should belong to Chile. This was unlike the rights of the northern territories of the provinces of Tacna and Arica, which stayed without immediate definition, being constituted as a hanging conflict zone that lasted practically half a century.

During this period, the actions to "win" the resident population in this sector, made by the civil and ecclesiastic Chilean authorities, was a big challenge that had to be realized immediately. According to the "Agreement of Ancón" of 1883, the provinces of Tacna and Arica would remain under the chilean authority until 1893, the moment in which the governments of Peru and Chile had to hold a plebiscite so that the local population could decide if that country would belong definitively to the region. It is necessary to add that their preferences were clearly for reaffirming Peruvian sovereignty, demonstrated in the results of several censuses directed by the Chilean authorities themselves[19].

The initiatives of the Chilean state in Tarapacá obeyed a politics of establishment of national sovereignty, the principal aim being to "Chilenizar" the territory and its population. In synthesis, across the implementation of the Chilenization campaign, an attempt was made to make the local population aware of the new ruling state, to reduce the Peruvian population, and to create solidarity with the Chilean republic. The idea was to replace the Peruvian patriotism of the population by a nationalistic spirit founded on Chilean elements and symbols[20].

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rights to exploit these mineral deposits in Peru and Bolivia. Following this conflict, the territorial map of this area radically changed America, and Chile, as victor, gained extensive new territories, including those where some of the Aymara people lived.
[19] Palacios R. (1974) *La chilenización de Tacna y Arica, 1883-1929*, Editorial Arica, Arica. p. 81
[20] Carrasco, A. M. ed. op.cit., p. 28

We can distinguish two moments in the Chilenization campaign. The first one is characterized by the attempt of the Chilean authorities to create an ideological and affective link by the imposition of an institutional and cultural homogeneity. They implemented a series of services and benefits, such as centres of education (rural and urban schools); of written communication media (newspapers in the cities of Tacna and Arica); effective and orderly administration (high courts of justice in Tacna); and maintenance of order and public safety[21]. Despite the high presence of indigenous population in the sector, there was no will to recognize this specificity by the Chilean authorities, and they were not made the object of a special juridical condition. Chilean citizenship was granted to the Aymara people[22], and so they were obliged to accept the new socio-political conditions, a situation that undoubtedly affected and transformed the life of the Aymara community.

Also, before the end of the XIX century, and as another mechanism of Chilenization, there was the implementation of a programme of services, which made possible, for example, in settlements or villages like Putre and Belén, the early installation of a Service of Civil Record and a Post Office. In addition, a few years later (1904), a plan of economic exploitation was started by which the Aymara population was used as workforce in the "precordillera" and in the highlands ("altiplano"), specifically referring to the construction works of the railway from Arica to La Paz. Also it is important to mention the complementary effects, social and not merely economic, that the opening of the new rail route brought for the population of this sector, with the presence of a new group of workers from the south of the country, but also from a

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[21] Carrasco, A. M. ed. loc. cit.
[22] The condition of Chilean citizens was give to all individuals that wished for it and lived in the new territories. Without doubt, passage from the aborigine's previous condition to a citizen without any distinction and being recognized to as an "equal" with the same rights and duties, meant for the Aymara people an apparently better status.

"Programme of Settling" intended to enlarge the number of the chilean government followers, in preparation for the plebiscite that theoretically had to be held[23].

The second moment of this Chilenization campaign we can locate during the first decades of the twentieth century, and initially it is possible to catalogue and to differentiate it for being more violent and energetic. This was principally because of the implementation of new and more drastic modalities of intervention that ensured a favourable vote for Chile in the eventual plebiscite. Expulsions of Peruvian populations were frequent, and became habitual in these years, the violence in these actions being due to certain groups of chileans, "The Mazorqueros" organized in "Patriotic Leagues", which intimidated Peruvians by means of threats, pursuits and assaults[24]. The Chilenization process was involved in several key aspects of the life of the Aymara in the region of Tarapacá (Fig. 2.2 and 2.3).

## 2.2.1 THE CHILENIZATION IN THE ADMINISTRATIVE AND POLITICAL ASPECTS

From 1883 the Chilean government appointed a series of representatives to exercise authority in the different localities of the northern regions, along with the ordinances of the provincial authority, and they developed actions in favour of the local population. Administratively the Chilenization brought the restructuring of boundaries and district units, and a change of titles and responsibilities among the communal clerical staff[25] (Carrasco, 2003).

The implantation of the Chilean system of territorial administration affected the Aymara population and contributed to the breaking up of the former communities,

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[23] According to the Treaty of Ancon of 1883, peace treaty after the Chilean victory in the Pacific War, the provinces of Tacna and Arica were submitted under the Chilean authority until 1893, time when the governments of Peru and Chile should hold a plebiscite where the local population decides definitely to which country that region finally belongs. This plebiscite never took place, with the result that the area of Tacna would be under Peruvian control and Arica under Chilean control. See González, H. (2002) *Los Aymaras de la Región de Tarapacá y el período republicano temprano (1821-1879).* Comisión Verdad Histórica y Nuevo Trato, *Documento de Trabajo* N° 45, Santiago
[24] Palacios R. (1974) *La chilenización de Tacna y Arica, 1883-1929*, Editorial Arica, Arica. p. 86
[25] Carrasco, A. M. ed. *op. cit.,* p. 29

producing reorganization on the basis of a new administrative scheme. By then the representative of the Chilean state was the sub-delegate, who was exercising his authority across the commissioners of every community, the former "*jilakatas*"[26] now with functions re-defined by the new authority. This administrative system constituted a permanent area of conflict, because it was common that the new authorities were accused of acting in an arbitrary way (abuses, exorbitant charges, etc.). The sub-delegate had to establish the respect of the law and of the tributary Chilean system, which rather meant he had to act on his own before a population considered a potential enemy.

The definitive displacement of the "Jilakatas" occurred finally with the designation of the Inspectors and Judges of District, generating at that moment a power vacuum that could not be filled by the new hierarchical system. The external system of designation, the arbitrariness of the Chilean authorities, and the lack of clarity about the real administrative and judicial role that they had to fulfil, allowed constant abuses and produced distrust of the population towards the new authorities, political agents and representatives of the state, who came to displace and replace the former and traditional ones. The positions of Inspector and Judge were granted predominantly to individuals from the same locations and communities, even though we can find cases where they were outsiders. Normally they remained in charge for long periods, fulfilling fundamentally an administrative and judicial role. The traditional leaders, chiefs and groups of oldest adult males, supported their functions in a parallel way with the new representatives of the Chilean state, constituting assemblies dedicated only to treating problems of a social, economic and religious order. The Judges managed the resolution of social and familiar conflicts that could not be solved at the level of the domestic unit or by group of relatives. The designation of Judges and

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[26] *Jilakatas* are the traditional Aymara authority that rules and provides justice on a determined geographical space occupied by a group of families called *Ayllu*.

District Inspectors in replacement of the communal authorities (*Jilakatas*) closed any possibility of an eventual reconstitution of larger communities structured around an autochthonous system of authorities. From then on all efforts tending to re-compose the relations between communities and their relation with major ritual centres, for example, or traditional services, or the call to have traditional authorities, collided with the direct intervention of the Chilean State organisms or, if some advance was achieved in this aspect, it was always resisted and controlled by the presence of the State or by private activity[27]. Nevertheless, one of the aspects that we could observe from the Chilean administration in this period is the space left for internal litigations to be solved, partly, by customary vernacular procedure. Whether it was merely a product of the inefficiency of the system, or because in reality the Chilean state delegated authority to the local representatives, this allowed some degree of continuity of the Andean traditional system of rules.

The imposition of this new type of administration also brought the elimination of some of the principal authorities, allowing other community groups or central villages to arise[28].

## 2.2.2 THE CHILENIZATION OF EDUCATION

School instruction in the Provinces of Tacna and Arica was one of the principal worries of the Chilean Government after the Agreement was signed in 1883. The school constituted a favoured way to socialize values, rules, customs and beliefs in Chilean culture (Gonzalez, 2002). By a decree of May 9, 1900, the public Peruvian schools that were working in the Province of Arica were closed, because the Chilean authorities saw in these a negative influence on their interests. The presence of schools directed specifically for the Aymara population were found in the region only

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[27] Palacios R. op. cit., p. 88
[28] See Van Kessel, J. (1985) Los aymarás contemporáneos de Chile (1879-1985); su historia social. Centro de Investigación de la Realidad del Norte, *Cuaderno de Investigación Social* N° 19, Iquique.

after the year 1905, the moment when the first Chilean Primary School in Putre was founded. Then in the subsequent years more schools where installed in several villages across the highlands and high valleys of the Tarapacá region[29].

At the beginning, Chilean State pressure by the action of police was important in the obligatory attendance of Aymara people in the schools. The commoners demonstrated their resistance to the obligations that the school system brought to their child by removing children, especially boys, from an important part of the productive work that they were expected to do (inside the gender and generational division of familiar work). The parents believed that the school transformed their children into lazy people, and that it was a place where they learned bad foreign customs that were against their traditions. But only a few years later, many Aymara families were in favour of education, because of the interest of Aymara persons who had gained contact with other realities, had taken advantage of the temporary work in valleys and cities, or simply engaged with with the economic activities that were being imposed in the region. Initially, state economic funding was partial; the people had to realize contributions in money or work for school building and the payment or support, by food for example, of the teachers. But even with the requirements and costs that maintaining a school imply, the interest arose and remained, fundamentally because they saw in education a way to achieve better relation with the national Chilean society, improve living conditions, and obtain some social ascent.

During the government of Carlos Ibáñez (1927-1931), the border problem with Peru was tackled definitively, and a new attempt at Chilenization policies began, characterized this time by a high investment in public works and in education, resulting in the creation of a large number of schools in the highlands and valleys. These establishments tended to articulate the demand that the Aymara people needed "better

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[29] Carrasco, A. M. ed. op. cit., p. 26.

tools" to be able to satisfy the opportunities that the urban coastal cities were offering them[30].

The plans and programmes used by the Chilean State on education in the rural sector were the same ones as used in the urban spaces. There was no recognition of cultural diversity: education was seen as part of a larger design for a geopolitical strategy and in defence of sovereignty, that allowed the Aymara communities to be incorporated definitively into the territorial and ideological borders of the country, transforming them definitively into "Chilean patriots, lovers of the values of the country"[31].

Even when the first approximations of formal education in the Aymara space were not directly made by the State, but by the church, another form of ideology, it moved towards values and practices that were nationally accepted. Nevertheless, this process of socialization was not static. Every attempt at positioning external ideologies resulted in processes of resistance and dynamic adjustment, in which the external elements were re-created culturally[32]. Still, when the State, with homogenizing programmes and educational plans, tried to standardize the indigenous communities in ethnic terms, the convergence of indigenous and non-indigenous elements forced a re-placement of Aymara ideology and practices[33].

Inside the design of the educational plan and, also as a mechanism of socialization intended to favour the development of a nationalistic Chilean spirit, we have to mention the promulgation of the Law of Military Recruitment (1912). With this law Military Service became obligatory, by which young men born in Chilean territory

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[30] González, H. (2004) *La economía aymara actual de las comunidades rurales del norte de Chile.* Manuscript provided by author.
[31] Palacios R. op. cit., p. 84.
[32] See Hidalgo, J. (2004) *Historia Andina en Chile.* Editorial Universitaria, Santiago.
[33] Carrasco, A. M. ed. op. cit p. 29

were recruited to fulfill duties as citizens of the Republic of Chile at military sites in the cities of Tacna, Arica, Pisagua and Iquique. In these new spaces, the young Aymara boys learned not only to read and write, but also to obey authorities, to use weapons and, principally, to recognize in Chile an adoptive "motherland" where apparently they were equal citizens[34].

## 2.2.3 THE CHILENIZATION OF ECONOMIC ACTIVITIES

With regard to the domestic economy of the Aymara community, it should be noted that, during the period under review, indigenous lands without a legal private owner came to be considered as State property. This action triggered a process of privatization that crippled the basis of the Aymara community structure, resulting in some cases in the accumulation of property in the hands of just a handful of Aymara people with better education or with a higher public relevance linked to city dwellers, who registered large areas of land in the Register Office of Government Properties in Arica or with the judge of the sub-delegation[35].

The process for the registration of land was difficult.  Agreements, and setting the limits of grasslands between families, was a task not free from internal conflicts, and many of the Aymara lands were lost, given away unfairly to Chilean occupants[36]. Another way to support the Chilenization campaign by the local authority was to impose, in every large community, the establishment of Boards of Administrative Development and Boards of Local Development. These were chaired by a sub-delegate and consisted of a directorate, preferably composed of Chilean individuals with the right to represent Aymara community members who were also able to marginalize individuals in disagreement with their opinions. In places without Local Boards of Development, the works for the benefit of the community were promoted and

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[34] González, H. op. cit., p.16
[35] González, H. (1991) Desarrollo organizativo y participación política reciente entre los Aymara del Norte de Chile. *Documentos de Trabajo,* Taller de Estudios Andinos, Arica. p. 7
[36] González, H. op. cit., p. 9

controlled by the District Inspector. Aymara community participation was generally low, even though their absence exposed them to heavy fines.

## 2.2.4 THE CHILENIZATION OF RELIGIOUS ACTIVITIES

Chilenization also intervened in religious matters. Peruvian Catholic priests were present in the Tarapacá region until approximately 1910, living permanently in towns like Belén and Codpa, for example, and realizing periodic visits to the different settlements in the "altiplano" and in the high valleys, preaching to and baptizing the Aymara population.

A belligerent attitude and the pursuit of Peruvian priests by the Chilean State occurred during the whole first decade of the XX century, causing the closure of many rural parishes and the interruption of religious services, especially in the mountain sectors[37]. Because of the events that were taking place, many Peruvian priests decided on a "voluntary" retreat, others chose to remain in the sector until a formal expulsion was made concrete in a decree by the Chilean authorities, on February 17 of 1910[38]. After the eviction of the Peruvian priests, military chaplains attended to the local and rural indigenous populations, supporting the labour of the civil authorities and infusing a patriotic spirit favourable to Chile.

In this new stage began what the experts call "evangelization Chilenizante", that attacked many Aymara local religious customs considered as a pagan practices, for which reason they had to be suppressed, supported by ordinances from the ecclesiastical Chilean central authority[39]. The intolerant attitude of Chilean priests to Aymara religiosity was a widespread issue reflected in numerous documents of the time, and it continued until approximately 1950. The Aymara practices and religious

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[37] Carrasco, A. M. ed. op.cit. p. 21.
[38] Ibid. p.22
[39] Gavilán, V. and Carrasco A.M. (2009) *Festividades andinas y religiosidad en el norte chileno*. Chungara Revista de Antropología Chilena 41, pp. 101-112.

beliefs were misunderstood not only by the representatives of the catholic church, but also by the civil Chilean authorities, and were attacked violently by both, since they saw in these customs the promotion of elements opposite to the process of Chilenization.

The relation established between the Chilean state and the Aymara people in this period was complex. And there is no doubt that the conscious introduction of a nationalizing and modernizing ideology caused changes in the practices and in the ideas of the acculturated population.

# CHAPTER 3

*AYMARA TRADITIONAL LIFE AND INHABITATION IN CHILE*

In this chapter I will try to review aspects that inform the cultural situation from which the life and the traditional way of inhabiting of the Aymara people in Chile develops. Inhabitation is not only to be understood from the building itself: we must also understand it as a manifestation of other cultural concepts that creates the frame within which the Aymara people move.

The ways in which religiosity and "custom" within the Aymara people are governed will help us understand those ceremonies and festivities that set the ritual panorama of this ethnic group, and thus help understand the meanings that can be given to housing and land, as well the ceremonies practised in the same housing. The way Aymara people inhabit the space and the way they order it with respect to their cosmology, or the ordering of their territory, also seems to be a fundamental prerequisite before approaching the particular house of a family, because it is this general area, this territory where the house is located and therefore where inhabitation develops.

The concept of *ayllu* as a concept combining the ideas of caste and geographical space deserves special attention. On the other hand, colonization and the reconsideration of the central village as a colonial urban form also needs to be reviewed, because it started a process of change in the way of living of the Aymara in their traditional geographic areas.

Finally, traditional housing, *uta* will be reviewed by describing its built form, its construction process and its own cultural definitions, including understanding it as a symbolic element.

## 3.1 THE TRADITIONAL SOCIAL ORGANIZATION OF THE AYMARA PEOPLE IN CHILE

### 3.1.1 THE AYMARA FAMILY CONCEPT

One of the factors determining the way inhabiting develops in a culture is the question of how people understand the concept of family and lineage. The family structure is directly related to the living space, because this is the stage where the daily routine will take place and therefore unmistakeably it will represent these concepts. On the other hand the way that land is occupied, and particularly its distribution, will be directly linked to the idea of lineage.

Before the migration to the cities of the coast and the integration of the Aymara in the country's general social processes, the Aymara family was of an "extended type" and included parents with their unmarried and married children. The latter ones brought in their respective households.

Currently, the predominant type of family among the Aymara people is of "nuclear" form, with a father, a mother and unmarried children. However we can still

see that in some cases the family may become extended. That occurs for example when it includes elderly parents who take care of livestock or the agricultural land of the family in their community of origin on the high lands, while sons and daughters live elsewhere, mostly in cities. Also this is the case with a family that is installed temporarily at the home of a brother to start the migration cycle into the city. The family can also be fragmented, for example when one part resides in the rural community dedicated to farming activities and others members are in the cities. This is because there are school age or urban occupations that can contribute to the family finances. The Aymara people form their families early. They achieve this by having the economic means through anticipated inheritance, gifts, or savings achieved through work. According to the anthropologist Edmund Leach[1], there are two types of marriage. The first type relates only to the desires of two people acting privately. The second is a systematically organized issue that is part of a set of contractual obligations between two social groups. Aymara marriage fulfils the second type.

Aymara traditional marriage (civil and religious) involves a preliminary stage of courtship, engagement and family pre-marital arrangements. It is still common to find a "bride's hand request" ("*Sartaña*"). In other cases, the couple run away to precipitate events and achieve earlier parental approval. This has sometimes been interpreted as a "capture of the bride", but is not so, because there is a mutual agreement. Secular and ritual activities of Aymara marriage revolve around the future harmony of the couple and their families, seeking the approval of the gods, and the allocation of the agricultural lands, livestock or the building and endowment of the home.

Among the Aymara people of the altiplano, where we can find more historic documents, lineages are "patrilineal", as they establish descent through the paternal

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[1] Leach, E. (1976), *Sistemas políticos de la Alta Birmania: estudio sobre la estructura social kachin*, Anagrama. Barcelona.

side. We have to remember that a lineage is a one-lined descent group whose members are all considered descendants of a common known ancestor and can describe the bonds that unite them back to the ancestor (real or fictional) in an unbroken line of descent, citing all intermediate grades. So in the Aymara people's case we see that the patrilineage consists of a variable number of families that are recognized as descendants of a common ancestor of the paternal line. This means that a line consists of one or more brothers with their unmarried children (both sexes) and married ones (but only males) with their respective families. Over time a patrilineage can be separated into two or more sub-lineages, which become independent patrilineages with a separation of territorial space controlled by each sub-lineage, which includes the grazing land needed for the reproduction of animals and, always, the house where they reside.

Among the Aymara of the altiplano such lineages operate within corporate groups, particularly regarding the grazing land tenure and certain marriage rules, such as the residence of the couple. We talk of a "corporate" lineage when it is provided with an authority structure, when it is an undivided unity confronting others groups, and when it involves a certain number of political, economic or ritual activities that are carried out by all members of the group or on its behalf, representing them.

Patrilineages normally operate as a unit that controls a specific territorial space including the grazing land needed for the reproduction of the livestock and the group of houses where they reside (the ranch). The use and transfer of the grazing land is resolved inside the patrilineage, only among the men, who establish the line of succession back to the original occupant (usually one member of the lineage who entered or participated in the registration of the property at the National Records Office).

A patrilineage also can be considered an exogamous unit, as men seek their female partners in other lineages. This means that women are the ones who are "circulating". They must move to the residence of the husband, to the ranch and patrilineage lands to which he belongs. Lineage among the Aymara people also demands that a woman must live in the house of her husband's family. This is until they are able to build a house on the same land, always that of the husband's family.

## 3.1.2 AYMARA RELIGION AND "CUSTOM"

Another aspect to understand how a culture is related to the space it inhabits is its pattern of religious beliefs. It is widely known that cultures around the world have based the principles of their worldview on certain aspects of nature that were beyond their understanding. The Aymara are not immune to this logic and pose in their traditional religious beliefs a pantheon of deities that have their representation in the landscape and nature where they live. Their cosmological considerations divide the world into different levels where men inhabit distinctly separated from deities and mythological creatures. Also, the built living space is defined by cosmological and cultural interpretations in the construction process, materiality, location and even in the everyday usage. On the other hand it provides a platform or scenery for different ceremonies that have to do with the Aymara life cycle.

If we review Aymara religiosity studies we find that there are two perspectives: first anthropological Studies that seek to recognize the knowledge that the contemporary Aymara and others are looking to achieve, and second some far-reaching interpretative models, considering the possible persistence and / or dislocation of a pre-Columbian religious matrix[2].

Some authors suggest that there could be a synthesis between traditional

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[2] Esch-Jacob, J. (1994) *Sincretismo Religioso de los Indígenas de Bolivia*. Hisbol, La Paz. pp. 94.

beliefs and Christianity by referring to how the Aymara people joined the gospel-making part of the Old Testament to the traditional Andean mythology, understanding it as a variation of Christianity[3]. Other experts, such as María Ester Grebe[4], suggest that it is possible to find a process of interaction of indigenous and Hispanic components, producing three orientations: the coexistence and juxtaposition of cultural components that move in parallel tracks, independently maintaining their individuality; the open and continuous transformation of components that adapt to changes in the socio-cultural and physical environment, and finally the bicultural or multicultural integration that would result in a process of mestizaje and syncretism.

But beyond the details of such theories about how Aymara religiosity has developed into what we can find today, we can make the general assumption that in the Aymara people there is an open or exoteric element, which is expressed in what is known as a syncretism of Andean Catholicism, and a closed or esoteric component linked to practices with roots extending to pre-Columbian times. The Aymara refer to the former as "religion" and the latter as "custom or practice"[5]. In the last decade the influence of Christian sects, such as Evangelical Pentecostals, has added components that have affected both elements by proposing the elimination of saints, of the figure of the virgin, and of religious festivities, as well as proposing to "demonize" so-called "pagan practices" in general[6]. However, despite the strong emergence of these Christian sects, it is still possible to find samples of both components of the Aymara religiosity, among other things because of the efforts of the democratic governments to maintain and recover those traditions and festivities, seeking to keep alive and to value the customs and characteristics of the different cultures that make up a country that

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[3] See Van Kessel, J. (1992) *Cuando Arde el Tiempo Sagrado*. Hisbol, Bolivia.
[4] Grebe, M. E. (1996) *Continuidad y cambio en las representaciones icónicas: significado simbólico sur-andino*. Revista Chilena de Antropología 13; pp. 85-93.

[5] Gavilán, V. and Carrasco A. M. (2009) *Festividades andinas y religiosidad en el norte chileno*. Chungara. Vol. 41, No 1, 2009; pp. 101-112.
[6] See Guerrero, B. (1994) *A Dios Rogando... Los Pentecostales en la Sociedad Aymara del Norte Grande de Chile*. Vrije Universiteit, Ámsterdam.

legally declares the existence of nine original indigenous peoples.

We observe that the older generations know and perform the rituals that are included in "custom" more properly the new ones. Thus we find that the older people, more educated, with primary rural residence and attachment to the Catholic beliefs have closer links with the "customs" ascription. This proposition would be nuanced in the case of the urban population, because the organizations that demand ethnic rights emphasize cultural specificity as a central element to differentiate between themselves and the rest of the regional population.

In the Aymara World we can recognize eight principles that organize the cosmos and the place of people within it:

1. Space-time is conceived in a circular form and is a totality.

2. Natural cycles such as solar and lunar, and therefore the seasons, form the basis of the calendar (day, month, and year).

3. These cycles follow the principle of the bipartite (the Solstices) and tripartite (a dry and warm season, a rainy and warm one, and a cold and dry one)[7]

4. The universe is conceived as a living body in a tripartite form.

5. This body follows a life cycle designed according to the principle of Agriculture: seed = youth; growth = marriage (sexual maturity); harvest = age. Death restarts the cycle of life.

6. The body differs in males and females.

7. Sexuality is the source of the movement.

8. The relationship between the feminine and masculine organize both cosmic and social order.

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[7] Van den Berg, H. (1989) *La Tierra no da así no más: los Ritos Agrícolas en la Religión de los Aymara-Cristianos de los Andes.* CEDLA, Ámsterdam.

Regarding the Aymara worldview, we can see that in a similar way to most religions, they divide the world into three spaces or levels. There is a higher level or *Arajpacha*, the world above, like the heaven of the Christian world. God inhabits it along with the virgin and the patron saints. All these deities require public rituals, conducted in temples and chaired by catholic priests. The one in the middle or *Akapacha*[8] is the world where we live. At this level reside the human inhabitants, along with the *Pachamama* and *Uywiris* (hills, *pukaras*, *juturis*). The rituals related to this level are private cults, made at summits, in pens or fields and are led by the elderly, those who know the "custom or practices". Finally we can observe a lower level or *Manqhapacha*. At this subterranean level live certain demonic beings, like "aparecidos" (ghosts), and the "condenados" (doomed). This realm is invoked in certain secret cults led by individuals who are classified as witches[9].

### 3.1.2.1 THE AYMARA PANTHEON

In a spatial order, the Aymara pantheon is presented as the one that takes care of natural, seasonal and geographical facts (including those relating to the ancestors such as archaeological remains) all from a broader vision of the space that is inhabited. It does not refer to the closer inhabited space, but rather the total geographical area where the life of the Aymara community develops. So we will see reflected in this pantheon the sun, the earth, the mountains and hills, the water, etc. We are interested since it is these higher deities who represent the vastness of the territory where traditional inhabitation begins to reduce the radius of interaction of the person with the environment (and the representation of it) until arriving at the nearest inhabited space.

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[8] In some texts the *Akapacha* is mentioned as *Taypipacha*. See Tudela P. (2000) La religión tradicional entre los Aymaras de Arica. Revista Chilena de Antropología, Facultad de Ciencias Sociales de la universidad de Chile. No 15, 1999-2000; pp. 99-118.
[9] Van Kessel, J. (1996) *La cosmovisión aymara*. In *Etnografía. Sociedades Indígenas Contemporáneas y su Ideología*, ed. Hidalgo, J., Schiappacasse, V and others; pp. 169-198. Andrés Bello, Santiago.

There is great flexibility in the central cult figures among the Aymara. We find changes in whom is considered the main deity depending on a person's gender, age and whether they are catholic or evangelical. However, we can recognize an ordered hierarchy of deities recognized by the experts who work on the religious issue[10].

**Kollanta** (**"Tata** **God"** **or** **Inti**) is the most confusing deity in terms of his attributes. He is of male gender, his function being "father protector" of humans. His direct responsibility is health issues, since he is the one who takes care to restore the physical and mental welfare of his devotees. He is present in all ceremonials through the ritual of *wilancha* (animal sacrifice), but to him is offered the animal's heart, unlike the other deities. His presence is manifested to humans during the first light of day, when he interacts directly with the sun as a figure.

The **Pachamama** appears alongside *Kollanta* in all rituals, as an entity of female gender and a mother figure. She is associated with fertility, agriculture, and pasture for animals. She is also linked to financial prosperity. She is the earth and is alive, in the hills and fields, is their fertility. Her rite takes place on the hills, the *pukaras* where cattle eat, and on agricultural land. Within ritual activity she is always close to *Kollanta*, represented in the *wilancha* by the action of *challar*, or making a toast with drink, coca and *kopal* (plant resin burned as incense). The relationship with God is diffuse. It is believed that *Kollanta* comes first, but we must never forget *Pachamama* and the hills where they deities eat the animals[11].

The **Mallku-T'alla** **or** **Uywiris** are deities with a lower level of ambiguity compared to the *Kollanta* and the *Pachamama*. Their features refer to humanity: they have sex-gender, can be lovers and be married, have names, children, etc. They can

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[10] Gavilán, V. (1998) *Elaboraciones de género en la religiosidad de mujeres y hombres aymara del norte de Chile,* Revista de Ciencias Sociales nº 8, pp. 65-82.
[11] Grebe, M. E. (1981) *Cosmovisión Aymara,* Revista de Santigo nº 1, pp. 61-79.

be rich or poor, and can have an optimistic or a pessimistic significance. They can both give life and kill, and their favourite food is blood, which they like to drink and share with devotees, guarding the order and morality of the inhabitants. Within the ranks of *Uywiris* are located the hills, those who protect a community, which can have individual names. They can be *Mallku* (male) or *T'alla* (female). Also within the ranks of *Uywiris* are the *Pukara*, sacred places dedicated to agriculture. For this reason they symbolize Mother Earth or *Pachamama*. They are also associated with ancestors, with the time of the *Inca*, and were located on hills, ridges sometimes in places where there were ruins of *Inca* fortresses. Further *Uywiris* are the *Juturi* which are holes, very deep ones that reach the depths. The *Manqhapacha* is a "creational" hole, an origin of life, from which "the cattle emerge". It can be a hole filled with water or it can be dry. The *Serenos* are waterfalls where the water produces sound. They are often charged with a reputation for tradition. There is a link between these places and the music, through the *Serenos:* those who give to the instruments, at night or before dawn, all the melodies in the World.

Human characteristics given to *Uywiris* refer to an indigenous past, specifically the *Incas*: the ancestors who lived in other times. They can be from different geographical areas and are beyond humanity because they live in another state, as bearers of tradition and customs.

We also have to name the animals, since these can represent deities, and because the Aymara also gave them ancestral features. The condor (biggest Andean bird of prey), the armadill*o* (small mammals with a leathery armour), and the *titi* (wild cat) are the main ones and are incorporated into the rituals.

About the Saints, even when we can relate them to the *Uywiris*, they do not have a direct link with the ancestors. The cult can be in a country estate or "estancia"

(a family-lineage), but the most important are those who protect a whole community.

The Aymara people practise a series of rituals and religious festivities. These can be divided basically into those associated with agricultural fertility, those associated with the rites of passage of individuals, and those associated with the celebration of religious holidays. The first, rituals associated with agricultural fertility, are held in the immediate area surrounding the traditional dwelling in the "estancia" or *Uta*, where the corrals are located (only the carnival, as we will see, happens in the central village or *Marka* and has a communal character). The rituals associated with the passage of individuals through certain stages of their life cycle happen inside the *Uta* or in the courtyard ("patio"). Finally, the rituals associated with the celebration of religious holidays in the Christian calendar are held in the *Marka* and also inside the village house that the Aymara families possess there.

### 3.1.2.2 AGRICULTURAL FERTILITY RITES

These rituals are performed in the space surrounding the main house or *Uta*, the one that is in the ranch or "estancia". There are usually stone corrals near the house where the animals are kept. Even when it is a space that cannot be categorized as one of a everyday use, due to the type of shepherding that the Aymara people practise, we cannot say that it is part of the "undomesticated landscape". It would rather be a middle ground, because even though the distance between the pen and the house is different for each family, depending on the geographical features or just of the quantity of animals held, in all cases these are connected to the dwelling by paths drawn on the ground through use, without the labour of clearing vegetation or other activities that occur in these intermediate zones.

For those families that maintain some sort of agricultural activity, the lands devoted to this job are not are not necessarily in the areas near the *Uta*. Due to the

climatic conditions of the "altiplano" and high valleys, places used for farming can be far away from the housing, usually in the proximity of a permanent water source or in some area specially prepared by some kind of hydraulic engineering works such as irrigation canals or planting terraces. As pens, these spaces are connected to the *Uta* through certain defined walking paths.

The main agricultural fertility rites are the *Marca,* the *Floreo* of animals and the carnival. Also some people enact some ceremonies within the family ambit at the time of planting, where they say prayers and offer libations accompanied with coca and alcohol. In some cases for December 24th Aymara people make small figures representing "llamas" (camelids of the Andes).

The *Marca* of new animals (*quillpa*) and the *Floreo* of the herds (*waiño*), that involves decorating the cattle with wool of bright colours, is a ritual intended to promote the fertility of the cattle. Is usually done in January or February, between Easter and carnival, and lasts one or two days depending on the size of the herd and the number of participating guests. The family that owns the herd builds a table, an *awayu* (a specially knitted piece of fabric) lying on the ground on which they place a series of ritual elements, usually in even numbers, chaired by one or two stuffed cougars or bobcats, which are considered *awatiri* or pastor of the herd. The party starts early with a *wilancha*, the ritual sacrifice of an animal, whose blood is offered to the Pachamama, the grazing areas, and the hills (*Mallkus*) protectors or guardians (*Uywiri*) of the community. The meat of the sacrificed animal is eaten in a ritual feast and the bones are burned or ritually buried, as they are believed to give rise to more livestock. The feast is completed with "bandolas", a small 16-string guitar, accompanying the praise and dance that mimic the animals, in the yard, and then they return to the backyard of the house where the party continues until dawn.

"Planting of potatoes" *(pachallampe).* It is done in early November. Three or four "alférez" (ensigns), related to the saints, are carried on a donkey from the church, where the seeds have been blessed for use in the festival ritual. They go to the site of the "alférez" where they sow the seeds in a ritual environment with singing, dancing and music. It lasts one day.

The harvest *(guatia) is c*onducted in March-April, at the time of the harvest of potatoes and corn, traditional Andean crops. This is a series of thanksgiving "meals". The *guatia* is the Andean "curanto" (typical celebration meal in southern Chile) including potatoes, corn (in the form of small "tamales") and different types of meat (usually "llama" and chicken) cooked in a hole in the ground. The family usually holds it, with guests.

"Cruz de Mayo" *(Cross of May / Maypole)* is performed in early May, based on an old European holiday. "alférez" are appointed (usually a pair) that take charge of the festival. They head to the hills where they set up crosses, "dress" them (decorated with colour ribbons), and also form arches adorned with ribbons. In some parts the crosses are taken from the hills down to the community church. In other communities the celebration is held in the same hills[12].

The carnival (*anata*) is a collective ritual action with more participants, designed to thank the *Pachamama* for the "first fruits of agriculture", the participants with bundles on their backs and carrying these products in their hands. It is a very happy holiday, which lasts for two days now (it used to last up to eight days), is held in the central town of the community, and organised by two "alférez", one for each area (*manqha* and *arajj saya*). Until a few years ago, one of the most striking aspects was the entrance to the carnival of riders with leather leggings and spurs, mounted on mules, carrying

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[12] Gavilán, V. *op. cit.,* pp.1-43.

bridles of silver, among also *"kulebrillas"* (handmade ornamentations). The ritual includes *wilancha* of animals and offerings specifically geared to the *Pachamama*. There are allusive and improvised songs and dances in circles, which are usually organised in the form of a competition between the two factions of the community[13]. During this event, the *kena* or *pinkillo* (types of Andean flute) is heard, accompanying the singing and dancing groups that move in a circular way.

## 3.1.2.3 THE RITES OF PASSAGE AND FESTIVALS RELATED TO LIFE CYCLE STAGES OF PEOPLE'S LIVES

These rites and celebrations happen inside the main dwelling or *Uta* and sometimes in the house of the *Marka*. It may also be that due to a problem of space, these celebrations are moved to the courtyard of the house. However, given the nature of ownership and daily use of this external space, we can say that in any event these rites happen in the sphere of the dwelling itself. The main rites that accompany the life of the Aymara people have direct relation with the stages of their life cycle[14] and include those significant moments in the lives of men and women: the childbirth, the first haircut, marriage, the house construction, disease, and death (the construction of the house is excluded from the list as it will be treated in detail in subsequent pages).

The delivery of a child is done in a squatting position and is usually attended by a midwife. To cut the umbilical cord they avoid sharp and dangerous tools such as knives or scissors, for it is considered that their characteristics can pass into the character of the newborn. The placenta is buried, along with ash, in a place away from

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[13] Gavilán, V. (1999) *Lo Femenino y Lo Masculino en la Religiosidad Aymara del Norte de Chile: Avances de Investigación*, Publication of the "Simposio Género y Simbolismo" of the 49 Congreso de Americanista. UNAM, México.
[14] For more information about the life cycle of the today Aymara people of northern Chile, see Carrasco, A. M. (1998) *Constitución de género y ciclo vital entre los Aymaras contemporaneos del norte de Chile*. Chungará. Vol.30, n.1; pp. 87-103.

home[15]. The dissected umbilical cord is saved as a "secret possession" and a "medicine" of great value. The midwife "echa el agua" (puts water) on to the newborn (a Pre-Columbian practice that was reinterpreted as an emergency baptism).

The first haircut (*ruytuchu*), which takes place after the end of the breastfeeding time, when the child is a year or older, is the first collective ceremony to mark the life of an individual. The child receives its first godfather. He cuts the hair of the infant and offers the hair to the attendees, who donate money or goods that are the first heritage of the child. The godfather, finally, offers the largest donation to his godson. Catholic baptism, meanwhile, is performed on the occasion of the celebration of Saints, when a priest visits the village, and usually involves other godfathers.

In cases of serious illness, the family requests the service of a *yatiri* or medicine man from the community or sector. He diagnoses the disease and defines its origin by a religious ceremony using coca and alcohol. The reading of coca leaves and personal conversation constitute a kind of enquiry. Where appropriate, treatment may include conducting ceremonies that are more complex, such as "salud misa", a table with offerings dedicated to the *Pachamama*, or slaughter of animals to remove evil, known as *turka*. This is a powerful ritual for both the patient and their relatives, and it can result in psychological and ethical effects.

The death of a family member is a special and meaningful situation for the Aymara people. The community and a band escort the deceased to the town cemetery. In the Coffin they put a clean change of clothes so that he or she can change after the long trip and stand before God. On the eighth day they wash the deceased's clothes. There is a new night vigil, placing the clothes of the deceased, flowers, candles and

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[15] Carrasco, A.M. (2003) *Llegando al mundo terrenal: embarazo y nacimiento entre los aymarás del norte de Chile*. In *Mujeres, Espejos y Fragmentos. Antropología de Género y Salud en el Chile del Siglo XXI,* S. Montecino, R. Castro y M. A. de la Parra Ed., pp. 84-97. Antartica, Santiago.

water on a table covered with black piece of textile fabric. That same day there is the *paigasa*, a farewell and a simulation of the journey of the deceased, represented by a person who puts on his *poncho* and hat. The double helps to load a male llama with the belongings of the deceased, as well as supplies of jerky meat and coca leaves for the road, and then takes the road to the west. Reaching a high field, he kills the male llama and takes out the flesh without dismembering the skeleton, eats the meat roasted, stitches up the hide and loads it again with the things of the deceased. He spends rest of the day playing *Palama* (a kind of hopscotch), and at sunset the representative person makes a farewell, advising the wife and children. Relatives come back to the town, without looking back, while the llama, the dog and all the belongings of the deceased are burnt at nightfall. At that time it is supposed that the dead travel to the "coast", to cross the large *cocha* (thermal water pond). The "new" dead are remembered in a special way during the first three years after death, on the first day of November[16].

### 3.1.2.4 RELIGIOUS RITES RELATED TO THE CHRISTIAN CALENDAR

The main religious rites related to the Christian calendar are the patron saints' festivities and the day of the dead. While the firsts are communal in nature and develop in the public spaces of the *Marka*, the second reaches a family scope and usually is held within the dwelling in the central village, but it can also take place in the *Uta* and then move to the central village.

The patron saint festivities are held in honour of the patron saint to the church or community temple. In the highlands, these parties are usually concentrated in the summer months. A pair of "alférez" or "pasantes" who pay for the costs of the celebration and preside at it are responsible for the organization. It begins in the

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[16] Ortega, M. (2001) *Escatología andina: metáforas del alma*. Chungará Revista de Antropología Chilena, Universidad de Tarapacá n° 33, pp. 253-258.

evening with a ritual where they make offerings to all the protective spirits of the community. At dawn the next day, the "pasantes" preside over a musical procession to the saint's Calvary to do the penance, to receive the "relics" (a libation) of the holy and to make a blood sacrifice (*wilancha*). On the afternoon of that day, the "entrada de cera" is held in a communal ceremony (figures and candles which serve as ornaments for the temple are placed). At night they perform the evening worship called "víspera" (vespers), led by the priest. This is followed by a session of music and dancing in the square opposite the temple, where bonfires burn. On the next morning the principal authorities and the community offer a community breakfast. Following that comes the "misa de gloria", with the procession of saints. After that, the community approves the "alférez", delivering the banner or symbol of dignity to the candidate "alférez" of the next year. Then there are repeats of the songs and dances in the plaza, followed by a collective meal called "boda". The next day the people go early in the morning to the cemetery to make offerings and to dedicate music to their ancestors. In some places football matches are held, which replace old ritual battles. Also a "bargains market" is held, a game with miniatures, which expresses the expectations of individuals and the blessing of the saint for their projects. The festival ends with the *cacharpaya*, the ritualized farewell to the visitor.

On all Souls' Day, the 1st of November, the day of the dead, the souls of ancestors visit the community. This occasion is celebrated the night before, with food, prayers, music, and games at home. After noon, the party moves to the graves in the cemetery, where they say goodbye to the souls with music, candles, flowers, water, coca, pure alcohol, beverages and a "new hat", a new wreath of flowers hanging on the cross. The "clerk" prays, sings prayers, and sprays the grave with holy water, in a ceremony called "responso". The  "recently" deceased, within three years of their

deaths, are entertained in a particular way, with food and music that they liked in life[17].


## 3.2 TRADITIONAL SPATIAL ORGANIZATION OF THE AYMARA PEOPLE IN CHILE

### 3.2.1 THE *AYLLU*

The economic production in the Andes, in the time before the arrival of the Inca Empire, was based on the operation of the *ayllu*. The land ownership was communal and the space was periodically redistributed to families in the *ayllu* without their being allowed to transform its use to private property, as separate from community property. In the work activities an attitude of community could be observed, consisting in the mutual assistance of members in the carrying out of various production tasks[18].


*Ayllu* is a Quechua term, with an equivalent meaning to the Aymara word *jatha*, which literally means "seed", specifically the potato seed, but in a figurative sense refers to "caste" or descent. In the Andean anthropological literature *ayllu* has been specifically defined as a kinship group, theoretically endogamous, with descent through the male line, which has a defined territory[19] and broadly as any group whose members regard themselves as 'brothers, provide each other assistance and support, in contrast to others that are located outside the boundaries of the groups[20] (Fig. 3.1). But we can also use *ayllu* to refer to the different levels of socio-spatial divisions within the segmental social structure that characterizes Andean societies, especially the southern ones. There is a classification according to size and geographic scope of each *ayllu*:

- *Ayllus* "minimum" composed of "patrilocal" groups.

- *Ayllus* "minor" composed of several "patrilocal" groups.

- *Ayllus* "major" corresponding to a half.

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[17] Gavilán, V. and Carrasco A. M. op. cit., pp. 101-112.

[18] Godelier, M. (1981) *El concepto de formación económica y social. El ejemplo de los Incas*, Barcelona: Anagreme.

[19] Rowe, J. (1946) Inca culture at time of the Spanish conquest. In J. Steward, ed. (1946) *Handbook of South American Indians*, Vol. II, Smithsonian Institute, Washington. pp. 255.

[20] Spalding, K. (1973) *Curacas and commerce: a chapter in the evolution of andean society.* Hispanic American Historical Review, 53 (4); pp. 581.

- *Ayllus* "maximum" corresponding to a full ethnic group, such as the *Macha* in Northern Potosí en Bolivia[21].

This formulation is reminiscent of the divided structure of the Nuer, described by E. Evans-Pritchard[22], but in this case we have to underline that it involves territorial groups which are not necessarily and exclusively lineages. In northern Chile, the concept of Ayllu basically refers to a group of patrilineages (a variable number of families that are recognized as descendants of a single patrilineal ancestor). Among the Aymara people it is common to find the presence of dual systems of social organization. This means that the Aymara space is divided into "halves" or *sayas*. In the northern highlands we find only the presence of old *markas*, with the old central village, and some *ayllu* units:

Putre (*marka*)

- Parinacota (*ayllu*)
- Guallatire (*ayllu*)
- Caquena (*ayllu*)

General Lagos (*marka*)

- Cosapilla (*ayllu*)
- Tacora (*ayllu*)
- Ancomarca (*ayllu*)

While in the southern altiplano the most well-known and studied case is Isluga, which operated with a clear split between *araxsaya* (top half) and *manqhasaya* (the bottom half or of inside), each of these halves, composed by two *ayllus*. Before the

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[21] Platt, T. (1978) *Symétries en miroir. Le concept de yanantin chez les Macha de Bolivie.* Annales 33 (5-6), pp. 1081-1107.
[22] Evans-Pritchard, E.E. (1940) *The Nuer: A Description of the Modes of Livelihood and Political Institutions of a Nilotic People*, Clarendon Press; Oxford, England.

spanish conquest, as we have seen, the Andean communities had a system of territorial organization which covered the different ecological areas, not expansively, but rather forming a sort of "island configuration", with spots of economic activity. Each ethnic group had a *marka*, a principal or central town, which was the social, political and religious centre[23]. After the spanish conquest and the subsequent creation of modern nation states, the classical or traditional *marka* has been diluted and one can see that the towns dependent on the old *markas* have started to become independent and to assume certain characteristics of the central town, at once religious, administrative, and political. And as we will see later, they have absorbed the majority of architectural principles of the Spanish ideal colonial town that were imposed[24].

The fundamental principles of the socio-economic pre-columbian Andean societies were reciprocity, redistribution, and vertical control of the different ecological zones. Thus, while community members gathered in the *ayllus* entered in to mutually equal relations with each other, the underlying structural basis of reciprocity within the *ayllu* was given by the collective ownership of land, operated as a community, especially with reference to grazing zones for the livestock and specialized agricultural production, and in a familiar way, with the subsistence crops. The individual assignment of grazing or agricultural land was given with marriage and the size of the plots that each family received was adjusted, year after year, according to demographic evolution[25].

The *ayllu* syncretized this complex interplay of social responsibilities and parental expectations, ensuring each member access to communal land and to the

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[23] Van Kessel J. (1996) Los aymara contemporaneos en Chile. in J. Hidalgo et al. ed. (1996) *Etnografía. Sociedades indígenas contemporaneas y su ideología,* Santiago: Editorial Andres Bello.
[24] Contreras, C. (1974) *Arquitectura y elementos constructivos entre los pastores de Pampa Lirima (Provincia de Tarapacá).* Revista Norte Grande, Universidad Católica de Chile n°1, pp.25-33.
[25] Alberti, G. and Mayer, E. (1976) *Reciprocidad e intercambio en los Andes Peruanos*, Lima: Instituto de Estudios Andinos.

herds and other material resources necessary for the reproduction of life[26]. In general, the land of the *ayllu* was divided into sectors, considering the ecological conditions and crop rotation cycles. In principle, each family was entitled to request and receive access to land in each one of the different ecological zones. This determined the constant effort of every *ayllu* to control the maximum of the ecological zones; resulting in what anthropologist John Murra defined in the seventies as the principle of economic verticality of the Andean societies[27]. The environmental control, in turn, responded to the ideal of local self-sufficiency, a key objective of the economic organization of the community[28].

The "legitimate claim" of every married man was not limited to the means of production, but also to the product of his work. The kinship represented the regulatory system of the organization itself. From inside it was necessary to distinguish between close relatives and distant relatives, among the former through reciprocity in the relations of production and generalized distribution, while with the latter it was more specific. The actions and benefits exchanged were accounted to be returned in the same manner and amount.

The *curaca* was the head of a very large family, who always relied on the principle of reciprocity, and repaid the benefits received by his numerous relatives. He fulfilled different functions often symbolic, such as ensuring domestic peace, organizing the religious rites, ensuring the redistribution of products to the most disadvantaged members of the community, etc. This communal chief served the function of representing the community. He devoted himself to defending the land and the irrigation canals, and to protecting or expanding the modes of production of the

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[26] Silverblatt I. (1990) Luna, sol y brujas: *Género en los Andes prehispánico y coloniales*, Cuzco: Centro de Estudios Andinos, Bartolomé de las Casas. p. 56
[27] Murra, J. (1975) *El control vertical de un máximo de pisos ecológicos en la economía de las sociedades andinas*, Ithaca: Cornell University. p. 44
[28] Ibid. p. 46

community. The concept of reciprocity is defined as the regulated and continuous exchange of goods and services between people who are known to each other, where between supply and return some time and a process of negotiation must pass between the parts, rather than open bargaining. This is covered by ceremonial forms of behaviour.

It is this concept that ordered relations among members of a society whose economy was unaware of money, and it provided a link between the various systems of economic organization over a wide territory. Given the geographic segmentation of the various fields of production, this reciprocity regulated the functioning of cooperative groups, establishing rules of conduct among its members, and defining the obligations owed to each other as well as the distribution of tasks. It was used to link instances of the production and distribution of goods both within the same community and between communities[29].

The Aymara groups and the Quechuas used the vertical control of ecological zones as well. In a continuing effort, the more powerful groups assured access to these resource islands through a colonization system. They sent their people despite the great distances that separated them from the central areas of population. The major ethnic groups, real highland kingdoms with nuclei in the basin of the Titicaca lake (Bolivia), who were considered "rich" by the Spanish on their visits in 1532, had sufficient population to mobilize large numbers of settlers or *mitimaes* and to control the production centres at much greater distances. Ever since arriving in the territory of the Inca Empire, they had used the reciprocity concept that governed the social life of the *ayllu*, also in its relations with the Aymara groups in the area. Here, however, the nature of the reciprocity changed, deepening the notion of inequality and asymmetrical

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[29] See Godelier, M. (1981) *El concepto de formación económica y social. El ejemplo de los Incas*, Anagreme, Barcelona.

exchange in the relationship between the *curaca* and the *ayllu*. What the Inca received was not economically equivalent to what they gave, but at a symbolic level it was. To understand how the concept of reciprocity undermined the Aymara, being used as a mechanism for mobilizing manpower and political domination by the Inca state, we must remember that the Inca Empire was formed through military conquests. But even under these circumstances, reciprocity was the ideological principle of the social relations between winners and losers[30]. Although it imposed new social relations, the Inca state maintained a cultural continuity and subtly used the pre-existing social context to promote the expansion and domination of its empire.

This situation was violently disrupted by the Spanish conquest. The structure of the political, economic and religious system broke down and became fragmented, thrown into new contexts. But these "fragments" are still visible in many parts of the Andes today. The former reciprocity has been replaced by the colonial exploitation of indigenous peoples, and the principle of vertical complementation within the economy is ignored. Disregarding the traditional indigenous system, the Spanish conquerors distributed "encomiendas" (groups of indigenous population under a Spanish landlord), often separating the groups of settlers from their core areas, and concentrating them in "indian villages", exclusively in the highlands, set up in the colonial Spanish style.

### 3.2.2 ARCHITECTURE ON THE "ALTIPLANO"

The Aymara people, the original inhabitants of the altiplano over hundreds of years, have adapted to the harsh climatic conditions. They have a semi-nomadic life with their cattle and crops for their livelihood, effectively dominating the region. It can be seen that their organizational system included characteristics that could not be wholly modified despite the Spanish rule and the later processes of incorporation into

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[30] Alberti, G. and Mayer, E. (1976) *Reciprocidad e intercambio en los Andes Peruanos*, Instituto de Estudios Andinos. Lima. p. 67

modern nation states. This ethnic group maintain a spirit of the community working together in the maintenance of irrigation channels, the construction of houses, in the management of livestock and other productive activities. They also maintain, as we have seen, a life cycle following changes in climate during the year.

The Aymara do not continuously occupy a single house. Although they have a principal residence (*uta*), which is recognized as such by the families (Fig. 3.2), the geography of the highlands and livestock as their main source of livelihood compels them to move in search of grazing zones across the territory. This work requires them to stay for a few days in a temporary house (*paskana*) of precarious construction located in that area for seasonal use (Fig. 3.3). Also in the main and ceremonial town (*marka*) they maintain another home (Fig. 3.4. 3.5 and 3.6). The latter is used during the days of religious celebrations. Access to the *paskanas* is not exclusive to the nuclear family, but through the wider network of kinship, it is extended to several areas[31]. This extreme geographical environment has been inhabited by the Andean people through an extensive island-type group of ranches, villages (clusters of a few homes, usually shepherds) and ceremonial towns or *marka*s. The architecture is influenced by the immensity and power of the landscape, and it appears to be in full harmony with the environment, as expressed in the use of local materials, which blend the traditional buildings into the landscape (Fig. 3.7).

These villages of Aymara origin have a high degree of mixing with the Hispanic. The two roots are also manifested with greater power in religious syncretism. A religious feeling of existence is exacerbated by the hard reality of nature, fear and devotion to the saints, and the protective hills. This mixing is also evident in the constructive form, in the religious architecture introduced later which was generally not

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[31] Albo, X. (1990) *Para comprender las culturas rurales en Bolivia*, La paz: Ministerio de Educación y Cultura, CIPCA, UNICEF. p. 47

located in the centre of the towns (the original intention of the ideal indigenous village) but in relation to the square and forming a public space of strong symbolic and ritual charge (Fig. 3.8).

Housing and spatial planning are strongly rooted in the symbolic meanings of this ethnic group. At the same time we can recognize that in the spatial order there is a strong presence of religious ritual sense. This translates into the sites chosen to build the ranches and villages, in the layout of the squares and public spaces next to the temple, in the Aymara housing arrangement in terms of elongated clusters with north-south orientation to set facades and courtyards to the east, and in the relation of the entire village with the church or the house with the streets. The grouping system and geometry of this architecture are also strongly determined by the landscape and the relationship between people and the land, responding to the work in the immediate environment of the villages. The knowledge of this culture generates a vernacular architecture that achieves good standards of habitability.

There is a direct relationship between domestic space and the vastness of the landscape (by definition a symbolic and sacred space). Every human settlement is founded in relation to the spatial structure of the features of the landscape: volcanoes, mountains or lakes, the church, stretching out as roads to the "calvarios" as a continuation of the sacred space beyond the town itself. In the surrounding space, the stone walls (*pircas)*, corrals, and the oven, form a productive space where the interaction with the community happens. The Aymara live constantly in an outdoor space that merges the private and public space without limits; the production space is also a sacred or religious space. The private and dark interiors, partly illuminated by the fire of the kitchen, are a shelter for sleep and a protection from the weather that is often inclement. While there is some freedom concerning how to group the housing to form the different settlements, there are common patterns related to climate and how to

deal with the landscape. Often, the access and sheltered courtyards of the houses face east, a way of protecting them from the south-west prevailing wind, of facing the sunrise, and of recognizing the high peaks as predominant spatial landmarks with symbolic meaning.

### 3.2.3 "PUEBLOS DE INDIOS" (INDIGENOUS VILLAGES), THE *MARKAS*

Since the early sixteenth century the Spanish crown had an interest in founding indigenous villages or in the transformation of pre-hispanic settlements into villages through the construction of a chapel. It is claimed that when the Spanish arrived there were aboriginal villages. The term "village" in this case is wrongly used, for it is suspected that the conquerors used the word village to refer to certain areas, usually sectors of valleys next to water, that had a greater clustering of dwellings.[32] There are several documents that attest to the need of the Spanish crown to create these villages. This is established in the "Instrucciones de Ovando," ("The Ovando instructions") in 1503, the "Las leyes de Burgos" ("The Burgos Laws") in 1512, the "Ensayos de Figeroa" ("The Figeroa Trials") and the "Intrucciones a los Jerónimos" ("Instructions to the Jerónimos") in 1518 (Domínguez 1979). These legislations culminate in the "Real Cédula" ("Royal Certificate") from 1549 about reducing the indigenous population of the "encomiendas" into villages, so it was in the second half of the sixteenth century that compliance was sought for the order to establish indigenous villages[33].

The foundation for this regrouping of the indigenous people into villages was the idea of the "encomienda". At the first moment when the territories started to be populated and the first cities founded, the first encomiendas were given to the Spanish founders and first inhabitants of new towns. The encomienda was not a given territory,

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[32] Vargas, F. (1962) *Tierras y pueblos de indios en el Reino de Chile*. Esquema histórico-jurídico. Universidad Católica de Chile. Facultad de Ciencias Jurídicas, Políticas y Sociales. Estudios de Historia del derecho Chileno, N°7. Editorial Universidad Católica. Santiago de Chile.
[33] Trelles E. (1983) *Lucas Martinez Vegazo, Funcionamiento de una encomienda peruana inicial*, Lima: Fondo Editorial Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú. p. 30

but a given group of indigenous people. To the Spanish, the forming of the encomienda was not to group a certain number of the indigenous population, but of *curacas*, created as the link between the Spanish and the indigenous general population. The encomienda allowed access to the economic output of the indigenous people as well as providing manpower for the businesses of every conqueror. But following the structure of social and spatial occupation of territory held by the Aymara people, the encomiendas did not exist as a continuous geographical entity, resulting in many cases of the alteration from pre-hispanic control that the most powerful *curacas* wielded over communities and remote regions[34]

The encomienda granted in 1540 to Lucas Martinez Vegazo ranged from Arequipa in what is now Peru to Arica and Tarapacá (Chilean territories now, and the main living space of the Aymara in the country). In 1567 a letter of Juan de Matienzo called "Government of Peru" specified that the authorities of the viceroyalty should gradually get the indigenous people relocated into the indigenous villages, and also established who should be in charge of the administration of them, and how certain urban spaces should be disposed[35]. It was very important for the Spanish crown to civilize and indoctrinate the indigenous people in what was believed be the best for them. The Spanish believed that only if living in a village, in an urban space, could they become truly free and converted men.

For the foundation of cities they had to find a comfortable place with good access to water and land for planting, along with a sufficient number of indigenous people to perform the agricultural work. To achieve this, a kind of a census of the indigenous people had to be made, dividing them into different categories according to sex, age, marital status, etc. Once this job was done the *curacas* were distributed to

[34] Trelles E. loc. cit.
[35] Trelles E. op. cit., p. 32

the encomenderos. After that they could decide the number of villages that were necessary, based in the number of indigenous persons in the encomienda. In general villages were created for not more than 500 persons each. It was also decreed that the village must have a basic urban plan and certain parts, though it is probably impossible to find the original scheme in any of the indigenous villages of the Chilean altiplano, since it had to be adapted to the geographical and agricultural conditions of the area. Also many of the so-called aboriginal "villages" that were supposed to exist before the arrival of the Spanish (the areas with the largest cluster of houses), were transformed into villages under the Spanish concept merely by building a church in the middle[36].

For the Spanish, the ideal indigenous village was to be laid out in a system of blocks based on an orthogonal grid. Each block was to be divided into four areas. The streets were to be wide and the square located in the middle. On one side of the square should be built the church, occupying the entire block. The other block facing the square was to be for accommodating Spanish travellers, while the council should take the opposite one, sharing the block with the hospital. The remaining two areas of the block should be used for the hospital and stables. Another area around the square would be the Corregidor (mayor's) house, and the priest's house should be built occupying two spaces next to the church. The remaining sites would be for Spanish people who wanted to live in these villages of Indigenous people. To each *curaca* would be given a full block or a half (two sites) depending on the number of indigenous persons present [37] (Fig. 3.9). Some tasks were also recommended as the responsibility of urban mayors or of the *tocuirico* (a sort of judge) in each village:

> *Los alcaldes y el tocuirico han de tener cargo que las calles y casa del pueblo*
>
> *estén limpias, porque son tan sucios ellos y sus hixos se ensucian en las casas,*
>
> *adonde comen y duermen, y esto es horriblemente, lo cual causa*

[36] Irarrázaval A. (1990) Asentamientos indígenas en la región de Tarapaca (Chile); in R. Gutiérrez ed. (1993) *Pueblos de Indios: Otro urbanismo en la región andina*, Ediciones Abya-Yala, Quito. p. 63
[37] Irarrázaval A. (1990) op. cit., p. 66

*enfermedades. Háse de dar orden para que fuera del pueblo se vayan los indios a proveer a la parte de mediodía, contra donde corre ordinariamente el viento en esta tierra, y lo que estuviere sucio lo hagen luego limpiar e ocho a ocho días, y sean castigados los que lo contrario hicieren.*

*Y porque de dormir en el suelo les vienen enfermedades, que se mande que tengan barbacoas en que duerman, y porque el padre y la madre y los hixos e hijas están en bohío todos juntos, y duermen juntos, que se haga en cada casa o bohío apartamiento en que estén las hijas, y no como bestias aprendiendo y viendo deshonestamente lo que los padres hacen, que esto creo ha sido causa que todos sean tan lujurioso y malos y deshonestos. Esto cierto conviene mucho para no perder la vergüenza[38].*


*Mayors and tocuiricos will be in charge of maintaining the streets and houses of the town in a clean state, because they are so dirty that they and their children take dirt into their homes, where they sleep and eat, and this is horrible, causing diseases. You must order that the Indians go outside of the town at noon where it is windy, and what is dirty must be cleaned every eight days, with punishment for those who do not obey.*

*And because through sleeping on the floor they get diseases, we give the order that they must sleep on beds, and because the father and mother and children are sleeping together, a separate apartment must be made in each house for the daughters to sleep in, so as not like beasts to learn dishonest behaviour, seeing everything the parents do.  I think this has been why all of them are so lustful and evil and dishonest. This is needed to bring a sense of shame[39].*


In the previous text we can see reflected the Spanish view about the Aymara customs and a supposed cultural superiority. This may indicate the basis of subsequent discriminatory events by the Chilean population, which we can see occurring in urban areas. Moreover, we can see a response by imposition of certain customs and the attempt at a cultural change by the Spanish conquerors, in a specific

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[38] Matienzo, J. (1967) *Gobierno del Perú 1567 Edition et etude preliminaire para Guillermo Lohmann Villena,* l'Institut Français d'Etudes Andines; Lima. p. 53
[39] Translation of Matienzo, J. (1967) *Gobierno del Perú 1567 Edition et etude preliminaire para Guillermo Lohmann Villena,* l'Institut Français d'Etudes Andines; Lima. p. 53

attempt to control this geographical area and the population, under a condition of subjection.


## 3.2.4 THE MARKA, SYMBOLOGY AND RITUALS

The traditional Aymara village or *marka* gathers a large number of revered orientation points which together make up a "mythology map". These "strong places" have high symbolic significance and give guidance to both the traditional veneration cult and to the economic and social activity of people.  The *marka*, as the Aymara spatial centre, has a vital unity with its surroundings, in the country lands and beyond, with its wild periphery, called *sallqa*. The country land and the *sallqa* ideally form two concentric rings around the village within the symbolic configuration of the Aymara culture.  The map of the town starts from an *aka* (this from us): the village, its temple, its protective hill, its *Pachamama*, which at this same place gave life to all the *ayllu*. At the same time it is "directional" because it faces east, where the sun rises, from where the fertilising rain comes as do other vital elements, such as coca, many medicinal plants, articles of worship and traditional musical instruments[40].


The circles found in ritual processions and turns obey a special direction, contrary to the clockwise direction and following the sun's movement in the southern hemisphere. The opposite direction is used in death rituals. This expresses rejection, defence against the danger of a returning bad spell. The ritual gestures that are made with the right hand or with the left one have the same meanings. The expressions of directional orientation most commonly used are: upward or forward (east) and down or back (west). The former have connotations of life, fertility, moisture from rain or moisture from above, while the latter allude to death, sterility, dryness (desert) and humidity or moisture related to the sea below. Within this worldview the two regions are of opposed and dual meaning, keep a balanced and fertile tension focused on the *aka*

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[40] Van Kessel J. (1996) op. cit., p. 51

*of the* Aymara habitat. This is the root of the Aymara worldview, the view of space within their ecological resources and the technical principles behind their agricultural techniques defined by " knowing how to raise life"[41].

Ayllu as a concept means "both", the human community and their land. Thus, in the perception of the Aymara people, the village, and also at the same time the house in the ranch (*uta*) are not complete in themselves but are one with the territory or the countryside and with the surrounding landscape. The most important symbolic places in the traditional Aymara village are the square and the temple.  The town square, which has a central position in the ideal colonial concept, is set to one side of the residential housing group and mediates between the village and the temple. This is like the cemetery, outside the town to the west, where the dead ones go according to mythology and are celebrated in rituals still in use. The temple door opens to the east to receive the morning sunlight. It is at the door of the temple where at dawn on the eve of the festivities *wilancha* takes place for the Lord, who is present in the sun that appears every morning[42]. The temple, like the house, is considered a living being, or rather a living couple. They speak of "the church *t'allas*" (Mrs Church) and "the tower *mallku*" (Mr Tower). The temple and its external tower are surrounded by a wall forming a ritual inside space that receives a lot of respect, which in colonial times was reserved as a cemetery for important people. Opposite the door of the temple, the wall has an arched doorway that connects the grounds of "religion" into the square. All acts performed outside the religious precinct, outside this wall, are considered "customs" which have for Aymara people the quality of indigenous worship.

The square is also considered sacred. Ritually it is called "cabildo" and has embodied in it all the guardian spirits of the village, called the *Achachilas*. These are

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[41] Van Kessel J. and Condori, D. op. cit., p. 18
[42] Van Kessel, J. (1977) La fiesta patronal o fiesta del pueblo en la comunidad aymara. *Teología y Vida.* XVIII (2-3):145-160.

revered like the Mrs Church and Mr Tower. The square has altars in every corner, but these are not represented by any structure. It is at these points where the saints that go out in procession to bless the village halt in recognition, representing the fact that the village is divided into four neighbourhoods and the fields beyond (of the four *ayllus*) with their animals and crops. Two of these altars belong to *arajsaya* and two to *manqhasaya*.

From the temple start several ritual roads leading to the cemetery and to the "calvarios". These are altars, usually four, located in the nearby hills. The *Achachilas* of the protector hills are beings who can be identified with the patron saints celebrated by the community. Generally these are two male saints and two virgins or female saints. The calvarios altars are generally surrounded by a rectangular wall and look to the east with unique access to that side, enclosing a space for communal worship and ritual conviviality, symbol of the religious syncretism. In front is the place where the *wilancha* is performed for the saint. From the temple a ritual path starts leading westward to the cemetery that also has a surrounding wall and a single point of access[43] (Fig. 3.10).

The housing complex of the Aymara *marka* is also divided into two halves and four quarters or sectors that represent the two *sayas* and four major *ayllus*. During holiday periods of intense social activity, each family participating in the festival inhabits the house located in the sector of their *ayllu* of origin. This dwelling in the *marka* is used only in the festive period of the ritual village, which is in summer, between November 24th and February 5th.

The spirits of the hills, called *Achachilsa* or *Mallkus* according to tradition, can communicate. That is how the hills where the calvarios are located are in contact with

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[43] Van Kessel, J. 1981 *Danzas y estructuras sociales en los Andes.* Instituto de Pastoral Andina, Cusco. p. 54

each other, with all the tall mountains of the region, and those with the most prestigious

peaks like the *Tata Jachura* located to the east of Chiapa (northern highlands) and the

*Tata Sabaya* located to the east of Isluga (southern highlands) in Bolivia. The

*Achachilas* are male and female at the same time, and are very powerful, demanding

human respect, and in due time offerings. There is a large mythology that ties them

together, presenting each with a character and a biography[44]. Together the spirits form

a council, which meets on the day of St. Andrew (November 30th), the occasion when

they decide whose turn it is to be responsible for managing the climate with its winds,

frosts and hailstorms, rain and snow[45].


## 3.3 THE AYMARA TRADITIONAL HOUSE, THE *UTA*

The geographical space with the characteristics of the Altiplano has forced the

Aymara people to develop an equilibrium in the relationship between humans and

nature, which was essential for the subsistence of the whole community. With the

religious syncretism that we have observed in the Aymaras between what is called

"custom" and Christian-based religion, a series of rites were generated, as we have

seen before, that ensure opportunities to access this balance[46]. The Aymaras conceive

the house as an extension of the ground, of the *Pachamama*, the deity to which

offerings must be paid constantly because they live thanks to her generosity.


The traditional Aymara house, the *uta*, (Fig. 3.11 and 3.12) becomes a

fundamental piece for the existence and ownership of the community in geographical

space. It is itself the basic definition of "place" that serves as an identification for the

family and is largely the nucleus from which the social activities of the wider community

are built, given the importance of the sense of belonging to the community that exists in

[44] Podestá, J. y R. Flores y J. Amaro 1989 *Uybirmallco. Cerros que nos dan la Vida.* Centro de Investigación de la Realidad del Norte, Iquique. p. 78.
[45] See Van Kessel J. (1996) Los Aymara contemporaneos en Chile. in J. Hidalgo et al. ed. (1996) *Etnografía. Sociedades indígenas contemporaneas y su ideología,* Santiago: Editorial Andres Bello.
[46] Gutierrez R. Et al (first edition 1979 - second edition 1986) *Arquitectura del altiplano Peruano*, Editorial Resistencia, Buenos Aires; p. 134.

the social structure of Andean groups in general and among the Aymara in northern Chile in particular. The housing construction is a fundamental part of the forming cycle of the family, as it marks the moment when the couple achieves spatial independence from the husband's parents house and moves to their own new house. This is when the culmination of a cycle and the beginning of the history of the new family is finally confirmed. Each Aymara dwelling is actually a housing complex that like a living being, grows as it goes through the life cycle of the family that occupies it. It is small and limited when they first form it as a couple, but then as the family grows, new improvements start to emerge: more rooms, better roofs, more animal pens, etc[47].

The basic form of this complex is a rectangular habitable module, usually of around 3 x 6 meters. A single module is the basic home unit (Fig. 3.13 and 3.14). It can be extended by adding further modules. These units usually are located in a line one after another. Usually the total is composed of three modules, one that serves as kitchen and meeting place, another as a storage room and a third as the bedroom space. In the event that the family expands with the arrival of married sons and their families, new bedroom modules are added in line with the three main modules, but in an L shape or a U form (Fig. 3.15). This composition is organized around a semi-closed courtyard, sheltered from the wind and warmed by the morning sun. An adobe wall of medium height could appear with a gate that allows to the courtyard to be completely closed, and even could serve to keep some of the animals of the herd safe at night. Most of the houses are built using the resources of the land: adobe bricks and stones for the walls, straw and mud for the ceiling (Fig. 3.16 and 3.17). In the valleys you find greater use of wood in the construction as well as greater diversity in the plant fibres used for the covering of the dwelling. In virtually all the housing complexes there can be distinguished one part for living, sleeping and domestic routines, and another directly reserved for deposits of all kind of goods. The housing area is used to store the

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[47] See Albo, X. op. cit., p. 20

clothes and more important consumer goods, and there are also various religious symbols, which may be of Andean or Christian origin. The furniture is sparse, the bed or *pathati* being shared by several family members. Also a table, a chair or stool can be found but little else. Clothes are usually hanging from the ceiling studs or from nails.

The outdoor space is also an important component of the housing complex. There, in a separate structure, is usually a kitchen space, although as we mentioned, it is common in the cold areas for most of the cooking to occur in the main unit. Especially important is the central courtyard, because there many of the daily activities in the highlands have developed, and it is also a privileged space for the family ritual activities, particularly in the middle where you can even find a ritual stone called *misa cala*. In some of the older dwellings we can see that on the outer side of the walls that form this central courtyard there is a built element known as *patilla*, an adobe seat where people can sit. It is used during the day for visitors who are not "protocolar" and during the night to stand on and observe, although in some houses, especially among Peruvian and Bolivian Aymaras, there is a built place called *uñasiri* used exclusively as a sort of watchtower.

The great temperature swings between day and night (Fig. 3.18) explain why, at certain times, greatest activity is highly concentrated inside the house, while at other times it develops mostly outdoors, particularly in the central courtyard (Fig. 3.19). The courtyard serves as a mediating space between the infinite and immediate wilderness, undomesticated, and the sphere of the domestic, the dominated. It can be recognised by cleaning work on the piece of land, the removal of weeds and rocks, allowing clear definition of the limits of the outdoor domestic space. These limits, viewed from an phenomenological point of view, fit well with the dialectic between inside and outside

space, as Bachelard says about the inside and the outside zones[48], where their limits even though somehow defined, become blurred regarding the physical, and acquire greater power and meaning.  The central courtyard in the Aymara housing can also be considered as a room with no ceiling, as it in this central space that all the units composing the total housing connect, all circulation being carried out through it. But it is not only a mediating space between the territory (outside) and the dwelling properly (interior), but also a domestic place where everyday activities are performed.  Within the daily routine, the courtyard plays an important role. For example, weaving is usually performed in the courtyard, since the looms are used there because of size and installation method (looms built with wooden stakes) (Fig.  3.20)[49]. The courtyard can be used also sometimes be used as a cooking space, with external ovens or places defined by stone walls to light fires (Fig. 3.21, 3.22, 3.23 and 3.24).

Not far away from the house are the animal shelters, except for those of "cuyes" (domestic rodent, guinea pig), which are usually kept inside the house. Depending on the characteristics of each "estancia" and the number of animals that the family owns, these pens will be more or less close to the dwelling. But they are always located at a distance from the house, ensuring a certain level of sanitation regarding the living space. In addition they are in places that allow visual control (Fig. 3.25 and 3.26).

The house's foundations are made of stone with a height ranging from 35 to 90 cm and a thickness of between 25 and 60 cm[50] (Fig.  3.27). The walls are made with adobe bricks prepared using rudimentary wooden moulds (Fig.  3.28). Although the traditional design did not include windows, you can see them in some homes. These, anyway, are small and covered at night by using wooden tables to keep out the cold

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[48] See, Bachelard, G. (2000 first published in 1957) *La Poética del Habitar,* Fondo de cultura Económica, Buenos Aires.
[49] Gundermann, H. and Gonzalez H. (1989) *La cultura aymara. Artesanías tradicionales del altiplano*, Santiago: Museo Chileno de Arte Precolombino and Ministerio de Educación; p. 34.
[50] Solc, V. op. cit., pp.111-146.

(Fig. 3.29). The module that serves as a pantry does not ever have windows. The roof structure consists of a wooden frame held by ropes or soaked leather strips (Fig. 3.30 and 3.31). Over that is placed a sheet of mud and loose straw, followed by bundles of straw to serve as the outside cover. Meanwhile the interior floor of the house is generally of rammed earth. Inside the house we find the *pathati*, which is a raised platform about 50 to 70 cm above the ground on the narrow sides of the rectangular structure (Fig. 3.32). It is built of adobe in order to form a box leaving space inside for storage and in some cases it is used to keep cuyes (guinea pigs), domestic rodents that serve as food[51]. This platform is closed with a lid made of wood, on which is installed the bed or *ikiña*. The latter is composed of multiple leathers of llama (Andean domestic camelids) and blankets made of wool of many colours.

The kitchen or *tupu* is composed of a fireplace at ground level built of stones and mud as well as cooking utensils, water and fuel deposit (usually "llareta", an Andean native plant, or llama and alpaca dry manure called *thaja*) (Fig. 3.33). The traditional tableware consists of water jars, pots of different sizes and bowls, of clay or metal, as well as knives, ladles and spoons with which to eat (Fig. 3.34). Lots of clothing, ponchos and braided ropes are hung from cords over the beds against the short walls. Some food items are stored in woolen bags hanging from nails in the wall (Fig. 3.35). A candle and small valuables can be seen in some alcoves in the wall[52].

In the traditional Aymara housing there is no specific space for hygiene services. For these physiological requirements people usually used the exterior of the *uta*, without a place predestined, without privacy as a factor to be considered. Urination and defecation were public acts, even in the bathrooms recently installed by the municipality or at schools located in *marka* villages. This reality has changed as far

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[51] Van Kessel J. op. cit., p 57.
[52] Van Kessel J. op. cit., p 59.

contact with urban realities is concerned. However it is possible to attest that the physical existence of a space built in traditional housing to defecate or urinate remains non-existent.

In the case of personal hygiene, we can see that there is no predetermined space. In general terms, culturally speaking, the Aymaras in their traditional space do not have a continuous routine of personal hygiene. It tends to be performed sporadically and usually in the central courtyard, carrying water from aquifers nearby or washing directly at them. It is currently possible to see an accumulation of water on the patio using plastic drums or obsolete old washing machines, denoting the incorporation of elements foreign to the traditional reality.

As will be discussed below, the house is much more than the mere materiality of adobe and straw. It is the material crystallization of the family, the aim of their work and cooperation, the permanent point of reference for their daily lives. One can say that the house has its own personality, as if it had its own life. It is a kind of family "temple": the insertion point of the family in the surrounding space and the cosmos. For the Aymara it is the *kunturmamani tapa*, which means "the nest of the condor and the falcon" the spirit protectors of the family and home. Religious syncretism experienced after the Spanish colonization explains the frequent presence of protective images of saints inside the dwelling. Every house and the lot surrounding it have their own "mother earth" that cares and gives life to the family if she is venerated accordingly. There are numerous rites and much symbolism related to the house and its construction.

The Aymara culture like every human society has a set of concepts that allows them to perceive and order the world around them. It is in the collective consciousness of each society that these cosmological concepts come together, finding in mythology

and ritual activity the best way to announce the structural principles that are contained. The myth and ritual activity are used to transmit such cosmological content to generation after generation.

Every cultural system contains concepts defining time and space, and these are expressed symbolically, giving particular content to the social and ecological environments in which they operate. In the Aymara culture the cosmological principles can be discerned at the most general level as a constant dialectic of opposing forces that are resolved in a complementary form or synthesis which is necessary for the reproduction and generation of the world[53]. This structural principle of duality is not only present at the base of Andean social organization, but can also be found replicated and integrated into the social, political, economic, ritual, spatial, temporal and mythical spheres. At a spatial level, the cosmological principles are manifested in a dual opposition where the categories of above and below, centre and periphery, civilized and savage, sacred and secular, right and left, not only deliver the categorization necessary for the demarcation of the social boundaries of own versus other, but when expressed in terms of a sexual dimorphism provide a more appropriate metaphor to organize and define the space, both ecologically and metaphysically[54].

Viewed from outside, the traditional Aymara house is not seen to represent the real symbolic richness that it possesses. The house must always be oriented to the sunrise. If geographical conditions do not allow this it could also be built with the door to the north or west, but never to the south, because they say the wind coming from this cardinal point carries diseases. From inside of the room and facing the door, the southeast corner is considered the right side (*kup*i) and is the most important in rituals

[53] Isbell, B. J. (1976) *La otra mitad escencial: un studio de complementariedad sexual en los Andes*, Estudios Andinos 5(1); pp. 37-56.
[54] Palacios F. (1990) El simbolismo de la casa de los pastores aymara. in J. Flores ed. (1990) *Trabajos presentados al simposio "Rur 6. El pastoreo altoandino: Origen, desarrollo y situación actual"*, Cuzco: 46 Congreso Internacional de Americanistas. p.15

terms. The ceremonies (*challas*) done inside the home start from this corner taking an anticlockwise direction. Those ceremonies made in the exterior space by the dwelling start from the right hand corner for a person standing facing the door (northwest corner) and follow through to the corner on the right side in the opposite way to the *challas* made inside the house. This difference in the directional sense of the rite once again expresses the duality and opposition between interior and exterior. This is also evident in the supernatural beings that inhabit these two opposite worlds[55].

The *Uywiri* inhabits the inside of the house. This name evokes a meaning of motherly care. Outside the house we can find the *Achachila* and *Awicha,* beings of an evil nature. Both groups are considered ancestral beings, but while those inside are considered contemporaries (parent-child relationship), the ones on the outside are the ancestors of modern people but from ancient times. Important to mention also is the *Anchancho*, considered the most dangerous, harmful and bloodthirsty monsters that inhabit houses without roofs. These abandoned buildings without roof structure are called *lakayas*, this word literally means "open as the grave". The cemeteries as well as the houses have walls and doors, but no roof. The roofless house, not being home or desolate field, becomes an extremely dangerous and polluted space[56].

The element that mediates between these two opposing worlds, the inside and outside, is the door. It serves as a temporal and social ordering element. For example, during the night the hierarchical roles are suspended because in the *ikiña* it is common for several members of the family to sleep. When they wake up, those who occupied the bed exit the room, under any excuse or purpose and re-enter through the door to

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[55] Palacios F. op. cit., p.15
[56] See Douglas, M. (1973 First published in 1966) *Pureza y Peligro Un Análisis de los Conceptos de Contaminación y Tabú*, Madrid: Siglo Veintiuno de España Editores, SA.

greet the others in order of hierarchy[57]. The door in that situation symbolizes the beginning of a new day, the starting point of the lost social order.

The house is considered to be predominantly of female gender, while the outside is male. Inside the house is where the fire is located; the kitchen is the shelter at night, all within a sense of motherly protection. Some authors extrapolate from this position of dominance of women in the house a sense of underlying matriliny opposed to the regulatory patrilineality widely accepted as the regulator of the Aymara world. What is undeniable is that the interior of the house is a feminine universe. The house is not considered a static element but a female reproductive matrix. When a girl is born, it is said that the house will be full, the animals will multiply, as the woman is the most important symbol of fertility, she is directly related to the house and the prosperity of it[58]. The Aymara way of inhabiting, as we have seen, covers a wide range of social, symbolic, ritual, and constructive concepts. The manner in which this ethnic group inhabits the geographical space, dwellings and villages is in response to cultural concepts created over centuries and influenced by different historical, political and social incidents.

### 3.3.1 THE CONSTRUCTION OF THE UTA

As we have mentioned, the house is built with the help of family and relatives. It is considered an important event and marks an important stage in the life of the married couple. The ceremonies related to the construction of the Aymara house have characteristics of a myth of origin. The materials used in the construction: water, stone, wood and straw, come from the earth. The building process of the house starts with *challas* for the nearby hills that are believed to be the ones that give the materials. Before the construction certain rites and ceremonies are performed. The *yatiris* claim

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[57] Palacios F. op. cit., p.16
[58] Arnold D. et al. (1993) *Hacia un orden andino de las cosas*, La paz: Hisbol/ICA; p.82.

that only the house knows how to live and will live for the family, therefore any sort of problem between the family and their dwelling should be avoided from the beginning. This belief gives the home a life of its own, just like all other natural elements of the landscape such as hills or water tributaries, demonstrating that permanent equilibrium relation between human beings and the natural space they inhabit[59].

A trench 30 to 50 cm in depth is dug to lay stone[60] foundations. Offerings are made to the foundation and the four corners of the house, where they put the stakes and ropes that serve as guidelines to raise the walls. These offerings generally consist of crude things like animal foetuses (of llama commonly), grease or plant resins. It is also common that offerings are buried in the ground floor inside the house[61]. There is a belief, held in some areas and more widespread in the Aymara population of Bolivia, that both the foundation and the roofing, two key moments in the process of the construction of the dwelling, should not take place on Tuesdays and Fridays because they are considered as not "good" days for these activities, based on Christian background ideas[62]. The walls begin to rise with the adobe bricks previously made using earth, straw and water. The mould is built with wood in a rudimentary form. Usually you can see that the wall is wider at the base, for as it gains height it gets slightly narrowed with a small inclination inwards[63] (Fig. 3.36 and 3.37).

When the walls are completed they are sprayed with animal blood, done before starting the process of roofing. Also sprayed are the four outer corners. This relationship with the blood is based on the idea that water and mud mortar that binds adobe bricks and stones together and also allows the walls to stay upright, has a direct

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[59] Gutierrez R. Et al. op. cit., p.135.
[60] It is believed that the stones, which form the basis for the walls of the house, are under "the cane of *Inca*". This is an allusion to a myth that in old time the *Inca* could make the stones walk only with the movement of his cane. In the distant past they also believes that the stones could moved freely and only now are static in the ground.
[61] Arnold D. et al. (1993) *Hacia un orden andino de las cosas*, La paz: Hisbol/ICA; p.56.
[62] Gutierrez R. et al. op. cit., p.134.
[63] Solc, V. op. cit., pp.111-146.

symbolic reference to water as blood. As the walls ascend toward the sky, they start to "bloom". Metaphors of sweetness begin to appear. The adobe bricks are called "sugar moulds". The images of saints, which are usually located in the interior of the house are accompanied by round candies called "confites"[64]. Once the construction process of the walls, along with its ceremonial is ended, they are allowed to dry for about a week, a time used to start with preparations for the roofing process.

On the day chosen for roofing the house, in the morning before starting any work, all those who participate stand in a semi circle or in a line facing the sunrise. The *yatiri* are responsible for leading the prayers and preparing the ceremonial table where the participants will make some offerings to the Pachamama asking that the house be good and not bring misfortune to the new family[65]. The roof construction begins with the collection of the straw. This is grouped in bundles of approximately 50 cm and taken to the construction place. On one side of the house, the job of separating the straw is done (Fig. 3.38). The longest stalks are used for the outer layer, while with the smaller ones are built into large thin plates mixed with clay which are fixed with the help of ropes as the base of the roof, placed between the wooden frame and the outer layer of straw. The straw is trodden, stepping on it with the feet against the ground, work made by the women (Fig. 3.39). After being mixed with clay it is cut into units of about 200 by 70 cm, which is the work of the men. The first layer (the thin plates) has a female connotation, while the light exterior layer of straw is considered masculine, this despite the roof in its entirety being considered masculine in opposition to the ground floor that is considered feminine. Then the roof structure is made. This is of wood, forming a set of 9 pairs of sticks[66]. These pairs are tied at the ridge edge with ropes or soaked leather strips (Fig. 3.40 and 3.41). Once the base of the framework is ready, a libation ceremony with alcohol is performed on the beams. The women bring

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[64] Arnold D. et al. op. cit., p.59.
[65] Gutierrez R. Et al. op. cit.,ep. 136.
[66] Solc, V. op. cit., pp.111-146

burning coal and add some vegetable resin, starting to smoke each of the ropes that tie the sticks. Each person involved in the construction process is given a drink of alcohol and coca leaves. Some of the leaves should be spread on the ground and a few drops of alcohol must be thrown on the floor for the *Pachamama*.

After this libation the horizontal beams are placed, on which is assembled the whole framework. A shallow perforation in the adobe walls is made to accept the beams. The process comes to an end by reinforcing the top of the structure with a thicker wooden triangle. In these timbers are hung two amulets or *sasiyu*, which consist of a small square piece of woollen fabric attached to a small wooden cross on which are hung a potato and an ear of corn (Fig. 3.42). Within the traditional rituals mentioned in the limited literature about the construction of the traditional Aymara house, it is also mentioned that after of the roofing is completed, one of the men involved in the construction proceeds to place a cross on the ridge of the roof to protect the family. It is also mentioned that in certain communities an olive tree branch is placed in the threshold of the door to prevent evil spirits from entering the house[67]. Finally layers of large straw soaked in clay are placed over the roof (Fig. 3.43 and 3.44), the guide ropes are removed, and sometimes stones or thin adobe bricks and mortar are added to secure the structure.

After the completion of the construction a celebration begins where all those who participated eat and dance while the *yatiri* bless the house at different times during the party doing a *wilancha,* sacrificing a llama and scattering the blood at the corners of the house (Fig. 3.45). Everything happens in a festive and joyful spirit, because the construction of the first home, as we mentioned, marks a fundamental step for the family, and in the event that subsequent extensions of the dwelling happen or even the

[67] Gutierrez R. Et al. op. cit.,ep. 135.

construction of a complete second house, never will such ritual intensity be observed as at this moment.

# CHAPTER 4

*SOCIAL HOUSING IN CHILE*

To start to talk about the development of the social housing programmes in Chile from a historical point of view, we have to begin by pointing out the important change in the distribution of the population between rural and urban space. At the end of the XIX century and in the first years of the XX, we can see an increasing migration from the rural zones of Chile to the urban centres. Between 1930 and 1952 the number of people living in cities grew from 40% to 60% of the national population[1]. This situation continued until it rose to over 80% in the eighties and to 86.59% according to official data from the last national census of 2002.

A big part of the population that inhabited American and European cities at the end of the nineteenth and in the early years of the twentieth century lived without basic sanitary services, also with a important level of overcrowding, segregation and lack of public services, and a threatening degradation of basic hygienic conditions. Such conditions are one of the main characteristics of the migration process from the rural

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[1] MINVU (2004) Chile, un siglo de politicas en vivienda y barrio, Pehuen Editores, Santiago. p.14

zones to the urban ones; and they also marked the passing from the liberal city of the first industrial revolution to the neo technical and post-liberal one of today[2].

## 4.1 THE BEGINNING OF THE SOCIAL HOUSING ISSUE

The history of social housing in Chile began in the last decade of the nineteenth century, a moment when there appeared a series of private initiatives, all from the philanthropy of catholic charity, trying to find a solution to the problem of popular accommodation[3].

The resulting initiatives from the charity organizations were a real contribution against the terrible scene that existed in Chile respecting the housing solution deficit. During the last decade of the nineteenth century the housing complexes built by these organizations were the only homes on offer for worker's families. As for the typology used, these charity societies took several models, but generally the houses built had a continuous facade and could have between one and three bedrooms, with basic building services. This housing model was used later by the State in the first complexes it built directly or supported.

The popular housing during the second half of the XIX century can be typified into three categories: the "round rooms", the "ranches" and the "conventillos"[4]. The first ones were poorly constructed rooms whose only source of ventilation and light was the single access door. The "ranches" are several "round rooms" together one after another along a small street that was used as common area. The "conventillos" is considered the most representative type of habitation of the poorest families on the Chilean society at the end of the XIX century. This typology, associated with the idea of

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[2] Capel, H. y Tatjer, M. (1991) *Reforma social, servicios asistenciales e higienismo en la Barcelona de finales del siglo XIX*. Ciudad y Territorio, Madrid, nº 3, p. 233-246.
[3] See Hidalgo R. (1999) *La vivienda social en Chile: La acción del estado en un siglo de planes y programas*. Scripta Nova Revista Electrónica de Geografía y Ciencias Sociales, Universidad de Barcelona nº 45 (1).
[4] Ibid.

collective housing, has a similar logic to the "ranches", because it is a private interior street that allows access to each dwelling and also is used as a common space (Fig. 4.1, 4.2 and 4.3). However, the "conventillos" possessed a more uniform structure, being constructed directly for rental. Some were also converted pre existng houses in the central area of the city, especially in Santiago, which were subdivided by their owner (usually in a very poor way), who started to let rooms separately trying to achieve the greatest economic benefits. This last situation is explained by the abandonment of the houses in the central area of the city by the aristocratic families, as they moved on to more exclusive areas.

In 1906 there emerged the first state initiative at a national level that attempted to give an answer to the increasing problem of popular housing: the Law 1838 (22.02.1906) "About Worker's Houses"[5]. With this law, Chile became one of the first countries in South America where housing legislation was developed, and this law was the starting point for the creation of a national policy on social housing in the future. This law was effective for 20 years. The most important contributions that we can mention are the sensitization of public opinion at that moment to the housing problem, the delivery of the first real data about the situation of the housing on the popular sectors of the society, and the formation of the foundation of a strong hygienist component, that was to become the principal preoccupation of the standards adopted for future experiments.

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[5] The law of 1906 was conceived mainly by Alejo Lira and promulgated under the mandate of President Germán Riesco, and based on French experiences. Created as the Councils of Worker's Houses in the several geographical and political zones of Chile, these councils were coordinated through the conformation of a Superior Council, which was located in Santiago. The council had three clear lines of action, first the direct construction of houses that could be offered for letting, second to coordinate a process of sanitation (that in most cases meant the demolition of the unhealthy housing), and finally to create a set of rules and requirements for getting access to the benefits. We have to highlight the second line about sanitation and the real impact about the demolition process that it produced, for example in Santiago 1.626 housing units were demolished (specially "conventillos") that meant 16.713 rooms, and affected 46.794 people. This measure, instead of solving the problem of housing deficit, raised the number of roofless families.

The Law of Worker's Houses of 1906 marked the beginning of the actions made by the Chilean state involving social housing. There were considerable worries about sanitation, that were translated into a demolition process that accompanied this idea, bringing a consequent rise in the number of roofless families and a negative impact on the value of the rents. A growing conflict between tenants and landlords emerged, as one of the main topics that would need to be treated through new legislation approved in 1925.

The Housing Law of 1925 established in its first article the creation of a Superior Council of Social Welfare. This new entity in charge of the Chilean social housing fell under the administration of the Ministry of Hygiene, Assistance, Work and Social Welfare. This diagram, where the housing subject was part of a general framework of social welfare, has to be understood as immersed in a new model of social protection that was beginning to take shape in Chile between 1915 and 1920[6].

The Law of 1925 changed the concept of worker's houses to "inexpensive houses". The idea of Housing Cooperatives was also fundamental, since these institutions were granted preference by the loans delivered from the financial institutions defined by the legislation. The action of this law lasted almost till the creation of the Savings Bank of Popular Housing (Caja de Habitación Popular) in 1936. The principal operations or programmes made by the Saving Bank were the construction of housing complexes paid for and executed entirely by it, intended for selling in the long term or for letting. Additionally they gave concessions of subsidies and state warranties to those who invested capital in economical housing projects.

During this period some of the most important examples of popular housing architecture in Chile were built. Outstanding were the Huemul II development and the

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[6] MINVU op.cit., p. 22

projects built by the Worker's Insurance (Seguro Obrero), following the lines of action promoted by the Savings Bank. These housing complexes were built in several cities of northern Chile: Arica, Tocopilla, Iquique and Antofagasta, with an important change in architectural style influenced by CIAM (Fig. 4.4, 4.5 and 4.6).

## 4.2 INSTITUTIONALIZATION AND DEVELOPMENT OF SOCIAL HOUSING

In February of 1939, a devastating earthquake had as epicentre the city of Chillán (in the centre/south of Chile) affecting a good part of the Chilean population and forcing the creation of new institutions in housing, constructive matters, and in social development planning as well. With the enacting of the Law 6334 were born the Corporation of Reconstruction and Assistance and also the Corporation of Foment (CORFO). These new institutions made joint efforts to solve the housing problem.

In 1953 the National Plan of Housing and the Corporation of Housing (CORVI) were created. The latter institution replaced the Saving Bank of Housing (Ministry of Work) and became one with the programs of the Corporation of Reconstruction and Assistance and the Corporation of Foment (depending on the Treasury Ministry), all this under the administration of the newly created Ministry of Public Construction.

One situation that we have to highlight at this particular point in the history of social housing politics of Chile is the establishment and institutionalization of self-build as an important element in the access to a decent housing solution. The state limited itself to building partially completed homes in minimally urbanized spaces, and the final stages of construction of the house had to be completed by the families living there. This is a concept that has continued (with important improvements) as one of fundamental parts of the politics of housing access until today. Housing during this period was built by the CORVI, the Housing Unit Diego Portales, as emblematic buildings influenced by Modernism and now considered National Heritage (Fig. 4.7).

If we try to make a balance of this period, we can say that now the country has strong institutions and the housing problem is addressed in a rational way by the state through planning processes based on real diagnoses. It defines that the middle class sectors should have a saving capacity to qualify for a house with the help of the state, meanwhile the poorest families need direct and complete help, giving them priority in the allocation of resources. We can also see some weakness when CORVI concentrate efforts in the construction of housing complexes through the Savings Banks, which means houses for organized workers that are not necessary the poorest sectors of the Chilean society. At the end of this period the poorest families of the country continued living in the slum neighbourhoods[7] without urbanization in the most terrible conditions.

In 1964 President Eduardo Frei Montalva of the Christian Democratic Party was elected in an international context, special to Latin America, defined by cooperation with the United States to instigate of social policies for national development. The intention was to diminish the risk of revolutionary nationalist projects, such that in Cuba, which threatened the hegemony of United States in the region. Chile, due to its democratic tradition and order, was a privileged field for experimentation. Also important was the structuralist doctrine of the CEPAL (United Nations Agency for America Development, with headquarters in Santiago de Chile) that offered a theoretical framework for the development[8]. In Chile this process was called "Revolution in Freedom". The significant increase of housing production achieved at that moment led to the Chilean state being one of the most important producers of urban spaces through the actions of CORVI. But despite these achievements, the answer to the housing problem was never found, mainly because the deficit dragged

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[7] Called "poblaciones callampas" literally mushrooming neighbourhoods because they appear in the vacant sites in the cities in one night just like mushrooms.
[8] Raposo, A. (2001) Espacios Urbanos e Ideología el Paradigma de la Corporación de la Vivienda en la arquitectura Habitacional chilena. Ediciones Universidad Central, Santiago. p. 118

on for several decades, and migration continued from the rural sectors to the cities (it kept happening in significant numbers until the 1970s) and finally because of a strong demographic growth[9].

Frei Montalva's  government decided that actions should be directed preferably to the poorest families, setting the goal of building 360.000 houses in the 6 years of the government's mandate (1964-1970). Of that total number, 213.000 were intended to go to the poorest sectors[10]. Every action was developed within a general politics of social integration and participation directed by the state, showing the ideological content of the government and the ruling Christian Democratic party, that claimed the virtues from the popular community of achieving self-built homes and the self-organization of living conditions.

During this period a big change of approach in housing happened with respect to the previous government of Alessandri: the goal no longer consisting in the reactivation of economic activity and an increase in the country's total growth, using housing as a means to achieve it (which explains the strategic inclusion of the private sector in the construction of houses). The government of Frei Montalva was centred on the redistribution of resources and the incorporation of the poorest groups in society, through their mobilization and organization.

The housing politics developed by the Christian Democrat government had other important components. First it established a deeper rationalization of housing production especially around the regulation of the market and the organization of demand through the creation of the Plan for Popular Savings. Another component was the relation established between of this was reorganized by Law 16391 of 1965 that

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[9] MINVU op. cit., p. 29
[10] Palma, E. and Sanfuentes, A. (1979). *Políticas Estatales en condiciones de Movilización Social: Las Políticas de Vivienda en Chile (1964-1973)* in EURE, Vol VI, Santiago. p. 21- 55

created the Ministry of Housing and Urbanism (MINVU, still in existence today). Other institutions were reorganized and new ones created: Corporation of Housing Services (CORABITH), the Corporation for Urban Improvement (CORMU), the Corporation of Urban Constructions (COU) and the reorganized Corporation of Housing (CORVI).  All these institutions were given maximum autonomy, through the legal statutes of "companies owned by the state with legal status, patrimony separate from the treasury, and related with the government through the Ministry of Housing and Urbanism"[11].

The creation of the Ministry of Housing and Urbanism was one of the main actions to address the housing problem in Chile in the 1970s. The Ministry was in charge of housing politics for the whole country and also the coordination of all the corporations and other institutions involved in the state building programme[12].

During these years the private sector had the task of covering two thirds of the national housing deficit, under the specific requirement made by the State that construction companies should devote most of their efforts to building popular housing projects. To achieve this, they kept the benefits that had already been established, adding new mechanisms to promote capital investment in the poorest family housing.

Under the idea of building decent housing that could fit the real payment capacity of the beneficiaries, the policy directed to the poorest sectors set the construction of units to an average size of 50 m2 (considerably smaller than the houses built before), but with a strong emphasis on urban equipment, as services like sanitation and water[13].

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[11] Jugovic, M. (1998). *Naturaleza Jurídica de los Servicios de Vivienda y Urbanización.* Informe en Derecho, Ministerio de Vivienda y Urbanismo, División Jurídica, Santiago. p. 79
[12] See Hidalgo R. (1999) *La vivienda social en Chile: La acción del estado en un siglo de planes y programas.* Scripta Nova Revista Electrónica de Geografía y Ciencias Sociales, Universidad de Barcelona nº 45 (1).
[13] Palma, E. and Sanfuentes, A. op.cit., p. 21- 55

The construction of an average 60,000 houses proposed during the six years of Frei Montalva's administration, starting with 54,000 for 1965 and ending with 67,000 in 1970[14]. The original idea was that the Housing Ministry and the corporations would have constant financial resources, because they would recover a good part of the money spent through the payment of liabilities by the beneficiaries. But this never really happened, and the state had to take over all the expenditure until 1967, when a big reduction of public spending affected all government plans, especially housing, so it was impossible to achieve the numbers projected.

The social change resulting from all this was that the new ideas of participation and organization spread by the Christian Democrat government with its "Revolution in Freedom" eventually increased the need for housing, exceeding the 360,000 dwellings promised. The social mobilizations came under such constant pressure that, in many cases, a modification of the plans was required. Besides that, increases in housing subsidies for the poorest families encouraged them to ask for more and better solutions, and to contribute to the lack of correspondence between the housing offers and the population's expectations.

The target of 360,000 houses could only be kept during the first three years, so after that the language changed to 360,000 "housing solutions", a change of goal that caused a steady decline in the house-building standards.

After 1967, the illegal occupation of sites multiplied, centred on the lands already bought by the state for housing projects. Installed there, families pressed to achieve a permanent solution. In this situation Frei Montalva's government created the Plan of Popular Saving that contemplated the provision of a site without urbanization to an apartment of 45 m2 approximately. The idea of this plan was that each line responded

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[14] MINVU op. cit., p. 43

to the paying capacity of the families. The first three (marked sites, urbanized sites and sites with sanitary installation) responded to the site-operations. These site-operations were one of the most emblematic programs of the Christian democrat government and also one of the most criticized. The lack of financial resources for the next stages to consolidated among other things the sanitary infrastructure, resulted finally in housing groups built under the site-operation in enormous insanitary zones.

We can also highlight some other housing projects produced at this time such as the San Borja Remodeling, an example of urban intervention produced for middle class families (Fig.  4.8).

The experience accumulated with the site-operation showed the need to give the families not just a house, but also economic and social capacities. This was translated into the Programme of Self Construction, that tried to change the idea of built houses for a few to a definitive built house by stages for many, creating a relation between the small economic, technical and human resources in a attempt to address the needs of a larger number of families[15].

In 1970 President Salvador Allende Gossen was elected, leading the so-called Popular Unity of left side parties and political movements. The new left wing government in its programmatic approaches about the housing deficit adopted from the very first moment a critical position about how the State housing system had worked under the previous administrations[16]. According to the ideology of the government of president Allende, a complete and deep social change was necessary and he took on

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[15] Suarez, M. (1983) *Programa de vivienda progresiva en la política habitacional chilena*, in Mac Donald, J (ed.). Vivienda social reflexiones y experiencias. Corporación de Promoción Universitaria, Santiago, p. 189
[16] Palma, E. and Sanfuentes, A. op. cit., p. 21- 55

the self-imposed obligation of ending the housing deficit in a short period of time and at a cost supported entirely by the Chilean State[17].

The CORVI estimated the deficit at 592.324 houses until December 1970[18]. The diagnoses say that this large number of missing houses was another result of the conditions under which the capitalist urban and housing development functioned that considered the house as a commodity, allowing constructive activity to be guided only by profit. Although the government of Frei Montalva had already pointed out that the house was a necessary good, and that the State should have the obligation to provide housing to the people so it couldn't be considered as a commodity pursuing profits, under the ideology of a Popular Unity government we can see a real change in housing concepts, indicating that a decent house was a basic right for all Chilean families.

In 1971 the MINVU indicated that housing can be a powerful tool to accelerate and facilitate human and social development. Along with the declaration that each family must own a house, the government proposed different measures looking to revert the tendencies of segregation to the urban peripheries of popular housing, and this was to be achieved through remodelling cities and neighbourhoods without eradicating the current residents[19].

The main objectives of the housing policies were now to solve the deficit with integral proposals that could deliver a definitive house unit, not progressive or emergency solutions[20]. Because of this, it is not surprising that the government cancelled all the self-construction programmes promoted by previous administrations.

[17] Haramoto, E. (1983). "Políticas de vivienda social: Experiencia chilena de las tres últimas décadas, in Mac Donald, J (ed.). Vivienda social reflexiones y experiencias. Corporación de Promoción Universitaria, Santiago, p. 124
[18] MINVU op.cit., p. 61
[19] Raposo, A. (2001) Espacios Urbanos e Ideología el Paradigma de la Corporación de la Vivienda en la arquitectura Habitacional chilena. Ediciones Universidad Central, Santiago. p. 98
[20] Palma, E. and Sanfuentes, A.op. cit., p. 34

According to the Ministry, these plans had discriminated against the poorest sectors because the house that resulted from this process was of inferior quality and the end results even more expensive than those produced by a specialized constructor. During Salvador Allende's government, the construction sector took a important role in the reactivation of the economy and the generation of jobs.

The formulation of housing plans during this period was strongly influenced by the illegal occupation of sites, which increased in frequency during the second half of 1970[21]. In 1968 the illegal occupations were less than 10, but in 1970 this number changed to more than 220[22]. These occupations were mainly of vacant lots, but also of sites where housing complexes were under construction and even in a finished but not yet released state.

The extent of real housing production during this period has provoked controversy. Even when the total goals couldn't be achieved, in the second presidential message of Salvador Allende to the National Parliament, he pointed out that the public sector had built 73,000 units while the private one had managed only 7000 in the same time. The reliability of these numbers has been debated by several authors, but anyway the huge increase of housing production achieved in 1971 was something that could not be repeated in Chile until the 1990s under the democratic governments after the dictatorship.

The production of 1971 proved impossible to sustain, and there were serious problems in achieving the high goals proposed. There is a consensus in the idea that the increasing work of the Ministry of Housing and Urbanism, trying to accomplish all the government proposals, failed to notice that the housing institutions didn't really

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[21] MINVU op. cit., p. 61
[22] Ducci, M.E. (1997) *Chile, el lado oscuro de una política de vivienda exitosa*, in Revista Latinoamericana de Estudios Urbanos Regionales EURE. Vol. XXIII, No 69, Santiago. p. 112

have the organizational and professional capacity of a rational administrative management. This draws attention to the fact that after all the analysis about the housing situation made by the Popular Unit government, it failed to notice the gap between the goals proposed and the existing financial and technical resources.

What the government of the president Salvador Allende was intending to do to reverse the situation will remain a mystery, due the abrupt end of the mandate in September of 1973, when a coup d'etat established a military dictatorship presided over by General Augusto Pinochet that would last 17 years.

An example that can be named as characteristic of this stage in the evolution of social housing in Chile is the housing group "German Riesco" (see image 4.9). This typology was to be repeated, with minor modifications, inside what is known as basic progressive housing programmes. It consisted of a single room built in solid material with a bathroom, and a site where future growth through self-construction was projected.

## 4.3 SOCIAL HOUSING DURING THE DICTATORSHIP

The dictatorship period between 1973 and 1990 corresponded to the rise of a new model of housing politics (centred on the instrument of subsidy to the demand complemented by saving and credit on the part of the beneficiaries). Immersed in the political framework of an authoritarian regime, this constituted a break with the democratic tradition of Chile, and from a social and economic point of view introduced fundamental changes in the development model and in state organization because of the neoliberal economic orientation and reorganization plan of the public policies.

In the housing institutions we should point out some changes produced in the first years of the dictatorship that created the frame within which later housing efforts were to develop.

In 1976 the Law Decree 1305 was established that would set both the regional SEREMI[23] and a metropolitan one with the mission to establish national housing politics for each region and set all the planning, programming, evaluation, control and promotion activities under the instructions of the MINVU. The four corporations (CORVI, CORMI, CORABITH and COU) merged in the National Service of Housing and Urbanism (SERVIU) with a local office in each of the new 13 regions[24].

At the end of the seventies, the housing policies assumed in Chile can be divided into three organizing points. First, the State concentrated its efforts on the families with limited access to private sources of financing. The diagnoses claimed that the difficulties of the market in satisfying the housing needs of the poorest families were due to their low purchasing power. The solution would be raise the purchasing power of the family by state action using direct financial subsidies, while private banks would offer supplementary funding. The middle class sector as well as the higher class was expected to look for funding from private banks. The construction of houses was to be completely in the hands of the private sector, with the state acting only as facilitator[25].

The second component was a new urban policy that liberated the land market, starting in 1979. This was introduced under the assumption that it would bring down

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[23] SEREMI are the Regional Ministerial Secretaries, institutions that represent each ministry in the different regions of the country.
[24] The regionalization process that resulted in the current political and administrative division of Chile began in 1974 and concluded in 1976. The country was divided into 12 regions plus a metropolitan area. In 2007 two new regions were added, completing the 15 regions that compose the country today.
[25] Rojas, E. (1999). *El largo camino hacia la reforma del sector vivienda. Lecciones de la experiencia chilena*. Banco Interamericano del Desarrollo. Departamento de Desarrollo Sostenible. Washington D.C. p. 103

the value of the houses due to the lower cost of the sites. The normative rule was that the use of land was made more flexible to allow urban growth to work according to the tendencies of the market[26].

Finally the third component appeared within a special context. Because these housing and urban policies were started during a period of low economic growth, the government had the idea that the construction of new housing would be a good way to reactivate the economy. So it was decided to provide subsidies only for buying new houses, which did not include making any effort to support the selling, remodelling or improvement of old ones.

Not so long after the starting point of this new policy in housing, the military government had to assume a more active role because private constructors and banks failed to develop an interest in building or financing economical social housing. The MINVU started to hire private constructors directly to take responsibility for the construction of low cost houses to be distributed to the beneficiaries enrolled in a national list.

Another of the major reforms of the period was the change in the subsidies to supply the deficit. This new system supposed that each person was directly responsible for his own housing solution. To gain the subsidies given to each beneficiary by the state, the recipients also needed to prove an initial savings effort, which in addition to the mortgage asked from private banks, would complete the value of the house.

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[26] Rojas, E. (1999). *El largo camino hacia la reforma del sector vivienda. Lecciones de la experiencia chilena*. Banco Interamericano del Desarrollo. Departamento de Desarrollo Sostenible. Washington D.C. p. 98

The new housing programmes based on the scheme of subsidies to supply the demand were growing and perfected during the eighties. We can name the Programme of Housing Subsidy (1978), the Unified Subsidy (1984), and the Special Programme for Workers (1985); also the Rural Subsidy (1986) and the Basic Housing Programme, which were created to attend directly to the marginal housing deficit[27].

There is agreement that the systems of access to housing developed in Chile during the military dictatorship were innovative when seen from an international level, because they proved that it was possible in a developing country to apply programmes already introduced in industrialized countries: for example the direct subsidy to supply demand, and the almost inexistent participation of the State in the construction of houses. However, the validity of the model is immediately questioned if we review the numbers of the housing deficit: more than 800,000 houses were still missing out of a total of 2,500,000 houses needed in the country. During the years of the dictatorship the number of houses built under the State programmes was 45,000 units for year, but the number of families constituted by year was 90,000. The number of built houses was a little superior to that achieved under the government of Alessandri, but much lower than under the governments of Frei Montalva and Allende. We should point out that despite the low numbers in that period, the system of subsidies institutionalized in this administration would become the basis for achieving the important qualitative progress in housing coverage attempted in the 1990s[28].

From an economic and social point of view, this period was relevant because it started the evolution of the housing idea in Chile: moving from a social right, an obligatory function of the State, to the concept of a subsidiary State immersed in a free market economy. The MINVU claimed: "The house is a right that is acquired with effort

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[27] MINVU op. cit., p. 74
[28] Rojas, E. (1999). *El largo camino hacia la reforma del sector vivienda. Lecciones de la experiencia chilena*. Banco Interamericano del Desarrollo. Departamento de Desarrollo Sostenible. Washington D.C. p. 113

and savings in which the families and the State share responsibility"[29]. This policy was based on the idea of promoting private initiative, assuming that this economic sector would be a protagonist of responsibility in the housing problem. The politics of the dictatorship said that the State would ensure that everyone had expeditious channels of access to a housing solution according to their economic characteristics. The systems of assignation of subsidies were improved, standing out in the CAS file[30] and other selection systems for beneficiaries with a good technical support basis.

The focused programmes developed in these years were centred on the social groups in extreme poverty. The state created the Programme of Basic Housing and the Programme of Neighbourhood Improvement, this last one achieving the best results in the slum neighbourhoods' sanitation problems.

The most frequent architectural typology used in the Programme of Basic Housing was the semi-detached house on two floors with a continuous facade across two levels. Another characteristic was the construction, especially in Santiago, of large-scale housing projects with an average of 310 houses each, a situation that generated a negative urban impact in the city[31].

So, from this moment on in the history of social housing in Chile, a typology can be recognised that became a synonym of state action in the eighties, with variations in subsequent decades. The group of state houses "Colina Norte" (see image 4.10) is an

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[29] Ibid. p.117

[30] The CAS file appeared in 1979 with the creation of the "Comités de Asistencia Social" (CAS). These Welfare Committees worked at a community level and had the responsibility to implement the social programmes of the State. The CAS file was born because of the need for a standardized and unique instrument to target the neediest social groups in order to focus the State programmes on them. In 1980 the CAS file first version was made: with the information gathered it was possible to classify families into 5 levels or rates of poverty, the first three reflecting the most severe situations of poverty.

[31] The urban impact of the housing policies is one of the questioned areas. During this period a large-scale urban segregation appeared and was increased with the eradication of the slum neighbourhoods from the central and east areas of the city of Santiago and relocation of the people in social housing projects on the periphery of the city under the pretext of the lower price of the land, without considering any urban or public transport planning. It is important to mention that the politics of liberalization of the land market of 1979, eliminating the urban limit, never achieved the function of reducing the value of the sites, but the opposite was observed - an increase in the value of the sites.

example of social housing on two levels, where the lower of the areas is given over to living-dining-kitchen spaces along with a bathroom, leaving two rooms on the upper level. Narrow facade blocks are developed facing the interior of the block with an elongated patio.

Through a plebiscite of 1989, the Chilean population decided that they did not want the dictator Augusto Pinochet to continue in office for another 8 years. Accepting defeat at the polls, the military government called for general elections to select a new democratic president and a National Congress after 17 years of closure of this democratic institution. As expected, the opposition to Pinochet was grouped in the centre-left Coalition of Parties for Democracy, which took the victory, and Patricio Aylwin Azocar assumed the presidency of Chile in 1990 for a 4 year term. This government initiated a period of 20 years of centre-left governments.

## 4.4 SOCIAL HOUSING SINCE THE RETURN OF DEMOCRACY

The situation concerning the issue of housing when the new democratic government assumed the direction of the State was dramatic. The deficit reached more than 900,000 families. This government and the next had a double task: first solve the housing deficit, then make necessary changes to the housing policies established during the dictatorship to improve their action and focus.

The programmatic proposal of the government of Patricio Aylwin focused on three basic points: increase the production of houses for the poorest families and "allegados"[32], improve neighbourhoods and cities, and add a real social participation of the community in the design and implementation of the housing programmes[33].

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[32] "Allegados" are families that moved to the house of relatives or friends for an undetermined period of time, dramatically increasing the density of the "slum camps", especially the ones formed before 1973, but continuing as a reality even today.
[33] Mac Donald, J. (1992) *Gestión del desarrollo social chileno: el sector vivienda*, Corporación de Promoción Universitaria, Santiago. p. 51

The big problem (a direct result of the housing deficit) was the situation of "allegados". This situation can be explained as due to the intransigent attitude of the military government regarding respect for the private property of abandoned sites (usually bought for land speculation) resulting in an armed repression of attempts to use these spaces by roofless families.

During the first democratic government MINVU had a special concern to adapt housing policy instruments so that they could work better in the context of the new characteristics they desired to implant: emphasis on low-income sectors, a new development strategy, and the idea of economic and social growth with equity. These reforms were reflected in a diversification of housing programs targeting all social classes. For example, the Basic Housing Programme of SERVIU had clear rules regarding the size of site lots: 100 m2 for a one-level house and 60 m2 for two-level houses[34] (Fig. 4.11 and 4.12).

The targeting of the poorest sectors is evident if we see that the Basic Housing Programme had 79% of its beneficiaries in the poorest quintile according the CAS File, while in the Progressive Housing Programme it reached 65%.

During the second democratic government led by President Eduardo Frei Ruiz-Tagle (1994-2000), the strategic objectives were structured on foundations created by the previous government. A refinement of housing policy was conducted, seeking emphasis on social equity. Collective modes of postulating benefits were privileged, the urban quality of housing developments was improved, and a new offer of urban programmes was generated, including the idea of urban "mega-projects" that guided the housing action. The guiding principles of the policy of the Housing Ministry during

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[34] MINVU op.cit., p. 104

the Frei Ruiz-Tagle administration were these: the citizen as the centre of housing policy, pursuit of equity and solidarity and of a real sense of social participation, the pursuit of sustainable cities, search for efficient urban markets (specifying all subsidies and costs), and promoting a State subsidiary regulator and facilitator, and finally the consolidation of participatory ways of building cities[35].

This period also saw the Chile-Barrio Programme, which allowed a real improvement in the quality of urban space of "slum camps" already existing in the city. All this occurred within a larger government plan for the eradication of extreme poverty.

Perhaps the greatest example of state action on the issue of housing during the first decade of democracy was the social housing units in apartment blocks of four levels. The buildings housing complex "Las Parcelas", (see image 4.13) are representative of this type of social housing, where in a total of about 50 square meters, three bedrooms are designed along with a main space that concentrates the common household activities. Densification of different areas of the country through this model, meant the formation of ghettos of social housing, where families lived almost overcrowded, proving to be an ineffective housing solution and being replaced in the late 1990s by units with more square-footage, terminations and associated public space.

The third and fourth democratic governments led by Ricardo Lagos (2000-2006) and Michelle Bachelet (2006-2010) concentrated their efforts on certain clear ideas, among which was a more comprehensive notion with respect to housing projects, integrating ideas about urbanization and the city. There was a stronger emphasis on self-regulation, seeking to manage public resources involved in housing policy, to be sure they were properly spent. There were also self-imposed goals regarding

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[35] Loc. cit., p. 129

improvement of the quality of the housing units and the urban quality of the projects that could be fulfilled. It is important to highlight the programme "quiero mi barrio" (I love my neighbourhood) which provided funding and technical support to projects created by the same communities for the improvement of their neighbourhoods, with good results.

Meanwhile the government of Sebastián Piñera (2010-2014) placed its greatest concern for the housing reconstruction process in the areas affected by the massive earthquake and tsunami of February 27, 2010. The task of rebuilding the homes affected, both through forms of direct construction and through grants, leaves it impossible to observe any significant variation in social housing as far as policies or plans are concerned, as they mostly continued with initiatives and programmes that already existed.

# CHAPTER 5

*THE STUDY OF CASES, THE CHILEAN AYMARA PEOPLE SITUATION TODAY*

The information presented below consists of a summary in the form of a narration of the life stories of each of the households interviewed as part of the investigation. Through the interview as tool I put together a chronological narrative about the arrival in the city, and the sequence of lived spaces until the obtaining of permanent housing that was addressed by each of the respondents.

These stories also show lifetime situations at different stages, revealing the impossibility of achieving a uniform route, but demonstrating rather a line of living spaces passing from the status of "allegados" to the situation of owner, going and coming at different stages depending on the economic situation they had over the years.

The concurrence in the narrations of similar stories, especially concerning the arrival in to the city and the itinerancy between different homes of relatives or acquaintances, shows that although the process ends with an own house, it consisted

in its preliminary stages of a condition of mobility in the city that prevents ownership of a recognized built inhabiting space until the final state housing unit  has been obtained.

On the other hand, the same obtaining of the state housing benefit has emerged as a process not without difficulties, where the mechanisms proposed by the Chilean state failed to provide fast access. The explanation is understood within the story of the different stages and visions on the issue of social housing along with the republican history of the country as mentioned in chapter 4.

Regarding the selection of cases to study, as was mentioned in chapter 1, it privileged in the typological variable a search for heterogeneity regarding the typologies of social housing units provided by the Chilean state. In this regard, and given the Aymara migratory moments indicated in previous pages, the most common types today in Arica are those that were developed in the early and mid-nineties, i.e. with two levels, a narrow frontage site and subsequent development with a programmatic partitioning of common spaces (living room-kitchen-bathroom) on the first level and two bedrooms on the second.

Another typology that was reviewed was the progressive social housing, composed of a single volume composed of a room built in solid material and a bathroom, in larger sites. This was designed for the almost immediate ability for selfconstruction by the beneficiary families. In these cases we can see both extremes of the changes regarding the role of self-construction as a tool to define and reflect the ideas of urban housing of the Aymaras families studied, and this was definitely marked once again by the dissimilar economic capacities of the cases studied.

Finally, looking to address in the most complete possible way the realities of the Aymara families in Arica, it was decided to include two housing cases whose origin

was not the responsibility (at least directly) of the Chilean state. The cases 11 and 12 as we shall see, are two households who, after going through several inhabiting spaces as social housing and as "allegados", could choose to buy housing in the private market and transform it according to their own decisions, without the spatial constraints of the social housing units considering the original built core and the disposition of the sites.

## 5.1 SOCIAL HOUSING CASES

### 5.1.1 CASE 01

The person interviewed is an Aymara woman of 39 years old, whom we will call Alejandra, with three children and a widowed mother. Her educational level reaches second year of secondary education. Although she recognizes no definite religious affiliation she declares that she participates in the ceremonies of the Catholic Church when she visits the traditional villages in the interior and occasionally in the city.

She was born in the village of Palca, whose ceremonial town or *marka* is Codpa in the interior high area of Arica. She has lived for twenty-five years in the city of Arica. The main reason to move from the highlands to the city was the possibility of studying, because the rural school in the area covered only primary level education.

As is common, the installation process in the city was given by the host of a house known by the family who previously moved to the city. In this case, due to unexplained adaptation problems, after only six months she moved to live in the house of an uncle. Her parents in the meantime continued to live in the lands of the interior along with their younger siblings. In both the houses in which this woman lived through this period, she had to pay for her stay at home by carrying out unpaid domestic work.

While she was in high school she became pregnant with her first daughter. At this moment a first stage occurred in the process of becoming independent with respect to housing, and she changed to living alone in a house owned by another relative, where she began to live with the father of her daughter. She "looked after" this property and therefore did not pay any rent. At the same time she proceeded to apply for state housing subsidy, being officially registered when she came of age.

While she was awaiting the outcome of the application a relative spoke to her about someone he knew who had received a house from the state social housing programme recently, and that he was willing to transfer it for a value of 300,000 Chilean pesos (about 350 pounds sterling) if the new owner would finish paying off the monthly payments. She accepted this offer without knowing that the law states that you cannot transfer, sell or lease a house provided by the state of Chile until you have spent 5 years there from the grant date. However with the help of a non-governmental organization she managed to arrange that the housing subsidy received was considered for that property.

Currently she lives in the dwelling with her three children and two granddaughters. As is usual among Aymara people, during the years she inhabited the house she received as tenants her brothers and other close relatives at different times and seasons, while they settled in an independent way in the city.

Once she had regularized the legal status of the property she began a self-construction process to extend the original square-footage of the house (see architectural plans in volume II). First constructed was an extension on the ground level to leave a kitchen + dining space separated from the living zone (Fig. 5.1). Subsequently the original staircase was removed and placed in the new part, freeing the entire floor of the ground level of the original dwelling (Fig. 5.2 and 5.3). Then the

upper level was extended, enabling a total of four rooms. The main bedroom (Fig. 5.4 and 5.5) was located at the back of the site leaving a central outdoor courtyard connected by a corridor (Fig. 5.6), that in the ground level was built with a solid floor to be used as an exterior area for work. All these extensions were carried out at an early stage in reinforced concrete and bricks because she had the financial capacity to do so.

Over the main bedroom at the back of the dwelling a third level was recently built (Fig. 5.7), corresponding to a fifth bedroom in light materials which is accessed by a hand ladder (Fig. 5.8) from the hallway that surrounds the central patio on the upper level. This room with a separate entry was made to accommodate the younger brother of the woman, who came to study in the city and who is currently working in the mining sector.

For this thirty-nine year old Aymara woman, the most important space of her home is the courtyard (Fig. 5.9 and 5.10); as being a textile craftswoman she devotes much of her time to the weaving of alpaca wool articles of clothing that are sold directly by her or sold to stores. The future plans are to expand the ground level of the house into the street with the idea of creating an appropriate retail space for her textiles. In addition she is planning to expand and build with solid materials a room on the third level, so that she can use part of the upper floor bedrooms as storage.

Currently her mother (the father died a few years ago) continues to live in the interior highlands and she occasionally sees her during the children's holidays. Also she goes to the altiplano to attend to the *floreo* ceremony of the animals that as a family they keep in the *estancia*.

The housing lot is a rectangle of 3.3 m. of frontage and 20.5 m. deep, generating a total area of 67.65 m2. The original basic housing volume given by the

state is set 2 metres back from the facade street line of the lot, creating a front yard area of 6.6 m2. The original house was built in 2 levels in matched built units set with a continuous facade; the construction system was reinforced masonry. The original usable space was 30.52 m2, with a ground level the living and dining areas plus the kitchen (13.81 m2) and bathroom (2.33 m2). At the upper level are two bedrooms of 7.34 m2 and 7.04 m2 each. The separation between the two rooms and the staircase is built with wood panels. The roof is a triangular wood framed structure.

In this case study we can see that the majority of the new constructed areas were built with solid materials, continuing the same system of reinforced masonry as the original unit, and intending to create a definitive solution to the lack of space. If we add the 21.27 m2 of concrete floor courtyard used as open working space, the new usable area of the house reaches 114.47 m2, almost four times the original surface area of the unit. The enlargement of the house does not modify the original division of programme, that proposed a ground level with the common areas (living, dining, kitchen and bathroom) and a upper level fully used for bedrooms. In the lower level the effort to expand the kitchen space by adding the dining area left a defined living room space, separated by furniture.

This enlargement process by self-construction of the original unit leaves evidence of the original structure as windows openings, for example the bathroom windows still exist and open to the new kitchen and dining area (Fig.  5.11).

In the upper floor we can find that the original two bedrooms were left almost without modification, only adding more area to one of them after the relocation of the stairs in the newly constructed part (Fig.  5.12). The entire new built surface is presented as a large bedroom separated by the original back wall of the house, even conserving the back window (Fig.  5.13). Only one of these three bedrooms has a door:

the other two are connected and incorporate the circulations to the other two rooms located in the back of the lot. The fourth room in the upper floor is separated from the rest and is used as the main bedroom. To connect this isolated room with the front volume, a U-formed aisle is built over the courtyard leaving the back part covered and the central area open. Over this main bedroom, built also with a reinforced masonry system, the fifth room is located. As we said before, this last room built is the newest one, and the construction system is a light and cheap wooden frame, without any finishes.

Asked about why she carried out this enlargement process, the first need mentioned was an extra room for her son, who in the early years of living at the house slept with her. Today the number of available beds in the house gives us a clear picture about the way the Aymara people move into the urban areas, and also an idea of how the house must be prepared to receive seasonal visitors. The absence of doors in some bedroom spaces is similar to the situation in the traditional house, where several people could sleep in the same room, even the parents with the children, without the western idea of privacy. The concrete floored courtyard that appeared after the self-construction process, and is the site of the textile craft production, reminds us of the courtyard in the traditional dwelling. Also the location of rooms at the back of the lot in the second and third levels, with their doors and windows opening to the courtyard, is a reminder of this traditional space, translated here in the city but continuing as an important part of the programme of habitation.

### 5.1.2 CASE 02

This interviewee is a man of forty years old, who lives with his wife and has two children. He completed secondary education, studying in both the rural highlands and the city. Ruben was born in the city of Arica, but his family is from Chorihuaya, a small *estancia* that is near the *marka* village of Guallatire. He declares himself to be a

Catholic but is not practising. His current occupation is the transportation of goods, particularly in the agricultural field. Due to certain complications during his mother's pregnancy, her grandparents decided to take her to give birth at the house that they held in the city, but after the delivery his mother returned to the highlands to live in the family home, because she was separated from Ruben's father. Later his parents met again and built their own home, which is the one he recognizes as the family's *uta*, also in the area of Chorihuaya.

He completed his primary education in a rural school near Guallatire, and when he came to start the secondary education cycle, he was sent to Arica at the house of his father's older sister. It was a house built in light materials, which had been obtained by an illegal takeover of land, but was later legalized. They received the visit of their fathers, and every summer holiday he travelled to the highlands to be with his family, helping with looking after the animals. After concluding his higher education, he returned for a season to the *uta* but then moved back definitely to Arica, and with the initial help of his parents he bought a small truck with which he began working as a carrier.

He met the woman who would become his wife during his secondary education and began to live with her once he returned to work in the city. First they occupied a room they built themselves using light materials in the back of the courtyard of his aunt's house. Later they moved to live in a house owned by the parents of his wife, who was located in the northern sector of the city. They were glad to have a place as "allegados" at the aunt's home, but the precariousness of the new inhabited dwelling, of one room in light materials on a site without basic services, led them to think about starting the application for a state housing solution.  They successfully completed the application process before saving the amount of money demanded, and became the beneficiaries of a two storey social housing unit located close to the agricultural

terminal and market where most of Ruben's work focused. He particularly appreciates the opportunity he was given in the adjudication process of the housing solution to be informed in the early stages where the housing complex was located, and that during the construction process he knew exactly which unit specifically was to be his home.

Asked what he considered to be the most important space of the house in the city, Ruben answered that he considered the living room and his bedroom to be the most relevant rooms of his home. He thinks that the living room space is important because it is the place where visitors are received, which is the first place on entering the house, and therefore it should be given special attention. About the bedrooms there is something that worries him, unlike in other cases, not so much because of the amount of space available, but regarding the quality. His desires for the future are to consolidate the existing spaces, particularly with respect to their material condition. In addition he believes it would be possible to think of a best-enabled workspace on the patio for his wife's occupation as a textile artisan. He hopes his daughter who is about to finish high school can enter study at the university, and he plans to prepare in a good form the room located at the upper level at the end of the site, so that she can have adequate space with privacy. His two daughters currently share a room on the upper level.

One of the main deficiencies he sees in the housing is the lack of a space to store a vehicle. He complains that the inner streets of the housing complex do not have sufficient width now that most families own a vehicle. In addition he considers that the size of the house is especially deficient concerning bedrooms and storage. He appreciates the location of the house in the city, as it is near his workspace and close to the city centre.

Ruben maintains contact with the traditional spaces in the highlands because his mother, after spending several years living in Arica after becoming a widow, decided to return to the traditional house to take care of animals held by the family. Normally when she goes down to the city she stays at the house of Ruben or with his younger brother. Ruben says that he tries to travel at least once every couple of months for a few days to the highlands, if his work in the city will allow. In previous years the younger brother of this man lived in the dwelling, while he finished the last years of high school. Now this young man rents a house with his own partner, and hopes to apply for social housing soon.

Ruben is proud to be Aymara and has brought up their daughters to learn how people live in the *uta* and what ceremonies are practised. In the city, he normally attends the celebrations of the Aymara New Year and in the sector of the agricultural market the celebration of "Tuesday of *challa"* is held, a sort of small carnival framed around the Christian celebrations of Lent. At the house, he celebrated a ceremony of *challado* when he moved in for the first time and before they built the solid concrete floor in the backyard. They usually prepare *guatias* to share with friends and relatives.

The total site given by the Chilean state is a rectangle with frontage of 3.4 m. and depth of 19.05 m., so the total area is 64.77 square meters (see architectural plans in volume II). The original house before the enlargements had a usable built footage of 32 m2. It was composed of a ground level with a living + dining + kitchen space of 12.18 m2 and a single bathroom of 2.20 m2. Circulation spaces (including the ladder space) took 2.45 m2, while at the upper level were located two rooms totalling 14.57 m2. The separation between rooms on the upper floor was wooden panelling, and the structure was built of economical concrete bricks called "bloquetas".

The enlargement process in this case study was initiated by the use of lightweight materials with the intention that later, budget permitting, they would rebuild with solid materials like bricks and concrete. First the lower level was expanded to generate a new kitchen space. A new extension was then added to generate a smaller room that was ultimately destined to be the kitchen (Fig.  5.14), leaving the first expansion to accommodate the dining room alone (Fig.  5.15). Along with this third expansion a new room on the upper floor was added that serves to this day as the main bedroom (Fig.  5.16). Access to the upstairs level is by the original staircase (Fig. 5.17), and we can observe that neither room has doors, as both are connected to what was one of the rooms of the original house (Fig. 5.18 and 5.19). In the background of the site at the upper floor level a new room was built that is accessed from the courtyard on the ground level through a second staircase of L shape (Fig.  5.20 and 5.21). This construction of metal frame and wooden panels covers the area of half the patio (Fig.  5.22), ideal for textile production work using looms, as traditionally seen in the original Aymara housing.

As a result of the enlargement process we can see that there was an increase of 23.19 m2 in the living room + dining + kitchen area, leaving the ground level of the building entirely for these programmes. In the courtyard a hard concrete floor was built that is kept as a work area of 5.10 m2 non-covered and of 8.66 m2 covered. It was decided to leave the original bathroom on the ground floor, as it is the only one in the dwelling (Fig. 5.23).  On the upper level are located the bedrooms, separated into two volumes with access through two separate staircases, an enlargement that leaves a total of four rooms with 31.34 m2 surface are. It is noteworthy that in the wall facing the inner courtyard of the house on the upper floor there is a full window with a small terrace overlooking the workspace.

The remains of the original structure are clear, for example the window of the bathroom that was part of the original structure opens to the dining space (Fig. 5.24), and a window of the first extension is visible between this space and the kitchen.

Regarding the furniture, we can see that the living room is composed of a set of sofas, a double one located in the space under the stairs (Fig. 5.25) and two single ones attached to the opposite wall (Fig. 5.26). There is also a small desk remaining as part of the original wall of the house that was opened to the extension now occupied by the dining area. The dining room has a table for six people located towards the wall that separates the kitchen. In this room we also see that a wall cabinet where a TV set is located. After the dining area and through the kitchen there is access to the backyard where we see things stacked: looms for artisanal textile production, as well as a washing area.

The room that faces the front of the house is equipped with two single beds and wall unit furniture of average height for storing clothes, and there is a TV set. It is separated by a timber partition and connected by an opening without a door leading to what was originally the second room of the house; this central space is currently unused and piled things are kept there. The original wall was broken through and, again with no door, connects to the main bedroom. A cabinet that gives privacy to a double bed subdivides this space and allows the creation of some space used for storage. Opposite the bed is a base cabinet with a TV set, while the wall overlooking the courtyard consists of a large sliding window that opens onto a balcony overlooking the courtyard. The outer room at the back is furnished with a single bed; a wardrobe and boxes were observed as storage.

**5.1.3 CASE 03**

Celinda is an Aymara woman fifty-five years old. She is married with six children, two female and four male. Her religious affiliation is to the Evangelical Church. Her main occupation is textile craftswoman. She was born in Mauque, a sector near the *marka* village of Central Citani in the southern altiplano area. Her arrival in Arica was in 1985, when she came with her husband and children. The main reason for moving to this coastal city was the education of their children, since near their traditional dwelling there was no school where the children could study.

She was installed in the first instance along with her family at the home of her husband's brother. In this condition of "allegados" they lived for a period of two years, until they bought a house of light material in a neighbourhood that until recently had been an illegal land takeover. In that house they remained until approximately 1990, when due to financial hardship they had to sell it and return to being "allegados" in the house of Celinda's sister. At that time she decided to apply for social housing, which was finally granted to her after almost a year.

That house was part of a progressive housing programme, so only had a built volume composed of a single room and a bathroom. It was enlarged in light materials, adding two rooms intended for use as bedrooms and building the perimeter fences of the site, however their family's precarious economic situation prevented further enlargements. Finally having passed the five-year minimum required by the State of Chile for transactions over social housing units, Celinda and her husband sold off the house in 1995.

From 1995 to 2004, the family lived in different houses as "allegados" or by seasonal leasing. Having previously benefited from a state house they could not reapply for a housing subsidy, so they depended exclusively on the family's economic

capacity to access a permanent home through the private housing market. This happened in 2004 when they managed to buy the home that they inhabited at the time. This property, though bought on the private housing market, was a progressive social housing unit that had not been enlarged and practically used. The improved economic situation of the family allowed them to proceed with expansion works immediately after it had been purchased.

By 2005 when the expansion works were added, five of their children were living with them, only the oldest son being already married and living with his family independently. During one year, the seven rooms we see today were built. At this moment, Celinda was living with her husband, her youngest son still studying at school, and an adult son with his wife. During this time the house also accommodated other children and their partners when they needed it. They also mentioned receiving family relatives who needed a place to live for periods of up to one year.

The main problem that Celinda observed about this type of social housing was the lack of bedrooms. Each family depends on its own resources for the extension of the house and it should be recalled that due to lack of economic resources, there was a time in the social housing obtained and subsequently sold, when everyone in her family had to sleep in the same space. This went on until they were able to construct two pieces at the rear of the site using recycled wood panels. Other complaints were that there was no place to park a vehicle at the site, as well as in the housing complex as a whole, as its streets were not wide enough for cars to circulate comfortably.

One of the dreams for the future of the dwelling is to have space for more looms and to be able to expand the production of textiles. Currently there is only a small courtyard that connects all rooms in the rear built volume.

Celinda also seasonally inhabits the traditional house in the highlands. She owns animals that are herded by her, and were initially an inheritance from her deceased parents. Also, she constantly visits the mother of her husband, who never left the highlands and lives nearby. Every summer, she spends at least two continuous months in the traditional dwelling. She says it is her preferred space and that she hopes to end her life there. She has ensured that her children know what it is like to live in the interior lands, and some of them usually come with her for a few days or weeks when she moves to the *uta* during summer vacation time. She says that she has always practised the *challado* ceremony in all the houses where she has lived, inviting friends and family relatives. Along with that, she participates in the Aymara New Year celebration; generally traveling to the *marka* village of Central Citani, but also occasionally in the same city.

This house originally corresponded to a basic housing solution composed of a single space constructed in solid materials, including a full bathroom inside the structure (see architectural plans in volume II). The living space was 10.65 m2, the bathroom 3.75 m2. The total area was 5.7 meters wide at the front and 19.05 meters long, making a total of 108.58 square meters. A front garden area of 11.34 m2 is maintained, which is accessed from the street down a few steps because this house is located in a housing development located on the side of a hill in the south east sector of Arica.

The enlargement process began with two rooms in light materials used for the bedroom and attached to the original structure. These enclosures were soon dismantled for the extension of the original single space, eliminating the entire back wall and increasing it by an area of 22.60 m2 dedicated to living + dining + kitchen (Fig. 5.27, 5.28 and 5.29). The second stage of this first expansion in solid materials involved the construction of a main room accessed directly from the central volume.

One of the light material bedrooms was retained, where three of the couple's children slept sharing this space, while money was gathered to continue building the house. Meanwhile, the smallest children shared the main bedroom with the parents.

The second major stage of the self-construction process originated in a second volume that reached the end of the site using the topographical conditions to develop two levels of rooms accessed via the front volume by an external staircase in form of an L (Fig. 5.30, 5.31). Through a covered circulation space on the side of the main bedroom, maintaining a window that connects to this now interior corridor, the landing area of the stairs is reached through a door. Going up half a level you get access to the top floor of the rear room volume (Fig. 5.32), while if you go down the exterior stairs you reach a hard courtyard from which there is access to the rooms at the lower level. This hard courtyard is used as a space for housework like laundry and especially for productive work, with presence for example of several looms (Fig. 5.33 and 5.34), one protected from the sun under an area covered by the upper level terrace (Fig. 5.35). Several bags of wool could be seen accumulated under this protective roof too. Each level has three bedrooms, with a door and a window that open to the patio of 14.90 m2. The total area devoted to bedrooms in this dwelling after the enlargement comes to 56.56 m2, considering seven independent spaces.

The furniture used in the living room consists of only two individual armchairs (Fig. 5.36) and there is space for a computer desk and an electric sewing machine facing the front window. In the dining room there is a rectangular table for six people while the kitchen is defined as a space by kitchen cabinets that nearly reach the ceiling. The bedroom has a double bed and a large closet, plus half-height furniture for clothes storage (Fig. 5.37).

Until this day in the house they continue to receive visiting relatives who travel to the city, as well as the older sons who have already left the house and are working outside Arica. The sons' rooms are kept for the times when they visit their parents. Only the youngest son still lives in the house, using one of the rooms in the rear volume. These rooms, not large in size, are designed to accommodate a single bed and some pieces of furniture to store clothes. Two of the bedrooms are used as storage and one is completely empty.

Regarding future plans, the couple intend to extend the main volume with an upper floor, building on the concrete slab that currently covers the living room, dining room, kitchen and master bedroom spaces. They also plan to formalize the kitchen area with a formal separation and the installation of appropriate furniture. The availability of more space for the installation of a workshop for craftwork, including a space for washing wool and for storage is also to be completed in the future. Expanding the upper level would free some space for these purposes.

### 5.1.4 CASE 04

The woman interviewed called Monica is 43 years old. She reached the second year of secondary education and defines herself as Catholic. She has five children, three grown-up ones and two smaller. She was born in Arica but immediately returned with her parents to live in the highlands family *uta*, on the estancia of Chucullo near the *marka* village of Chingane. She lived in the highlands until she was seven years old, then was brought to the city to study along with her older siblings. Her father stayed with her in a house that he obtained during the 1960s through an illegal takeover of a land lot and which he built himself. However, because of a job offer, it was not much used after he returned to live in the highlands following a season spent working in the city. Monica's mother remained living in the *uta* with her younger brothers (there are

nine siblings in total) and she took care of the animals. In the city her father worked during the day while she attended school and returned to the house at night.

She lived in the house of her father throughout her youth, traveling to the highlands for every vacation to accompany her mother. While she was in high school she met the man who became the father of her three eldest sons, and with whom she lived in a house owned by the husband's family. This property she described as a small house consisting of one main room plus a bedroom built in lightweight material. During the years she lived there with her partner they built a new room on the site also using light materials. After living with this man for a few years she separated from him and returned to live in the house of her father. Later she met the the the man with whom she would have her two youngest children, and moved in with him when she found out that she was pregnant.

This third dwelling where Monica lived in the city was a house rented by her partner, a non-Aymara professional with a good economic situation. The house was built with a solid concrete structure as part of a private housing development. Shortly after the birth of the couple's second child, because of personal problems, Monica decided to apply for a social housing subsidy from the state to become independent. She enrolled in the programme and with difficulties managed to collect the money demanded as mandatory prior savings. She believes she was lucky because she was promptly assigned a home.

Although the house assigned to her was a progressive housing solution consisting only of a single room and a bathroom built with a solid structure, the house initially served as habitation only for the eldest sons of this woman. When she had been able to save some money, she began the expansion of the house and moved in herself with the younger children. Then the eldest daughter who already had a partner

returned to live with her, so through a bank loan the money was obtained to make the enlargements that we see today on the upper level.

The main flaw of the house that she expressed is the absence of bedrooms. She did not understand that what the social housing programme was providing for her was a housing solution intended to be enlarged by each family until it finally became a complete house. She even considered not accepting it and waiting to be granted a full housing subsidy, but ultimately the need to provide a solution to the complicated situation of herself and her children forced her to accept the house. She also believes that the housing complex is located too far from the city centre, so she has to spend much on public transport.

To Monica the most important spaces in the city house are the bedrooms. But she also refers to the bathroom as being an important element, because when a family has children attending school, the restriction of a single bathroom becomes complicated.

All the dwellings that Monica has inhabited since leaving high school have had some workspace for handcraft textile production. Currently, she does not have a specially adapted space for these tasks, so in the future expansion plans of her house, she intends to make a workspace with the necessary characteristics like the one in the house shared with the father of her two youngest children. She is currently part of a group of women who have started a craftswomen's cooperative organization, maintaining a common workshop in the house of one of the participants.

Monica's father is her link with traditional Aymara living space, since he returned to live in the highlands to take care of the animals after the death of his wife. Because her father is old, he only currently makes sure that everything runs well, while

another person is paid for grazing the animals. They try to travel as much as possible, but usually their trips are more frequent during the wet season, which is summer on the coast, and the best time to herd animals.

The ceremonies held at the city home only became the *challado* of the house after Monica had finished with the expansion phases. In addition she says she participates in the celebration of the Aymara New Year, but only since it became a massive event in the city.

The terrain of the house is a rectangle 3.3 meters wide by 19.70 meters long, a total usage space of 65 square meters (see architectural plans in volume II). The original structure was of the basic housing solution types composed of a single room with a bathroom on one level in solid material (brick and concrete structure), under the assumption that it would be the foundation for future expansions. This room had a total area of 19.60 m2 to which must be added the 2.25 m2 of the single bathroom. From this base the family decided to expand the back of the house, adding a new space that was divided by a wooden partition into two rooms connecting directly without a door (Fig. 5.38, 5.39 and 5.40). Again the remains of the original structure are exposed, keeping the bathroom window and the space developed as kitchen connected to one of the enlarged bedrooms (Fig. 5.41 and 5.42). The limited space remaining in the rear of the site is presented as a small courtyard with a hard floor, which is partly covered by a structure built on the upper floor (Fig. 5.43 and 5.44).

The original structure was located back from the front limit of the site, so there is a front yard, with a concrete floor, that serves as storage and working space. From this front outer space there is access to the second stage of enlargements built at upper level (Fig. 5.45). This access is via a wooden staircase that connects to a balcony facing the front yard and built with light materials (Fig. 5.46).

This case study is the only one that presents the peculiarity that the enlargement process through self-construction ends up creating two full houses. We can see in the upper level a built volume of a similar size to the ground level construction, subdivided by a wooden partition that separates a first space of living + dining (Fig. 5.47), then a bedroom that has a double bed and a single bed trying to achieve some privacy by screening with furniture (Fig. 5.48 and 5.49). Then a smaller room clearly defined as a kitchen appears at the end of the upper level along with a bathroom whose back wall is at the end of site (Fig. 5.50 and 5.51).

The chronology of the self-construction process starts from the need quickly to build sleeping rooms. Two rooms of light material were originally built, which were replaced by the volume in the ground level that we see today. Then she decided to leave the front yard of the house as a hard floor working space and also the small backyard, providing it with a place to wash clothes and wool. The remodelling of the house on the upper floor was made to allow the independence of Monica's daughter, who, after becoming pregnant, stayed in the house with her partner.

As regards their future construction plans, it is intended to improve the housing conditions of the upper level, particularly in terms of formalizing internal subdivisions and access, and building a new staircase.

In this case we can see that just as with traditional housing, the family contemplated that the children, together with their partners, should remain established in their parents' house until they could be completely autonomous. Traditionally, a new couple would establish itself in the house of the husband's family, however in this case it was the family of the woman who took care of providing the couple with a space.

Again we note that there is no sense of privacy expressed in these rooms because despite their being separated by wooden partitions, there are no doors. On the ground level only the two original doors are maintained that at first connected the exterior with the interior of the house. One now connects the kitchen with a bedroom, the other a bedroom with the backyard (Fig. 5.52). In the second house upstairs we only observe the access door and the one for the bathroom (Fig. 5.53). The path between the living + dining room and kitchen is through side circulation defined informally with furniture (Fig. 5.54 and 5.55).

About the furnishings we can say that in the house on the ground level, the living room + dining area, is equipped with a sofa for two persons and two single ones. The rectangular dining table for six people is set on one side against the wall next to the original bathroom. There is also a rack with a television and a refrigerator in the corner and a kitchen cabinet in line with the wall of the bathroom, which serves as separator between the kitchen and living + dining space.

The main room is the one accessed through the kitchen and has a double bed plus a TV set and wardrobe. Through this room and separated by a fragile partition with a threshold without a door is the access to a single room with a single bed used by the youngest son of the hostess, and there is a window and door that connect to the backyard of the house.

The second upstairs house is furnished with a set of sofas composed of a three seater and two single ones. The dining room consists of a rectangular dining table for six people and a wall unit for the TV set and stereo. From this space there is access to a large central room where on one side is a double bed and at the end a single bed where the youngest son of the young couple sleeps. There is a wardrobe and a low

cabinet to serve as an informal space separation, shaping the circulation corridor into the kitchen that lies at the end of the volume along with the upper floor bathroom.

**5.1.5 CASE 05**

This interviewee is an Aymara woman 50 years old who is dedicated exclusively to housework and whom we will call Gregoria. She is a widow and has four children. She only has a basic level of education, reaching the third year of study. She declared herself to belong to the Evangelical Church. She was born in Guallatire in the high sector of Arica, but because there was no civil registry office in the *marka* village, she was registered in the village of Belen. She spent her childhood and adolescence in the highlands living with her parents and younger siblings until she was eighteen years old, and then came down to the city to find work.

Framed within the waves of migration of the first Aymara people in the 1960s, this woman's parents moved to the city looking for work while maintaining a fully functioning building in the highlands as a source of income from the livestock of camelids. The illegal taking of terrain and informal housing construction in these areas aided the installation of these Aymara families in the city. When Gregoria decided to go down to the city to seek better employment, she used this precarious house that still belongs to the family in what had already become a poor neighborhood but with all the basic facilities.

Newly arrived in the city, she met her future husband and decided to get married quickly. The children came soon after. Once married, the couple moved to the house of the husband's parents who were already installed in the city. This house, also the product of an illegal land-take, was of light material and was sold within a few years. The whole large family moved to a new home this time on a larger lot and built from

solid materials. They lived in this house of Gregoria's husband's parents until she was allotted the house that they currently inhabit.

The application for the benefit of social housing was a long process, since her husband was not interested in participating in the prior actions for the benefit. The requirement for families who want to be beneficiaries to have a minimum amount of savings, due to their precarious economic situation, meant that they had to look for ways to collect the money. So the first application attempt failed because of the lack of support from her husband. As a result of differences with him, the couple informally separated, but she continued living in her husband's parents' house. At that time she decided to begin the application to housing personally, with the added need to leave the house where she lived as an "allegada" with their children so far.

The positive response came after she had fulfilled the requirements and moved to live in the new dwelling, which as we shall see corresponds to a progressive housing solution, with a single built space plus a full bathroom. Because of economic problems, the changes made in the house have been few, priority being given to solving the lack of bedrooms.

When asked which of the spaces of the house she considered more important, Gregoria responded that for her the kitchen is the most important room in the house, comparing it to what happens with the traditional Aymara house. She complained about having such a small kitchen in the city, and has future plans to expand it and establish it as an important space within the house. However, when she explains the features of this space she describes a large kitchen with furniture and appliances, following an image that is far from what happens in the traditional house, but on the contrary represents the modern western look of this room and its equipment.

Gregoria hopes to gain the financial support of her sons, especially the two older ones who already have work, to undertake housing arrangements. She dreams of expanding the house to two levels and to have at least five bedrooms, one for each member of her family, even considering that maybe some of her sons could come to live with her future family in the house. A working space for the production of handicrafts is another possible space that she would like to add to the house, and on the upper floor she would like a terrace to look onto the street. Gregoria continues to receive visits from family members who stay in the house at least a couple of times a year, especially brothers and cousins who maintain residences in the altiplano, but because of their occupations as merchants regularly visit the city.

Despite criticizing the housing solution, especially regarding the size, Gregoria highlights the possibility of having her own home, especially compared to her first experiences in the city where she inhabited unauthorized housing which was on illegally taken land. She admits that when she reached the city, she saw performances of some of the traditional ceremonies in urban dwellings, but now besides *challar* when the construction or extension of a house is completed, she does not practice any rite or ceremony associated with the house.

She continues to travel to her *uta* near Guallatire for average periods of a couple of weeks because it still holds animals. On these journeys, depending on the season, she may be accompanied by one of her sons, but it is increasingly rare that they agree to go with her.

The original terrain has a size of 104.61 m2, 5.50 meters wide and 18.85 meters long (see architectural plans in volume II). This house is a basic housing solution type, composed only of one room plus a bathroom. The room has a size of 11.31 m2, while the bathroom has a size of 2.86 m2. The first thing we notice is that

the original structure was extended through an opening in the back wall creating a space for living room + dining area + kitchen totalling 18.48 m2 (Fig. 5.56). The original bathroom was modified and we can see that its original window is now a part of the large area, while the new bathroom has no windows. Two rooms were built on the rear sector of the enlarged unit (Fig. 5.57 and 5.58), each with a separate entrance and window that are connected to a hard floor patio, accessed from the main volume also. This hard floor courtyard, used for textile production, is protected by a fabric sunscreen (Fig. 5.59). At the back of the house we can see a backyard that has not yet been developed, and which remains as a space to gather construction materials.

The main extended volume is subdivided informally through furniture and light wood panelling, defining a small kitchen space on one side of the entrance to the bathroom (Fig. 5.60 and 5.61). In this house we noticed that there is no living room furniture, unlike in all other cases studied, but only a dining table for six people is presented, a wall cabinet that serves to place a TV set, as well as a small desk with a computer used by the woman's daughters (Fig. 5.62 and 5.63). The two rear rooms are almost identical in size and both are furnished with single beds. Gregoria uses one of them and one of her daughters and her little son uses the second. Both have furniture for storing clothes and other objects (Fig. 5.64).

The enlargement process sought in the first instance to solve the problem of bedrooms through the construction of two rooms in light material with similar characteristics to those we see today built permanently. The extension of the original volume using a structure of bricks and concrete was then constructed to finally formalize the two rooms besides putting a hard floor in the courtyard that connects the main volume with the two rooms. This case is one of the few studied where the space for living room + dining area + kitchen is larger in square meters than the space used as a bedrooms that adds up to 14.82 m2.

### 5.1.6 CASE 06

Manuel is an Aymara man 43 years old, born in an estancia near the marka village of Belén in the highlands of Arica. He is married and has four daughters. He and his family belong to the Evangelical Church and participate actively. He remained living with his parents in the highlands until he was thirteen years old, when along with his mother he went down to the city so that he could continue studying. His mother accompanied him as he settled into the house of a family friend, who had come down from the same sector of Belén a few years before, and occupied a progressive social dwelling newly handed over after he had lived on an illegal land-take. His mother was with him for a few weeks, after which she returned to the traditional dwelling. Manuel helped to build two rooms in the house in which he was living, one of which ended up being his bedroom, shared with the two children of the home-owner who was the same age as him.

He had spent a year on this property when his mother's older sister came to live in the city, moving in to live with this direct relative. The aunt and her husband later purchased this house, formalizing the primary enlargement interventions of lightweight material in rooms by reconstructing them in brick and concrete. Manuel finally failed to complete his studies, because he began working on a vegetable stall that his aunt had set up in the agricultural market. This was how he met the lady who is now his wife.

After they married, they moved to live in the home of his wife's grandmother, where they built a house of lightweight material at the back of the site. There they remained living for nearly two years. Following the birth of their first child, they felt that they should see how to go about getting their own home. They made the application hoping to achieve the required down-payment quickly, however they chose to use the money they had saved for housing in a bid for independence of their business. Finally

this meant that only after almost two and a half years after the first application did they succeed finally in gaining social housing.

The house which was granted to them corresponded to the usual type of progressive housing, consisting of a single room and bathroom. Successive enlargements were performed seeking greater comfort. The family was also growing.

A younger brother of Manuel came to live with them while he was studying the final two years of secondary education. His parents also consistently visited, and his father inhabited the house for about six months during medical treatment. Finally his father died and his mother decided to stay in the traditional highlands dwelling to care for alpacas and llamas that the family still keep today. However in recent years the mother has been spending time in the city.

According to Manuel, the most important part of the house is the living and dining room because, he says, this is the space where family and friends gather. The main problem of the house was the lack of bedrooms. He says that he never understood that the options offered to him included a situation where the family should finish the construction of the dwelling. He believes that the site could be bigger, but does not see it as a major issue. He wishes that his wife could have a dedicated space in which to perform her handmade textile work.

This house was initially a progressive housing unit with a single area of 15.85 m2 and with a bathroom of 3.30 m2, all reinforced masonry (see architectural plans in volume II). The site had a width of 4.75 m and it was 15.95 m long, reaching a total of 75.76 m2. The first step of the enlargement process began with the construction of two rooms to be used as bedrooms in a rectangular volume placed to extend the original structure. Both rooms were built with brick and concrete with 6.40 m2 of surface area,

and they have separate doors and windows that open onto a courtyard with a concrete floor (Fig. 5.65). This space served as a place of craftsmanship, particularly textile production by the wife of Manuel. Subsequently, it was decided that the courtyard would be closed and its area would be used for the dining room and kitchen (Fig. 5.66). With the conversion of the formerly outdoor space into a roofed room, the windows and doors of the two rooms now look directly onto the dining space, together with the small bathroom window that also opens onto this space. The kitchen is separated from the dining area, defined by walls and a window overlooking the backyard of the house (Fig. 5.67).

It was then decided to build a upper floor to add more space for bedrooms. For this, part of the wall of the front of the original structure was demolished to make space for a metal staircase that connects to the upper level (Fig. 5.68). One of the windows of the original unit is even visible facing the interior where the staircase is located. The upper level of the house was the latest build, consisting of two rooms separated by light wooden partitions that have been collected for reuse to build something definitive. One of the panels for example has an opening where a window was located and it is now covered with fabric. None of these rooms have doors, and curtains are used as separators with a view to creating some privacy (Fig. 5.69). The two upper rooms have a total area of 19.83 m2. The space in front of the house has been given a concrete floor. It has an area of 11.12 m2 and is used for parking and storage.

This property differs from the other cases studied, having clearly separated living room and dining space, as the entire original space of the unit provided by the state is used as a living room (Fig. 5.70). The expansion to accommodate the stairs, as we mentioned before, leaves a strange wasted space between the bathroom volume and a piece of the old front wall. One of the two single armchairs of the three-piece sofa suite which completes the furniture of the main living room hides this

residual space, and allows for the accumulation of objects in a sort of improvised storage space (Fig. 5.71 and 5.72).

The dining room consists of a rectangular table for six people located along the back wall of the bathroom which has a small window (Fig. 5.73). A cabinet to store kitchen utensils is located on the wall facing the windows of the rooms on the first stage of the enlargement process. The kitchen is separated from the dining area by a half-height wall, and a complete wall forms the corridor of circulation leading to the rear courtyard that is connected by a door.

There is just a single bed and a wardrobe in the two ground level bedrooms. One of these rooms, currently in disuse, was previously used by the younger brother of Manuel's wife who lived with them for a while. The rooms on the upper level are of different sizes; the bigger one that looks onto the street is furnished with a double bed and a wardrobe. The other room, smaller in size, is used by the youngest daughter of the couple and has a small bed next to a closet along with a small half-height cabinet for storing clothes.

### 5.1.7 CASE 07

Maria is 44 years old, is married, and has four daughters. She also declares herself as Catholic and did not reach completion of high school. She participates in a group of Aymara craftswomen who are working on the recovery of traditional goldsmithery, so her current occupation is goldsmith craftswoman. She was born in Arica and has lived her entire life in the city.

Maria's parents moved to live in the city in the sixties and remained living in Arica. The family always maintained the traditional house in Codpa, the parents alternating to take care of the *estancia* where Monica's grandparents remained living. It

was in a high sector, but the valley is used for production of vegetables. She remembers having lived in the traditional dwelling during the months of the summer vacation, and having helped in agricultural activities. Currently she tries to travel to visit the house at least two or three times during the year, but admits she does not have a particular concern for it, unlike one of her brothers who is interested in pursuing better methods with the small agricultural production that is possible in the *uta*.

The house that the family inhabited in the city when Maria was young was not directly social housing, but was a piece of land given by the state to families coming from the rural sector. That family built the house with a separate kitchen, a space that served as living room + dining room, and a bedroom, all in lightweight material. Due to family problems that house was sold, and she and her brothers went to live with their mother in a house that she had achieved through a subsidy for progressive basic housing. This house had a single central space plus a bathroom, and because of economic problems it was not extended immediately. When Maria and her current husband came to live there, they built an extra room on the site using light materials, where they lived until they could apply for a housing solution, where they currently live. But the application process was not easy, and it took almost two and a half years until the site with the basic volume was delivered to them.

As her parents were already installed in Arica, she has not suffered the visit of relatives coming to her house as a place to start the installation process in the city; however a younger sister lived with them when she became pregnant and during the first few months after her son was born.

When asked which space is more important in the city house, Maria replied that it was the living room. She says that the space where the visitors are received should be the most important, particularly now that her older daughter is in college, and since

that room is where she receives her classmates. If she had extra money, she would without hesitation change the furniture and rearrange the space. Besides, among the changes she would like to make to the house, there is the possibility of creating a good workspace.

The main complaint that she makes about the house provided by the state is the elongated rectangular shape of the terrain, since if it were wider, the central courtyard could be bigger and not take the form of quasi-corridor that currently exists. She does not consider the location of the house to be bad compared with the distance to the city centre, but she complains that the neighborhood has undergone a process of marked degradation in recent years, generating a problem of insecurity resulting from micro drug-trafficking.

This property was originally a housing solution of the programme of basic progressive housing, which had a single room of 10.40 m2 and a bathroom of 3.00 m2. Only part of the structure of the original house remains, because the processes of expansion and transformation have been considerable (see architectural plans in volume II). The total area is a rectangle 87.16 m2 in size, with a frontage of 4.75 m and a length of 18.35 m. To this we must add an area currently used as a backyard that was purchased informally from the immediate neighbouring family and has a size of 19.00 m2.

The house is separated from the street by a front yard of 9.5 m2 which was built with a concrete floor and is covered by a metal framework structure. It currently serves for parking and temporary storage. The enlargement process started, as in most cases of progressive housing, with the construction of bedrooms in the first instance, of lightweight material and originally located at the rear of the dwelling. Later, with the

support of SERVIU facilitating the provision of construction materials, they performed the final extension process that can be observed today.

The first thing we see is that the original bathroom was removed to enlarge the space intended for the living room. Then a rectangular volume that reached almost to the rear wall of the site was built, further expanding the original single space with an area where the dining room, a new bathroom, the main room, and the kitchen at the end of the new structure are located. Access to these new rooms is via a central elongated concrete-floored courtyard (Fig. 5.74 and 5.75). Subsequently the kitchen was expanded to occupy the remaining part of the site (Fig. 5.76 and 5.77), which allowed for a dining room of daily use to be installed in this space (Fig. 5.78).

The need to increase the number of rooms for the children led to the initiation of a second phase of expansion, this time building an upper level onto the house. Through a metallic structure and wood panels, the upper floor with 4 bedrooms was constructed (Fig. 5.79). Subsequently, an informal space that serves as storage room was built. Again all these rooms open into the central courtyard where the stairs allowing access to the upper level are located. There is a wooden staircase on each side of the courtyard leading to a narrow corridor around all of the rooms (Fig. 5.80, 5.81 and 5.82). Unlike other cases analysed earlier, all the rooms in this house have individual access and privacy, with doors to each one of them.

The living room consists of one sofa for three people and two single ones, as well as wall cabinets and side tables. The dining room for six persons is located on a corner of this large initial space. The main bedroom has a double bed and a wardrobe.

At the upper level we see that the first room has windows to the front of the house and the next one has double beds, while the other two have single beds but also

added desks. All rooms because of their good size allow for the existence of closets to store clothes, as well as other furniture. The warehouse space located at the back of the house is a newly built space in lightweight material. The central courtyard has recently been covered by a light metallic structure.

The intention of the family in the future is to improve the construction conditions of the spaces currently set, with no need to expand the number and size of rooms or spaces. Access from the ground level to the upper room volume is also proposed as something to improve, because the stairs are made of wood and currently do not have a safe inclination.

### 5.1.8 CASE 08

The next interviewee is a single 41 year-old Aymara woman named Mercedes. She is the mother of one child and belongs to the Evangelical Church. She was born on a ranch near the marka village of Guallatire, but was registered in the town of Belén, because there was no civil registry office in Guallatire. She never completed her high school education, having only reached the first year.

Mercedes arrived in the city of Arica when she was fifteen years old, with the idea of continuing with her high school education after attending a small school in the highlands for her primary education. Her parents continued living in the traditional house, the *uta*, in the altiplano. She first stayed at the house of an aunt, but she did not stay for long and moved definitively to the home of another relative. She does not know if this house was part of an illegal takeover of land, however she remembers that the dwelling was built in lightweight materials and that it was self-built by her uncle. Her older brother who came down to the city to look for work also stayed at the house. Some time after she arrived in the city, her parents bought a house that was previously granted as social housing to a family. This property was rented for some months, while

both brothers continued living at the uncle's house.  When her brother got married, her parents stopped renting the house and she moved to this property with them. At that moment she was no longer studying and started to work as a textile craftswoman, deciding to apply for her own housing. In the meantime she continued living with her brother until her economic situation improved and she moved to a bigger rented house.

After a long application process to obtain a seven-year social housing benefit, and after she was made part of a group with other families that lived as "allegados", Mercedes was allotted a social housing unit of the progressive type that consisted only of a single room with a bathroom. She thinks that the reason of the long process in her case was that families with children are usually selected before single people, and when she applied she was not yet pregnant with her only daughter.  She continued living at her parents' house because she did not have any money to build bedrooms onto her new house, but she was forced to move into it when a fire destroyed part of the parents' house.

When she was asked which space of the house in the city she considers to be the most important, her answer was that the bedrooms and the kitchen are the principal rooms. She also thinks a workspace is important, and in the future she plans to build an area in which she can arrange looms. Since her parents died, Mercedes no longer travels to the highlands. Her brother is the one who takes care of the few animals that they still keep in the *uta,* and he travels there often to see how they are doing. This property has a site of 9.70 meters wide and 19.70 meters long. It is considerably larger than the usual social housing lots (see architectural plans in volume II). The basic original unit was a concrete and brick structure forming one room of 10.40 m2 with a bathroom of 1.94 m2.

The first enlargement of the house was the construction of a room attached to the original structure that served as a bedroom. Later Mercedes built a main room which increased the size of the house, eliminating the original bathroom and creating in that corner a new bedroom. A new bathroom was built in the place remaining between this new room and the original back wall of the unit. The first bedroom built was enlarged using wooden panels for use as dining and kitchen. This volume connects to the backyard of the property through a door. On the other side of this patio another independent room was built with another external bathroom; this room is currently let to a couple. The total built bedroom area reaches 34.61 m2, while the living + dining + kitchen space is 22.20 m2.

The furniture in the living room area consists of a double sofa and one single armchair, the dining table is for six people, and the kitchen area is composed of several cabinets located along the back wall of the room. We can also see a desk in this space. The main room has a double bed used by Mercedes and her daughter. The separated room also has a double bed, cabinets and a four person square table.

## 5.1.9 CASE 09

The next interviewee, Juan, is 42 years old, is married and has two children. He was born in Arica and completed his secondary education. He defines himself as an agnostic and has an administrative job in a company dedicated to the production of seeds in the Azapa Valley in Arica. His parents are from a small ranch on the outskirts of the village of Parinacota. Months before he was born, his parents went down to the city in pursuit of better economic conditions, initially living in a house obtained by relatives in an illegal land-take in the northern sector of Arica. Shortly after his birth, he returned along with his parents to the interior, where he remained until he was thirteen years old. At that moment his parents decided that he should move to the city and finish his studies in Arica.

The first house in which he was received was the home of his maternal grandmother, who had lived for some years in the city. This home he remembers as a small house with a brick built area, and two rooms built of light material at the back of the site, which is accessed by a central courtyard, similar to a traditional Aymara house. One of Juan's aunts then came to live in this same dwelling with her family. Juan remained there until his father came back down to the city and rented a house in a sector nearby.  This small house was built at the bottom of the site of another house, but was isolated from the main house and had a small private entrance. It was built of light material and consisted of two buildings separated by walls made of wood, and a bathroom located externally. Juan's mother remained living in the highlands looking after a few animals that the family kept.

Juan's father, by illegal occupation of land, eventually achieved a place where he constructed a small house of wooden panels. It was  expanded progressively in the following years through a process of self-build in which Juan remembers actively participating. Throughout his youth, Juan spent his summer holidays in the *uta* with his parents, accompanying his mother and younger brothers, who up to this day remain living in the interior lands.  After completing higher education Juan began performing small jobs at the company for which he currently works. That is how he met his wife, with whom he first lived at the house of her parents as "allegados" in two rooms of lightweight material. After the birth of their first daughter they decided to apply for a social dwelling solution. The memory of the process is positive, because they could quickly gather the required amount of savings. They received the new home in less than a year.

The spaces of the house that Juan considers to be the most relevant are the living room and bedrooms. He believes they are the spaces which deserve more

concern, because they are where the family spends most time with visitors, in the case of the living room, or are the most private, as in the bedrooms. As we shall see, he hopes to improve the conditions of the sleeping spaces in future extensions of the house.  He believes that social housing should be larger. He is happy with the location of the property and especially with the size of the site that allows him easily to park his vehicle, something that usually causes a problem in social housing units. Juan did not perform any ceremonies when he received the house nor when he finished the extensions. However, he recalled that in the highlands he witnessed the celebration after finishing the construction of a house, but he is not a person who has close contact to things related to religion and custom.  He still travels often to the highlands since his mother lives there most of the year in the traditional dwelling, performing grazing tasks with the animals owned by the family. He tries to travel as often as possible to see his mother. He has been bringing his children since they were little, so they would know what the traditional Aymara space in the highlands is like; however he does not imagine himself living there.

This house was originally composed of two levels, the first of which was composed of a space for a living room, a dining room and a kitchen, with a size of 13.80 m2 plus bathroom of 2.47 m2 (see architectural plans in volume II). At the second level are two rooms that added 14.51 m2 destined for a bedroom and 2.23 m2 in addition to serve as circulation (stairs and a small hall space between the two rooms on the upper level). The site has a total footage of 120.75 m2, considerably larger than usually observed in this type of social housing.

The ground level was expanded with a space allocated exclusively for the living room, adding 16.39 m2. The position of the ladder located in this new built area was also modified (Fig.  5.83). The dining room now occupies the space of the original house with a small desk (Fig.  5.84). The kitchen is separated from the dining area by a

piece of furniture (Fig. 5.85). At the upper level we can see that a third room with a size of 14.05 m2 was added to the two original rooms. A wooden partition wall separates the rooms and we can observe that the central room has no windows and is connected directly to a corridor with no door. In the new room we can see a small balcony overlooking the street. The main room remains as one of the original rooms, with a window looking onto the backyard of the house (Fig. 5.86). There is a front yard built with a concrete floor that is completely covered by a light metal frame.

As was aforementioned, this house has an unusual size of site that corresponds roughly to twice the size of the original social housing site. In this case the space was used to build a cement floor on the side equivalent to the size of the house, which is completely covered by an extension of the concrete floor of the upper level and ended up completing the entire space between the two perimeter walls. Currently this space is used for parking, while in this case, unlike other cases studied, there is no space dedicated to craft production work.

The living room space is defined by pieces of furniture including a sofa set consisting of one double and two singles. Although the dining room is informally separate from the kitchen because of the cabinet, it is presented as a whole, forming a space for daily family use, including even a small desk with a computer used by the children. As has been mentioned, at the upper level there are three bedrooms: the master bedroom has a double bed and a wardrobe. The central room that has no windows is used by the youngest son; and the room that faces the front of the house is destined for the use of the eldest daughter, and includes a single bed, a desk and a closet. It has a door and a window that overlook a small balcony.

Regarding future plans, Juan has the idea to expand the house using the concrete floor on the upper level that covered the parking area (Fig. 5.87), which he

sees as a possibility for easy enclosure, allowing expansion of the current footage of the upper level to more than double. The new space will be used for bedrooms, both to improve existing conditions and to add another because Juan is considering the possibility of hosting his younger brother, who is finishing his studies in a boarding school in the highlands of Arica and should soon come down to the city to finish high school.

### 5.1.10 CASE 10

Mario is a 50 year-old Aymara man who was born in an *estancia* close to the *marka* village of Colchane. He did not complete high school, reaching only the 2nd grade. He is married with a daughter still at school. He declares himself Catholic, but not practising.  Mario arrived in the city at the age of nine to study. His parents left him at the house of a brother of his father who had been living in the city for some time. He began attending school and also helping out at the grocery stand of his uncle in the agricultural market. He admits he was never good at studies, and that he had a hard time in school, so he began to help his uncle in his business. He finally ended the second year of high school when his uncle became ill and he took charge of the stand, leaving school and never resuming. With the help of his uncle he started his own business selling and transporting products, a labour occupation that he stills keeps today.  Mario met his current wife at school when both were attending secondary education. They got married after a couple of years of living together and began their life as a married couple as "allegados" in the house of the mother of the wife. With the economic help of both families they built a room using wooden panels in the rear part of the house until the financial situation of the couple improved and they were able to move to a rented independent house.

This house was located in the northern area of the city. It was an old progressive housing unit that had been enlarged with two rooms used as bedrooms

constructed with lightweight materials in the backyard of the property. With the idea of becoming house owners, they very quickly started the application process for a social house, and Mario admits that it was less complicated than he thought it would be. The only problem was the sum of savings required as a precondition for access to housing benefit. At that time, a large part of the family money was directly spent on the monthly rent of the house in which they lived. But they saved the required amount in less than a year and approved that condition, having to wait a year and a half until they received the keys of their own new home.

The social state housing unit that they received was a two level house, with two bedrooms on the upper floor and the common areas on the ground level. During the first years that the couple lived in the dwelling, they did not have the opportunity to start any construction of new spaces, because the economic situation was not good. Also during this time their only child was born, and the younger brother of Mario came from the highland to study in the city, so with the help of his parents a room was built to the rear of the site, initially in lightweight materials that, as we will see later, was the initial point of all the transformations made to the original house structure.

When they received the house, Mario's parents and other relatives and friends came to the city from the altiplano and made a celebration of *challado* of the house with a *yatiri* to ensure that the couple have good luck in their new home. Mario also says that when he was younger, he usually visited the marka village to attend the celebration of the "santos patronos", but it has been many years since the last time. In the city he participates in the Aymara New Year celebration with his whole family, especially since this celebration became a big city celebration.

When asked which space of the house he considers to be the most important, Mario thinks that the living room space should be the one on which most work should

be dedicated, because it is the "face of the house". The bedrooms are also spaces that he considers to be important and he also mentions the kitchen being a third place. He feels generally satisfied with the social house he has received, but he criticizes the size of the site, believing that the rectangular shape with such narrow frontage would not help when the new rooms were built. Also he says that the streets of the housing complex are too small and the cars cannot circulate properly. Regarding the location of the house, he says it is perfect because it is close to the agricultural market were he works and also not far from the city centre.

Mario's wife takes care of the domestic work in the house and is also a craftswoman who produces textile articles that she sells directly. In the backyard we can see looms, and a a possible enlargement in future is a proper working space for this craft production next to a room where she could expose and store the cloth. Mario keeps traveling frequently to the *uta* in the highlands because his parents continue living there and the family possesses some animals. He usually travels every other month for at least a week and during vacation times he stays there for long periods.

This house corresponds to a two level, attached typology of social housing. Initially the ground level space where the living + dining + kitchen areas were located had a total size of 12.57 square meters, and a single bathroom of 2.63 m2 (see architectural plans in volume II). A ladder attached to the wall and close to the entrance door connects the ground level with a upper floor divided into bedrooms making a total area of 15.07 m2. The site is a rectangle 3.45 m wide and 18.65 m long, with a total area of 63.34 m2.

The first enlargement work was the construction of a bedroom at the rear of the site, initially built in lightweight materials, but later rebuilt at the same size as a concrete and brick structure. Subsequently, a new volume was built attached to the original structure, opening a threshold to access this new space consisting of the dining

and kitchen areas. The whole original space of the house is now dedicated to the living room.  Using the new built volume on the ground floor, a new room was created on the upper level and is used as the main bedroom, looking onto the backyard that appears between the house and the room at the back of the site. This backyard was modified by the construction of a concrete floor, transforming it into a working exterior area of 11.14 m2. The room at the back of the house is now being used as a storage room, as Mario's brother moved out of the house when he finished his studies.

The furniture of the living room consists of a sofa for two persons and two single ones along with some wall cabinets and side tables. The threshold that connects this space to the dining + kitchen allows a visual opening that enables the view of the complete size of the volume. The original bathroom window is maintained and opens onto the dining area. The dining table is rectangular and is for six people. The kitchen furniture and artifacts are located along the back wall that looks through a window onto the backyard and connects to it with a door on the opposite side.

On the upper floor, the room that looks over the front yard and the street is used by the couple's daughter, and it contains a single bed, a computer desk and a small drawer. This room connects to a central space which was originally the second room of the house, but is now used as an open storage room. The window located in the original structure was not covered, and is blocked by a cabinet located in the main bedroom. This larger room has a double bed and a drawer, and it connects to the central space through an opening in the wall with no door, but which is covered by a type of curtain.

## 5.2 PRIVATE HOUSING CASES

### 5.2.1 CASE 11

Luzmira is an Aymara woman who is 45 years of age. She is married and has three daughters. She declares herself as Catholic, but not practising. Her occupation is an artisan. She only managed to finish her second year of secondary education; she continued studying in the city after her arrival because she could only study primary education at the school near the *uta*. She was born in an *estancia* near the village *marka* of Cariquima. The families of both parents are from the same area. She lived her entire childhood and youth in the highlands with her parents and sisters. She met her husband in the highlands and she was 18 when they married. The couple moved from the high geographical areas to live in the city of Iquique (a coastal city 300 kilometers south of Arica), where they stayed at the house of an acquaintance of her husband's family. After nearly three months without finding work, she decided to travel to Arica where her husband had an aunt who could take them in and help them out.

Once they had arrived in Arica, the relative at whose home they were supposed to arrive did not lend them support, and they had to go and live in the house of an acquaintance of the Visviri family (in another *estancia* near Cariquima). The family allowed them to build a room of lightweight material at the rear of the site of the house that they owned in the city, near the dry riverbed, with the proviso that they help with the care of their children during the seasons when he and his wife would return to the country to look after the animals they owned. The couple lived there for 3 years, also collaborating with Luzmira in the production of wool, which was spun at this home.

After the birth of their second daughter, they saw the need to move to a larger space, so through Luzmira's parents, they managed to be taken in as "allegados" in the house of a family acquiantance who had a larger room originally designed to accommodate a commercial space, which was empty. The couple moved to this new

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property with their two daughters, while Luzmira began the process of obtaining a social housing unit.

Through an organization of "allegados", they finally succeeded in obtaining a basic progressive housing solution, which was a site with a bathroom, built from concrete and bricks. With the help of a loan provided by relatives, they purchased two prefabricated rooms made of wooden panels that were placed on the site around a central courtyard, after building a concrete floor. One of these rooms was intended as a kitchen and the other room served as a bedroom for themselves and their two daughters. After a while, they decided to build in solid material a third room that was left as a space for dining room + kitchen, devoting the two wooden rooms purchased earlier exclusively to bedrooms, one for them and one for their now three daughters. They lived in this house for about 13 years, until the economy improved and they could, with a family loan provided by Luzmira's sisters, buy the house in which the family currently live.

There was already an unfinished house construction on this lot, so they ended up building and adding to the construction on the back of the house that makes up the courtyard serving as a work space (as we will see later). According to Luzmira, the most important space of the house is the kitchen. Her future plans include being able to have a bigger kitchen than the present one, where she can fit a dining room in which the family can spend more time. Devoted exclusively to her work as a textile craftswoman, she believes that an adequate work space is essential, and that after the kitchen space, this is the second most important area of her home, because it gives her a source of monthly income.

The couple currently lives in the house along with only two of their daughters, because the eldest daughter is married and living in another city with her husband and

little daughter. The couple continues to receive family visits for short periods since their parents decided to move from the highlands a few years ago, selling the animals that they possessed in the interior and buying a small house in the city in an area not far from the house of Luzmira.

This house is built on a site of 172.95 square meters. With a front width of 9.63 m and a length of 17.96 m. It has two levels built in two volumes (see architectural plans in volume II). The house as such is located behind a small front yard of 16.85 m2 and is attached to one of the walls of the site, leaving a parking space for vehicles to one side. A second built volume at the rear of the property allows for the creation of a courtyard between the two buildings that serves as a workspace.

The ground floor of the main volume consists of a space for living room + dining room which is dominated by a large concrete staircase allowing access to the upper level (Fig. 5.88). This area has a size of 23.36 m2, the furniture we can see consists of a set of sofas composed of one for three people and two singles, in addition to some side tables (Fig. 5.89). The dining room consists of a rectangular table for six people and there are also two wall cabinets in the room (Fig. 5.90). This space is connected on one side of the ladder to a space dedicated to the sale of textiles that is accessed through a sliding window, which contains furniture with glass doors for storing and showing clothes (Fig. 5.91). Through a corridor from the dining area you reach the kitchen that is completely finished with adequate furniture and has a size of 8.28 m2 (Fig. 5.92). Across this kitchen space is the en-suite master bedroom which is furnished with a double bed, two bedside tables, a wardrobe, and a chest of drawers where a TV is located (Fig. 5.93).

Up the stairs we reach a central space that is designed as a lounge space where we see a two seater couch and a desk with a computer, plus an exercise

machine (Fig. 5.94). From this central space you can get into four bedrooms of similar sizes, all furnished with simple beds plus wardrobes (Fig. 5.95). There is also a second bathroom on the upper level. Through a door of one of the rooms in the opposite corner to the stairs, you can access the rear built volume across a poorly constructed bridge with a wooden floor (Fig. 5.96). This rear volume in the upper level has two rooms built with thin wooden panels and intended as an extra bedroom with a small bathroom without a shower, while the second is used as a warehouse (Fig. 5.97). The ground level of this volume was constructed with a cement and brick structure and consists of two interconnected spaces that serve as a workshop and an interior work area, plus a full bathroom and a space for washing wool. These spaces we can see are dedicated to the processes of spinning, dyeing and weaving, and there are worktables, pots, weights and furniture to store the materials needed (Fig. 5.98 and 5.99). In the courtyard built with a concrete floor that separates the principal volume from the one built at the rear, we can see several looms installed (Fig. 5.100 and 5.101).

**5.2.2 CASE 12**

Patricia was born in Portezuelo, a small village campsite that existed while some road construction works were performed in the interior areas of Arica, where her father was working. She is 50 years old, separated and has 4 children. She completed secondary education and is working as an artisan. She declares herself as Catholic but not practising. Patricia only lived in the camp of Portezuelo for a few months because after the completion of the road construction the town was dismantled, and she moved with her family to live in her mother's *estancia* located in the area of Negramane near the *marka* village of Guallatire. Because her father continued to work on initiatives that the Chilean state was implementing in the interior zones, she was presented with the opportunity to work in Arica, so she moved with her family to the city. Patricia also says that the decision was made considering the facilities to study that existed in the city,

since from the *estancia* where they lived the nearest school was several miles away in the *marka* village.

Both of Patricia's parents along with her brother came to the city to live in the house of an aunt as "allegados". They were there until her father bought land as part of a former illegal occupation where he settled to live with his family, initially in one room of lightweight material but slowly expanding, thanks to plans of aid for self-construction that the regional government of Arica provided in the sixties (a decade of strong economic dynamism in the city). This house still exists and is where the mother of Patricia lives today.

Then she met her first husband and went to live with him at the house of her in-laws. In this house lived several other brothers of the husband of Patricia with their respective families. Grouped around a central courtyard, several rooms of different materiality were built which were shared by several people. They did not remain long in this situation and started renting rooms in different houses, until the opportunity arose to go and live in the interior to take charge of an *uta* in the town of Chucullo, which was owned by the parents of the husband of Patricia. They lived there for about 4 years.

Upon returning to Arica they were again living as "allegados", this time in the house of Patricia's parents. With the need to own their own home, Patricia requested assistance from a non-governmental organization with which she was linked because she participated in a women's group that was being trained and assisted in creating productive craftswork. With the help of this organization's advice, she obtained a social housing benefit in a very short period of time.

This house was a two storey house, with two bedrooms on the upper level and common space on the ground . This model for homes typically has between 30 and 35

m2 and a narrow rectangular field of 65 to about 70 m2. The main flaw that she mentioned was the size of the enclosures. This property was subject to several expansions by which bedrooms were added and new spaces to accommodate the kitchen and dining programmes, as well as a hard floor courtyard that served as a workspace for Patricia's textile work. She lived in the house for almost 20 years until economic opportunities enabled her to buy a place in a better located neighborhood and she was able to start from scratch to build the house were she lives today.

Her new house was built in parts over a period of three years. The first part built was the living and dining area and the en-suite master bedroom, in addition to a workspace in the courtyard, which was kept as an established central space as the construction of the rooms surrounding that space took place.  Patricia states that this home was designed for the whole family. There is a bedroom for each of her four children, but they unfortunately could never all live together, since by the time construction was complete her older children had already become independent. However, there are constantly people visiting and the house is the family's gathering point.

According to Patricia the most important spaces in her house in the city are the bedrooms. She believes it is essential that each member of the family has a space which is comfortable, illuminated and private. Besides this, for her personally the workspace is very important and she thinks that she has finally managed to have a well conditioned area to perform her craftwork.  Currently, Patricia does not often go to the highlands, since her mother sold all the animals they had. The family lands were divided among all the relatives, leaving the traditional house as the property of another person. But she says she feels the need to go to the highlands - every time there is a religious ceremony in a *marka* village (becoming increasingly scarce, she says) she goes and she is thinking of buying a lot where she can spend time when she becomes

older. She lives in the city because of her job and because it was the best place to provide an education for her children, but she has always thought of retiring to the traditional highlands, and dedicating herself to weaving and keeping some animals.

This house is built on land with a total footage of 190.03 m2, a front width of 9.85 m and a length of 19.80 m (see architectural plans in volume II). It has a front yard of 40.26 m2, including areas devoted to a garden and space for parking a vehicle. We can divide this house into a first built volume that includes the spaces of living + dining room, master bedroom, bathroom and a room used as a selling space for textiles with separate entrances from both the front yard and the central courtyard at the rear.

The living + dining room is a space of 38.11 m2 connecting both to the kitchen and the master bedroom. It is furnished with two sofas for three people and one single, plus a couple of side tables and wall units (Fig. 5.102). The dining room has a table for six people, and a desk with a computer attached to a wall completes this space. A large window provides the light that floods into this space. A door in the back wall allows access to the backyard. The master bedroom has a private bathroom and a double bed in addition to a wardrobe and a window that faces the front yard. This initial volume is complete with the construction of a room of 8.75 m2, which is used as a shop for the textile products manufactured and marketed by Patricia. In this room we can see furniture for storage and displays of garments.

The second volume that we recognize in this house was built at the rear of the site and has an L shape around a central concrete courtyard that also serves as a space for craft production. This volume has two levels accessed by a metal staircase which is attached to a lateral wall of the central courtyard (Fig. 5.103). At ground level of the building behind the front volume, we see a first space that serves as a kitchen, with access through a door to the living + dining space, along with a door and a window

to allow access from the courtyard (Fig. 5.104). The next room also has independent access through a door and a window from the outside area, and is a single bedroom furnished with a single bed, a wardrobe and a nightstand. The next enclosure is a room that faces the back corner of the lot which has no window and is used as a warehouse, also accessed from the courtyard. To finish the volume there is a small bathroom with a separate entrance (Fig. 5.105). Behind the bathroom is an outdoor space covered by the floor of the upper level, used as a workspace hosting two looms and other items. The upper floor of the rear volume has a separate bathroom and two good size bedrooms with independent access from a corridor of L-shape that surrounds the backyard open central space. Both rooms have a window and are furnished with a double bed, a wardrobe and a desk. Next to the bathroom there is an open space that serves as a storage area and is intended to be closed in the future to serve properly as a storage room. The backyard, which is used as a workspace, has two covered sectors and a fully open central sector. We can see basins for washing wool and fabrics, plus looms and other devices used for the production of textiles woven from alpaca wool.

## 5.3 SUMMARY OF INFORMATION FROM THE STUDIED CASES

The cases studied show similarities and differences. The vast majority of the interviewed Aymara people were born in the highlands or have spent much of their youth in this geographical area inhabiting traditional dwellings. In addition, they have maintained contact with the traditional geographical space either because there is family living there or because, as families, they still hold animals grazing in the *estancias*. We can see that the arrival process in the city in the cases of all the interviewees was achieved through the help of relatives and friends of the family previously installed in the urban areas. The status of "allegados" is a constant situation in all the cases studied, and was repeated in different houses which they inhabited

throughout the period before obtaining their definitive house. It appears that, for these families, the option to obtain their own homes is achieved only with the help of the state.

The application process for social housing is always reported as a complex situation, whether because of the requirements demanded, or the apparent lack of precise information on how the procedures should be performed. Direct application is used in most cases, but we can also see situations where, through the grouping of several families, they were able to facilitate their obtaining of the housing benefit. It is usually considered that the housing solution was precarious given the lack of space or because of size. The locations of the houses is a situation that, depending on the case, is either valued or seen as a problem, denoting the diversity of social housing programmes with respect to location in the total space of the city.  All homes have been subject to expansion and we can see that new rooms are added and dimensions vary depending on how the family is performing self-construction processes.

Table 03 Summary of spaces presented in the houses studied.

| | Case n° 01 | Case n° 02 | Case n° 03 | Case n° 04 | Case n° 05 | Case n° 06 | Case n° 07 | Case n° 08 | Case n° 09 | Case n° 10 | Case n° 11 | Case n° 12 |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Levels | 3 | 2 | 2 | 2 | 1 | 2 | 2 | 1 | 2 | 2 | 2 | 2 |
| Living + Dining + Kitchen | 1 | 1 | 1 | 2 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 |
| Bedroom | 5 | 4 | 7 | 3 | 2 | 4 | 6 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 6 | 6 |
| Bathroom | 1 | 1 | 1 | 2 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 2 | 1 | 1 | 3 | 3 |
| Uncovered work area | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | - | - | - | 1 | 1 | 1 |
| Covered work area | 1 | 1 | 1 | - | - | - | - | - | 1 | - | 1 | 1 |
| Front yard | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 |
| Back yard | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 |

In all cases studied, the primary concern has been the construction of bedrooms. This is primarily due to the characteristics of the basic units delivered by the state, but due also to the type of extended family that the Aymara have. Moreover, the construction process usually occurs through stages, where first they build using lightweight materials but later rebuild using a solid definitive construction method.

Moreover, as we shall see, there is a willingness to continue the housing programme model used by most of the non-urban Aymara population, leaving unchanged the model of spaces for the living room, dining room and kitchen as separated areas. Yet we see that new spaces appear that are not considered in the typology of typical housing, and which can be found throughout the city, such as outdoor work areas.

Table 04 Summary of space size in social housing cases

| | Case n° 01 | Case n° 02 | Case n° 03 | Case n° 04 | Case n° 05 | Case n° 06 | Case n° 07 | Case n° 08 | Case n° 09 | Case n° 10 |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| ORIGINAL HOUSE (in m2) | | | | | | | | | | |
| Site | 67.65 | 64.77 | 108.58 | 65.01 | 104.61 | 75.76 | 87.16 | 191.09 | 120.75 | 64.34 |
| Living + dinning + kitchen | 13.81 | 12.18 | 10.65 | 19.60 | 11.31 | 15.85 | 14.01 | 10.40 | 13.80 | 12.57 |
| Bedroom | 14.38 | 14.57 | | | | | | | 14.51 | 15.07 |
| Bathroom | 2.33 | 2.20 | 3.75 | 2.25 | 2.86 | 3.56 | 3.01 | 1.94 | 2.47 | 2.63 |
| Stairs + circulations | 1.89 | 2.45 | - | - | - | - | - | - | 2.23 | 2.48 |
| Front yard | 6.60 | 6.80 | 11.34 | 14.54 | 18.87 | 8.55 | 9.50 | 19.83 | 59.90 | 7.59 |
| Back yard | | 40.29 | 62.65 | 25.60 | 69.76 | 38.95 | 59.37 | 130.86 | 26.65 | 38.05 |
| ENLARGMENT (in m2) | | | | | | | | | | |
| Living + dinning + kitchen | 14.36 | 23.19 | 22.60 | 23.06 | 18.48 | 13.90 | 20.22 | 22.20 | 16.39 | 13.80 |
| Bedroom | 37.75 | 31.34 | 56.56 | 32.84 | 14.82 | 32.63 | 65.62 | 34.61 | 14.05 | 26.35 |
| Bathroom | - | - | - | 3.35 | - | - | 5.00 | 4.60 | - | - |
| Uncovered work area | 11.15 | 5.10 | 10.48 | 11.12 | 16.80 | 8.55 | - | - | - | 11.14 |
| Covered work area | 11.15 | 8.66 | 4.41 | - | - | - | - | - | 32.49 | - |

Table 05 Summary of spaces size in private housing cases

| | Case n° 11 | Case n° 12 |
|---|---|---|
| Site | 172.95 | 190.03 |
| Living + dinning | 23.36 | 38.22 |
| Kitchen | 8.28 | 11.31 |
| Bathroom | 15.16 | 15.73 |
| Bedroom | 66.96 | 67.83 |
| Stairs + circulations + shared areas | 36.82 | 33.86 |
| Uncovered work área | 40.92 | 35.12 |
| Covered work área | 37.87 | 22.21 |
| Front yard | 16.85 | 40.26 |

# CHAPTER 6

*COMPARING REALITIES: ISSUES AND SITUATIONS THAT ARISE*

For the analysis of the cases studied we can examine the information from the interviews both from the point of view of the history of each person about their arrival in the city from the altiplano, and in terms of how the installation process developed. As we saw, this includes a constant movement between different homes of relatives and friends of the family until gaining the current housing that they occupy. Also, we review the city houses in themselves, using the original blueprints and those that were made by the course of this investigation recording the current reality. We found what we could from the study of the poor bibliography of material available, but evidence of the reality of Aymara traditional housing in the altiplano came primarily through the testimony and fieldwork on site visits. So, we believe certain realities arise that seem to respond to major changes in the ways of living of the Aymara families compared with the traditional situation.

The basic structure of traditional housing is presented as a common ground from which to analyse what is happening today in the Aymara houses in the city. The studied cases are transformed into examples of how an ethnic group facing a new

reality about their inhabitation can maintain or contradict the precepts that conformed to their past life in a different geographical and cultural space. The social housing, as a component around which life in the city is formally achieved by these Aymara families, plays an important role regarding the imposition, sought or unsought, of a different relationship between the person and their domestic space. This can be seen from the simplest cases where the housing solution unit only considers a single room and a bathroom, to those houses on two floors where the spaces forming the dwelling indicate a chosen programmatic destination and way of being used.

Likewise, the shape of the site appears to determine how the process of self-construction develops, We can see, however, that despite the current situation in the city being at first sight completely different from what happens in the *uta*, if we look more closely there are similarities that we can interpreted as maintaining certain principles or ideas about inhabitation that gives the Aymara families living in the city today a distinctive identity. We focused our attention on four situations which reduce basically to two possibilities: the assimilation of a different way of living, and the retention of memories about their traditional inheritance, which we believe cannot be simply dismissed as whimsical.

## 6.1 TRANSFERS AND MAINTENANCES

We have seen how the mobility process experienced by the Aymara people caused a series of changes in their ways of inhabiting. Since the move from the traditional spaces in the highlands to the new urban reality in the large coastal cities in northern Chile, the processes of hybridization between the Aymara culture and the apparently homogeneous Chilean society have become visible.

We have seen how certain aspects of traditional habitation have been reinterpreted in the urban dwellings. Thanks to the process of self-construction and the spatial precariousness of the social housing provided by the Chilean state, the Aymara

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families that were studied were able to translate into the built unit those spaces that, as we have seen, allow us to see a re-interpretation of spaces and subsequent use (domestic or productive).

Moreover the overlapping of western cultural habits within which the Chilean society moves, resulted in the appearance in the cases studied of spaces not present in traditional housing, both regarding properly inhabites spaces and other services (like the bathroom) incorporated within the totality of the urban Aymara house documented. However, given the permanent contact that the families keep with their traditional spaces, particularly with the *uta*, it is possible to observe the incorporation into it of certain elements that reinforce the ideas about hybridity mentioned in the opening chapter of this thesis.

We believe that since the process of *chilenization*, produced in the same traditional geographical area, the relationship between traditional Aymara society and Chilean society has been in a constant tension, which of course has always resulted that the Chilean state, eventually, ends up imposing its rules, whether in a scheduled way or simply because the boundaries are permeable.

We could also infer that the emergence of educational institutions, as one of the ways to "chileanize" the new territory, includes a degree of "propaganda" that promotes the idea of modernity and therefore created an ideology assuming a western way to inhabit. This occurs through evocative images of a national reality in constant modernization processes. The very presence of staff sent to the highland areas and high valleys, the traditional Aymara geographical space, to physically implement the Chilean presence in the area, may explain the early appearance of external models, artefacts, certain western customs and built spaces with external roots in the *marka*

villages beginning to lead a process of cultural hybridization, both material and symbolic.

This process in the traditional space is not surprising, because as we have seen that in the case of the Aymara, the ideas, values and practices delegated by past generations to give meaning to social life at a given time, have steadily been exposed to homogenizing attempts. This phenomenon of appearance in the traditional spaces of artefacts characteristic of western urban reality was most evident in the free tax zone, first in Arica and then more strongly in Iquique, where technological artefacts made in China and of a low value could be acquired.

However, the built spaces seem to have been less subject to change and hybridizations. The traditional Aymara housing, the *uta*, does not seem tp have been subject to changes in its programme, despite the contact with the Chilean state. Its location in the middle of the territory has meant that the process of acquiring the Chilean/western ways of living concentrated especially on utensils or artefacts on display in different rooms within it.

We can see for example that current kitchen utensils appear within traditional cooking space, and small gas cookers are used today indoors because of the ease of of use and the increasingly scarce availability of firewood needed for the traditional cooking fire.

Also it can be seen some artefacts such as disused drum washers are brought from the city to serve as ponds for water accumulation. This new practice not only presents strange objects within the traditional, inhabiting space, but also a change in certain aspects of daily life in *uta*, because it means that travel to eject water effluents

diminish and concentrate in the patio (specially the washing of kitchen utensils and the product of personal hygiene).

Similarly, the presence of vehicles is now common in the patios, because normally the families move up from the city in pickup trucks or vans. These vehicles are now part of the landscape and can be found in the traditional courtyard, which in consequence, is connected to the official paved roads by land trails that allow the passage of these vehicles. Now, as we mentioned, the life of the studied Aymara families takes place mostly in the city, therefore the traditional space although not abandoned, does not fully represent the constructed scenario where the daily life of families is developed. It is in the city today that the main house of the Aymara families is placed resulting in of transfers from the traditional inhabiting space to the current urban situation. However, other elements that constitute the reality in the highlands have remained excluded from urban housing and been maintained exclusively as part of the traditional way of life.

In this process of transfering elements from the traditional space to the urban reality it is possible to see that not all those aspects that constitute the traditional Aymara way of life have been brought into the city. It is possible to understand this process, considering that the links with communities of origin, despite being more distanced or less frequent today, are maintained. So certain activities or custom, rather than having moved completely to the city, have remained exclusively within the scope of traditional space.

Shepherding activities for example, have not disappeared, but remain present in the highlands around the *uta*. In the interviews it can be seen that going out to graze with the animals is still a moment that is valued, although regarded with a certain nostalgia, giving a meaning of value to the importance of this productive activity even

though it is no longer important in the city or in relation to the economic survival of the families. This productive activity is not replicated in the city, where migrant families have chosen initially to concentrate on other tasks as we saw (transport, agriculture, textile production, etc.) and current generations do not differ in terms of occupation from the rest of the urban population. In the last decade, due to the closure of the municipal slaughterhouse, the possibility of seeing camelid cattle led into the city from the villages of origin has decreased and almost disappeared.

The kitchen area, with the configuration described in part 3.3, is not transferred to the urban setting, instead standard western kitchen furniture is adopted. The periphery relationship established in the traditional kitchen space has been disrupted, since the location of people in the room sitting on the adobe bank that runs along the walls has had to be modified, accepting modes of body positioning and relationship that are part of western space.

From a religious point of view, the syncretic catholic celebrations and customs have mostly remained within the traditional space. The relationship between religion and geographical space, as was described in part 3.2.1, helps us understand why it is in the highlands that these celebrations are made. Those carried out the *marka*, that are able to maintain the contact between the city and the traditional town, remain until this day a special honour and responsibility that falls on prominent community members.

Moreover, the spatial configuration of the Aymara urban homes studied makes us aware of a modification regarding sleeping spaces, thinking that in the traditional space it is common to see that the modules used for this purpose are not distinguished, at least initially, in separating men and women or adults and children. However in the city one can see that there is a separation between the room of adults and children. As

the family acquires a better economic position these are multiplied, and in the cases of urban Aymara properties studied, bought in the private market, and there is a room for each of the family members although they no longer reside in the house.

The mobility exercise from traditional highland areas of origin to the new urban space has meant a process of transfer of certain acts and spaces. This relocation has not been literal, but presents itself like an instance of checking a hybridization process between two cultures that now share the same physical urban space. As we will see, there are spaces and practices that have been reinterpreted in the urban Aymara housing, and others that have been incorporated into the current habitation practices of the Aymaras families studied. Moreover a good number of customs, events and spaces have remained confined to the traditional spatial area in the highlands, and have not been replicated in the new urban reality.

## 6.2 THE PATIO AS A TRANSFERRED ELEMENT

One of the elements that, after analysis, we can see repeated in the studied Aymara houses in the city of Arica, is the deliberate construction of a patio. This backyard is generally used as a workspace for craft production work, but is also an element within the programme to connect interiors that have been left as separate rooms.

Architecture, one of whose major functions is to give shelter to people and human groups, has been developed according to each culture, each place, each time, following different ways of organizing the built space and free space, the 'inside' and 'outside'. Beyond physical needs related to geography, climate, temperature, rain, availability of construction materials or technologies, architecture has been sensitive to more subtle psychological and cultural circumstances such as security and tranquillity. It has been sensitive to different ways of thinking about space and the relationship that

is set up with the people of each civilization. This invites reflection on one of the building types most common to every culture, the house with a courtyard, the type which includes wihtin its own built mass a free space that is the centre of domestic or communal life.

The patio, as we know, is a fundamental element in the history of architecture. From the most remote times to modern days, it has always played an important role, not only as a projective element but also as a systematic and versatile archetype, able to shelter varied uses, shapes, sizes, styles and different characteristics[1]. The courtyard is associated with the concave and internalized, the construction of an enclosure with a skyward opening. In the case of traditional Aymara housing, we must also add the idea of a mediating space between the house and nature, the surrounding landscape. As we have said, this is the space that mediates between the infinite territory and wilderness: the undomesticated and the domestic, the dominated. It can be observed through a cleaning of the piece of land, a removal of weeds and stones, allowing its limits to be clearly defined. Even with such a definition of space, seen from a phenomenological point of view, it fits more with the dialectic between interior and exterior space, or as Bachelard says the inside and the outside, where the limits, although in some way defined, become blurred physically and acquire a more powerful meaning.[2]

The patio in the traditional Aymara dwelling can be considered as a room with no roof. It is in this central space into which all units that compose the whole are opened, and through which all circulations are performed. But it is not only a mediating space between the territory (outside) and the house itself (inside), it is also a domestic place where many of the daily activities of the Aymara traditional way of life occur.

[1] Capitel, A. (2005) *La arquitectura del patio*. Editorial Gustavo Gili, Barcelona. p. 16.

[2] Bachelard, G. (2000 first printed La poétique de l'espace 1957, Presses Universitaires de France, París) *La poética del habitar*, Fondo de Cultura Económica, Buenos Aires. p. 44

Within the daily routine, the courtyard plays an important role. For example, weaving is usually performed there because the looms used, due to their size and installation methods (a staked loom), are set up in the domestic outdoor space[3]. These elements are stored in the covered warehouse of the *uta* to prevent them from being damaged in the rainy season and are taken out to the outdoor area for daily use.

> Se teje afuera… se trabaja afuera en todo caso todas las cosas que se puedan hacer se… se teje afuera… después ya el telar tiene que guardarse porque…por la lluvia poh… por la lluvia… si fuese como acá de repente… uno puede poner las cosas… porque allá en la 11 de septiembre donde estoy yo el telar está ahí… no le pega la lluvia porque no… yo no me preocupo… pero allá no poh… allá en la noche siempre está lloviendo… y no solamente lloviendo, sino que las heladas que caen en las noches… deterioran el… el telar… (Fragment of the interview Case 04)

> Weaving outside ... working outside in any case all the things that can be done is ... is woven outside ... then the loom has to be saved because... because of the rain... because of the rain ... if it was like here suddenly ... I can put things ... because back in the 11 de Septiembre[4], where I am, the loom is there ... do not hit the rain because I ... I do not care ... but there no poh ... in the evening it is always raining there ... and not just raining, but it is frosty at night ... damages the ... the loom... (Translation of fragment of the interview Case 04)

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[3] Smaller looms specially used for the fabrication of a kind of small bands used by the Aymaras, can be use inside the roofed rooms.
[4] Name of the neighborhood where her house in the city is located.

It is also here where sometimes some cooking takes place, as there are outdoor ovens or sometimes places defined by stone walls where campfires are used. There is no doubt that this space in the traditional Aymara dwelling is an element of great importance programmatically, and that despite its outward characteristics, it is actually a transitional space, while despite its openness to the territory, it is domestic, seen as an inside. In the traditional Aymara house, the rooms that make up the housing complex could easily be connected internally, yet they choose to leave the rooms as autonomous spaces whose only possible access is through the courtyard. This ensures that the yard is constantly busy, reinforcing the idea that it is the central space in the traditional dwelling.

We can see that even when the location of housing changes from the infinite area surrounding the *uta* to the central villages or *markas*, the patio remains as the programmatic element that organizes the dwelling. Although the classical typology of the Spanish colonial town forces houses to open up to the street to form a continuous facade to the block, we still observe the courtyard's prominence as an organizer of circulation. It loses the ability to mediate with respect to the landscape horizon, but not its role as outdoor domestic space where different types of activities of daily living are performed.  Of the 10 cases of social housing inhabited by Aymara families studied, 7 have clearly defined patios. In the majority we can see that they are actively engaged as workspaces, with looms and elements necessary for dyeing and spinning wool placed in them.

In case 01 we see that the patio is presented as a rectangle that separates the house into two volumes. It is semi-covered by the later volume that develops at the upper floor. At ground level you can access the patio from the dining + kitchen area, while on the upper floor it connects the main room first built with a bedroom added as a back volume, through a corridor with a handrail around three walls that enclose the

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patio. It also allows access to a third level through a hand ladder where we find a new bedroom facing the space. The courtyard was built with a cement floor and is dedicated to textile craft housework.

In case 02 the courtyard also divides the dwelling into two volumes, this time the room is built at the end of the site and accessed from the courtyard by a staircase built on this area only, allowing entry to the room and leaving half of the patio covered.

In case 03 the courtyard develops at the end site in a rectangle on the northeast corner, allowing for the built volumes to develop on two of its faces. You can access the courtyard from the central volume through a lateral circulation that starts in the kitchen area. On two levels, six bedrooms are built that are accessible exclusively from the outside patio. Part of the courtyard is covered by a structure that allows access to the back rooms. Again this area is used as a workspace.

In case 05 the courtyard arises from the construction of two bedrooms, which are allowed access through this space. From the central built volume you have to go outside into this space to access the new rooms. This rectangle is formalized in size by the construction of a concrete floor, differentiating and separating it from the rest of the field site.

In case 06, even when there was no courtyard with the characteristics that we are mentioning, during the process of expansion of the dwelling it existed. Currently it is being transformed into a room that hosts the dining room and kitchen, but both built rooms maintain their access, and windows looking into this now interior space act as a reminder of its quality as an exterior in the past.

In case 10 we can see that once again there is a courtyard that separates a room built at the back of the site from the main constructed volume. This room is accessed through the kitchen. Moreover, in the two cases studied in which the house was self-constructed from a dwelling or land purchased within the private system, we can also see the construction of this central outdoor space.

In Case 11 we can see that the dwelling inhabited by the Aymara family was built according to western style by former owners. However, in the posterior sector of the site the construction of more rooms ended up creating an outdoor courtyard that allows access to this newly built area. The courtyard is used for weaving, and rooms that open onto the outdoor workspace are used for dyeing, and as storage for the elements and raw materials needed. On the upper level, a room intended for storage and another bedroom also have entrances and windows facing the courtyard.

In case 12 we can see that from the master volume on the ground floor, the courtyard is accessed through a door on the side of the dining area. The kitchen has separate access from both the dining room in the main volume and from the patio. Three more rooms - a bedroom, a bathroom and a storage room - only have access from the courtyard, while in the upper level of this volume we see two bedrooms and a second outside bathroom opening onto the open external space. A metal staircase provides access to the upper level which leaves the courtyard area covered, in this case used as a workspace.

The idea of separate enclosures can be recognized from the composition of the traditional dwelling, and the attempt to copy it in the home of the city, despite the limitations of the geometry of the site, typically presented as an elongated rectangle. In both these cases of Aymara houses in the city, they were developed from properties acquired in the private market. One of them was built from scratch, and the desire to

recreate the traditional courtyard became literal, arranging rooms around it and generating a sequence of interior – exterior - interior.

I believe that the functional reasons we give for the appearance of this external space in housing in the city cannot be regarded as the sole drivers in the cases studied. The deliberate construction of enclosures accessed only from and through the courtyard is a remembrance of the inhabitation on the *uta*, with its necessary relationship between the outside and inside. It seems that crossing the threshold that defines being in one room rather than another is not only the spatial delimitation of one enclosure from another, but also for the Aymara people a separation between being inside and being outside, an outside that necessarily is nature, is sun by day, stars at night, and is subject to weather conditions.

The courtyard is also the architectural response to the labour situation faced by many Aymara women who came to the city in recent decades, and who continue to practice traditional textile craft production as an extra source of family income. In the same way as in the *uta*, in the city this space is replicated with looms and other necessary tools for dyeing, spinning and traditional weaving. It is usually modified with a concrete floor, unlike the traditional dwelling, where it is only cleaned of weeds and stones. In interviews the workspace inside the house was a matter of concern, and was cited specifically as one of the desires regarding future housing improvements.

…más de patio para trabajar en el telar, en el teñido y todo, pero después… hicimos la ampliación y el patio se fue achicando cada vez más… y sobre el patio… pero la parte de atrás yo hice un… como un taller ya? Igual de estructura metálica… con trupanes y todo ese cuento. Y yo armé en el segundo piso… eh… una pieza donde era solamente el telar… los telares… o sea 2 telares… no me cabía más

tampoco… y las lanas y todo eso… en la parte de abajo tenía… una batea doble para lavar…al lado en la cocina y el patio ese… igual lo hice con desagüe y todo para, para poder teñir… (Fragment of the interview Case 02)

…more patio to work on the loom, in dyeing and all, but then ... we did the extension and the patio was increasingly shrinking ... and over the courtyard ... but the back ... I built like a workshop right? Just with a metal structure ... using wooden panels. And I built the upper floor ... uh ... Where there was only one room... just for the loom... the looms, I mean two of them ... but did not fit me anymore either ... neither the wool and all ... at the back area... I had a washing place... outside the kitchen in the courtyard... I built it with drainage and everything for dyeing ... (Translated fragment of the interview Case 02)

It is not possible simply to speak of a literal transfer of one element of the traditional Aymara dwelling to the reality of the city. What usually happens is that with the prevalence of certain concepts of inhabitation, transformations take place that can be explained by different factors. In the case of the courtyard I believe that the main difficulty preventing this element developing more similarly to the highlands is the shape of the site of the social housing units. In most cases we can see that a site with little more than 3 metres frontage does not allow rooms to surround a space in the traditional central position, forcing the housing to be transformed into a sequence of enclosures. Despite this, the courtyard is understood as being the space which is crossed, looking to fulfill what we have called a kind of need to create independent rooms which are always accessible from outside, which is presented this time as a gap in the sequence of areas.

Moreover this space is influenced by the new materials and construction methods that reach these Aymara families in the city. Self-construction is done within a constructive method no different from that observed in enlarged social housing owned by non-Aymara families. Thus the courtyard is in concrete instead of the rammed earth that we see in the highlands; the advantages being for example access to drinking water instead of there being a path that leads from the patio to the closest course of water in the *uta*. Normally there is electric lighting that allows weaving to occur at night, unlike in the traditional dwelling, where once night falls domestic activity retreats completely to the rooms due to cold and darkness.

We can see also that most of the courtyards in the houses of the city have a roof terrace, usually due to new construction at higher levels, but equally these spaces are not closed. They keep that outdoor quality and the sense of an open patio is not lost. In the city the patio loses that important quality of being a domesticated outdoor space and facing the landscape, in the same way as happens in the urban space of the Spanish colonial village. In the city the dividing walls between sites only allow the external space to maintain its relationship with nature in respect of the sky. It is not surprising then, that as we see in the cases studied, the patio keeps its qualities also at upper levels. We could say that the courtyard acquires a vertical dimension, in contrast with the constant notion of horizontality observed in the traditional dwelling, where the line of sight is maintained from ground level across the landscape, while in town the outlook is only to the sky in because of the limited condition an outdoor patio can possess.

## 6.3 THE LIVING ROOM AND THE FURNITURE

Furniture in the history of architecture has accompanied the development of buildings, since these elements complement inhabitation of the built spaces. When looking at vernacular architecture, the furniture should be considered and analyzed

because it is representative of the cultural variables that have influenced or are influencing any human society. Traditionally pieces of furniture were manufactured by the very people who would use them, so became the ultimate representation of a design element in response to specific needs. But now families no longer make their own furniture, instead buying that made and designed by others. Therefore, the disposition in the spaces of the type of furniture used can continue giving us clues with respect to the thought process of a family and how they inhabit or want to inhabit their built environment.

Looking at the way the Aymara houses in the city are furnished, considering for example the ways these elements are placed in spaces, their qualities and their functionality, this seems to reveal another dimension of the reality of urban inhabitation, considering that it responds directly to this new reality of living immersed in the society of the city. There is an idea of a "way of living" that has been installed in Chile, particularly following the implementation of a neoliberal model during the dictatorship, which following the United States of America proposed an image of life that Chilean society should aspire to achieve. In housing, during the 70s and 80s in Chile, an ideology was therefore generated regarding the furniture used. Thus appeared the sofa sets, the dining room sets, the kitchen compartmentalized furniture with electrical appliances, etc. This way of life became established in Chilean society as the years passed, and the economic model allowed access to a wider choice of goods and in turn to a credit system that gave families the opportunity to purchase them.

Besides this, the establishment of the garden city model that marked the growth of Chilean cities from the 40s until today also reflected this ideology, in that the housing model developed could clearly be presented as within western parameters and under the "American way". Any home built in Chile is considered as the spaces of a living

room + dining room, kitchen, bedrooms and a bathroom, and these spaces are usually inhabited in ways that do not distinguish one kind of family from another.

Meanwhile, the city of Arica experienced great development in the sixties and seventies because it was declared a duty-free port. Many industries were set up and commercial activity grew considerably. This was one of the reasons why many Aymara families decided to go down to the city in search of a well paid job opportunity. It was during this period that an idea of progress was imposed on the city and its inhabitants that materialized in easy access to imported goods. It is still remembered all over Chile how the people travelled from southern zones of the country to buy, for example, televisions or electrical appliances tax free. This occurred in a city that had been incorporated into Chilean territory after the victory in the Pacific War just a few decades before, and thus had particular cultural characteristics. It had also suffered the Chilenization period, as explained before. These issues, along with the geographical and climatic situation, may help us understand  how it has taken such a short time for an image of progress to become estatblished and to be homogenized in terms of housing types, in ways of living and in use of space regarding furniture use.

We can say that housing in the city of Arica has assumed characteristics that homes in the rest of Chile generally possess. Particularly in the typologies used, there appeared the isolated or semi attached house with a surrounding garden. It was this homogeneous scenario regarding the dominant mode of habitation and housing types that was faced by Aymara families arriving in the city from the highlands.

The way of life in the traditional Aymara house, with regard to the tradtional furniture, responded to a logic of daily usage, without observing a need for anything more than is absolutely necessary. For storage, wooden boxes or bags were used, without the common use of cabinets or chests of drawers. In the most significant

interior space, the kitchen building, the traditional furniture consisted of a bench seat made of stone or adobe that runs around the walls of the room. With the arrival of Spanish conquerors, some western furniture such as a tables or chairs came into use. In areas dedicated to sleep, the beds were built into the corners of the rooms in adobe with leather and wool as a mattress, later replaced by wooden or iron beds. This way of organising spaces does not vary between the *uta* or the house that Aymara families keep also in the central village. It is in this second home where we see the arrival of the first western furniture, because it is here that the influence of colonial authority is presented with greater force.

We must be clear that the proposed spaces programme in the social housing system units includes a programmatic ideology that responds 100% to western concepts about how a home should be constituted. We find a division of space, trying to be as clear as possible in separating one level living-dining-kitchen + bathroom from two bedrooms on a upper level. We might expect that the lower space presented as the common space would be adjusted to introduce into the city house the central space of the traditional house, and yet we find that in the case studies, the option chosen by the Aymara families has been to make that western programmatic separation particularly through a special concern for articulating a living room through the purchase of furniture according to the western idea.

The living room is a programmatic element that does not exist in the same way in the traditional house. Moreover the apparent need to maintain this space and its furniture on a western model makes it clear that there is a certain need for acceptance by or mimesis of a population majority that considers them as different. In those families with a better economic situation, I observed a greater concern for aspects related to the rest of urban society. The living + dining room was not only composed of particular furniture, but western decoration was emphasized without denoting at any

time in these areas any kind of sign of belonging to a different ethnic group. In none of the cases studied could we see the same kind of element, ornament or amulet being used as in the traditional house.

Usually, in the cases studied, the living room is composed of a set of sofas for two people and two singles, while the dining table is a set with a rectangular table for six people. Both of these are part of the package offers of furniture widely available from different department stores. The kitchen areas we believe are still halfway to being transformed into a western situation. This has more to do with lack economic means than a desire to keep to the traditional idea of a space without specific furniture. In the cases studied with a better economic situation, for example cases 11 and 12, we can see fully furnished kitchens that are no different from what you might find in any home in Chile.

Of the cases studied, only in case 05 could we not find any living room furniture, but there was a full dining table for six people. However, the interviewee said that one of her desires in the future is to shape this space and to increase the built space through the acquisition of "adequate furniture".

In response to the question of what was the most important living space in the city, the living room appeared as one of the named spaces. Before we discuss the reasons given for the selection of this space, it can be noted that it is the presentation space of the home and therefore of the family for reception of visitors. To explain this, we must understand the situation in which the Aymara families live when they come to the city and have to face the rest of Chilean society, and that after the Chilenization process they are seen as "other".

The city may have been conceived as a place where, under the assumption of a cosmopolitan character (particularly in the case of Arica and Iquique as port cities), to be Aymara does not seem to have brought significant differences within a diverse community. However, the regionalist society revealed by the processes already discussed, suggests thet they have been seen in an even more discriminatory way. The city was transformed into a new scenery of marginalization because during their installation the incoming Aymara were relegated to certain neighbourhoods and entered into the category of marginalized residents[5] within the macro segment of the poor urban society. Since the end of the military dictatorship, the efforts of successive democratic governments to expose the indigenous problem as an important issue ended with the valorization of the concept of national cultural diversity. Through government efforts this has allowed the maintenance of an indigenous identity and values, and added benefits that this may bring (particularly funding and scholarships aimed at the indigenous segment). It has caused a steady growth of those who designate themselves as Aymara in the region, and therefore the position of this group in the total urban society has grown to become virtually part of the Genius Loci of the city.

An Aymara identity among the indigenous population of the north of Chile has emerged, mainly through the urban Aymara people, who felt the need to articulate a representative memory of that broader collective that is the Aymara people in general, urban and rural[6]. It should be particularly noted in the sphere of tourism. For example, the celebration of Aymara New Year went from being something marginally held in the peripheral area to becoming a party in which the whole city participates, and it is now offered as an event of tourist attraction.

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[5] González, H. y V Gavilán. 1990 Cultura e identidad étnica entre los Aymaras chilenos. Chungara Revista Chilena de Antropología, vol. 24-25. pp.145-158.
[6] Zapata, C. (2007) Memoria e historia. El proyecto de una identidad colectiva entre los Aymaras de Chile. Chungara Revista Chilena de Antropología, vol. 39 num. 2. pp. 171-183

A final condition of social alienation connected with the arrival and installation in the city, during the first decades at least, and surpassing the possibility of social ascent through the accumulation of goods or education, was given through the process of "blanqueamiento"[7] ("whitening"). This is manifested in different spheres of meaning and action, but it certainly appears within the scope of physical appearance, the most terrible example being the use of excessive makeup or hair dyeing, or during the first decades, of looking for partners who are "white" in order to cause a mixture that would allow them better acceptance in society[8].

We believe that the concern for the creation of a westernised living room space, the one understood as a letter of presentation, is framed within the process of "whitening" of the Aymara families in Arica. Just as people of this ethnic group changed their dress or the colour of their hair, as certain authors have recorded, so the house was also subject to a process of change to take on the apperance of the homogeneous majority.  The choice of the same furniture as is used by the rest of the non-Aymara dominant population of the city seems to be a tool to render that situational difference no longer present. A homogeneous scenery which sets out how these families want to be included in urban society is created, not through acceptance of their cultural diversity, but by accepting that homogenization is the way to find a place in the city as a whole.

The architecture of the Aymara housing in the city provides a way of understanding the complicated processes analyzed by anthropology, regarding the situation of this ethnic group in its urban reality. We believe that this shift away from the

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[7] González, H. y V Gavilán. (1990) *Cultura e identidad étnica entre los Aymaras chilenos*. Chungara Revista Chilena de Antropología, vol.  24-25. pp.145-158.

[8] Chipana, C. (1986) *La identidad étnica de los Aymaras en Arica*. Chungara Revista Chilena de Antropología, vol. 16-17. pp. 251-261.

traditional inhabitation is about to assume a new space programme which has no direct correlation with any of those present in the *uta*.

## 6.3 THE BATHROOM AND THE IDEAS OF HYGIENE

In the traditional Aymara house we can see that there is no built space to accommodate any toilet facilities. The way of inhabitation in the highlands does not include a concern for having a certain space to satisfy these physiological needs. Normally the Aymara people urinate or defecate on the soil near the house, kneeling on the ground and then covering with rocks to avoid attracting insects or other animals. The mass-use of toilet paper is recent and not part of the traditional Aymara ideology. There is usually a part of the land surrounding the house where use for these purposes is concentrated, but it is not limited and if the need is great, use can be made elsewhere. Hygiene standards from our western cultural background are not present in the traditional Aymara habitation, where these biological actions are not regarded with disgust or shame, being considered normal and without a special connotation of privacy with which they must occur.

As Tanizaki[9] explains about the relationship in traditional Japanese architecture, the toilets are acquired regarding an assimilation of their use by creating a phenomenological experience, where the physiological act is interspersed with the surrounding nature and allows a delicate rapprochement between the natural space and this natural act. In the case of the Aymara people, they do not have a defined and constructed space, which allows this act to remain in its pure nature, understood as part of the symbiosis between the natural landscape and humans beings.

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[9] Tanizaki, J. (1999) *El elogio de la sombra*. Ediciones Siruela, Madrid. pp. 8-9

Also, personal hygiene is not a concern in the traditional geographical space which the Aymara people inhabit. The people do not have a daily routine of washing themselves and this is done sporadically. It can be performed directly in the stream near the house or in the domestic courtyard, where water is brought up and people are washed using wet fabric wipes. The use of soap and shampoo is also recent, as well as the use of hot water for washing.

In the times of the process of Chilenization, the installation in highland areas of Chilean police and military forces sought not only to mark the actual presence of the Chilean state in the new territories, but also to initiate a process of enculturation; the idea that they should modernize the area and its inhabitants, imposing a common national ideology in all spheres, including notions of hygiene:

"… in those sectors of the interior sectors populated by Indians without the most rudimentary notions of civilization, the police, both by word and by example, are constantly introducing to such people hygiene habits and culture in general…"[10]

However, we could say that the incorporation of matters of health and hygiene are a product of the actions of the Spanish state in colonial times, and later of the modern nation-states being able to provide utensils in the field of cooking food, because pans, plates and cutlery are usually washed before being used again, always keeping water tanks in the backyard or in the kitchen space for the purpose. In addition, the mass application of the action of boiling water to make it drinkable was an improvement in health conditions that had occurred and was already installed in the

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[10] González, S. (1997) "*La escuela chilena en los Andes de Tarapacá*". Pueblos Indígenas. Educación y Desarrollo, pp. 83-127. Centro de Estudios para el Desarrollo de la Mujer. Instituto de Estudios Indígenas. Universidad de la Frontera. Temuco. 1997. p. 83.

Chilean state, particularly during the fifties and sixties in the context of intense nationwide campaigns.

Only recently has it been possible to see that in some *utas* detached toilet rooms have been built, which in any case are far from that prophylactic space idea that the toilet facilities possess in our culture. Even today it is not common to see dedicated rooms as shower or bathtub spaces, as people continue the tradition of washing in the yard or in the rivers and waters.

In most of the central *marka* villages, those in which the state was strongly present during the Chilenization process, today it is possible to see tanking systems for drinking water and for sewerage in some cases. Today, the houses of the Aymara families in these villages generally have bathrooms, but it is not common to see full bathrooms with a shower or bath system.

The arrival in the city signified a number of changes to the way of life of the Aymara people, and the concern for personal hygiene that is so appreciated and applied in the urban world in Chile was an imposition to which the newcomers had to adapt. As we have seen, the traditional clothing was changed to try to blend into the urban society, and the adoption of the rules of hygiene were accepted by the Aymara population who had recently arrived, but not as such a marked concern as it can be for the rest of the population.

We believe that there is little concern regarding toilet facilities within the inhabited space as part of house improvements within the enlargement process in the city. One might recall how the subject of personal hygiene and biological actions that they possess in the scenery of the traditional housing is addressed. None of the cases studied were without bathroom space, as it is one of the basic facilities provided by the

state even in the most basic housing solutions, but most have not been subject to improvements, nor have the Aymara added new buildings dedicated to this use.

Of the 10 cases of Aymara housing in the city that started from a unit of social housing, only in two can we see that there has been a second space designed and built to accommodate a bathroom. In all other cases the original bathroom has remained virtually unchanged and unique within the total programme of the enlarged dwelling. The original bathroom of the social housing is presented as a bathroom with a sink, toilet and tub / shower. As we have said, only in two cases, 04 and 08, can we observe that there has been a second bathroom built. In the first case, an upper level was chosen to enable a full second dwelling on the site, doubling every space. In case 08 the new room built on the site was intended to be leased to another couple, so the external bathroom is intended to give autonomy to the tenants, who would not necessarily be Aymara persons.

We can see in some cases that the growth resulting from the process of self construction have increased the number of bedrooms by up to 7 rooms, for example case 03, and yet they maintain only one bathroom to be used by everyone in the house. Moreover only one of the interviewees mentioned the bathroom area as among the relevant spaces in their home. It was not mentioned spontaneously by any of the other interviewees.

The concepts of sanitation which we take as basic in western societies collide with the customs of the Aymara people for whom, for example, the odours are not matters of disgust. Only so can we understand that in most of the cases the extension of the original volume ends up leaving the bathroom at ground level in a central position between two rooms, even with the windows for ventilation opening into the dining + kitchen areas, as can be seen in cases 01, 02, 04, 06, 07 and 10.

In cases 11 and 12 - the houses not built on the basis of a social housing unit - we can see that there is a concern for providing the home with more than one bathroom. In both cases we have seen that, given increased financial capacity, the transformations in their houses have not only allowed the families to present them as having a larger constructed space, but have also provided them with some spaces, as we saw for example when it came to the living room and kitchen, presenting a western notion about furniture and uses. In this sense it seems that the idea of homogenization sought by these Aymara families in these cases has pressed them to adopt standards of personal hygiene dictated by the general urban society. In these two cases we have also seen that the children had a complete education, in some cases are attending university courses, and have been completely raised in the urban sector. So it is not difficult to understand how that the need for sanitary facilities, as in the rest of urban society, has become a requirement in the process of constructing the house.

Having bathroom spaces has become a necessity for the Aymara families living in the city. The cultural requirements of urban society in general have come to modify the customs regarding this issue that this ethnic group followed in their traditional space of inhabitation. The adoption of this routine hygiene in spatial terms is manifested in residential houses by the basic units delivered by the social housing programmes, with no increased concern about having space dedicated to the programme even when the property's inhabitants increase in number. In some cases, in a home where the number of inhabitants reaches ten people or more, there is only the original bathroom.

The homogenization processes experienced by urban Aymara people have certainly affected their traditional way of life. However, it is possible to find nuances regarding levels of concern that they have shown, for example, in terms of the spaces

that force on their home in the city characteristics imposed on them by society, but which nonetheless remain secondary to their lives as a community that is culturally different.

## 6.5 PRIVACY IN THE URBAN HOME

Another issue that appears after reviewing the studied cases is the one relating to the idea of privacy and space. As we will see, the traditional ideas about habitation of the *uta* meet with the general idea of urban Chilean society about how a home is idealized in a national society that values privacy. The traditional Aymara dwelling is as we have seen composed of independent built units connected through a central outdoor courtyard. These individual units in turn respond to three types of uses: the kitchen, the cellar and the bedroom. The most basic traditional house includes a bed built of adobe as a platform in the kitchen space; these beds are located on the narrowest walls of the rectangle that forms this room. In this situation, both adults and children share the single space. In so far as the family improve economically, the bedroom programme is separated and a single unit is built exclusively to accommodate the act of sleeping. Typically, parents and children, and sometimes even grandparents, share the same space. It is only those families with a very good economic situation that may have an *uta* where several built units are intended for bedrooms, and even though it is common to find a division between adults and children, regardless of the sex of children, boys and girls remain together. It may also be that the women of the family sleep on one side of the room and the men on the other, and also that the kitchen could be maintained as a place to sleep, while the new built bedroom unit would be just for the women in the family.

This division between adults and children was imposed by the Spanish conquerors in colonial times, who could not understand why the Aymara families shared these spaces, since it was opposed to the idea of privacy that western culture

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assumed as basic. The idea of separating adults and children became then in some way an accepted idea, seeking that indigenous families should inhabit with more decorum, all seen from the Spanish western perspective[11].

The certain thing is that in the traditional Aymara inhabitation, the idea of privacy, as we understand it in our cultures with western roots, does not exist, and the sharing of spaces by all members of the family, regardless of age and gender, is not seen as strange or as a temporary situation to be improved over time. The priorities with respect to construction of spaces in the traditional Aymara house, shown by the interviews conducted, centered on building more cellar areas, for example, as a first investment if there was a better economic situation, for they could then think about the construction of another bedroom unit.

The Aymara traditional way of inhabitation in the highlands includes a day where the work of artisanal production is performed on the outdoor patio, weaving on the looms or cleaning quinoa or other domestic activities, but it is particularly the task of walking across the territory grazing or shepherding the animals that occupies most of the day. In the dwelling, the spaces of sociability of the families are concentrated in the domestic outdoor patio and in the interior kitchen area, which is also the space dedicated to sleeping, the place used only and exclusively for these purposes. The idea of being in your bedroom or spending the day lying in bed is something absolutely absent from the way the altiplano is inhabited, and therefore it is not surprising that given the need for sleep, a shared space of common belonging may result.

Regarding adult couples and their privacy, it is common that among Aymara people living in the traditional geographical sectors, sexuality and sexual intercourse is

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[11] Irarrázaval A. (1990) Asentamientos indígenas en la región de Tarapaca (Chile); in R. Gutiérrez ed. (1993) *Pueblos de Indios: Otro urbanismo en la región andina*, Quito: Ediciones Abya-Yala. pp. 63.

not something regarded with shame and kept secret, as we often understand it in the western cultures with a strong foundation in Christian sexual morality[12]. The subject is taken with humour and mischievously, often with jokes, for example about the noises a couple make at night.

As we saw in the descriptions of the cases studied, the move into the city up to the point of the ownership of own homes is usually facilitated by the arrival at the house of relatives or family friends at first, and then living as "allegados" until they can obtain a permanent house unit. In these early stages, the way of living is usually to inhabit shared spaces, where people continue to share the sleeping spaces with others. It is only when they obtain the house and start the process of self-construction that we see a concern emerging about the construction of individual bedrooms for each of the household members.  We can say however, according to the cases studied, that the Aymara families living in the city today have assumed the idea of individual bedroom spaces. In the houses in general, efforts have been made to add rooms in which each member, and even relatives that inhabit on and off in the houses, have individual spaces. However, the construction of these spaces with respect to construction methods as well as materiality, does not necessarily fit the privacy situation that we could say fulfils the idea of the single bedroom.

We can see that in the city, despite partitioning of space according to western logic, there is no particular concern to establish strong privacy between rooms. The total absence of doors, for example, is a situation not uncommon in the cases studied, and sometimes fabrics used as curtains to separate spaces replace them. The way of separating these spaces is sometimes by thin wooden partitions, and we can see that as a result of the enlargement process from a solid original structure, windows can

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[12] Carrasco, A. M. and Gavilán, V. (2009) *Representaciones del cuerpo, sexo y género entre los Aymara del norte de Chile*. Chungará Revista de Antropología Chilena, Universidad de Tarapacá, vol.41, n.1. pp. 83-100.

remain in the interior dividing walls between bedrooms, as in the upper level of case 01, or as in case 06 with two bedrooms with windows opening to the dining + kitchen space.

On the other hand, sharing of a room between parents and children is something that continues to happen in some cases and is not necessarily due to lack of space. It can allow priority to the maintenance of space for a living room instead of providing an area with separate beds where the children could sleep, allowing greater privacy for the adults.

In those houses that have a greater enlargement, we can see that there is a special concern for providing more privacy to the single bedrooms. These cases correspond to those with a presence of adolescents and adult sons and daughters, who in most cases are pursuing higher technical or university studies. We might think that just with the appearance of a second bathroom, the adoption of a western idea of habitation occurs because these family members were born, raised and have studied within the overall urban society and therefore have most strongly assimilated the ideas of habitation that they see among their non Aymara classmates or friends.

Issues of privacy in the habitation of the house change when the families move to the city, and concepts of the urban society are intertwined with the traditional situation.  These are reflected in the homes where we see an intermediate situation between concepts of shared space with a common sleeping area as in traditional housing, and the partitioning of the space to raise the status of individual through private bedrooms that is common in the city.

The situation of rooms shared by several family members seen in the poor neighborhoods in Chile, we believe does not provide an explanation in these cases.

This is because even when we consider families without enough economic security to place them among the privileged groups of the population, and we look at the growth of their houses, it is clear that there are sufficient resources to achieve privacy of bedrooms, such as the installation of doors. However this seems not to be a major issue, which makes us think that some of the traditional understanding may remain, and that the acceptance of common areas shared by family members does not cause any bother, so the privacy of bedroom spaces gains no priority in the process of constructing a house in the city.

# CONCLUSION

The traditional Aymara inhabitation as we recognize and explain it today is a complex reality that must be understood from the maintenance of a traditional ideology, but is affected by a succession of externalities that this ethnic group has made in the process of its subsistence, which was marked by waves of foreigners who came to conquer the territories in which they lived. First came the arrival of the Incas, then the Spanish colonization process, then modern nation states (in the case of the Aymara people in general, Peruvian and Bolivian states first) and in the particular case of the Chilean Aymara people, the state of Chile. Somehow the Aymara people in northern Chile managed to maintain their traditional cultural characteristics despite welcoming ideas, behaviours, customs and even a religion that was alien to them. Perhaps the religious syncretism present in the Aymara today is the best example of that resilience. There remain original beliefs about the cosmological and symbolic order while we also found a deeply rooted Catholic religiosity, and this is manifested within the celebration of the patron saints and in the symbolism given to the urban space of the central villages regarding the importance of the church and the main square as a meeting and celebration space. We believe that this capacity of adaptation is a fundamental part of how we should understand the situation in the urban space today, considering that the

maintenance or change of their traditional features should not be understood on an absolute scale, in black or white, but manifests itself at an intermediate stage.

We focused our attention on four traditional inhabiting situations that seem relevant to understand the current situation in the city. First the autonomy of built volumes, welcoming these to a single programme, whether it could be a kitchen space, bedroom or a storage room. Access to these areas is done from a domestic exterior which is the second element that seems relevant. The traditional courtyard in the Aymara dwelling is a space that transforms into a programmatic element that, although not covered or fully protected from the climate, is presented as a space in which domestic activities are performed.

The condition of privacy in the traditional inhabitation appears to be a situation that is not considered with great concern by the Aymara families. The idea of sharing a room between adults and children, or between men and women, is a condition that does not seem to be considered important for the physical constitution of the built space, in comparison with how it occurs within the western understanding of privacy in living spaces. There are also certain cultural concepts that cannot be understood if they are not considered amongst other vernacular variables such as the climatic and geographical realities: for example the concept of hygiene of the Aymara people is marked by the ability to gain access to water, and the prevalence of a geography that determines the relationship between the body and its functions and the natural space itself. There is not a built space hosting those acts specifically related to bodily functions or hygiene as happens in Western culture, so it is not surprising that this programmatic space is not relevant in the urban housing from the point of view of the enlarging process of the Aymara families in Arica through self-construction.

The traditional inhabitation has a number of features that make it a complex universe, and that certainly is not possible to understand or embrace from a single viewpoint. The ways to understand a culture are defined by those who are looking in from the outside in order to study it, so this research has made attempts to understand what is built and how it is inhabited as the basic tool of analysis. This leaves out a number of other insights that are essential for a proper analysis and interpretation of the social sciences, so that our results are conditioned by those limitations.

From the point of view of the design of social housing programmes, we have seen that the centralisation of Chilean institutions does not allow the existence of a real diversity on the model of housing units delivered to the families, therefore ignoring the geographical area in which they are built and not considering sufficiently the cultural diversity present in the country. Although it is true that the need for social housing was and still is a reality that runs the length of Chilean territory, it is also true that the differences in the way it is handled between areas of the country are notorious. Illegal land occupations, common until the seventies, were confronted with an aggressive policy of social housing production, especially the progressive type that although it theoretically allowed self-construction and a possible differentiation of the final housing, with each family responsible for expanding the original unit depending on their needs, was limited by the precarious economic condition of the families which did not allow the creation of a definitive housing solution producing habitable space meeting the expectations of each family.

To include the cultural variable in social housing programmes is not just a desire for those who may be interested in the rescue of the characteristics of a culture or the value of the vernacular in architecture. It ought to be considered as an intrinsic value that cities in Chile could have. The construction of social housing is currently the most important way in which the Chilean state is involved in building the city, and

improvement in quality should not only focus on factors such as increased the size of the unit, quality of construction materials or the creation of an appropriate urban space, but must also consider the direct involvement of families in the design process. Because, as we have shown in this investigation, the cultural differences that exist present a different picture to what may be the reality in other countries. This cultural diversity, which has so far been ignored in the field of social housing, should be considered as a possible improvement on the understanding and acceptance of different cultures that coexist in the territory.

According to the evidence collected in the case of the Aymara families, the bathroom as programmatic space is generally not subject to subsequent changes. The location of this within the original unit should be reconsidered, as the housing growth through self-construction leaves this element in badly located in terms of ventilation, in addition to not representing  the ideas of inhabiting sought by the Aymara, which means spaces with independent access.

We saw in the examples studied that this transition between the domestic exterior represented by the courtyard and the domestic interior in the built units is a common situation that seems to required and sought after. The creation of this threshold between exterior and interior, the act of being outdoors and passing into a protected indoor space, cannot be ignored, inasmuch as it is replicated in the case of the houses in the city, despite the difficulties of the shapes of social housing sites. In cases where the property was acquired in the private market and built by similar families, we see that the final form acknowledges the existence of this outdoor courtyard, ordering the access to the rooms in a way that makes the transfer evident. Bearing this in mind, rethinking the site shape of the social housing would  be an easy way to accommodate the particular needs of the ethnic group, because the features of

the terrain, usually a thin rectangular area, do not contribute to the built formation of the unit desired by urban Aymara families.

It is not impossible to think that with the Aymara families' arrival in the city there has not been a change in their way of inhabiting. The history of the relationship between the Chilean state and society with this ethnic group is marked by the results of the Chilenization process, which although not aimed directly at the Aymara people, created a sense of otherness between this ethnic group and the rest of Chilean society, because cultural and even physical characteristics of the Aymara put them as foreigners in the geographical areas now occupied by the Chilean state. They were faced with the dichotomy between the need for acceptance before a relatively homogeneous urban society and the idea of maintaining a way of inhabiting that has been practised for centuries. The concept of "whitening" which we mentioned above is a possible explanation for the assimilation of certain spaces in the home that are not traditional, and that have become important elements in the urban reality of the Aymara families. The space of the living area as defined space and its corresponding furniture is present in the cases studied and is a frequent source of concern for the interviewees.

The hypothesis with which we began this research is that despite the transfer to the city it is still possible to see characteristics of the traditional inhabitation methods of the Aymara families living in social housing. We believe that this is proven after seeing that some traditional concepts, such as the courtyard and the notion of programmatic autonomy of the volumes that compose the housing, understood as that need to create a threshold between the domestic exterior and Interior, are moved into the urban reality. Notions about the importance of certain customs such as hygiene or privacy concepts are translated into the built environment.

It is not impossible to believe that this transfer of elements from the traditional inhabitation has not undergone any modification, but is the product of a complicated equation between what we can recognize as typical of the traditional Aymara culture and the confrontation with a generalized urban reality that places them in the status of strangers, a space of difference. This is combatted through various actions, as we have seen above, but the house had not been considered as one of the mechanisms of acceptance. We believe the house, their spaces, furniture and mode of inhabiting, should be considered as a possible element to be treated as a presentation image, and somehow as a form of verification that allows them to fit into urban society.

I hope that this research can be the starting point for a better understanding of the reality of the inhabitation of urban Aymara families in northern Chile. Regarding future steps, we intend to carry out a deeper investigation into this issue. The urban space where the house is located, the surrounding urban spaces and their qualities, are important elements to consider, but we decided not to integrate them on this occasion because it opens a series of discussions that are broader than the mere reality of the Aymara families, and introduces the research into the reality of neighbourhoods of social housing in general terms, but which has a particular manifestation in the case of the Aymara people, and deserves to be revised in future investigations.

So we have also focused our efforts on the city of Arica exclusively, as this is where, according to census data, the largest concentration of people of the Aymara ethnic group live. However, the city of Iquique (300 kilometres south of Arica) is also an urban space where the Aymara families have migrated in the last four decades. It seems therefore necessary in the future to carry out work in this city also, to see what happens when urban Aymara families inhabit it.

It was not within the objectives of this research to make specific proposals for architectural design in response to the results obtained. However we feel that the next stage should include some kind of development proposals regarding the constructed space that is delivered by state agencies through housing programmes. The inclusion of a specific proposal for basic housing that may consider including cultural variables is a goal to achieve in the near future, in order to improve the quality of life for Aymara families in particular and the quality of urban space in total.

We hope in future works to complete and extend this research, achieving a more thorough understanding of the installation and inhabitation processes of the Aymara families in northern Chile. It is possible that the results of this research, as well as those resulting from subsequent work, can be used by state agencies in Chile to improve the quality of social housing provided to families of the Aymara ethnic group, as well as contributing to the shaping of cities that take into account the cultural diversity of inhabitants.

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# Inhabiting the City: the Aymara People in Arica, Chile. Social and Cultural Factors in Government Housing Programmes an Interdisciplinary Study

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School of Architecture

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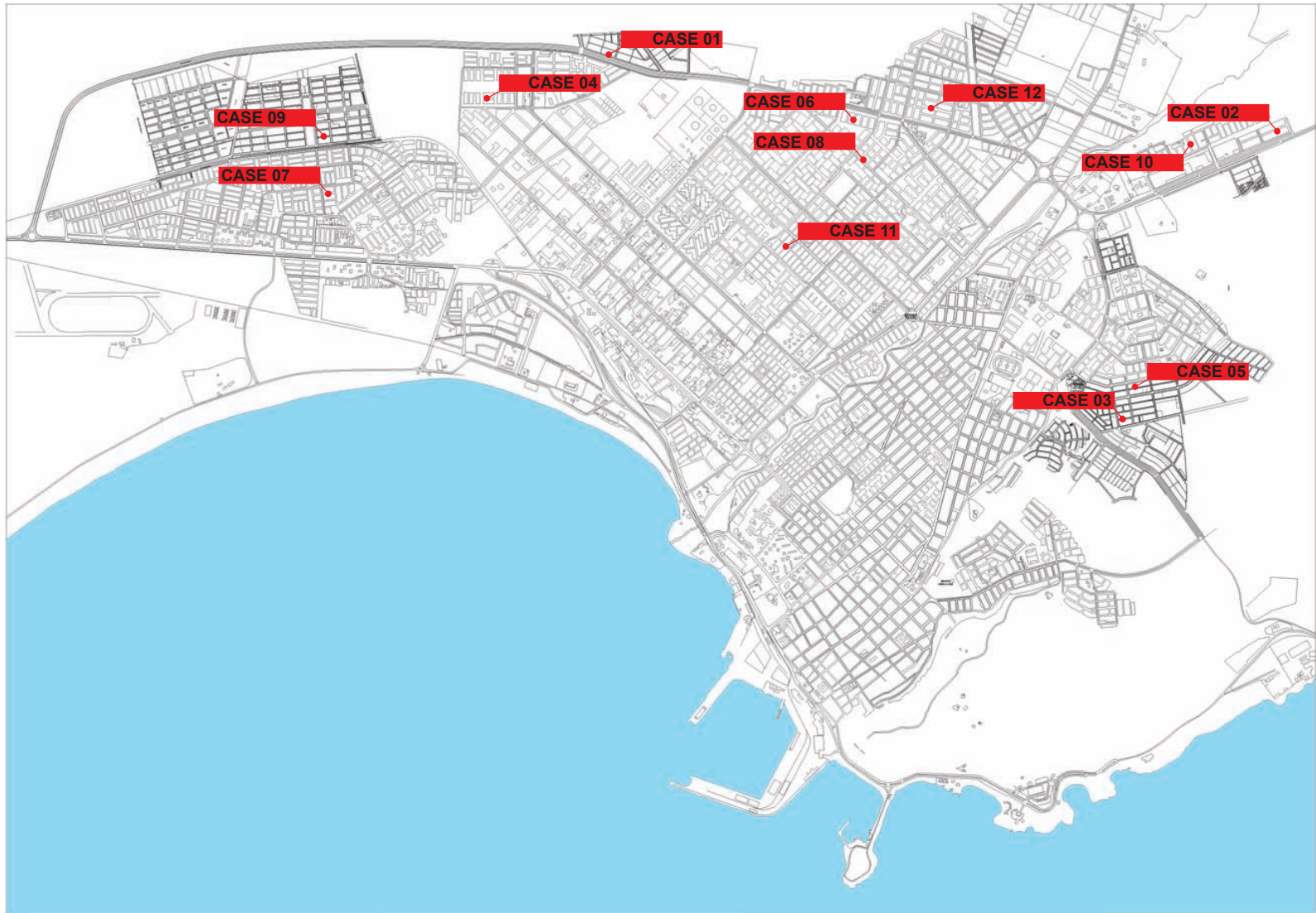
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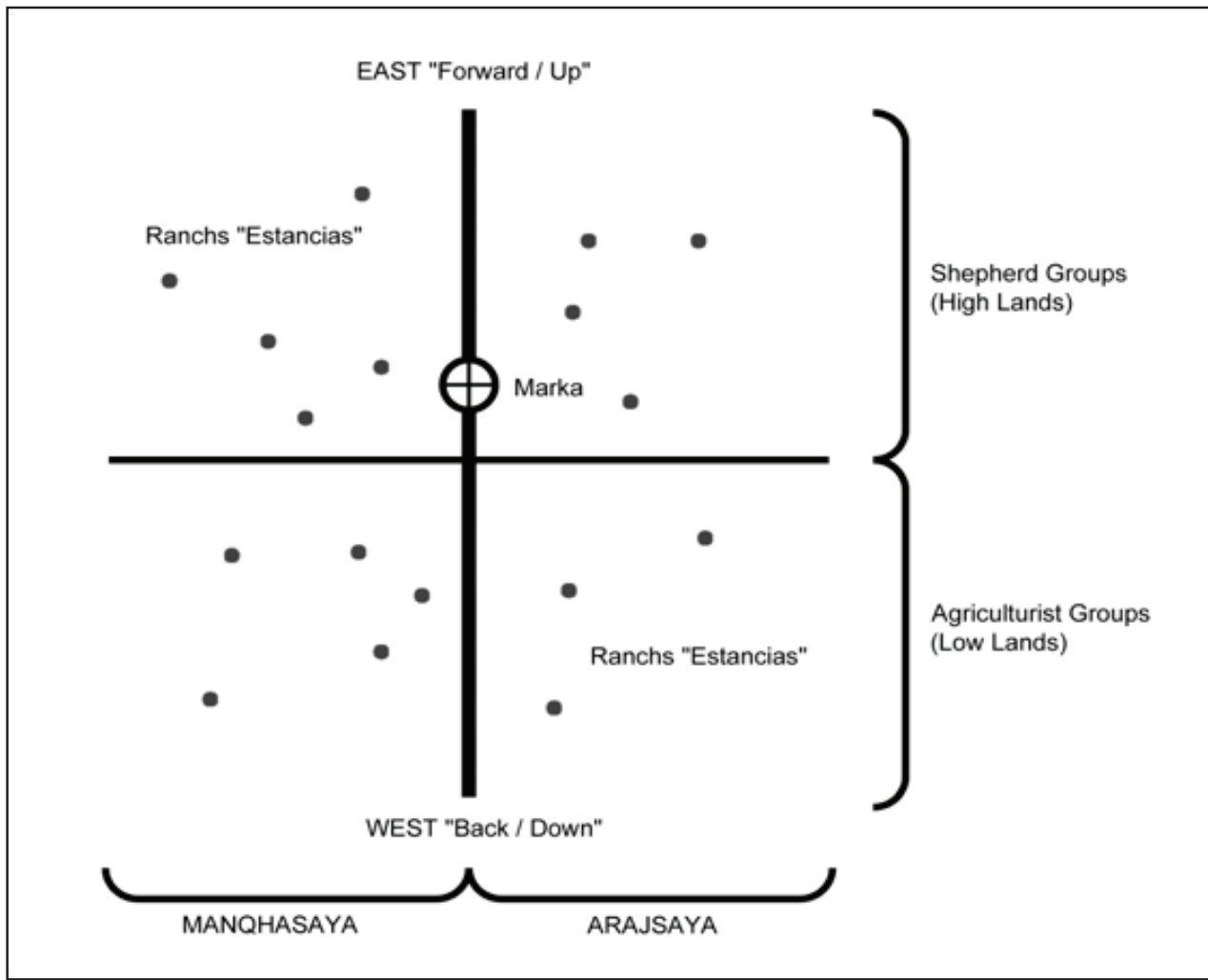
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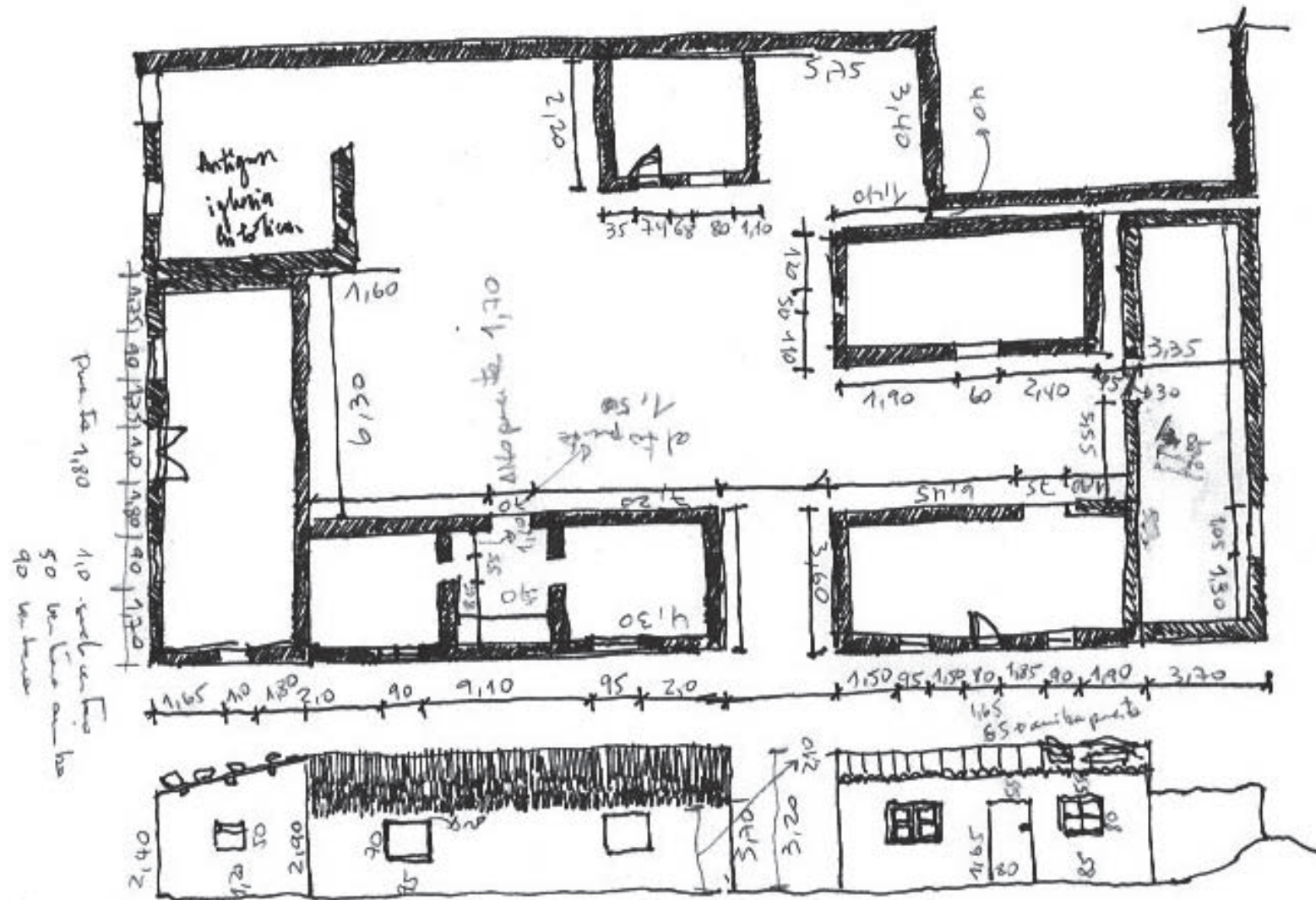
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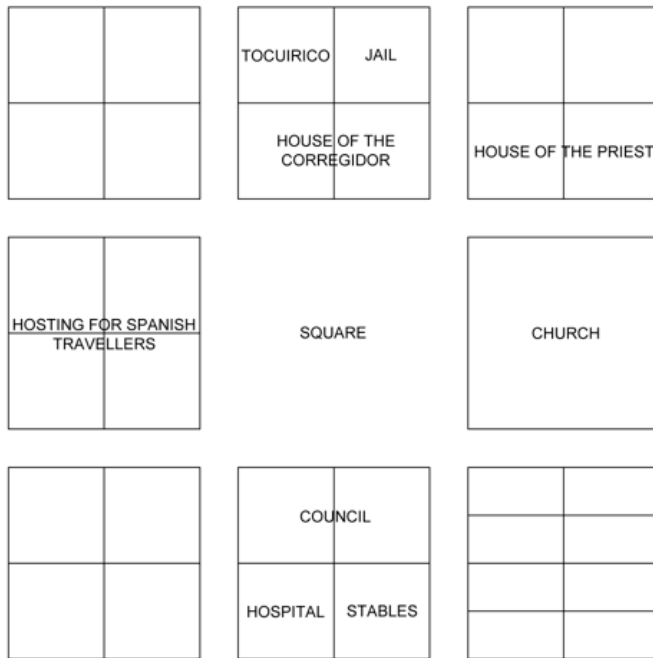
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TOCUIRICO | JAIL
HOUSE OF THE CORREGIDOR
HOUSE OF THE PRIEST
HOSTING FOR SPANISH TRAVELLERS
SQUARE
CHURCH
COUNCIL
HOSPITAL | STABLES



Calvario

Cementery

Temple and Bell Tower

Calvario

Square and Altars

Ritual Paths

Village and Streets

Ritual Path

East
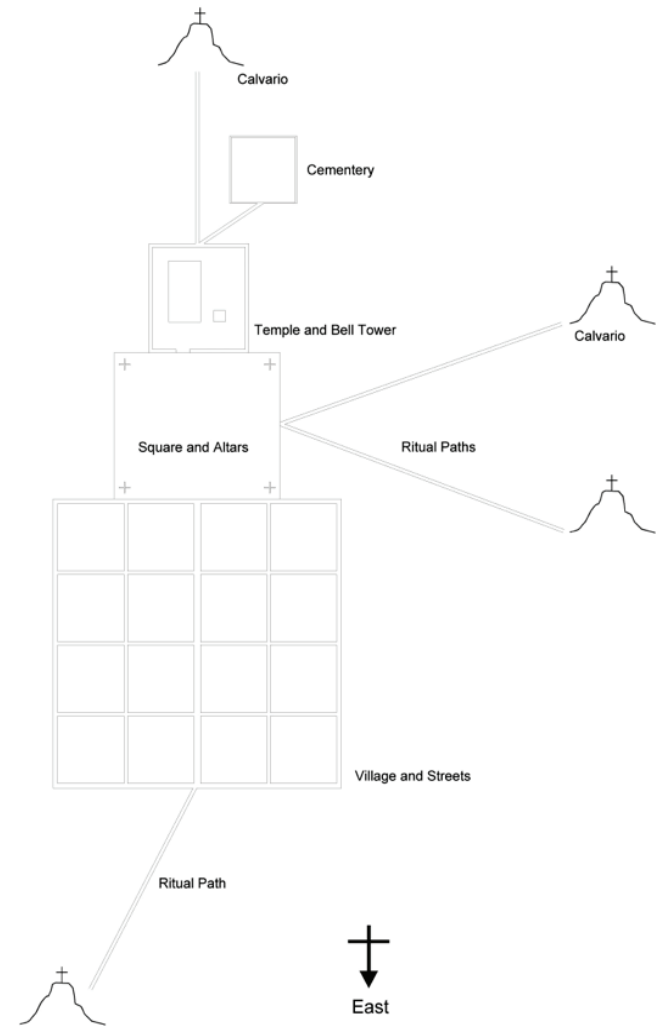
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[1] Sordo E. (1995) Las resducciones en Potosí y su character urbano. Revista Complutense de Historia de América nº 21, pp. 231-239

[2] Van Kessel, J. (1996) Los aymara contemporaneos en Chile. in Hidalgo, J. et al. ed. (1996) Etnografía. Sociedades indígenas contemporaneas y su ideología, Editorial Andres Bello. Santiago

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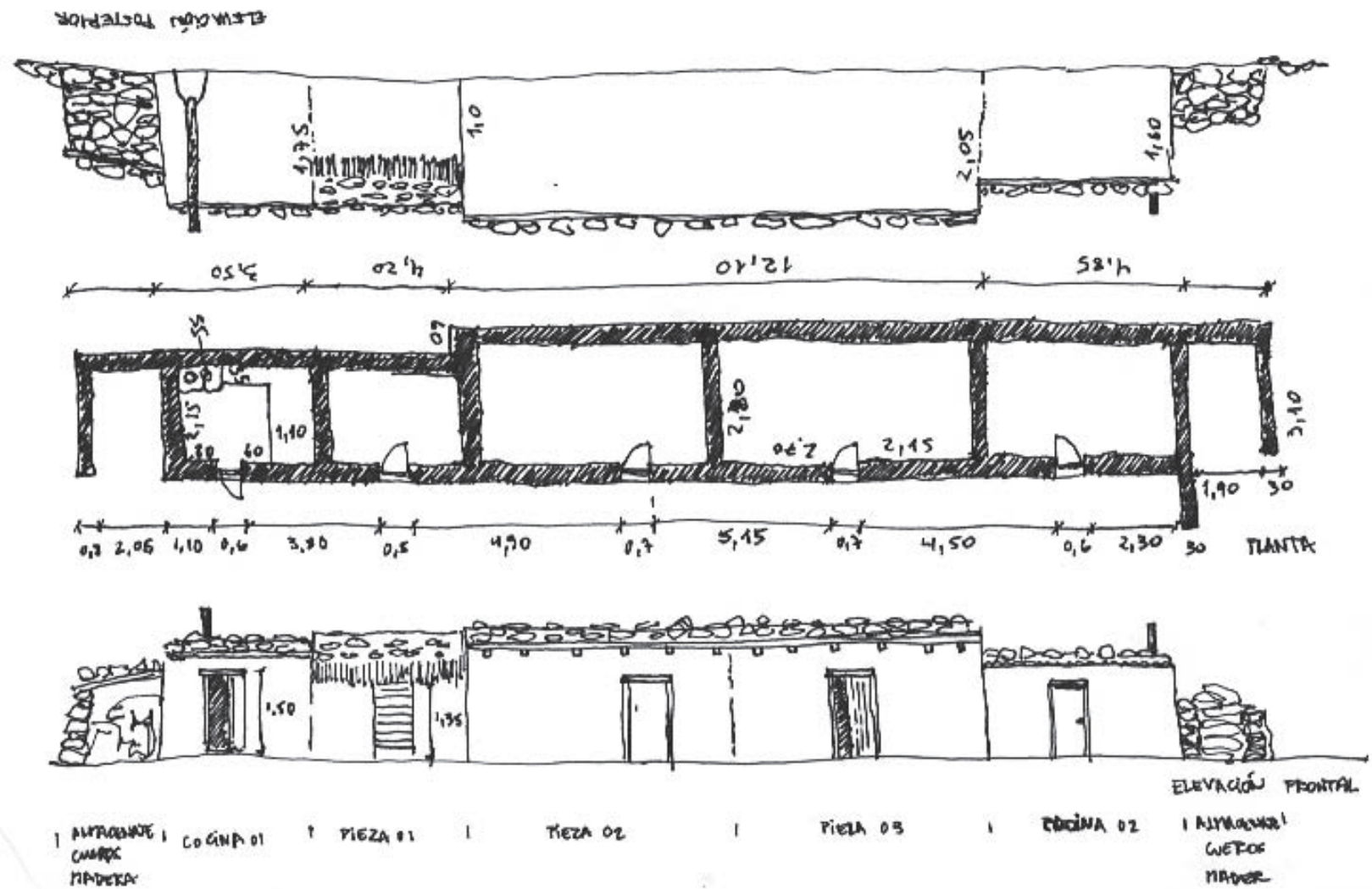
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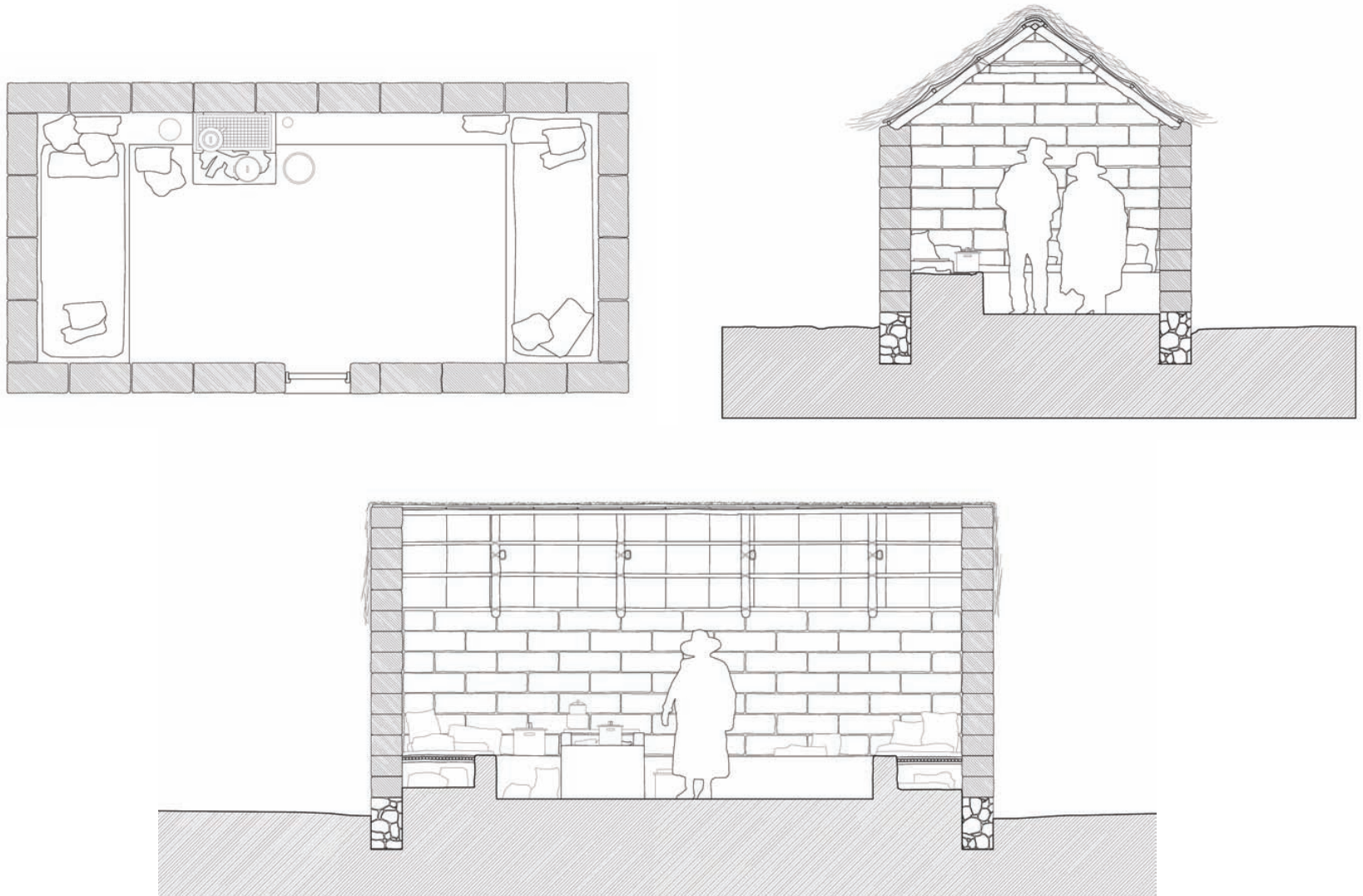
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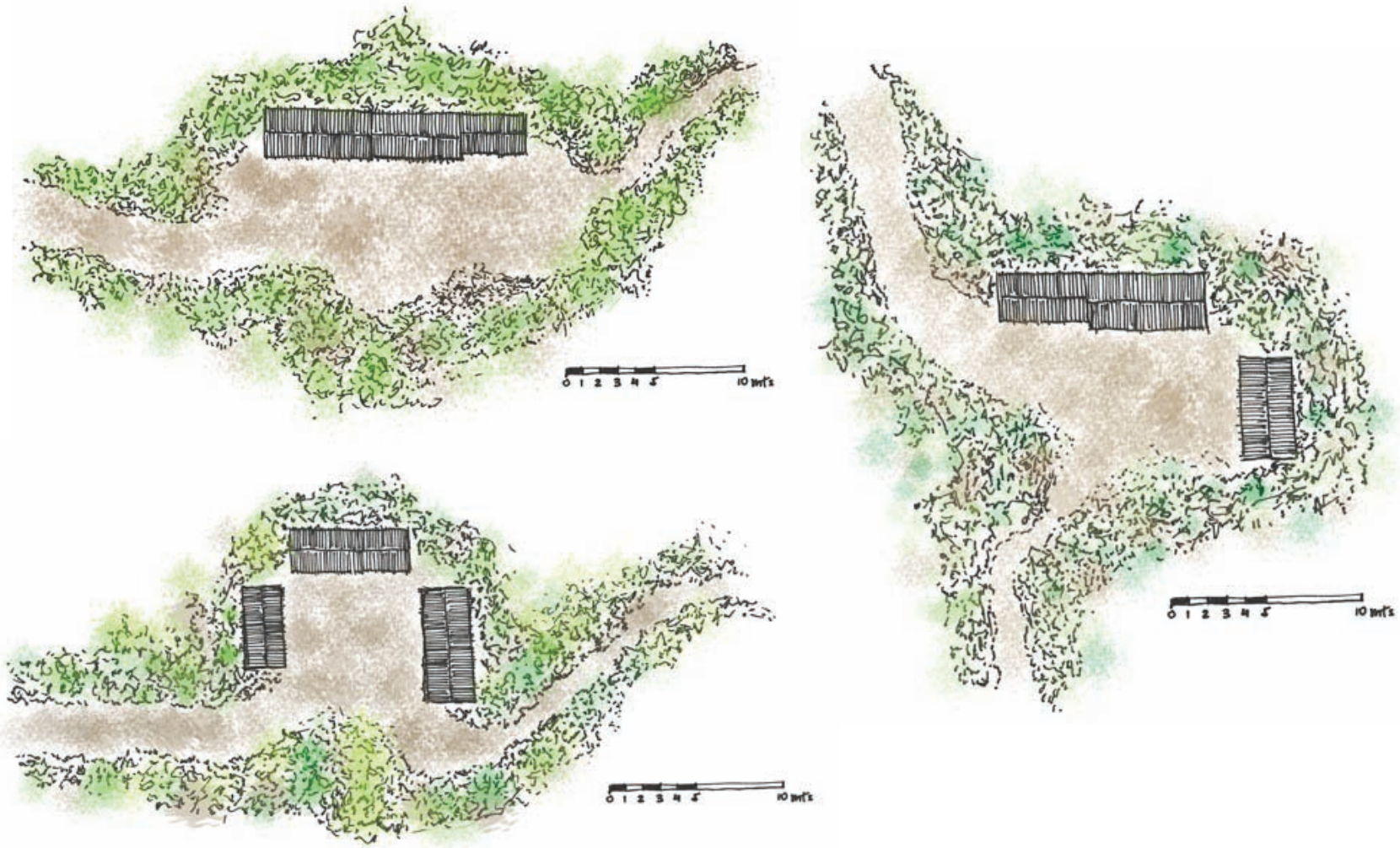
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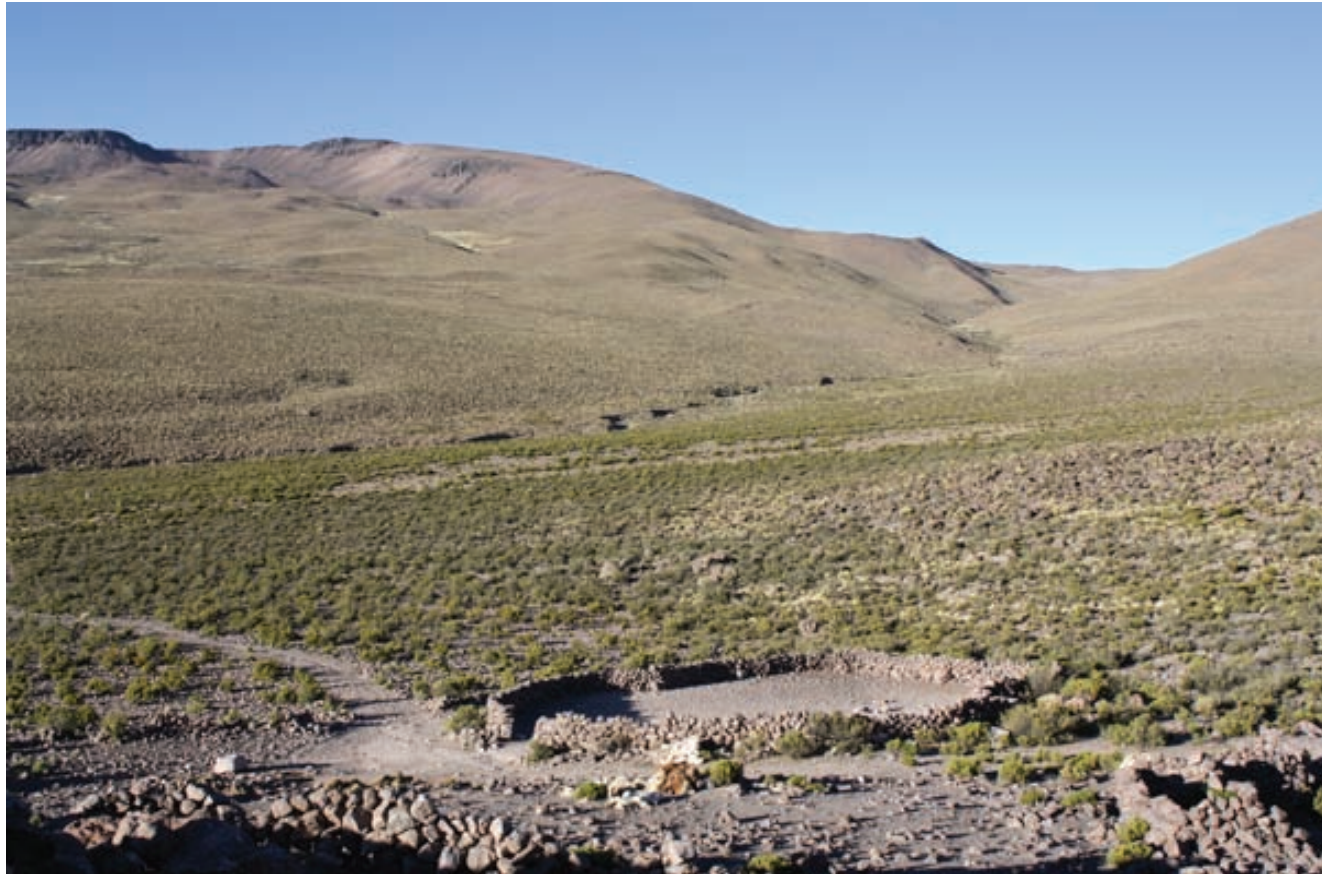
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[1] Solc, V. (1975) Casa Aymara en Enquelga. Annals of the Náprstek Museum N° 8, pp.111-146

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[1] Solc, V. (1975) Casa Aymara en Enquelga. Annals of the Náprstek Museum N° 8, pp.111-146

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[1] Solc, V. (1975) Casa Aymara en Enquelga. Annals of the Náprstek Museum N° 8, pp.111-146

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[1] Solc, V. (1975) Casa Aymara en Enquelga. Annals of the Náprstek Museum N° 8, pp.111-146

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[1] Solc, V. (1975) Casa Aymara en Enquelga. Annals of the Náprstek Museum N° 8, pp.111-146

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[1] Solc, V. (1975) Casa Aymara en Enquelga. Annals of the Náprstek Museum N° 8, pp.111-146

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[1] Solc, V. (1975) Casa Aymara en Enquelga. Annals of the Náprstek Museum N° 8, pp.111-146

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[1] Solc, V. (1975) Casa Aymara en Enquelga. Annals of the Náprstek Museum N° 8, pp.111-146

Fig. 3.44 The roof is finished. [1]

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[1] Solc, V. (1975) Casa Aymara en Enquelga. Annals of the Náprstek Museum N° 8, pp.111-146

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[1] Solc, V. (1975) Casa Aymara en Enquelga. Annals of the Náprstek Museum N° 8, pp.111-146

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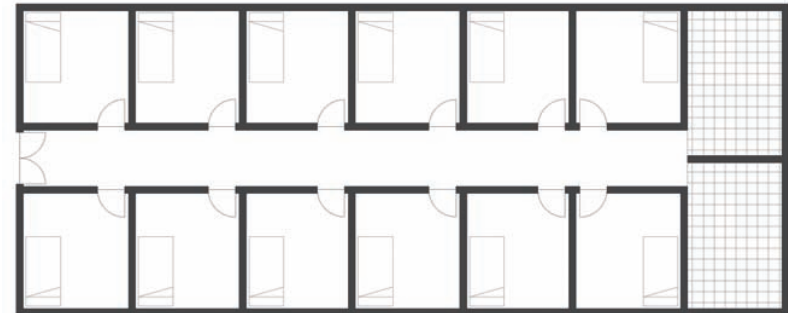
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[1] Gross, de R. (1985) Imagen ambiental de Santiago 1810-1930, Ediciones universidad Católica de Chile, Santiago.
[2] Ibid.

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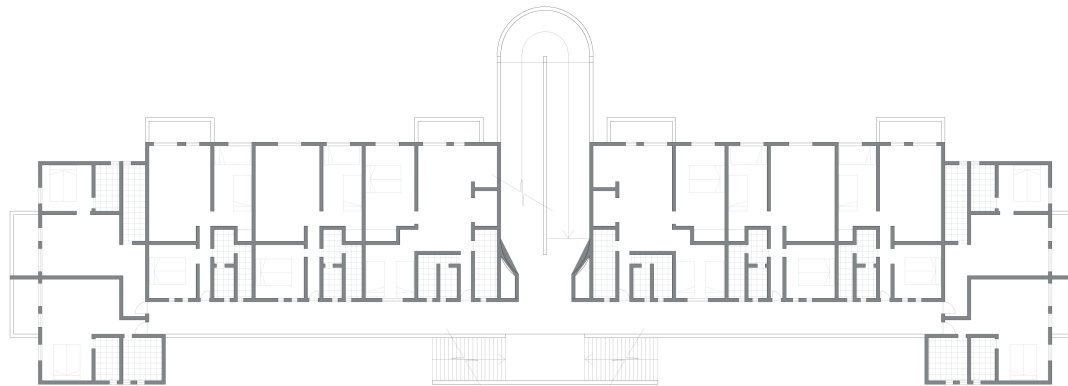


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[1] Palmer M. et. al. (1988) Separata, Reseña de la Vivienda Social en Chile, CA, Revista Oficial del Colegio de Arquitectos de Chile A.G, Santiago
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[1] MINVU (2004) Chile, un siglo de politicas en vivienda y barrio, Pehuen Editores, Santiago
[2] Ibid.

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[1] MINVU (2004) Chile, un siglo de politicas en vivienda y barrio, Pehuen Editores, Santiago
[2] Ibid.

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Fig. 5.45 Case 04, built second level.



Fig. 5.46 Case 04, wooden staircase that connects to a balcony facing the front yard.

Fig. 5.47 Case 04, space of living + dining in the upper floor.
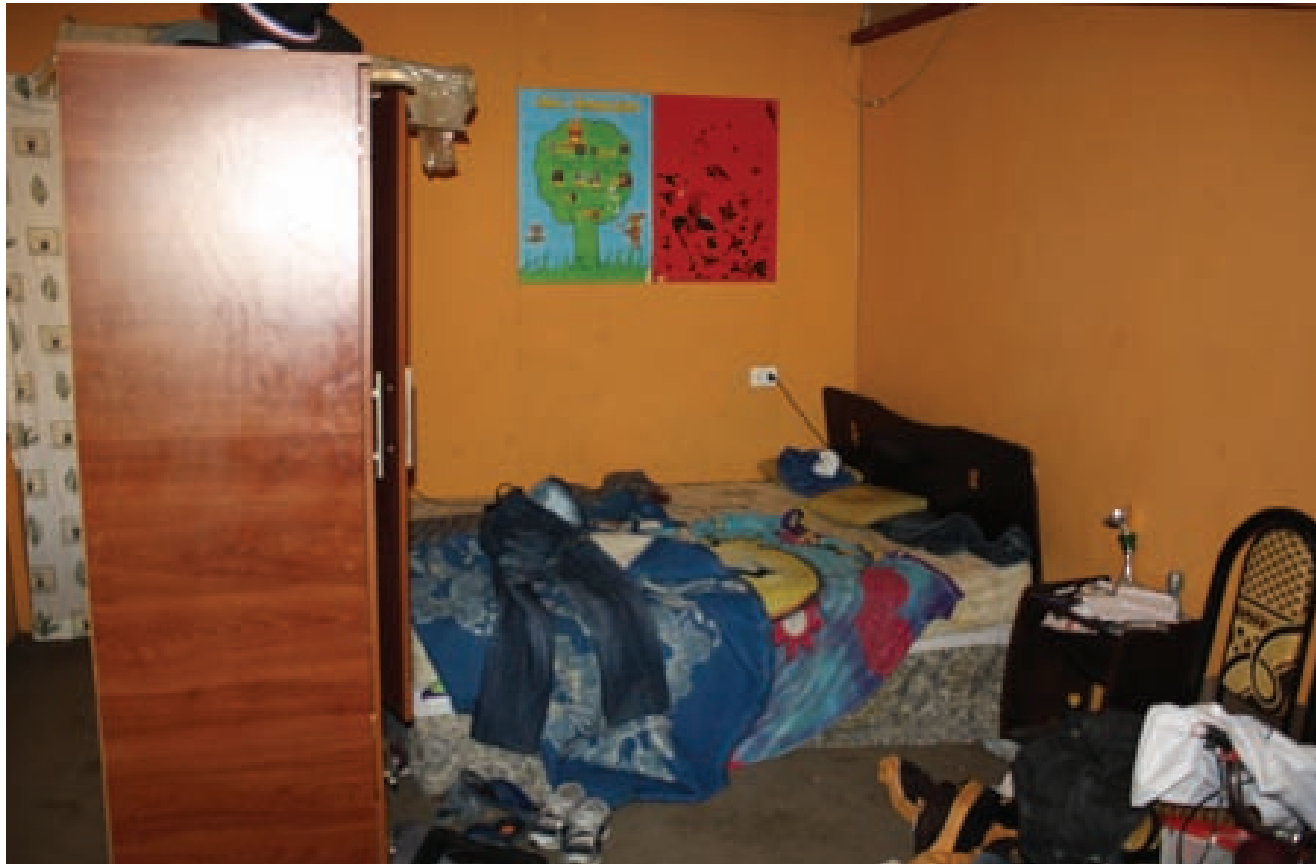
Fig. 5.48 Case 04, view of the large bedroom in the upper floor.

Fig. 5.49 Case 04, view of the large bedroom in the upper floor.

Fig. 5.50 Case 04, view of kitchen area in the upper floor.
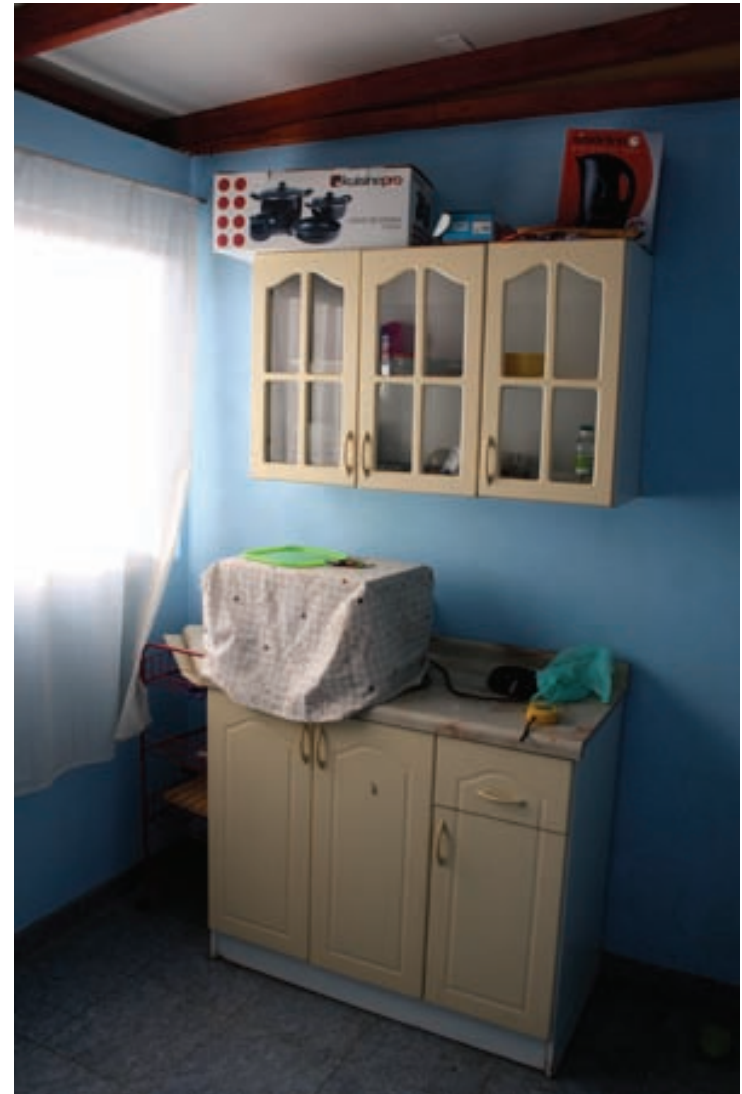

Fig. 5.51 Case 04, view of kitchen area in the upper floor.

Fig. 5.52 Case 04, door from the bedroom to the backyard



Fig. 5.53 Case 04, door between the kitchen area and the bathroom in the upper floor.

Fig. 5.54 Case 04, view of the side circulation through the bedroom in the upper floor, defined informally with furniture.
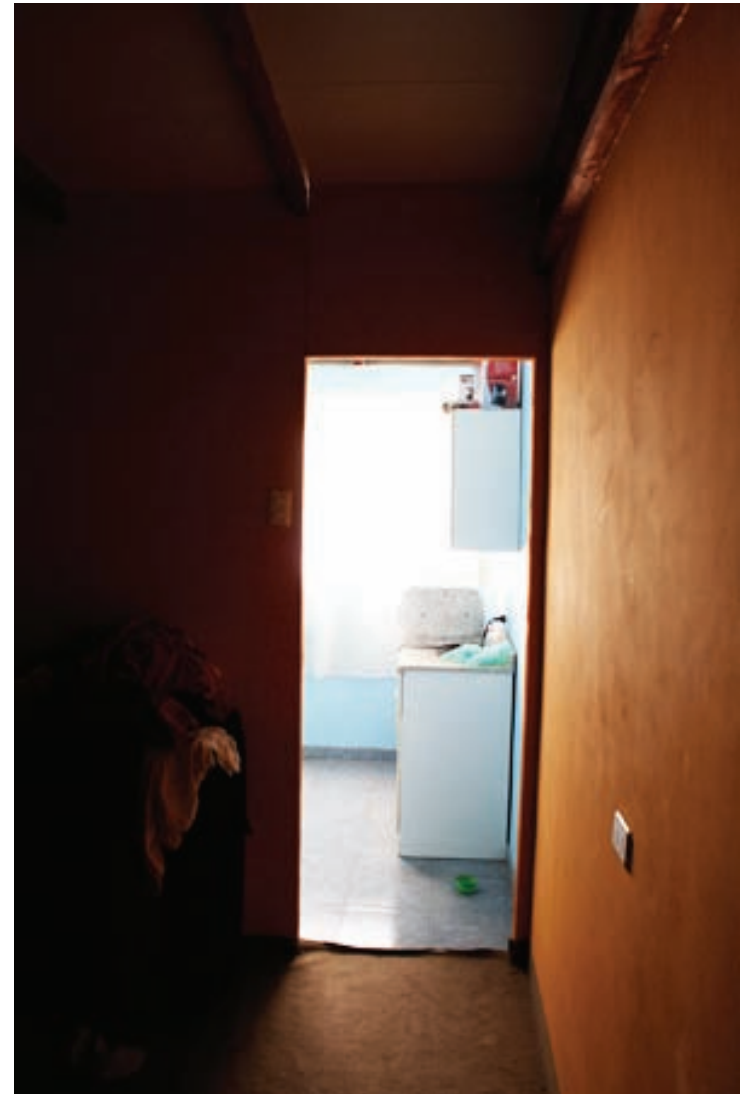


Fig. 5.55 Case 04, view of the side circulation through the bedroom in the upper floor, defined informally with furniture.

Fig. 5.56 Case 05, the original structure was extended through an opening in the back wall.



Fig. 5.57 Case 05, view of the two rooms built on the rear sector of the enlarged unit.

Fig. 5.58 Case 05, view of the two rooms built on the rear sector of the enlarged unit.

Fig. 5.59 Case 05, hard floor courtyard.



Fig. 5.60 Case 05, view of the kitchen space.

Fig. 5.61 Case 05, view of the kitchen space.

Fig. 5.62 Case 05, dining table for six people in the enlarged area.



Fig. 5.63 Case 05, desk with a computer in the enlarged area.

Fig. 5.64 Case 05, interior of a bedroom.

Fig. 5.65 Case 06, view of one of the enlarged bedrooms entrance.


Fig. 5.66 Case 06, view of the dining room and kitchen enlarged area.

Fig. 5.67 Case 06, the kitchen area.



Fig. 5.68 Case 06, metal staircase that connects to the upper level.

Fig. 5.69 Case 06, upper level rooms separated by light wooden partitions.



Fig. 5.70 Case 06, living area.

Fig. 5.71 Case 06, single armchair hiding a residual space.



Fig. 5.72 Case 06, bathroom entrance.

Fig. 5.73 Case 06, dinning area furniture and bathroom window.

Fig. 5.74 Case 07, view of the central courtyard and the enlarged built volume.



Fig. 5.75 Case 07, view of the central courtyard and the enlarged built volume.

Fig. 5.76 Case 07, view of the kitchen area.



Fig. 5.77 Case 07, view of the kitchen area.

Fig. 5.78 Case 07, dining room of daily use.

Fig. 5.79 Case 07, upper floor bedrooms.
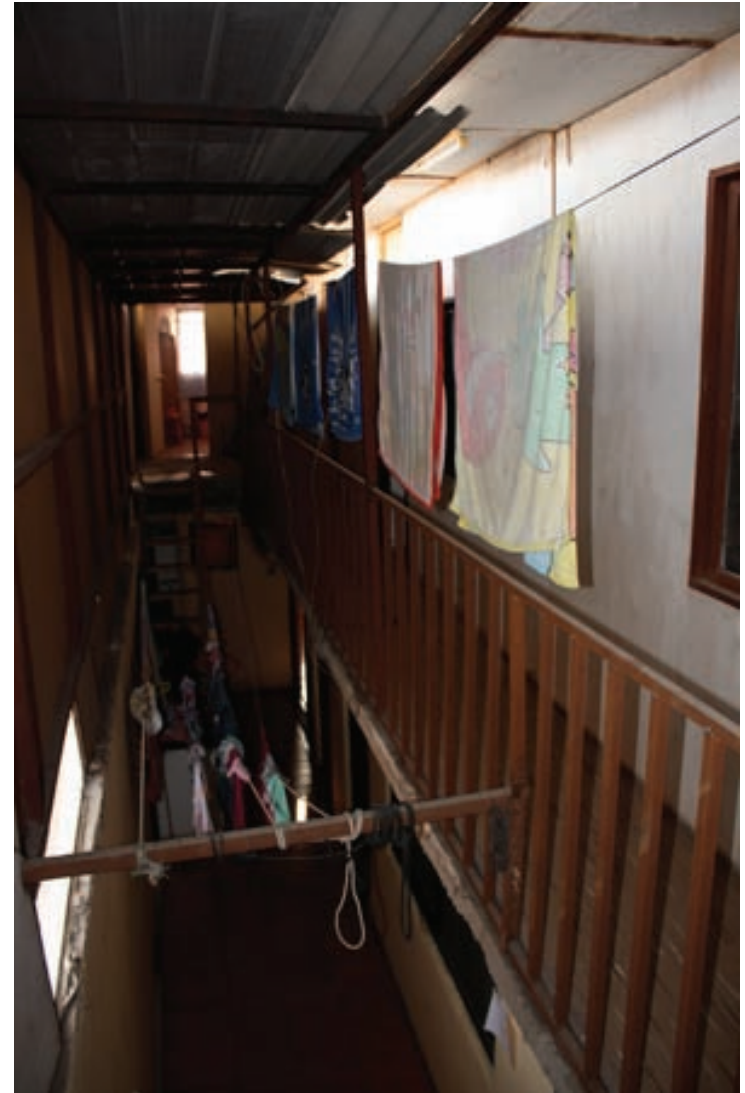


Fig. 5.80 Case 07, view of the upper floor corridor.

Fig. 5.81 Case 07, wooden staircases.



Fig. 5.82 Case 07, wooden staircases.

Fig. 5.83 Case 09, view of the staircase and living area.

Fig. 5.84 Case 09, view of the dinning area.

Fig. 5.85 Case 09, view of the kitchen area.
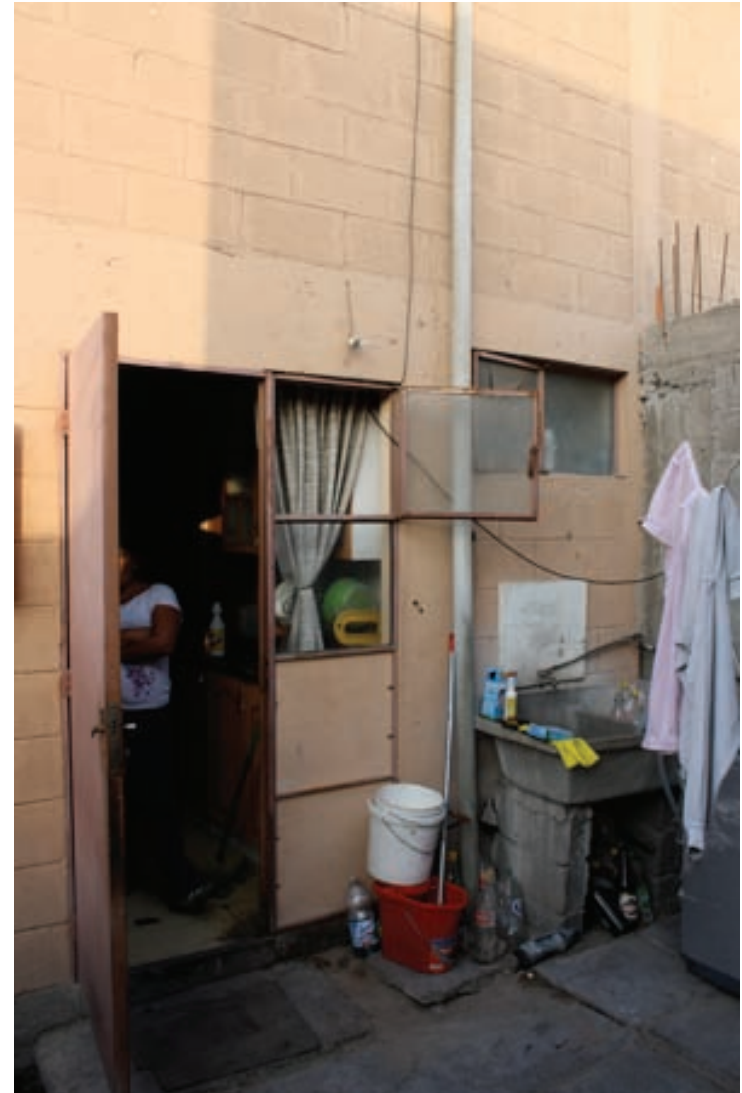

Fig. 5.86 Case 09, view of the backyard.

Fig. 5.87 Case 09, covered parking area.

Fig. 5.88 Case 11, concrete staircase in the living + dining area.

Fig. 5.89 Case 11, furniture of the living space.

Fig. 5.90 Case 11, dining room.



Fig. 5.91 Case 11, space dedicated to the sale of textiles.

Fig. 5.92 Case 11, kitchen.



Fig. 5.93 Case 11, main bedroom.

Fig. 5.94 Case 11, upper level central space.
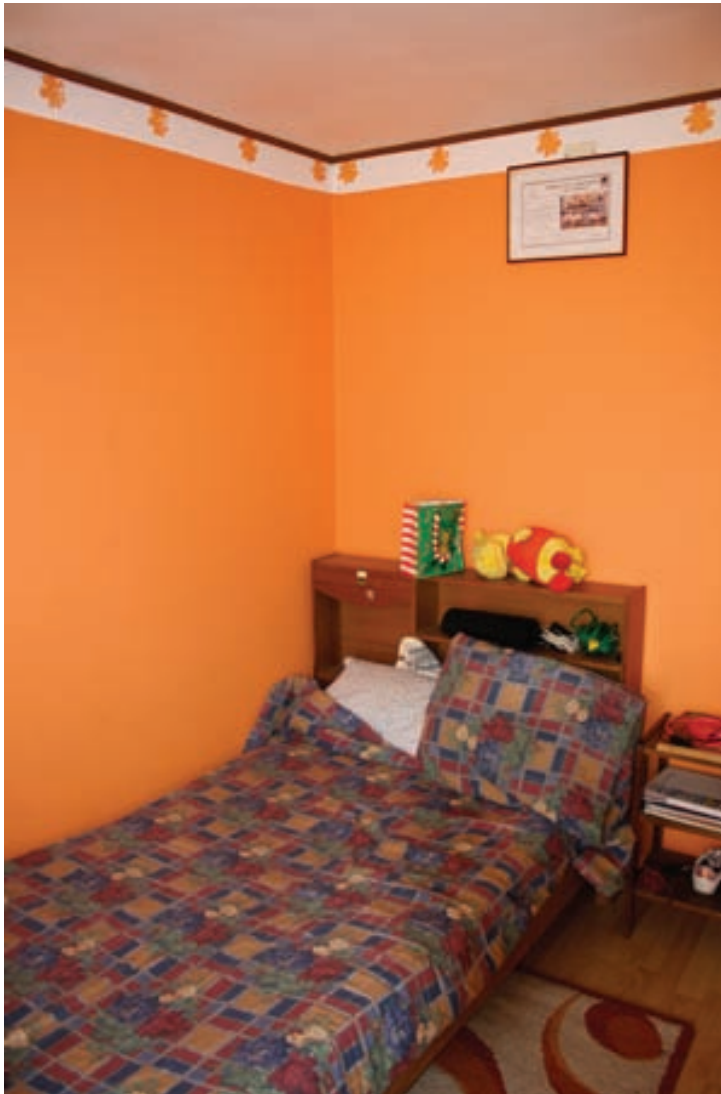
Fig. 5.95 Case 11, view of one of the bedrooms.
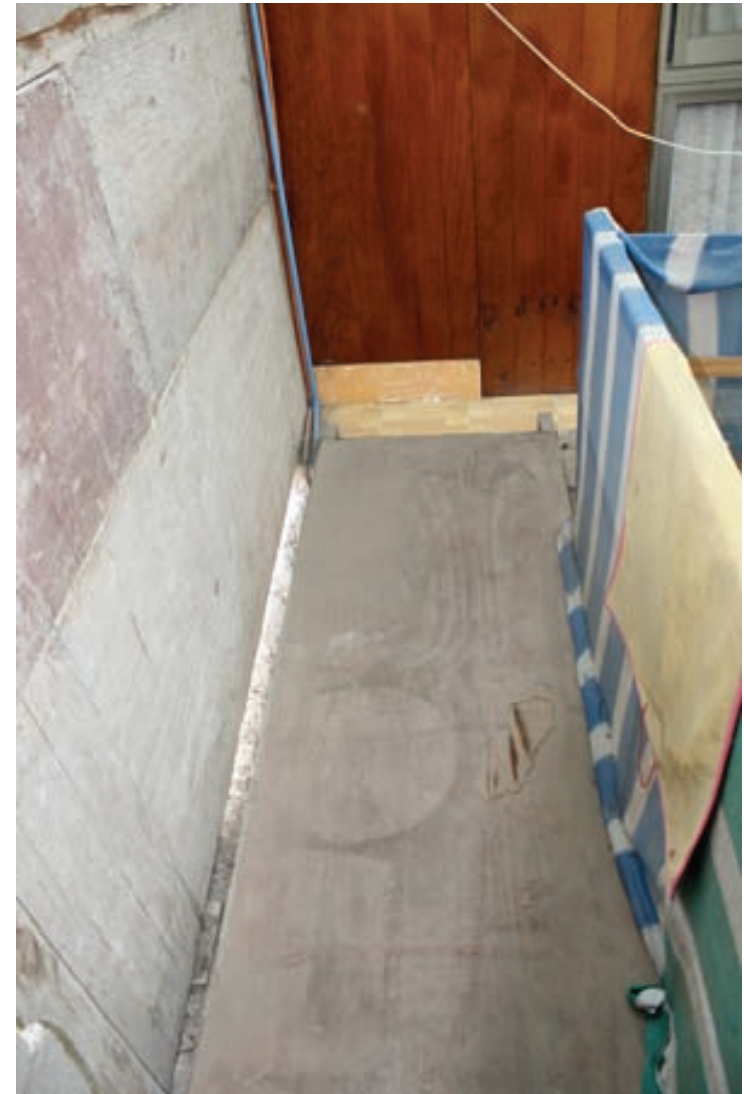


Fig. 5.96 Case 11, poorly constructed bridge to the rear built volume in the upper level.

Fig. 5.97 Case 11, rear volume in the upper level.

Fig. 5.98 Case 11, interior view of the rear volume ground level.



Fig. 5.99 Case 11, interior view of the rear volume ground level.

Fig. 5.100 Case 11, view of the courtyard with several looms installed.



Fig. 5.101 Case 11, view of the courtyard with several looms installed.

Fig. 5.102 Case 12, view of the living area.

Fig. 5.103 Case 12, the central courtyard.

Fig. 5.104 Case 12, access from the courtyard to the kitchen.

Fig. 5.105 Case 12, upper level of the rear volume.

# ARCHITECTURAL PLANS

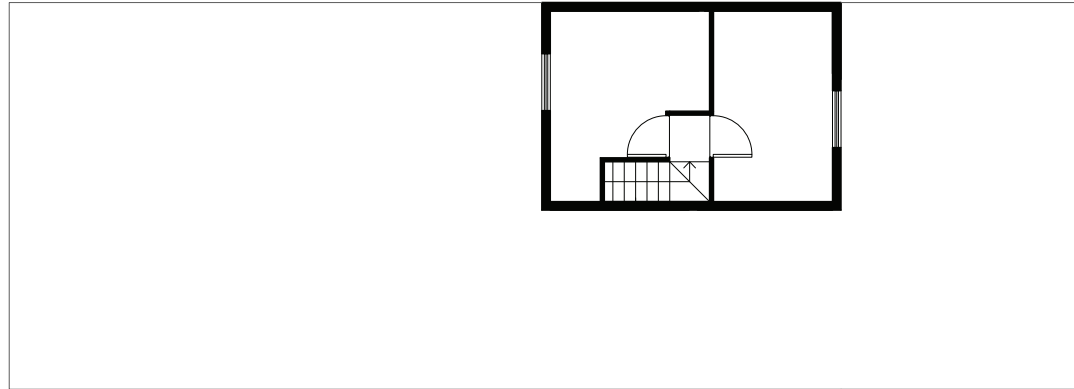ORIGINAL FRONT ELEVATION



ENLARGED FRONT ELEVATION

**CASE 01**

0   1   2   3        5 m.
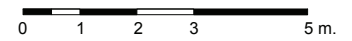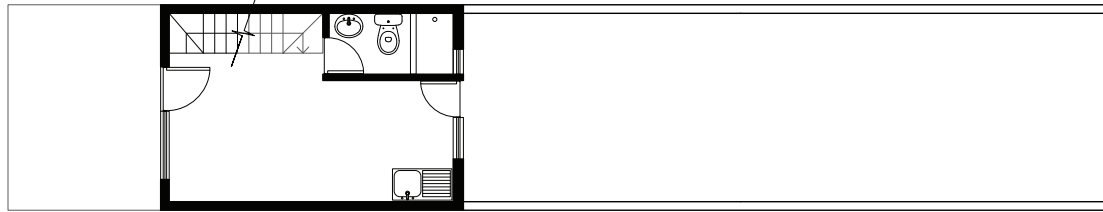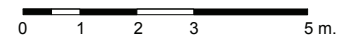
ORIGINAL GROUND LEVEL
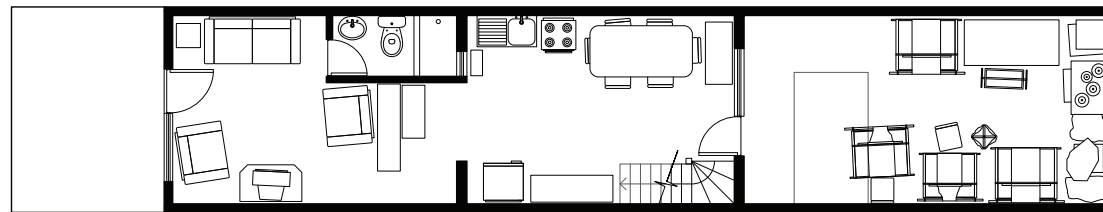
ENLARGED GROUND LEVEL

**CASE 01**

0    1    2    3         5 m.

125
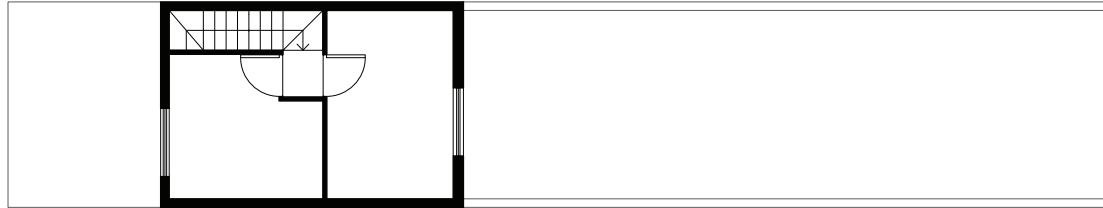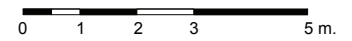
ORIGINAL UPPER LEVEL
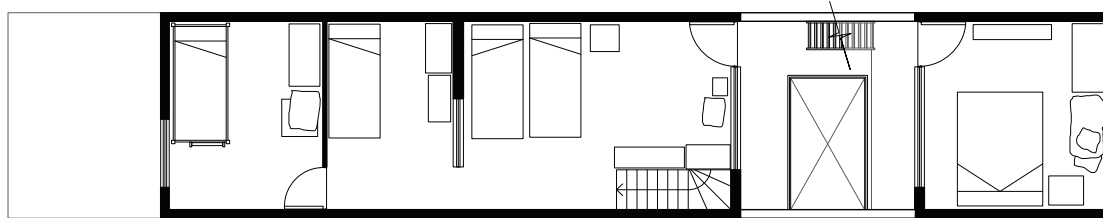
ENLARGED UPPER LEVEL

**CASE 01**
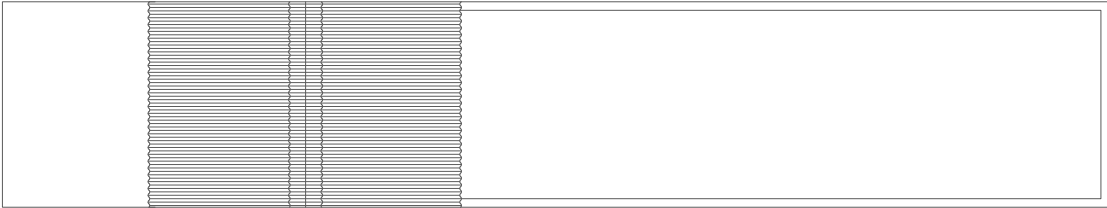
0  1  2  3  5 m.
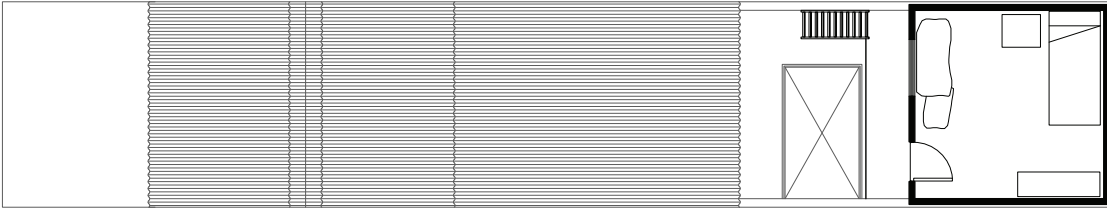
ORIGINAL ROOFING

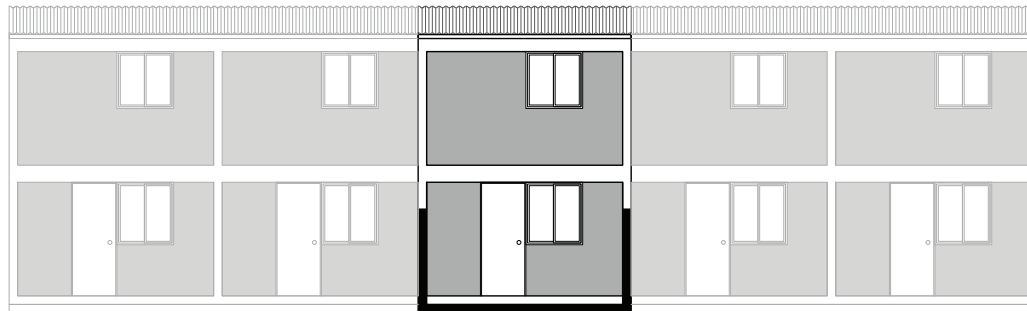ENLARGED THIRD LEVEL
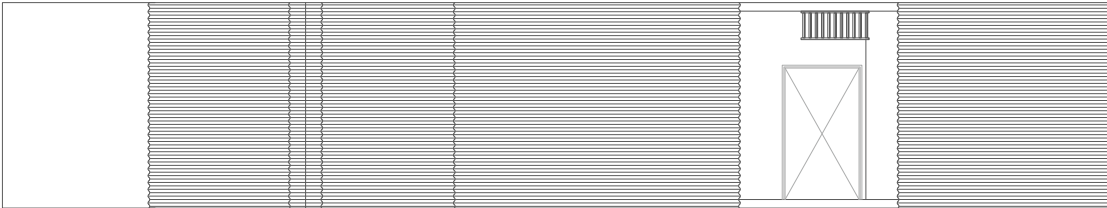
ENLARGED ROOFING
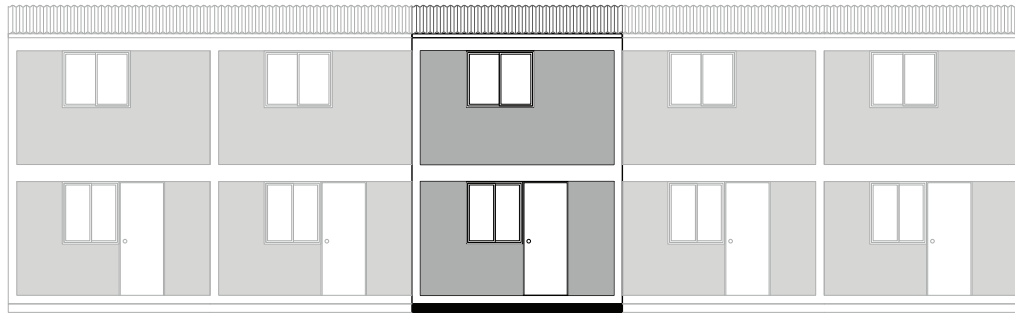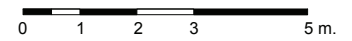
**CASE 01**

0  1  2  3  5 m.

ORIGINAL FRONT ELEVATION
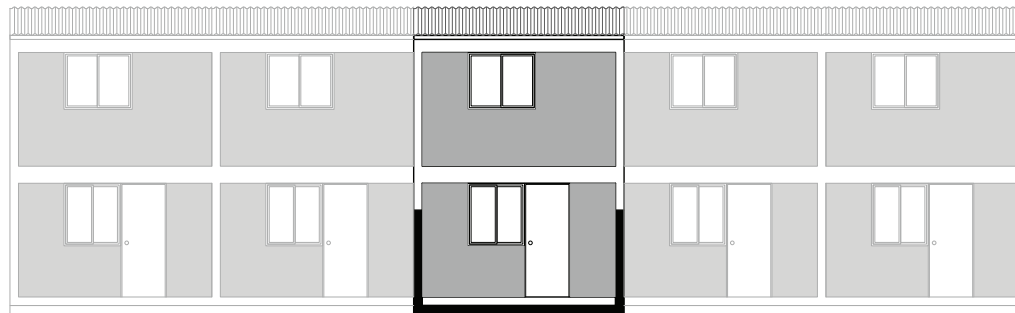


ENLARGED FRONT ELEVATION

**CASE 02**
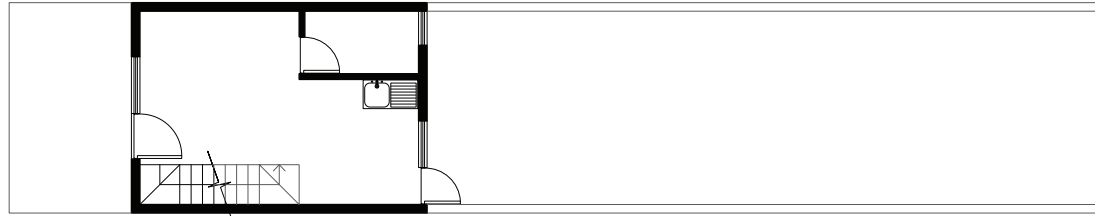
0   1   2   3        5 m.

ORIGINAL GROUND LEVEL
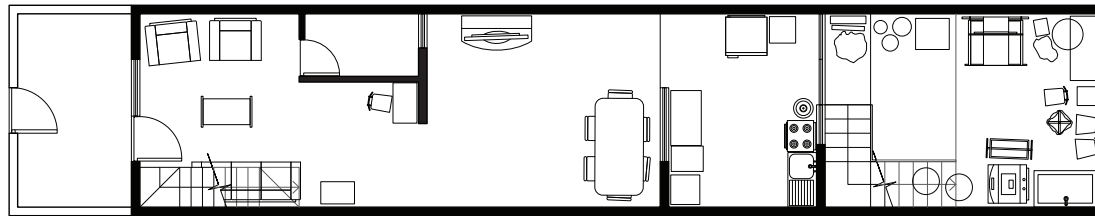
ENLARGED GROUND LEVEL

**CASE 02**

0    1    2    3         5 m.

ORIGINAL UPPER LEVEL
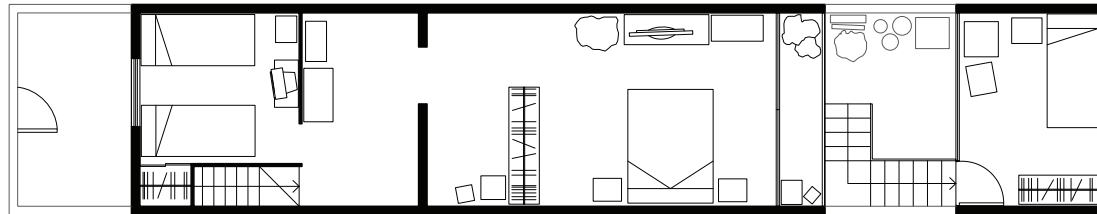
ENLARGED UPPER LEVEL

**CASE 02**

0    1    2    3         5 m.
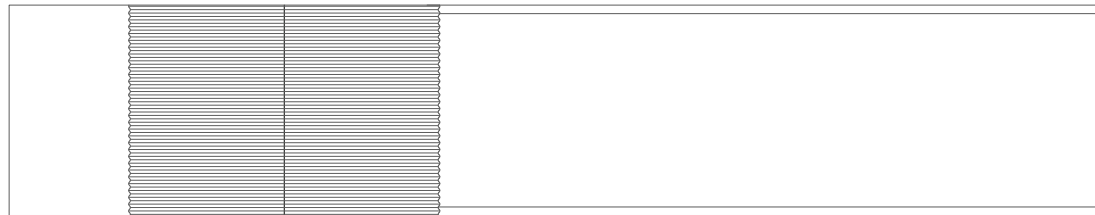
ORIGINAL ROOFING

ENLARGED ROOFING

**CASE 02**
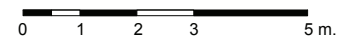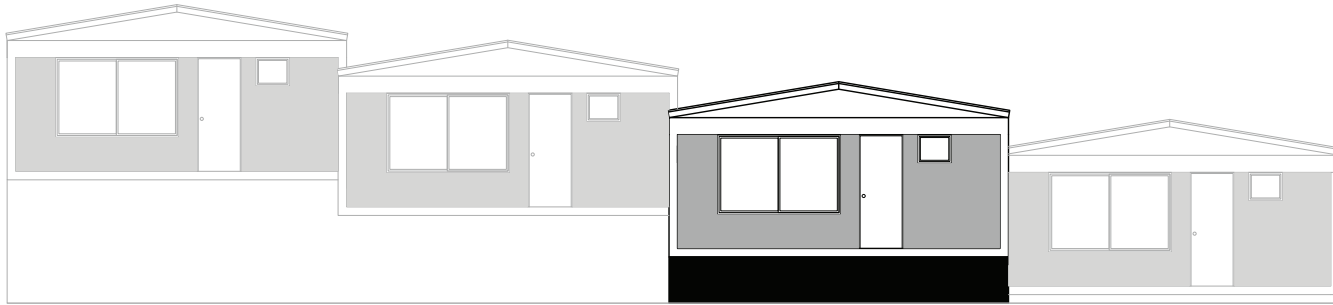
0  1  2  3    5 m.
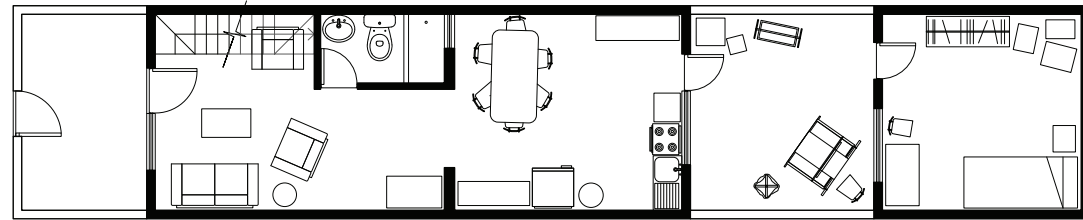
ORIGINAL FRONT ELEVATION
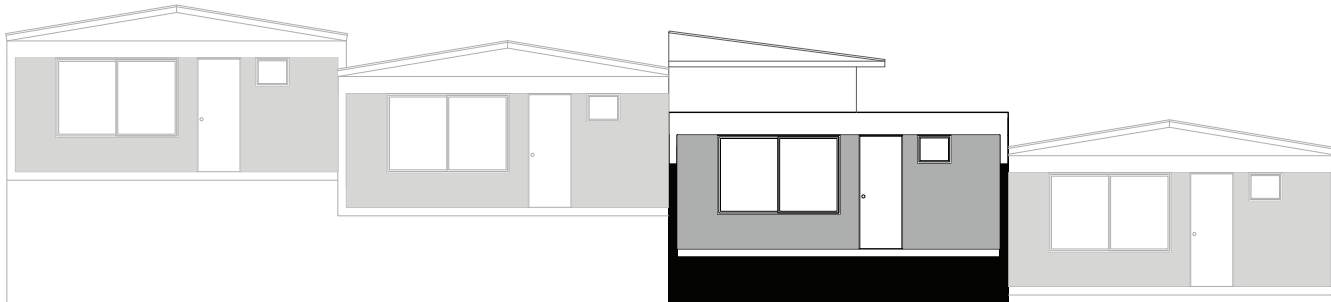
ENLARGED FRONT ELEVATION

**CASE 03**
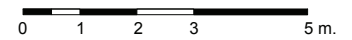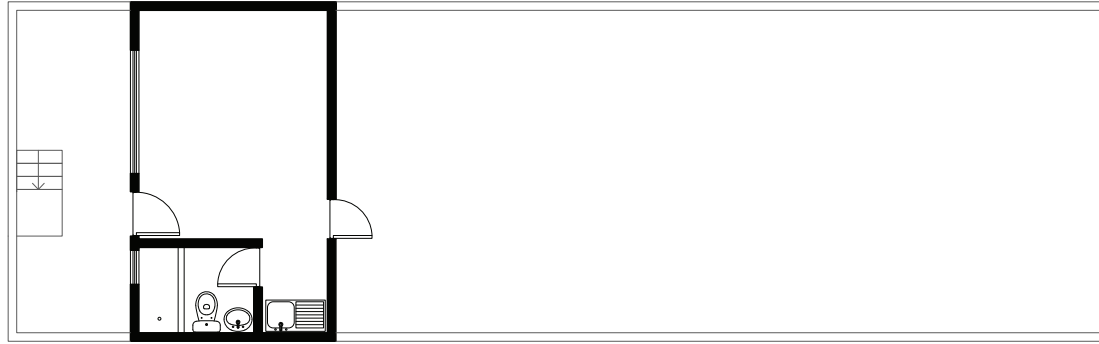
0    1    2    3         5 m.

ORIGINAL GROUND LEVEL
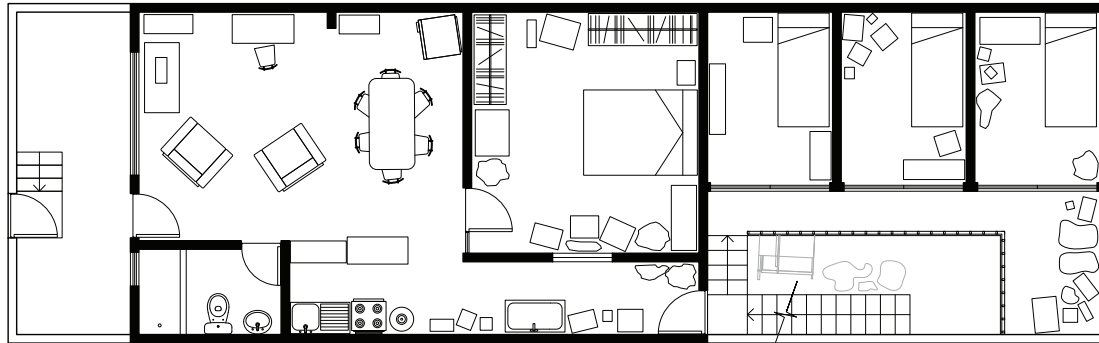
ENLARGED GROUND LEVEL

**CASE 03**

0   1   2   3   5 m.
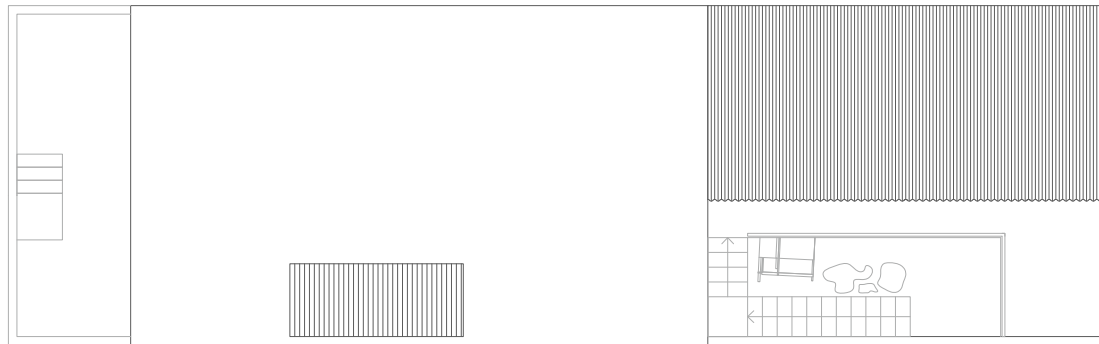
ORIGINAL ROOFING
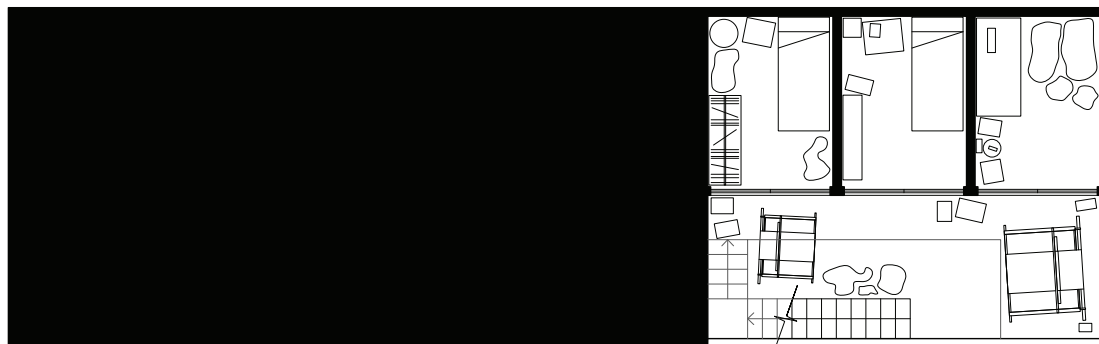
ENLARGED ROOFING

ENLARGED LOWER LEVEL

**CASE 03**

0 1 2 3 5 m.
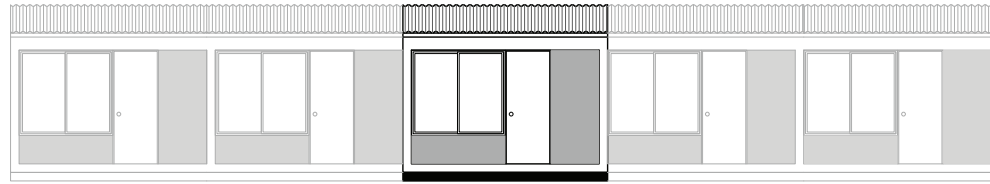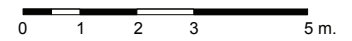
ORIGINAL FRONTAL ELEVATION
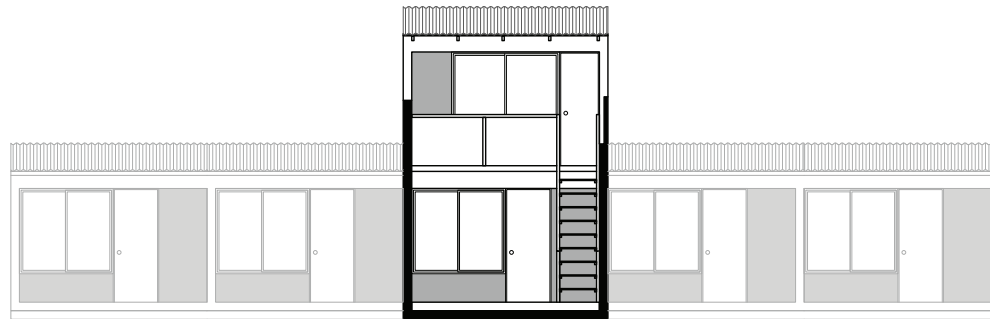
ENLARGED FRONTAL ELEVATION

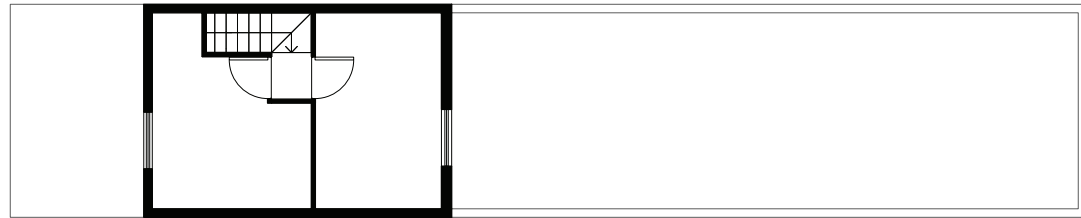**CASE 04**
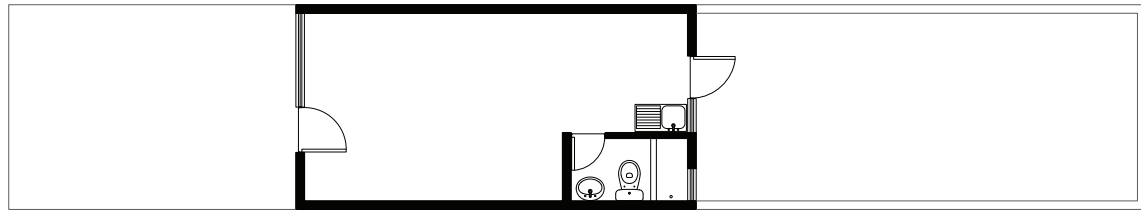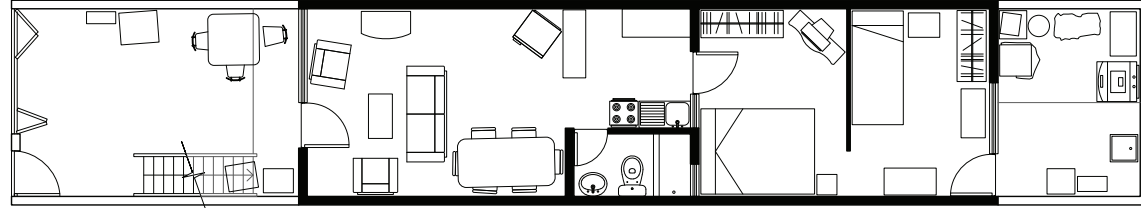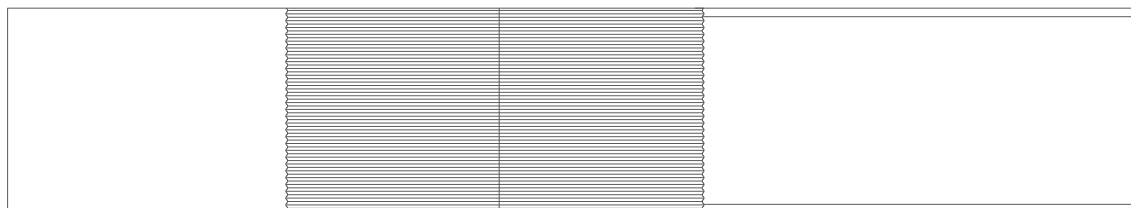
0    1    2    3         5 m.

135

ORIGINAL GROUND LEVEL



ENLARGED GROUND LEVEL

**CASE 04**

0   1   2   3        5 m.

136

ORIGINAL ROOFING



ENLARGED UPPER LEVEL
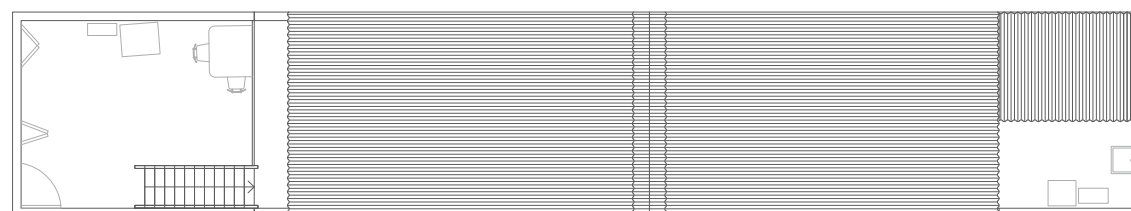


ENLARGED ROOFING
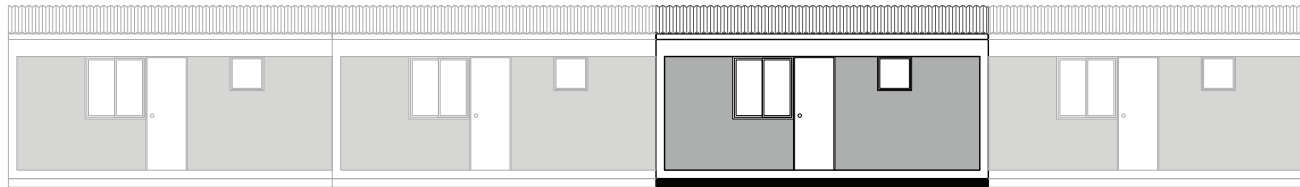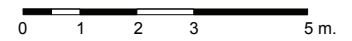
**CASE 04**

0  1  2  3     5 m.

ORIGINAL FRONTAL ELEVATION
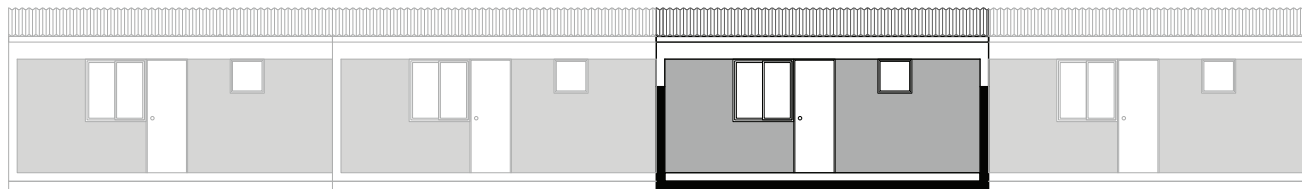
ENLARGED FRONTAL ELEVATION

**CASE 05**

0    1    2    3        5 m.

138
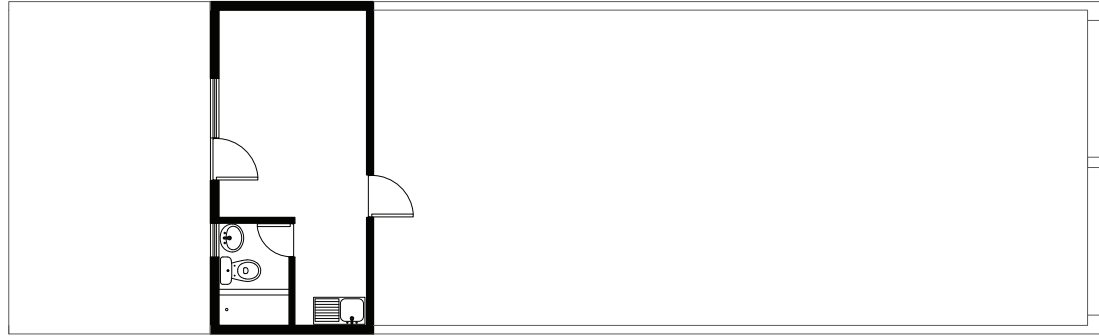
ORIGINAL GROUND FLOOR
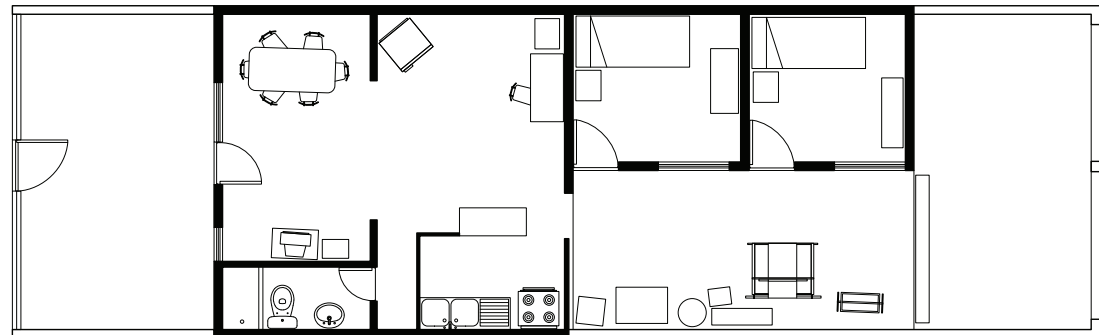
ENLARGED GROUND FLOOR

**CASE 05**

0    1    2    3         5 m.
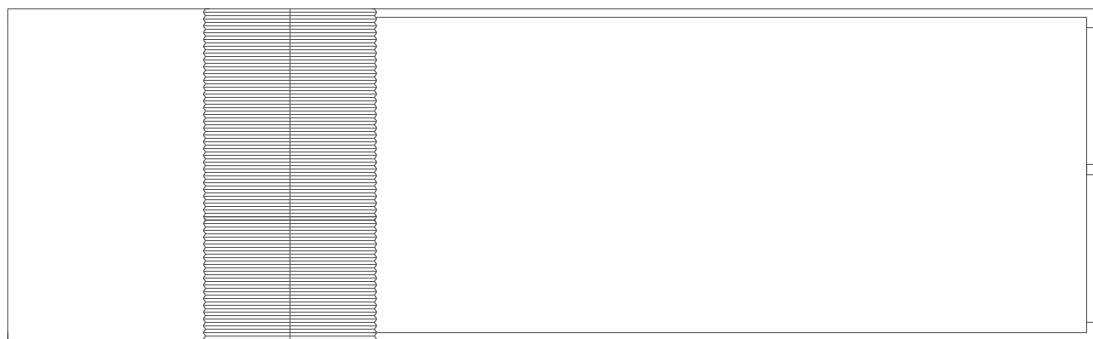
ORIGINAL ROOFING
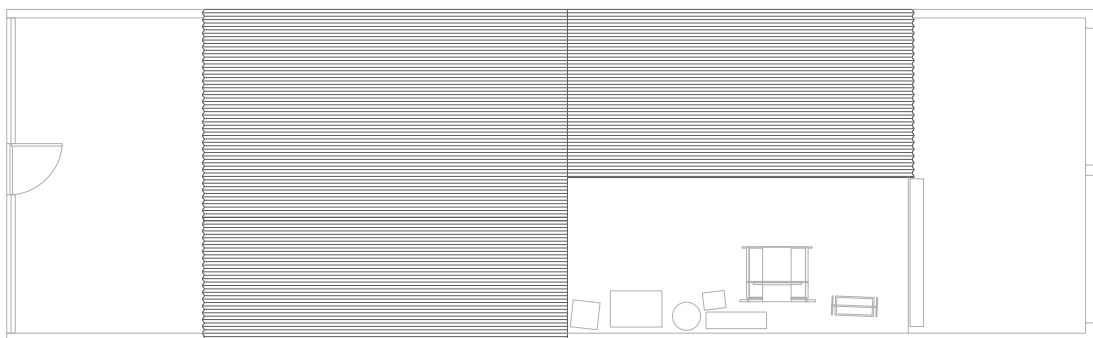
ENLARGED ROOFING

**CASE 05**
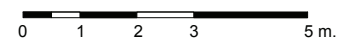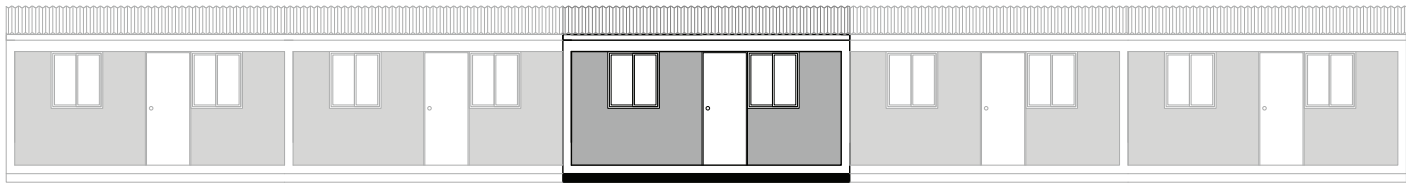
0    1    2    3         5 m.

140

ORIGINAL FRONTAL ELEVATION

ENLARGED FRONTAL ELEVATION

**CASE 06**

0    1    2    3         5 m.

141
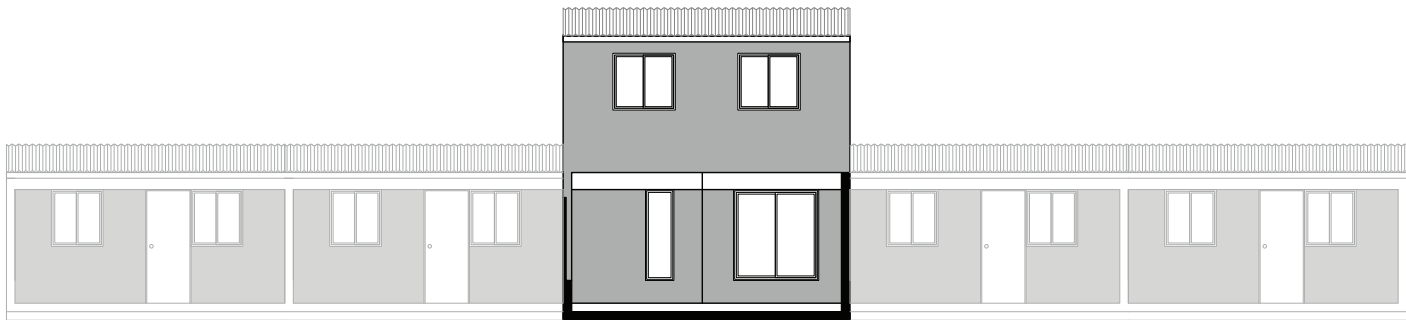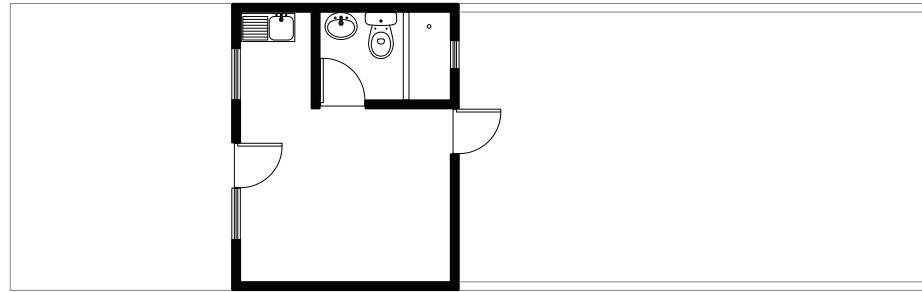
ORIGINAL GROUND LEVEL
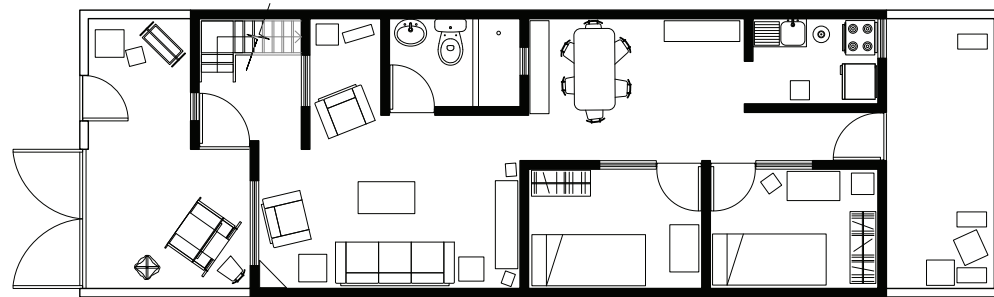
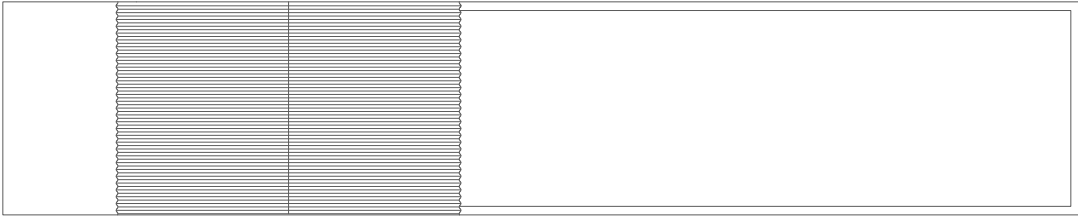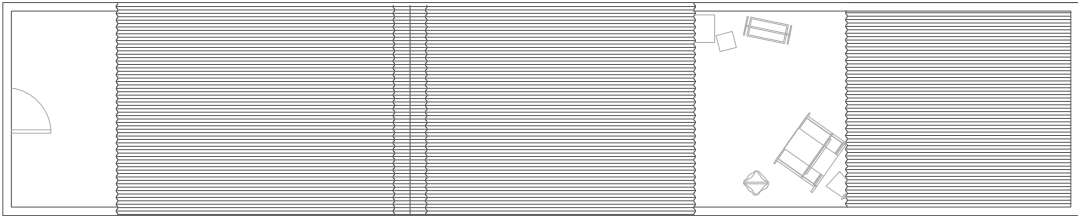ENLARGED GROUND LEVEL

**CASE 06**

0    1    2    3         5 m.

142
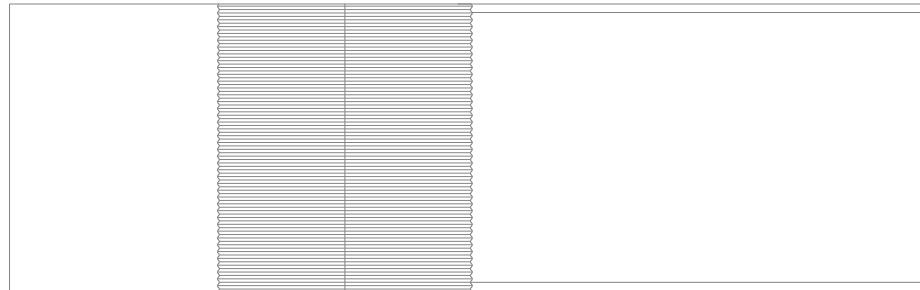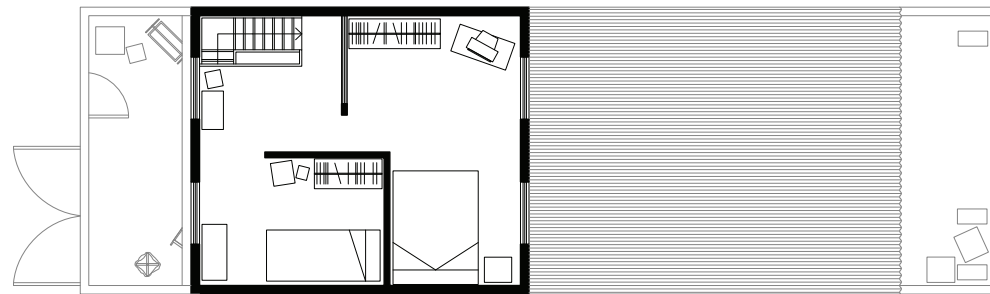
ORIGINAL ROOFING

ENLARGED UPPER LEVEL
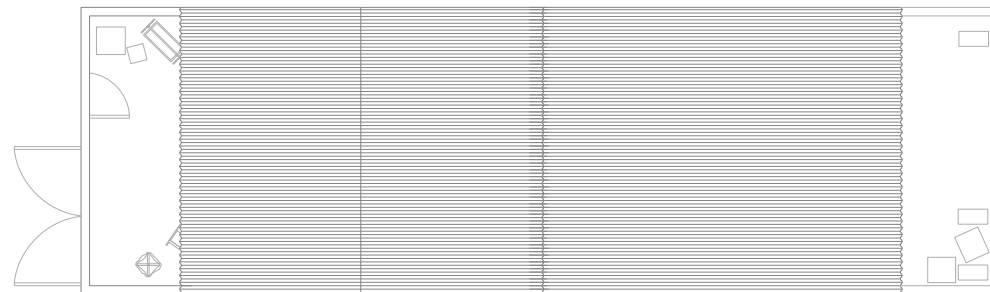
ENLARGED ROOFING

**CASE 06**

0   1   2   3       5 m.

143
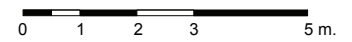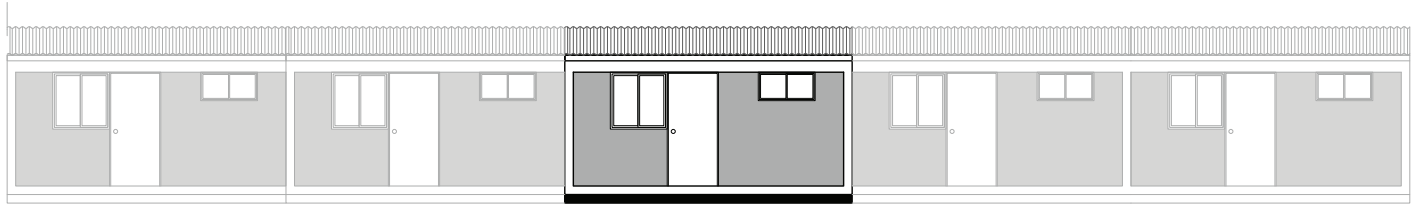
ORIGINAL FRONTAL ELEVATION
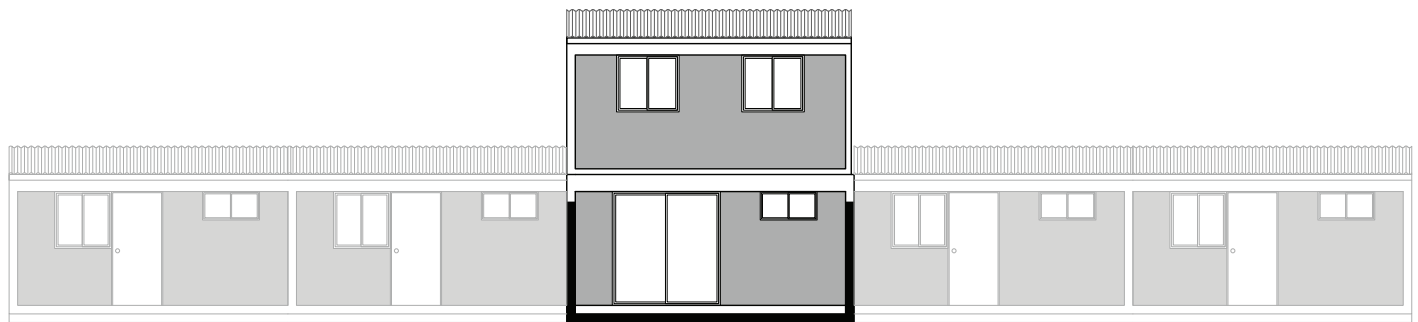
ENLARGED FRONTAL ELEVATION

**CASE 07**

0   1   2   3        5 m.

144
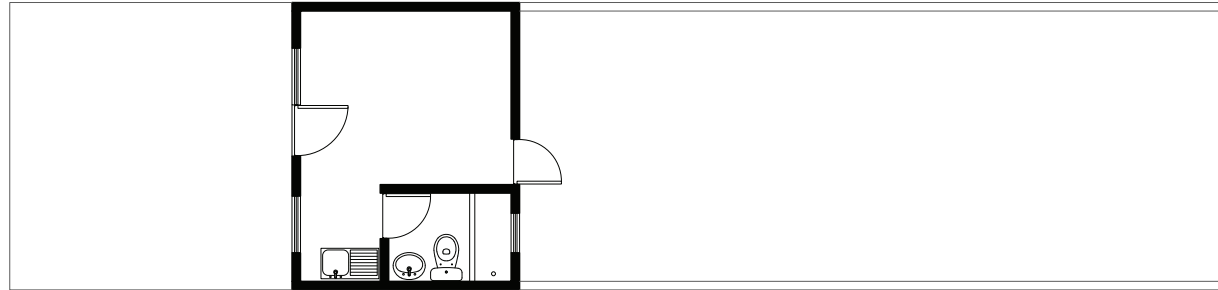
ORIGINAL GROUND LEVEL

ENLARGED GROUND LEVEL

**CASE 07**

0   1   2   3       5 m.

145
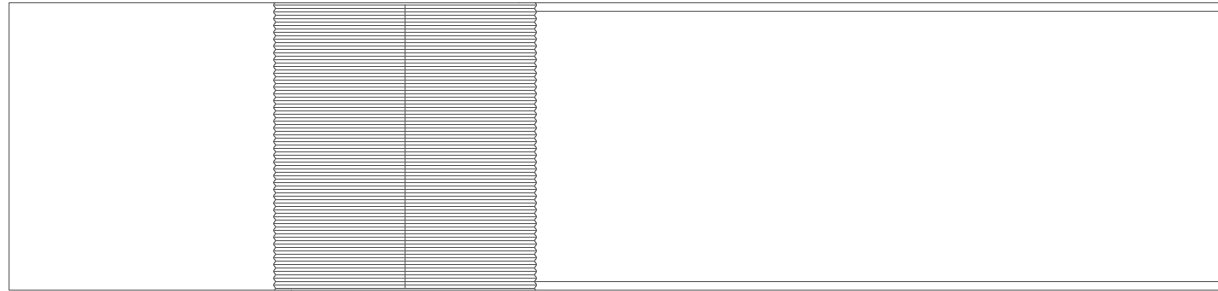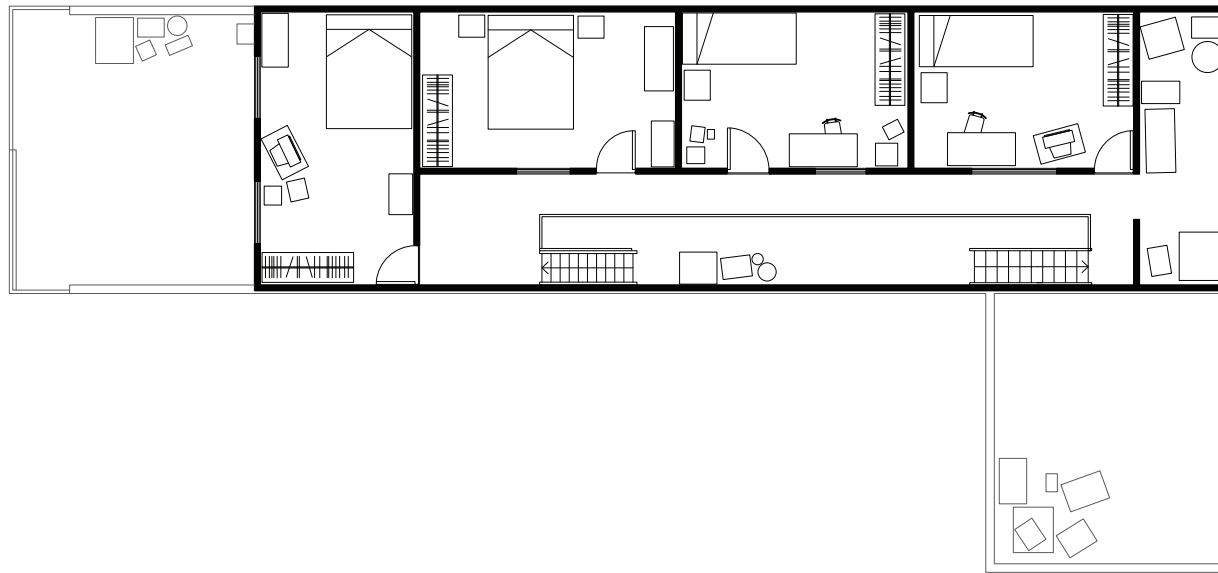
ORIGINAL ROOFING

ENLARGED UPPER LEVEL

**CASE 07**

0   1   2   3      5 m.

146

ENLARGED ROOFING

**CASE 07**
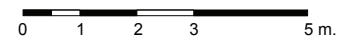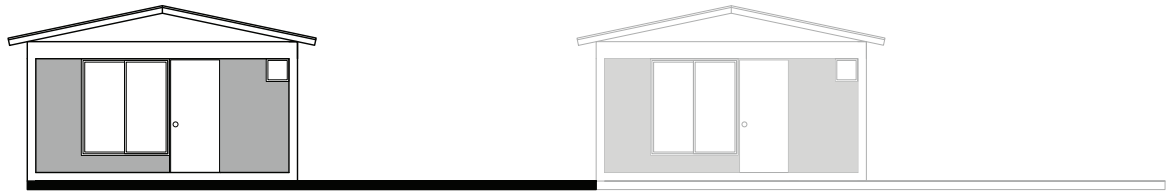
0 1 2 3 5 m.

ORIGINAL FRONTAL ELEVATION
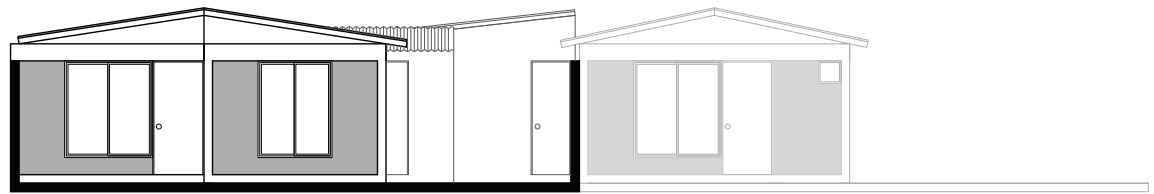


ENLARGED FRONTAL ELEVATION

**CASE 08**
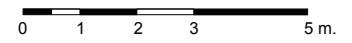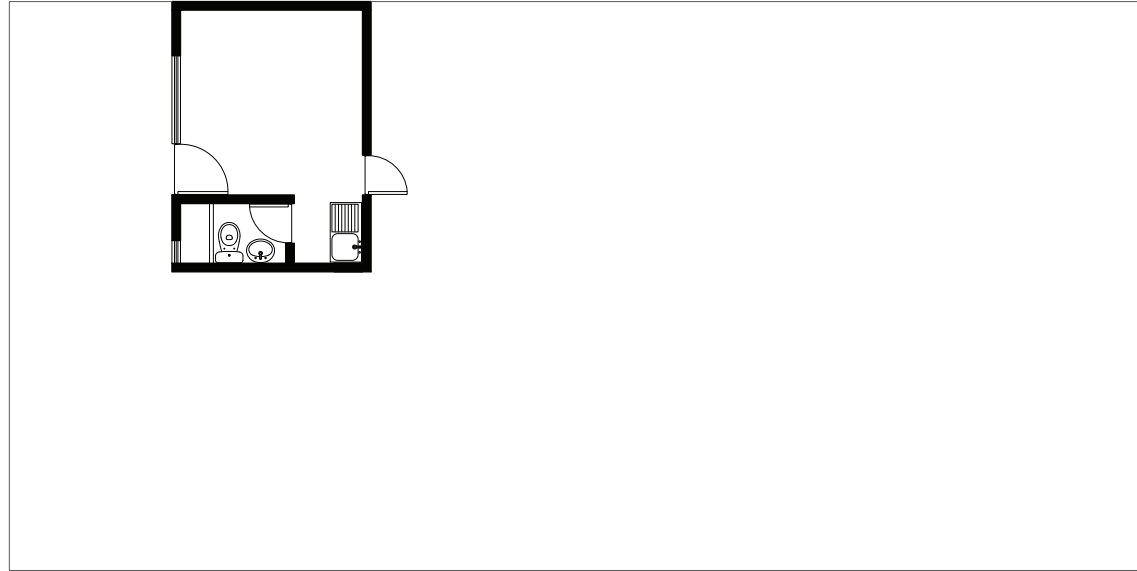
0    1    2    3         5 m.

ORIGINAL GROUND LEVEL
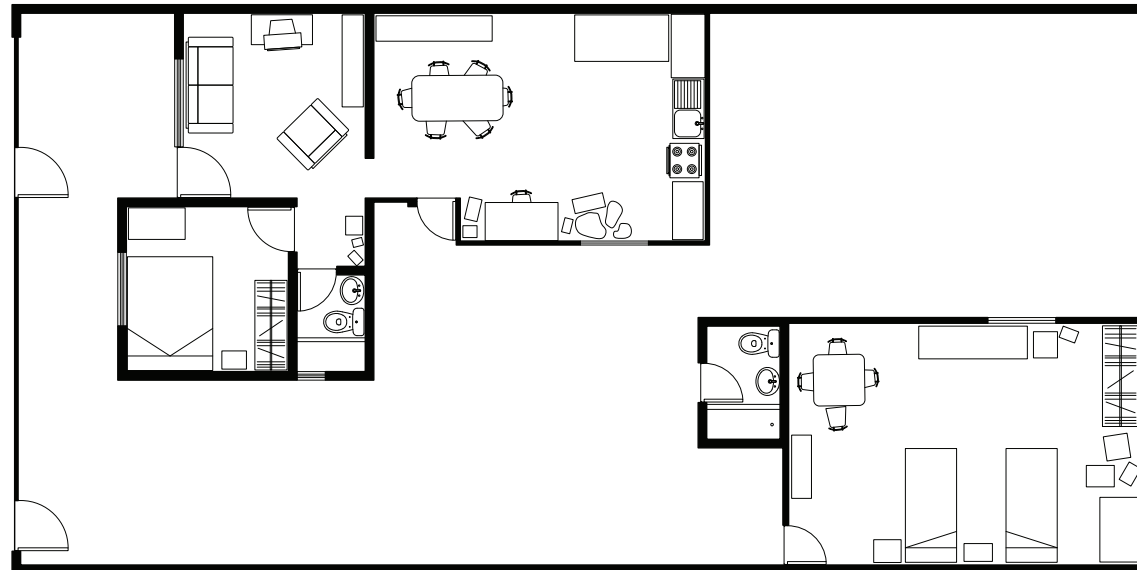
ENLARGED GROUND LEVEL

**CASE 08**

0   1   2   3      5 m.

149
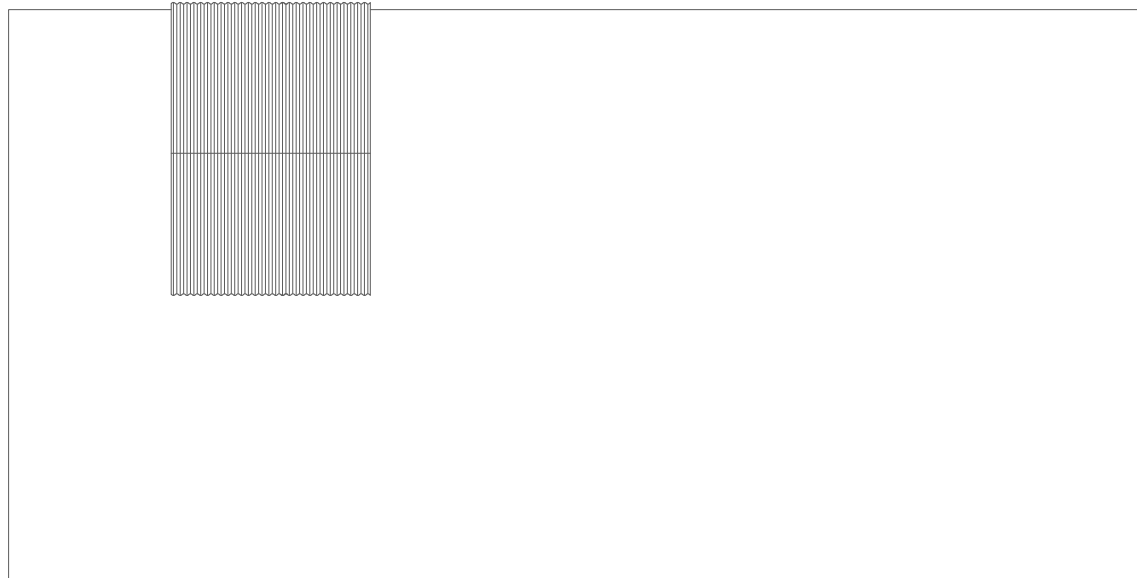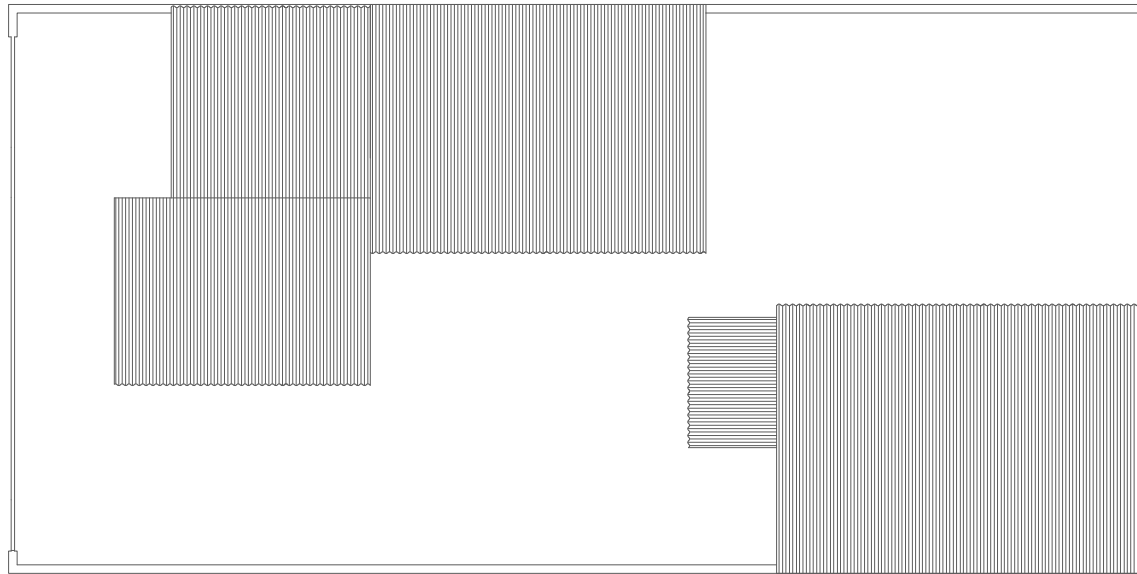
ORIGINAL ROOFING

ENLARGED ROOFING

**CASE 08**

0  1  2  3  5 m.
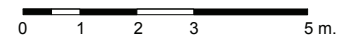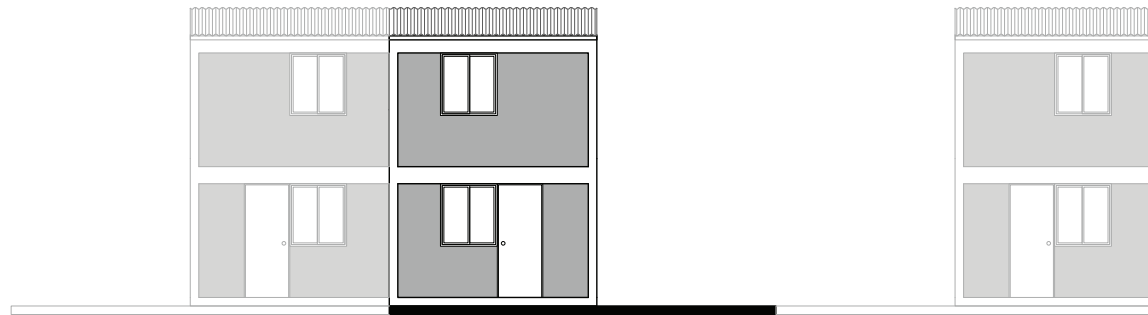
ORIGINAL FRONTAL ELEVATION
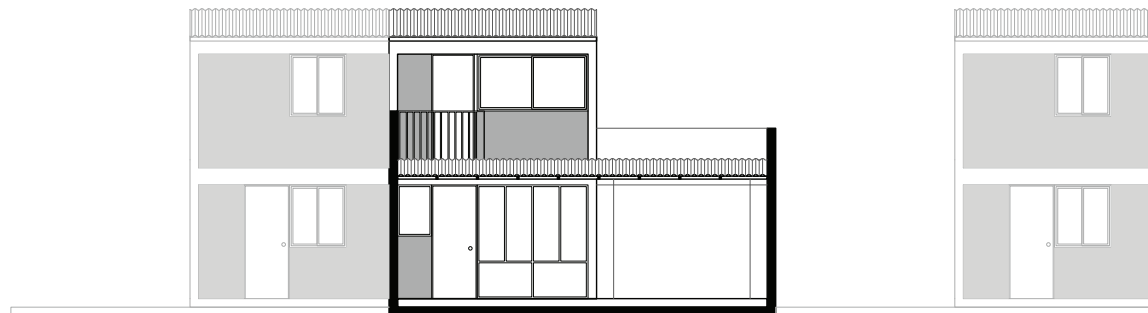
ENLARGED FRONTAL ELEVATION

**CASE 09**
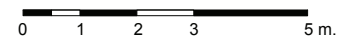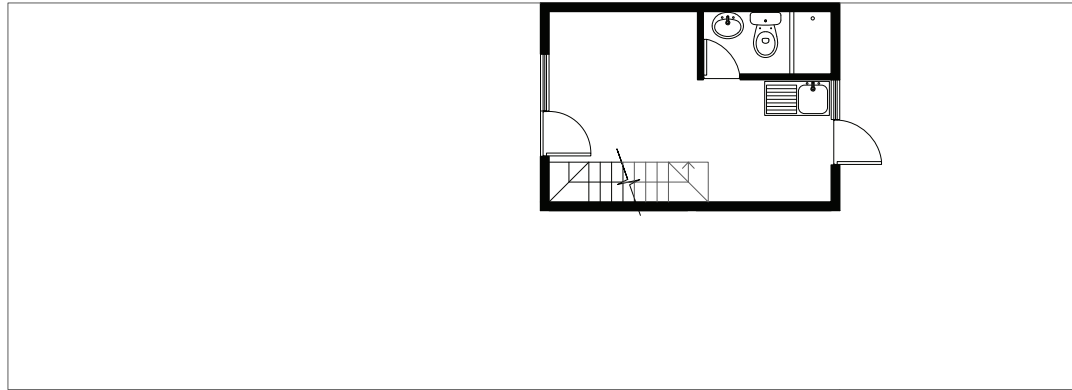
0    1    2    3         5 m.

ORIGINAL GROUND FLOOR
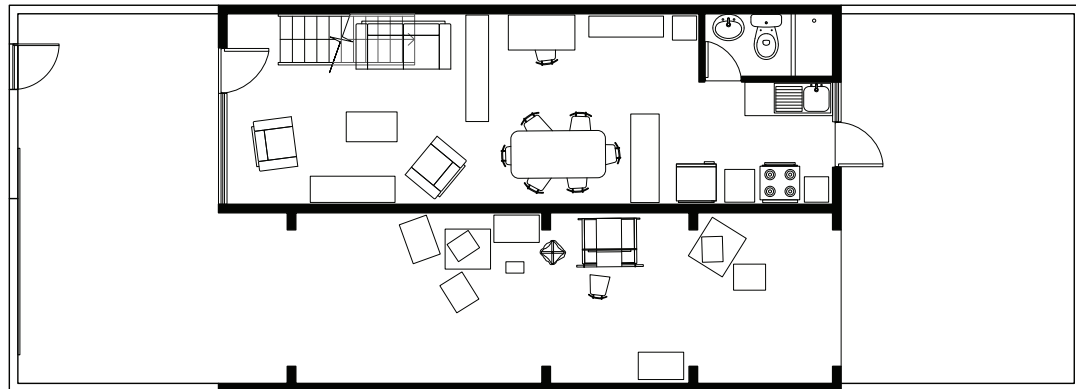
ENLARGED GROUND FLOOR

**CASE 09**

0   1   2   3        5 m.

ORIGINAL UPPER FLOOR

ENLARGED UPPER FLOOR

**CASE 09**

0   1   2   3      5 m.

153
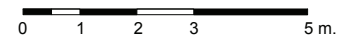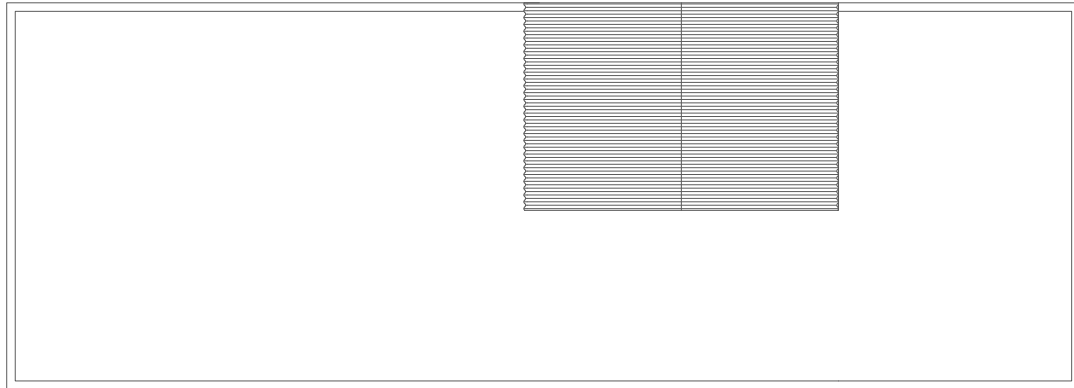
ORIGINAL ROOFING

ENLARGED ROOFING

**CASE 09**

0    1    2    3         5 m.

154

ORIGINAL FRONTAL ELEVATION



ENLARGED FRONTAL ELEVATION

**CASE 10**

0　1　2　3　5 m.

155
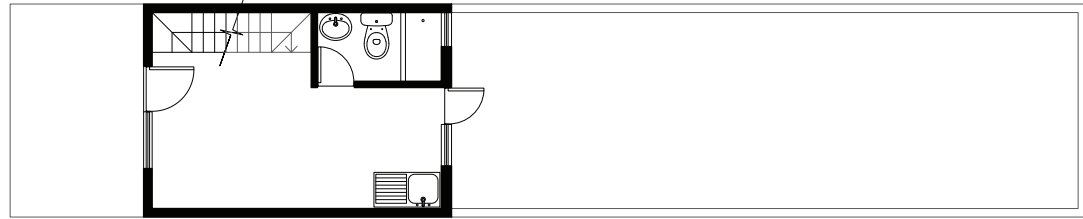
ORIGINAL GROUND LEVEL

ENLARGED GROUND LEVEL

**CASE 10**

0   1   2   3       5 m.

ORIGINAL UPPER LEVEL
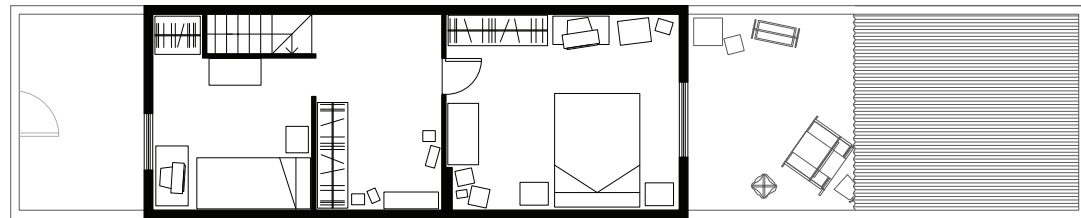
ENLARGED UPPER LEVEL

**CASE 10**

0   1   2   3       5 m.

157

ORIGINAL ROOFING



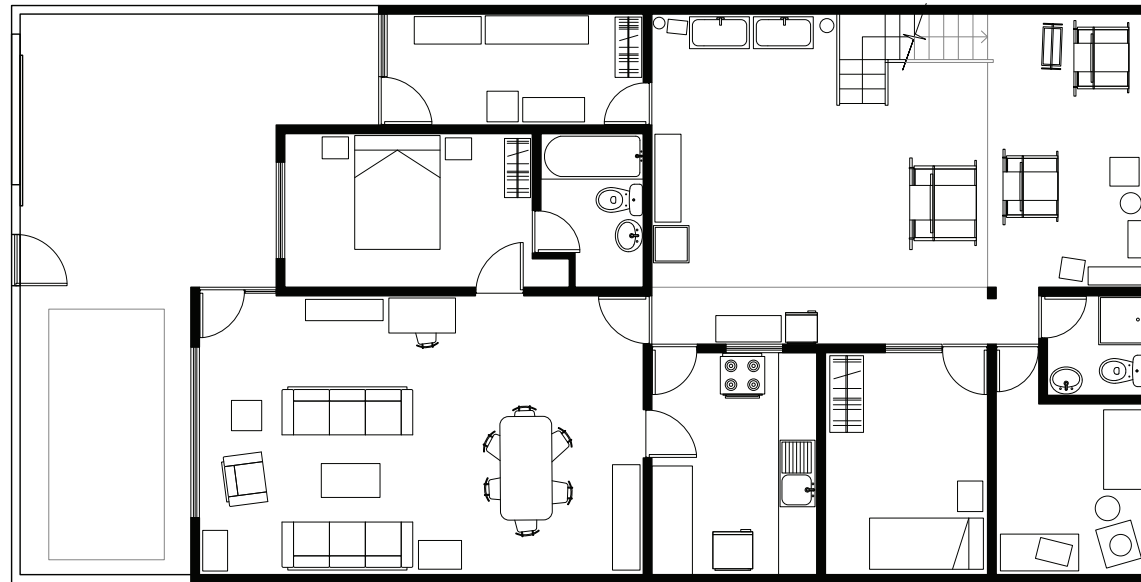ENLARGED ROOFING
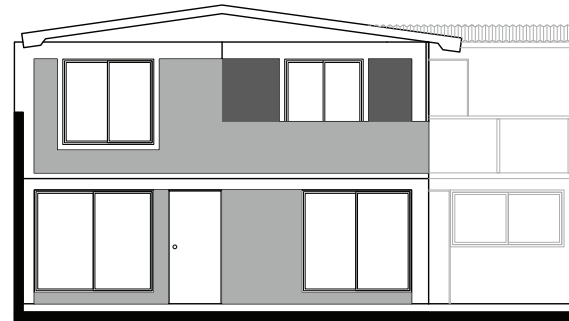
**CASE 10**

0   1   2   3      5 m.
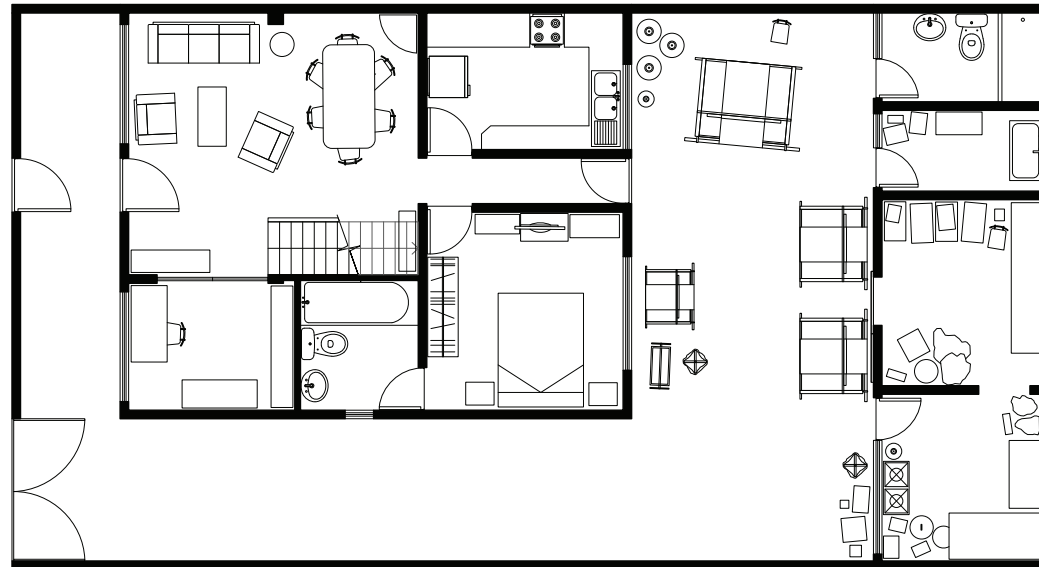
FRONTAL ELEVATION

GROUND LEVEL

**CASE 11**

0   1   2   3     5 m.

UPPER LEVEL

ROOFING

**CASE 11**

0  1  2  3  5 m.

160
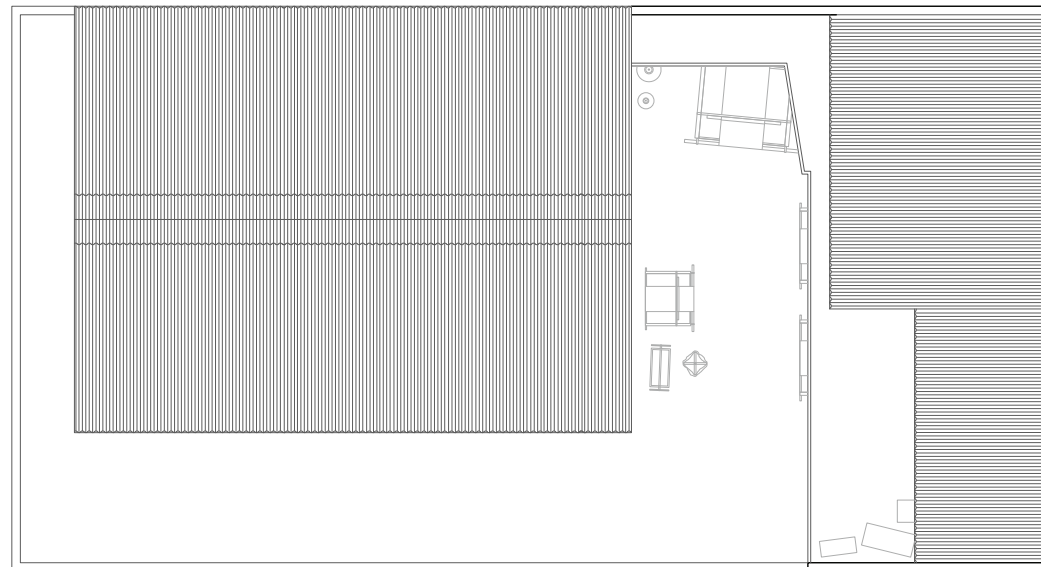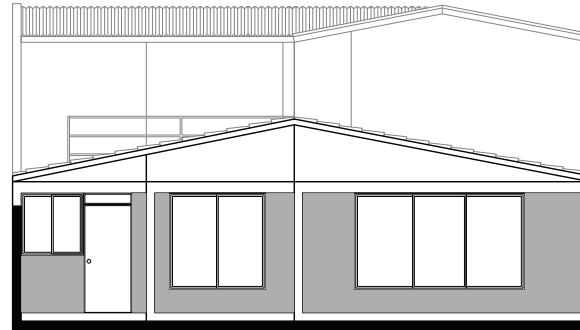
FRONTAL ELEVATION

GROUND LEVEL

**CASE 12**
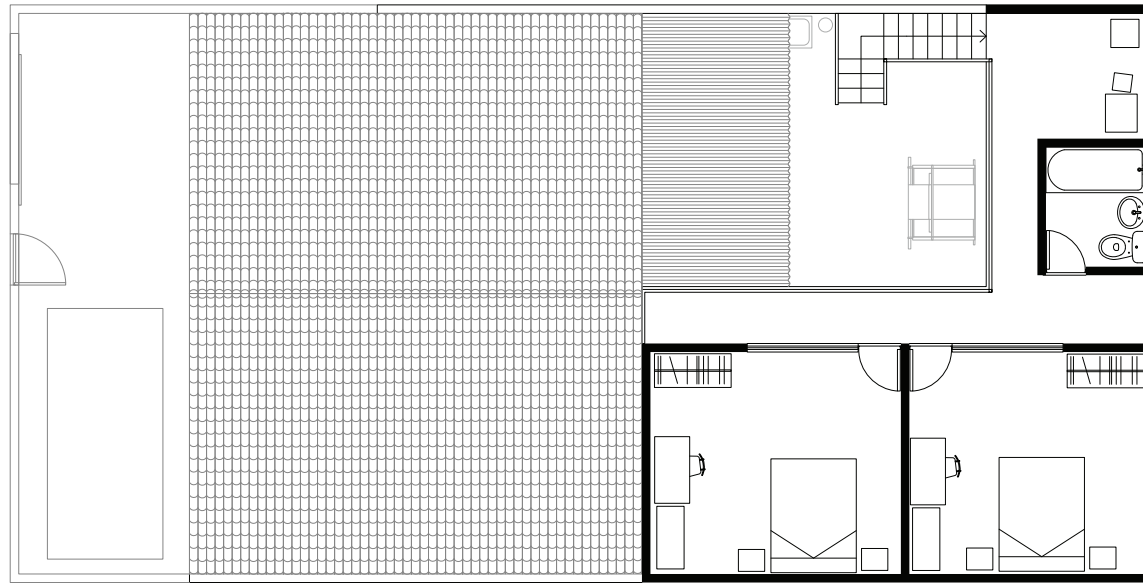
0   1   2   3        5 m.
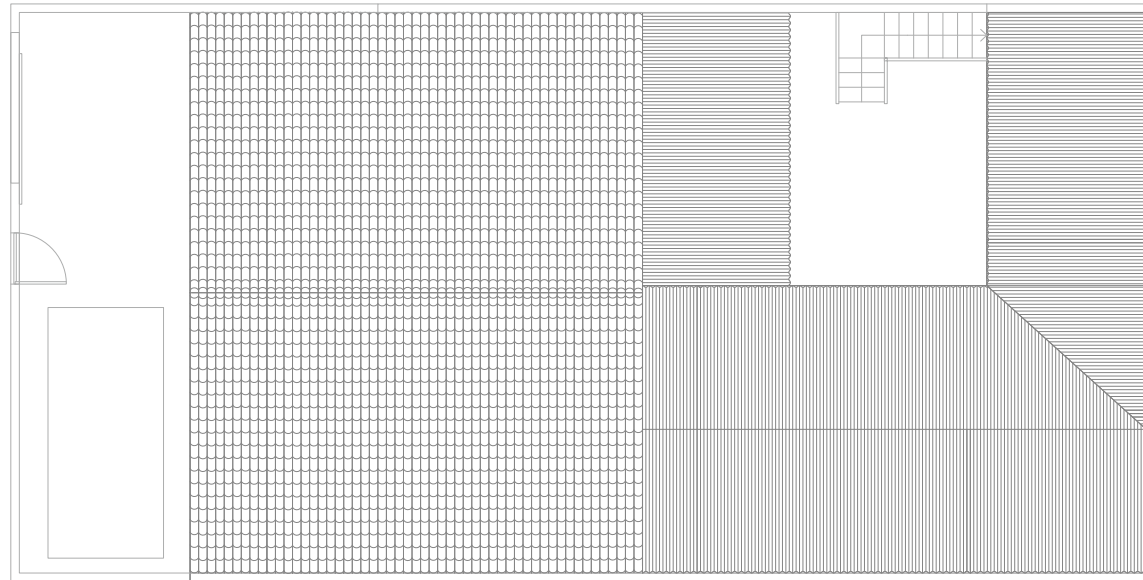
161

UPPER LEVEL

ROOFING

**CASE 12**

0 1 2 3 5 m.