

**The Territorialization of a Small Community:
The Case of Huaytire - Peru**



Master Thesis in Development Geography

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By

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Abstract

This study explores the diverse strategies used in order to territorialize the small community of Huaytire. By focusing on this territorialization process, it is analyzed the characteristics and functions behind the implementation of territorial behaviors. Also, it is presented how a combination of strategies can create territorial conflicts. To achieve those goals, semi-structured interviews were conducted in Peru, as a data gathering technique.

Territoriality as the manifestation of control or influence over a geographical space will try to organize and differentiate territories. Boundaries are commonly used for these fragmentation purposes. Due to their social nature, boundaries can be contested at any time based on a series of historical, economical, among other arguments. When this happens, territorial conflicts can be shaped, provided that the context allows it. This premise becomes the proposed theoretical framework to understand the Huaytire events.

Huaytire, in 2007, witnessed a mobilization caused by an informal annexation petition. The visitors (Regional Government of Moquegua) were accused of crossing the regional boundary into Tacna's territory. This event triggered the execution of a series of territorial behaviors in order to gain or maintain the ownership of the town's territory. Both regional governments directed their actions to the local and national scale. One specific territorial strategy was presented as a territorial claim based on historical and legal arguments which in turn shaped the Huaytire territorial conflict.

Through the analysis of this case study, it has been possible to understand that several actions can be taken as territorializing strategies. Furthermore, these territorial behaviors are applied in accordance to the listeners and the locality to which they are aiming to influence.

Preface

My stay in Bergen has been full of rewarding experiences. Dedicating my time for this project has broadened my interests within human geography. After spending some time thinking about territoriality and administrative scales, I have been able to put into words what it is happening in the small community.

All of these could have not been possible without the help and support from several people:

To my supervisor Håvard Haarstad, Thanks so much for the encouragement, support and for always having a little time for all my questions. I have learned so much in these two years. I hope you have enjoyed the process as much as I have.

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My stay in Norway would have not been possible without the funding from Lånekassen.

My friends in Norway; all of you have made my life in Bergen a multicultural and unforgettable experience. Also, thanks to Andrea who from Peru or Bergen was always ready to help me.

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Acronyms

ALA	: Autoridad Local del Agua Local Water Authority
DNI	: Documento Nacional de Identificación National Identification Document
DNTDT	: Dirección Nacional Técnica de Demarcación territorial National Bureau of Territorial Demarcation
EDZ	: Estudio de Diagnóstico y Zonificación Diagnosis and Zoning Study
FONCODES	: Fondo de Cooperación para el desarrollo social Cooperation Fund for Social Development
GRT	: Gobierno Regional de Tacna Regional Government of Tacna
GRPPAT	: Gerencia Regional de Planeamiento, Presupuesto y Acondicionamiento Territorial Regional Office of Planning, Budget and Territorial Conditioning
GRM	: Gobierno Regional de Moquegua Regional Government of Moquegua
IGN	: Instituto Geográfico Nacional National Geographic Institute
ONDS	: Oficina Nacional de Dialogo y Sostenibilidad National Bureau of Dialogue and Sustainability
PCM	: Presidencia del Consejo de Ministros Presidency of the Council of Ministers
SOT	: Saneamiento y Organización Territorial Sanitation and Territorial Organization Dossier

Chapter 1: Introduction

On the 20th of March 2007, the authorities of the Regional Government of Moquegua –GRM– went across the regional border into the territory of the neighboring region of Tacna. Their destination was the small town of Huaytire (see map). The visiting delegation was composed for more than 60 staff members. The purpose of the trip across the border was to install public offices, specifically give educational services; promote future projects translated into new sources of employment; and give clothes and food as donations for the local population (Conde, 2010: 13). This event had the backing of several people who were living in Huaytire at the time. The supporting group agreed with the idea that Huaytire, in the future, should belong to the region of Moquegua rather than to the region of Tacna. However, another group of locals were against this scenario and decided to call the mayor of Candarave (province of Tacna) to inform him of the situation. The mayor at the time, Mario Copa, aware of this meeting in Huaytire, decided to go with a small group of people and some authorities. The purpose was to force the authorities of Moquegua to retreat immediately from their territory. Both authorities, the Candarave mayor and Moquegua regional president, had a heated conversation and it was decided that Moquegua representatives should leave the town instantly. Nevertheless, 14 teachers (brought by Moquegua) received orders to remain in the area. The teachers were instructed to start the enrollment process for the new scholar year.

Two days later, on March 22th, the mayor of Candarave returned to Huaytire with police support. The officers were able to arrest the remaining teachers for trespassing private territory and denying to provide an identification document. Several days later, this situation was handled at the regional level, and the teachers were released with the condition to withdraw from the area immediately. Further actions were taken to support the possession of Huaytire by the Regional Government of Tacna –GRT–. For example several district municipalities from Tacna showed their support by preparing a vigil¹ in Huaytire for three months to protect the town as rightful territory of Tacna. Additionally to the measures taken by the nearby population, the Regional Government of Tacna took legal actions by making a legal complaint against the regional president of Moquegua for invading foreign territory

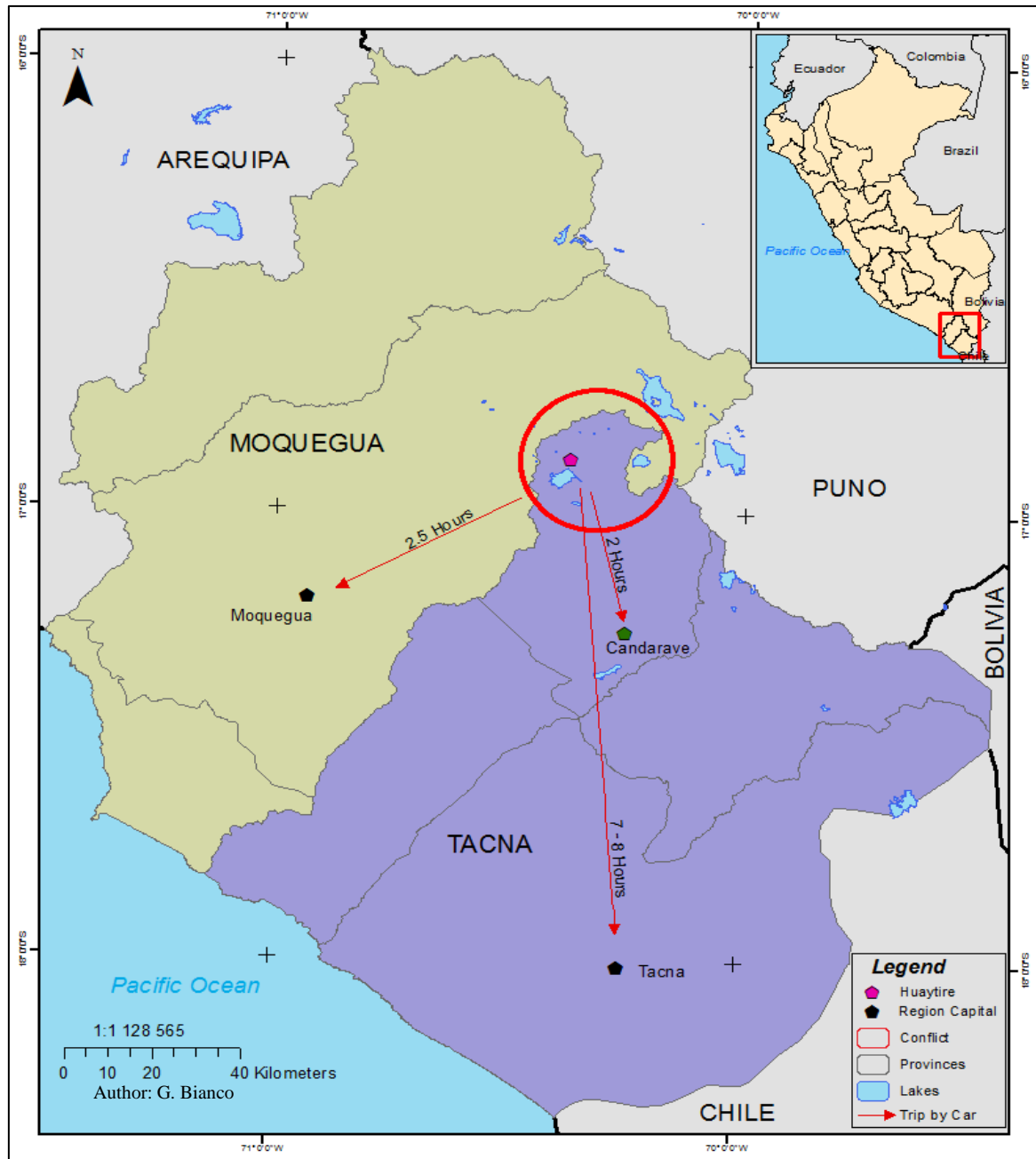
¹ Vigil is a gathering of people in a public space. The congregated people will stay awake overnight guarding the space.

(Caplina, 2010) and a trial was invoked to solve the inappropriate behavior of the authorities from Moquegua who intruded into Huaytire.

In relation to this accusation, the authorities of Moquegua made a press release (Peru21, 2007). They declared that Huaytire is and always has been theirs by history, tradition and culture; so they rejected any claim made by Tacna's regional government over the ownership of Huaytire. Furthermore, the director of the Office of Planning and Territorial Conditioning of Moquegua informed the public opinion that their visit to Huaytire was not by their choice. Months earlier, they received an informal petition by the Huaytire population in which it was expressed their desire to belong to Moquegua administrative jurisdiction because they did not feel satisfied with the social services proportionated by the Regional Government of Tacna. Moquegua authorities also expressed that they would take legal actions against the expansionist intentions of Tacna. Besides the official process, they claimed that several protests would be held because people needed to express their opinion to the national authorities. The problematic situation came to a passive phase and no more news were reported for some time.

In 2012, the Huaytire situation made local headlines once again. However, on this occasion, national newspapers were also reporting the problem. The news described a series of mobilizations in Tacna protesting against the territorial expansionism of Moquegua (Diario Correo; La Region, Peru21). The reactivation of the problem came under a Diagnosis and Zoning Study (EDZ) presented, by Moquegua authorities, to the national government. This study is a component of the Territorial Demarcation and Organization Plan implemented by the Peruvian authorities in order to create legal boundaries between provinces, districts and regions. The EDZ in its last pages states that there are no legal boundaries between Tacna and Moquegua in the Huaytire Sector (GRM, 2011: 186). Therefore this area should be considered a territorial controversial area.

As indicated, this event took place in the small town of Huaytire. The main participants were the local population, and the regional governments of Tacna and Moquegua. As shown in Map 1, Tacna and Moquegua are located in Southern Peru. As neighboring regions, a significant intra-national border is shared. These boundaries are full of history and most of them do not represent a source of trouble. However, there are some crucial spaces that over the years have become points of contention. Huaytire is one of those problematic areas where mobilizations can be observed every few years.



Map 1: Location of the Huaytire Conflict

These events raised several significant topics. There are two regional governments fighting each other, at different political administrative scales, for Huaytire. Even, a boundary conflict has been created for this purpose. Taking into consideration this situation, what remains unclear is: What is at stake? Are there more benefits for the regional government who owns the land? A characteristic of societies is to control and divide the land they inhabitant. In order

to differentiate themselves to others, people tend to partition the territory with socially constructed marks. By placing boundaries, individuals are indicating the extension of their area of influence and their power to enact their own rules. This process of claiming and dividing territories to control them is referred as ‘territoriality’ (Storey, 2001: 1).

Territoriality, according to Sack (1986: 3), is the geographical component in understanding how society and space are interconnected. By space, it is being referred to physical units that could go from a room to the territorial space of a nation-state or continent (Barton, 1997: 14). Human geography is aware of the importance of this interconnection between space and societies. As Human Geographers, we try to research “individuals, groups and societies and their activities within space and how space impacts on his activities” (ibid) at different localities. Thus, for us geographers, the different territorial strategies to be used in order to appropriate spaces become a central point of analysis.

Territoriality as a human characteristic is used by societies or individuals to gain access to certain spaces and establish their control over it. This appropriation of spaces is manifested through territorial strategies. There is not a list of possible territorial strategies. However, there are some common grounds to identify them such as techniques to defend or mark territories. The placement of territorial boundaries is one of these territorial strategies. Boundaries may be used as symbolic statement about possession or inclusion (Sack, 1986: 30). Humans, regardless of the scale, draw lines that divide the world (Diener and Hagen, 2012: 1) to “differentiate places and peoples” (Mountz, 2009: 201). These socially constructed territories are established by territorial processes. At the same time, they are fundamental components to territoriality. When talking about boundaries, those lines can be undefined, ill-defined or defined. Each type of boundary can be the source of different territorial strategies used to stake claim over the desired territory.

As the territoriality perspective explains, when a possible territorial intrusion is detected, certain mechanisms will appear in order to acquire or reestablish the control over the disputed land. For the case study under investigation, Huaytire, as the small town at the center of this contested land, came to be the center of attention for both regional governments. Additionally, Huaytire becomes the place where most of the territorial strategies will be executed.

The town is located at more than 4500m.a.s.l. in the Andes. There is no exact data about its population, but supposedly there are around 140² families. The source of employment is based on South American camelids breeding, trout market and some local construction jobs. However their incomes are not enough and they live under extreme conditions. Due to the national road network, Huaytire's easiest access route is through the binational highway, connecting the town with Moquegua (regional capital) in less than 3 hours by car. Huaytire also has an important natural feature, the Suches Lake which is located at walking distance from the town. The lake is a source of water for a private company and a possible source of water for Tacna regional territory.

Taking into consideration the natural and social characteristics of Huaytire, in combination with the events previously described, the Regional Government of Tacna realized the importance of Huaytire as an element of their territory. Thus, they needed to take actions to ensure its ownership. The strategies used aimed to re-establish the relationship between locals and authorities. At the same time, Moquegua in hopes of gaining possession started to investigate how a legal territorial claim could be presented.

The 2007 events had local and regional repercussions. And the Huaytire population received the attention that was seeking. Tacna had to devise the implementation of several territorial strategies after hearing with attention local's requests and needs. New edifices were built; the quality of social services (mainly education and health) was improved; and development projects were and are being implemented. These events had also national repercussions. Moquegua, due to its lack of jurisdiction at the local scale, had to search for other mechanisms in order to appropriate Huaytire's territory. This opportunity came by presenting a territorial claim based on historical and legal arguments. Maps, census and laws were presented to undermine the veracity of the current boundary. As a result of these claims, the Huaytire Territorial Conflict was shaped. The territorial claim turned out to be the nexus between local, regional and national scale. Most importantly, national authorities had to intervene in order to supervise and resolve, in the future, this boundary controversy.

On the whole, this problematic situation concerning Huaytire started at the local and regional political administrative level. After a few years, the situation escalated to the national level. In both cases, the actors are trying to territorialize Huaytire through a series of territorial strategies. At the local scale, mostly, the Regional Government of Tacna applied several

² Data provided by the Regional Government of Tacna (2011).

territorial strategies to defend, mark and communicate their presence in the area. These actions wanted to deliver a message of protectionism towards the population and possession of the territory towards the intruders. At the national scale, the Regional Government of Moquegua, in order to territorialize Huaytire, staked claim over the territory by stating that the boundaries were never clearly demarcated.

Based on the importance of boundaries in territoriality, the Huaytire territorial conflict is shaped and grounded on the justification that the boundaries in that specific sector were never defined. Therefore, the current boundary is inaccurate. By having this ambiguity in the boundary line, open spaces are left to be claimed. Any regional government can demand the space as theirs based on a series of historical, economical, among other arguments. For this case, the supporting arguments include historical and legal documents. According to the authorities of Moquegua, old maps and census should be evidence enough of the misplaced boundary line.

1.1. Research question and objectives

Having in mind the 2007 mobilization and consequent events, the main objective of this thesis is to explain the Huaytire case study through territoriality and its relation with boundaries and territorial conflicts. For this objective, I have designed the following research question:

What strategies are being used to territorialize Huaytire?

Additionally, in order to understand and analyze the context of this conflictive situation, and all its different scenarios, I have proposed the following objectives:

- ❖ Describe Huaytire, its characteristics, and locals' living conditions.
- ❖ Analyze the territorialization of Huaytire at the different Peruvian political administrative scales.
- ❖ Understand how a combination of territoriality strategies can shape a territorial conflict.

- ❖ Describe the intra-national bordering process in Peru and how it has contributed to the Huaytire territorial conflict.
- ❖ Give a voice to the local population.

1.2. Structure of the thesis

This thesis is structured into seven chapters. It starts with **Chapter 1** where it is presented in detail the 2007 event. This event is considered the starting point of the territorialization process of the small community of Huaytire. Next it is stated the research question posed for this case study, as well as the objectives. Lastly, it is offered a brief description of the contents of each chapter.

Chapter 2 contains the theoretical framework proposed to analyze the Huaytire case study. This chapter begins by explaining the Territoriality theory. This framework will start with Robert Sack work, which will refine with newest research on this matter. Additionally, through the concepts of territory and boundaries, I explain how territorial behaviors can produce territorial conflicts where the context allows it.

Chapter 3 describes the methodology used for fieldwork. The chapter presents my motivations for choosing this case study as my research topic. Next, based on a qualitative methodology, it will be explained how data was collected through semi-structured interviews. My fieldwork experience is described in terms of informants, interviews and challenges encountered. Lastly, case studies and qualitative methods might be considered a problematic approach due to certain subjectivity. In order to overcome this issue, the chapter includes my possible sources of bias, and how I have tried to remain objective by having an ethical approach that would give validity to my findings, analysis and conclusions.

Chapter 4 is considered the background chapter. This chapter includes a description of the Huaytire territorial conflict, its location, the actors, the possible supporting arguments and the probable reason for each actor to territorialize the town and its territory. Next, it is explained the increase of territorial conflicts in Peru. Lastly, based on the historical and current division of the territory, it is described the national context in which a Territorial Demarcation and

Organization Plan was developed to reach an efficient and legal political administrative territorial division.

Chapter 5 and **Chapter 6** contain the analysis of the Huaytire situation based on fieldwork findings and theoretical framework. In chapter 5, I present my analysis at the local and regional political administrative scales. After the 2007 events, a series of territorial strategies were applied in order to (re)gain the contested territory. Throughout this chapter, I identify which actions were taken, by who, and the purpose behind the new changes in Huaytire. Additionally I will present the voice of the locals, their opinions toward the events, territorial strategies and territorial conflict. Lastly, I include an analysis of the private sector, represented by a mining company and its water extraction activities from Suches Lake. In Chapter 6, the territorial behaviors of the Regional Government of Moquegua are conducted at the national scale. Based on the territorial organization plan, the Huaytire territorial conflict is introduced. The Diagnosis and Zoning Study, required by the mentioned plan, presents the disconformity of Moquegua with the current boundary line through historical (maps, census) and legal (laws) justification.

Chapter 7 will bring an end to my analysis by highlighting some discussed topics. I dedicate this chapter to provide a summarized answer to my research question and objectives proposed in the Introduction chapter. The different observed territorial behaviors are mentioned and how the change from local to national scale produced the Huaytire territorial conflict. Additionally, I will argue that diverse territorial behaviors are applied in order to influence different groups of people at different scales.

Chapter 2: Theoretical Framework

The purpose of this chapter is to outline the concepts and processes needed to understand the territorial behaviors that were observed after the 2007 mobilization in Huaytire. The described concepts will complement the analysis of the territorial strategies encountered. Additionally, it will lead to understand how the development of territorial conflicts is based on the implementation of some territorial behaviors.

Human territoriality and territorial conflicts are the main components to be discussed in this section. After some investigation I have determined that both can be linked to each other through territory and boundaries. The chapter will outline the concept of territoriality and how it was reintroduced for debate by Robert Sack. Additionally, I will describe some of the characteristics and function behind territorial activities. As components of territoriality, territory and boundary concepts will be defined. Territory is considered a cause and outcome of territoriality, creating a complex and dependent process. On the other hand, boundaries are taken as territoriality tools to divide and organize spaces. The next topic to be introduced will be territorial conflicts and how its relation to boundaries will create a link between conflicts and territoriality. This section will shape briefly territorial conflicts at the international scale in order to establish some background information. However, the objective is to understand territorial disputes at the intra-national level. Furthermore, based on these concepts I will try to establish a theoretical framework in which my research project can be grounded.

2.1. Theoretical approach

During a first approach to the territoriality perspective, I was able to recognize some elements that play an important function within the concept of human territoriality. Besides, these elements might make an appearance in the Huaytire scenario. Societies, within their social characteristics, seek to organize the inhabited land into demarcated spaces where their presence is communicated and accepted. Territories need to be organized and delimited. This process has been the focus of many investigations. Entire books are dedicated to the possible meanings of territory, its characteristics, establishment, functions, among many more.

Territoriality is included in this concern and definition of territory. Moreover, it is possible that one might not exist without the other one. Their relationship helps to define each other. Elden (2010: 803) argues that territory is generated from space, through the actions of an actor, who territorialize spaces. Thus territory is the source and outcome of the territoriality process.

Based on this approximation to territoriality and territory and some of the events found during fieldwork, I was able to establish a relationship between territoriality actions and the development of territorial conflicts. To connect both I have established a theoretical framework (Figure 1) in order to guide my theoretical chapter.

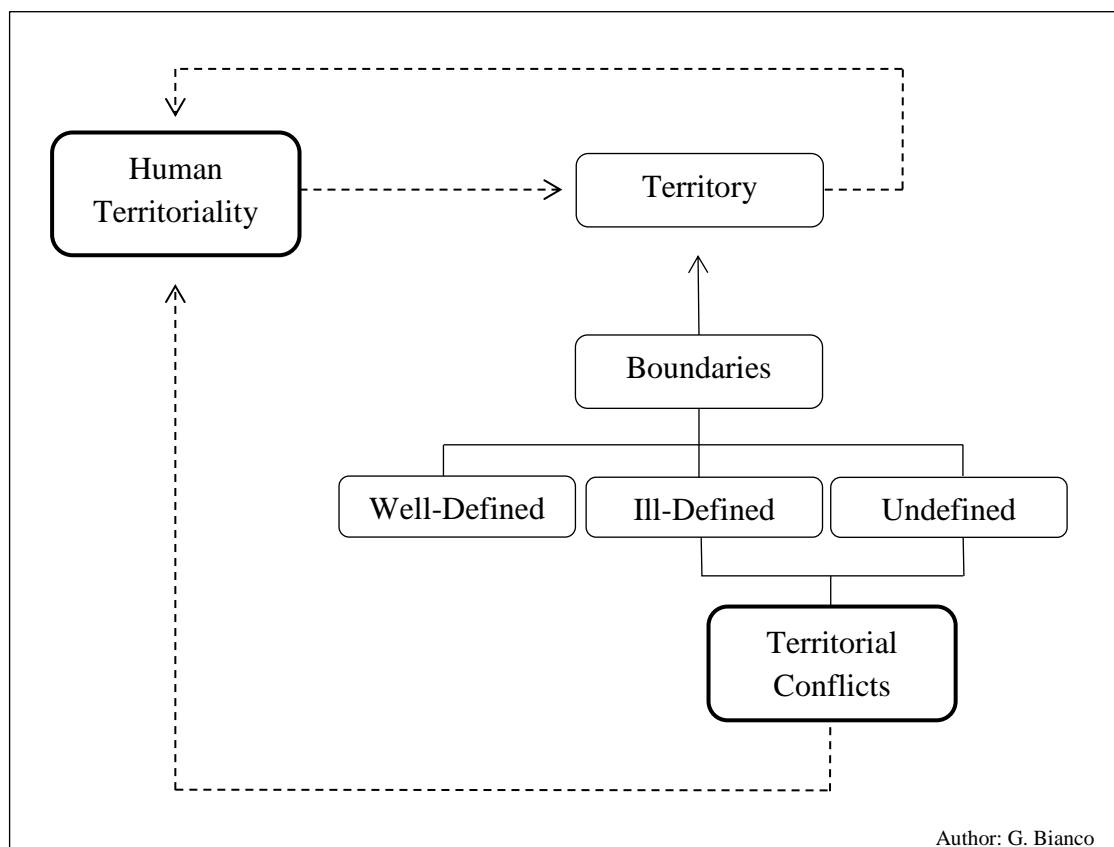


Figure 1: Theoretical Approach

Storey (2001: 1) explains that a geographic space claimed or occupied by a person or group of people is defined as a territory and the process whereby individuals or groups lay claim to such territory is referred to as territoriality. Through the implementation of territorial strategies, societies appropriate the space. This appropriation leads to the creation of

territories, which will need constant strategies to be maintained. These actions must be communicated to others who are trying to establish their territory at the same time. A distinctive technique to communicate this fragmentation is through boundaries.

Boundaries entails that “humans draw lines that divide the world into specific places, territories, and categories” (Diener and Hagen, 2012: 1). The placement of these signs to organize the territory provides a direct connection to the formation of territory. When analyzing the bordering process an interesting approach, for me, was to classify the boundaries according to the formality behind its establishment. This territorial division needs to be supervised by someone that will record the how, when and where the land was divided. For instance considering the colonial time in South America, the new comers, in order to govern the territory had to organize it into smaller spaces. This fragmentation of the territory was recorder into several laws or documents which detailed how and where the boundary line will pass through. This recording system has remained a good technique behind the bordering process. However, it seems that not all boundaries were well recorded, leading to a possible problematic situation where the lines do not match the local reality. Additionally, there are places where this bordering process was never conducted. I believe that a reason of the absence of boundaries might include spaces where no population was registered at the time. Therefore, the exact location of the border was never imperative.

Considering this approach to boundaries and its establishment, I have contemplated three categories. First of all, there are the well-defined boundaries. These lines are still man-made; however, they are recorded in detail leaving a small to zero chance to become contested. The second and third categories are distinguished by their high probability of being disregarded. In the ill-defined category, boundaries are recognized by a higher power. However, the description of the diving line is not detailed enough leaving spaces open to interpretation. The third and last category is the undefined boundaries. This type relies on intra-national spaces where the bordering process never happened. Nowadays with the growing population unclaimed or/and recently partitioned spaces are considered to become new places to inhabit. Thus the political administrative fragmentation of the space is becoming increasingly necessary. As mention the ill-defined and undefined boundaries leave spaces to a new organization and division. Therefore a new interpretation of the boundary can be done. Additionally, due to its ambiguous nature, those boundaries can and will lead to territorial conflicts.

Within my study, I will try to understand how these territorial conflicts are supported and presented to different audiences. Additionally, I would like to analyze the arguments and documents behind the territorial claims and conflicts. It is understood that territorial conflicts are consequences of territorial activities in order to claim the control over a territory. However, by exploring the justification I would like to detect if territorial behaviors are also implemented as a consequence of territorial conflicts.

Over the next sections, this theoretical approach will be discussed with more detail based on the literature review. Furthermore, each component will be presented in relation to the territoriality process.

2.2. Human territoriality

The concept of territoriality has been discussed through history and many examples of territoriality can be found (Grosby, 1995: 153). However, recent debates started to be heard in the 20th century. Even now, much of the concepts and theories are vague in order to accommodate different assumptions or scenarios in order to relate them to the consequences of territorial behaviors. The notion of human territoriality or as it is commonly called territoriality was properly introduced by Robert Sack and later supported by Jean Gottmann. Both geographers have contributed noticeably to this theory (Storey, 2001: 14) through the years.

In his book, *Human Territoriality*, Sack (1986) explores the concept of territoriality and establishes the distinction between human and animal territoriality. The former became the focus point of his research and the latter has been widely studied by natural sciences. Territoriality in humans could be taken as a social characteristic. Territorial behaviors are implemented to communicate possession and control over a space. This communicative nature of territoriality makes reference to the connection between two or more people. Sack comes to the conclusion that humans shape their actions based on strategies to classify, and communicate their control over geographic spaces. Accordingly, he defines territoriality as “the attempt by an individual or group to affect, influence, or control people, phenomena, and relationships, by delimiting and asserting control over a geographic area” (Sack, 1986: 19).

As mentioned, human territoriality is discussed in depth in recent times. However it is not by any means distinctive of modern times, or of advance modern states. It is a fundamental feature of all human societies; notwithstanding, today's territoriality is from a different nature (Grosby, 1995: 155-156). People need to establish roots somewhere and through territorial attachments they are capable to identify themselves to some geographic space and to the others that live in the same space. Territoriality becomes the connection between people and the place they occupy (Sack, 1986: 58).

Through the years, the notion of territoriality has evolved into different scientific environments, although the foundation has remained. Territoriality is the expression of ownership toward something, (Thom-Santelli, Cosley and Gay, 2009: 1481) and that something most of the time is a "physical space" (Brown, Lawrence and Robinson, 2005: 578) called "territory" (Grosby, 1995: 149). Commonly, manifestations of territoriality are characterized by "actions and behaviors for the purposes of constructing, communicating, maintaining, and restoring one's attachment (Brown, Lawrence and Robinson, 2005: 579) to a territory.

Any expression of territoriality will involve social actions in a social context (ibid) at "different spatial scales" (Storey, 2001: 15). It is necessary to establish an interaction between territory and the people living in it. That kind of relationship must be communicated and shown to others in the social arena through "actions regarding claiming and protecting" (Brown, Lawrence and Robinson, 2005: 579) spaces. Those actions are executed by the ruling organization interested on imposing its rules (Beraún & Beraún 2009: 117) to manage the space.

The roles of territorial behaviors are many and not all of them are present at the same time; the purposes and goals of applying these schemes are intrinsically related to the case under study. Frequently, territoriality is assumed as a "defense phenomenon" (Edney, 1976: 31) but then again, it is more than a defensive mechanism; this can be seen in its communicative or organizational functions. From the literature, I have being able to identify at least three functions of territorial actions or behaviors.

Firstly, in terms of organizational purposes, Edward Soja (1971: 19 in Elden, 2010: 802) declares that territoriality is associated with the organization of space into spheres of influence or clearly demarcated territories. Edney (1976: 33) agrees, stating that "territoriality is an

important organizer in human life and behavior” and this organization happens at different scales in societies. For instance, the organization can be done at the community or state level.

Secondly, territoriality has a communicative function which is illustrated by marking the space. Marking has been defined as the placement of an object into a space to indicate ownership of one’s territory (Thom-Santelli, Cosley and Gay, 2009: 1481). The action to mark something involves the social construction of territories and the negotiations to decide to whom the territory belongs (Brown, Lawrence, and Robinson, 2005: 580). Marking is linked to the communicative function of territoriality because the placement of signs or symbols will announce to others the “social boundaries” (Anderson and O’Dowd, 1999: 598) of the place. Also, those marks will “discourage access, usage, and infringement attempts” (Brown, Lawrence, and Robinson, 2005: 580). As explained, territoriality needs social actors that will establish their ownership over a geographic space, therefore, the inhabitants of the place must communicate in different forms that the space is theirs to govern and impose their policies. Besides, it also shows that they will not accept any invasion or form of trespassing into it.

This communicative function needs to establish signs that will convey a message to external actors. These signs can be “permanent or temporary” (Becker 1991; Donald, 1994 in Brown, Lawrence and Robinson, 2005: 581). By permanent, it is considered the establishment of boundaries or physical symbols to control. Whereas temporary signs could be removable objects or banners that express the provisional presence of somebody in the territory. The use of both or only one type of signs will depend on the message to convey. However, the common ground for the symbols is that they will always “reflect one’s identity” (Bosti: 1981 in Brown, Lawrence, and Robinson, 2005: 580) in contrast to other’s identity.

Thirdly, but equally important, is the function of defense. This role of territoriality presents itself when there has been any type of intrusion into a territory under the jurisdiction of someone else. In short, an infringement needs to occur in order to witness defensive territorial behaviors. According to Brown, Lawrence and Robinson (2005: 583) an infringement is based on the perception of the person who is experiencing the infringement. These intrusions are not violent and do not “trespass” (Edney, 1976: 32) the territory permanently; that is why, they have the potential to elicit territorial behaviors in a variety of ways that serve to prevent or respond to them. The basic idea behind any defensive territorial action is to prevent invasions to be successful and “to restore the territory to the actor who has legal ownership” (Brown, Lawrence and Robinson, 2005: 584).

The notion of Human Territoriality refers to two connotations behind territorial behaviors, those can be passive or negative and positive. According to Dematteis and Governa (2005: 45), Sack introduces territoriality as a passive or negative way of conducting territorialization because it is done with strategies of control by a specific group. However, territoriality is not always negative; a positive aspect can be attached to territorial behaviors when territoriality strategies are taken with “good intentions” (ibid) in order to achieve a common goal for the people that live in the territory.

In brief, territoriality is a form of behavior that uses a bounded space to secure a particular outcome. By controlling access to the territory, its content can be manipulated and its character designed (Taylor, 2003: 101). The study of territoriality can help to understand people’s behavior in certain spaces. Equally, it has been emphasized the importance of the spatial scale in which territorial behaviors are analyzed (Zoido, 2007: 9). Most importantly, to understand territoriality as a whole, it is important to define what territory is in the first place and how it is demarcated through the use of boundaries.

2.2.1. Territory: shaped and preserved through territoriality

The concept of human territoriality includes the control over a geographic space which is called territory. Therefore, territory becomes the main component in any territoriality analysis or territorialization process. But territory is much more than a geographic space or piece of land; the concept of territory can be defined by different actors, and will have different meanings according to the purpose behind its use. For the purposes of my research project, territory will be defined as the delimited geographic space assigned to a human group or society in which they are settled and in which they form a bond through cultural traits or even identity (Zoido, 2007: 2). This definition is the starting point to understand the role of territory on societies and the process for its appropriation.

Due to being a social construct, the development from geographical space to territory takes time and people to produce it. Lefebvre (2003: 84) refers to territory as the production of a physical space, mapped, modified, transformed by the networks, circuits, and flows that are established within it. Land in order to become a territory must participate in several processes and take characteristics from its people and the infrastructure that surround it. Additionally to the internal forces that shape a territory, this is the place where social, political and economic

interactions are conducted between insiders and outsiders. Thus “the notion of territory is at the same time juridical, political, economic, social, cultural, and even affective” (Valerie November, 2002: 17 in Elden, 2010: 811).

As presented, territory is a difficult concept to define and is in need of constant refining. Besides, it is apparent that any definition will leave behind certain characteristics or functions of some particular spaces. One distinguishing factor within territory is that there is not a concrete way to measure the amount of space necessary to produce it, “actually, depending on one’s theoretical perspective and the fineness of one’s analysis, there are potentially billions of territories, large and small” (Delaney, 2005: 4). Territory can present itself at different forms such as economic regions or political administrative units. Also, territory “exists at a variety of spatial scales from the global down to the local” (Storey, 2001: 1). The scale of territory leads to the presence of certain characteristics, connotations and intrinsic functions of the land.

Territory can have multiple meanings to different actors, and diverse features. Nevertheless, Elden (2010: 801) explains that in the modern definitions of territory there are certain areas of agreement that apply to any and all territories such as “boundedness, identity, integrity, sovereignty and spatial coherence”. Also, the first and most important role of territory is to be a place that allows people to settle in order to achieve “security and a springboard for opportunities. Both security and opportunity require an internal organization of its external relations (Gottmann, 1973 in Storey, 2001: 14). Additionally, territories provide a reliable space in which to exercise everyday functions (Edney, 1976: 32). Societies need to be grounded into space in order to exist and bond with the land, neighbors and natural resources provided by the same land.

Territoriality and territory have an interdependent process. Territorialization actions transform geographic spaces into territories and at the same time the territory is maintained, controlled and protected by territorialization practices. During this process, a constant is the presence of a state or government, Allies (1980: 9 in Elden, 2010: 801) suggests that the definition of state is always linked to territory. As well as territories “occur in degrees” (Sack, 1986: 20) the state can be present in different scales such as local, regional, national; mostly it depends on the scale of the domain territory. This relationship between territory and state is referred as “territorial state” (Delaney, 2005: 2) in which political organization becomes an aspect of the territory (Gottmann, 1973 in Storey, 2001: 14), creating an intimate relation between

territories and political institutions that can and will provide “security for those inside” (Delaney, 2005: 2).

One of the missions of this territorial state is to organize the territory, commonly achieved through a political administrative division. The internationally common political institution accepted is the national state or country, in which the international borders are defined and protected by international organizations. Subsequently, on the inside, there are “numerous political and administrative subdivision, districts, parishes, areas” (ibid: 5) with “sovereignty in respect to a particular bounded space. (Cox, 2002: 243). In short, the state is a territorial organization which is divided internally into jurisdictions of its various local branches (ibid) and those local branches will have a structure to rule and maintain sovereignty over the territory allocated to them.

2.2.2. Boundaries: tools of territoriality

Taking into consideration the simplest definition of territory and territoriality; territory involves the occupation of a space by a group of people that will divide and demarcate the territory with boundaries. Thus borders become an integral component in any territoriality practice (Diener and Hagen, 2012: 59).

For Gottmann (1973 in Storey, 2001: 14), the separation of the territory under different jurisdictions is done by civilized people who have always partitioned the space around them. In order to achieve this fragmentation, they use the territorial practice of “bordering” (Diener and Hagen, 2012: 5) which entitles the “placement of markers” (ibid) to divide and organize any territory. These markers are known as boundaries or borders which are defined as the “line of separation...being the dictionary definition the limit line” (Newman, 2001: 151). This boundary line is supposed to be linear and without width, but even when it is a line within a relatively narrow waterway, there still may be gains and losses of territory to either administrative power (Anderson, 1999: 127). Additionally, boundaries delimit and mark out distinct values, behaviors and laws (Conversi, 1997: 216) to be applied in the territories that they encircle.

The establishment of boundaries is believed to be “linked to the process of human settlement” (Hartshorne in Newman, 2001: 140). People needed to define their territory in order to use the

land as they deem more useful. This appropriation of the land, to create a territory, introduces the idea that boundaries are “social, spatial, and political constructs” (Sibley 1995, Newman and Paasi, 1998 in Newman, 2001: 139) created to make the territory more manageable due to its power to fragment land into smaller units as well as to create a sense of community and belonging. Borders create spaces to bring people, who share some characteristics and the same living landscape, together. At the same time, borders exclude others who not share the living space.

Borders have several characteristics and are constructed in different ways; hence, “each boundary is geographically unique” (Anderson, 1999: 126). The dividing line exists in different spaces, societies and at different times leading to the notion that boundaries are socially shaped and those are “not always precise and do not always remain stable” (Grosby, 1995: 144). Boundaries, as social dividers of territory, can be contested at any time by one or more actors.

Nowadays, there are different forms to represent boundaries. They could be shown cartographically on maps or on the ground through the use of landmarks, commonly represented by features acting as boundaries. This boundary representation has been discussed by numerous authors whom have offered some types of categorization. For example, Anderson (1999: 130) put emphasis on the morphological classification which distinguishes 3 categories: (1) physiographic boundaries, drawn to follow some features of the landscape; (2) geometrical boundary characterized for straight lines following lines of latitude or longitude; and (3) anthropomorphic boundaries, drawn according to cultural elements such as language, religion, etc. Whether the boundaries are based in objective criteria like rivers and lines of latitude; or on subjective criteria appearing convoluted and artificial, all borders are delineated in accordance to human biases, beliefs, and assumptions. Thus every “geographic boundary is symbolic representation and practical embodiment of human territoriality” (Diener and Hagen, 2012: 12).

At a higher scale (internationally), world’s land has been divided into states which are considered the basic unit in the contemporary world’s political system. Anderson (1999: 125) also mentions that this boundary delimitation gives societies the opportunity to establish its own political entities. Allowing them the power to claim sovereignty over specific areas, possibly adjacent sea, habitants and resources located therein. Furthermore, these boundaries will help to delimit this area in the minds of individuals and groups owing allegiance to the

state. On the whole, a boundary specifies the agreement of the territorial demarcation process and validates the state's management power over the area.

Most of the literature shows a theoretical framework for the international boundary establishment; notwithstanding, "states also contain numerous boundaries that differentiate domestic spaces" (Diener and Hagen, 2012: 54). Each and every state has the authority to decide the most appropriate partition method of their territory. These fragmentations "vary greatly from state to state in terms of their function, impact, shape, purpose, and even basic terminology (ibid). However, the common ground is to achieve the most appropriate form of land management and the fulfillment of inhabitant's expectations. Supporting the intra-national delimitation process, Hasson and Razin (1990: 270) found, in their research, that Municipal-boundary delineation is not a technical outcome arising from some universal criteria. Instead spatial delineation represents a delicate interplay between forms of knowledge, already established criteria, frozen spatial-political patterns and new social processes, as well as search for local economic and political advantage. Thus every state decides the best way on how to divide their territory into administrative units "to govern more easily" (Storey, 2001: 124) having in mind social, political and economic characteristics and advantages derived from the new spaces.

Previously in this chapter, it has been emphasized the concept of territoriality in different scenarios and border demarcation is certainly included into Human Territoriality. According to Storey (2001: 6) territoriality and the imposition of boundaries are political strategies designed to attain particular ends. Territoriality is based in the identification of a territory which "is a portion of space enclosed by boundary lines" (ibid). Several authors manifest the importance of boundaries in territorialization strategies. For instance Taylor (2003: 101) declares that boundaries are the way a state can control the access to a territory; allowing, at the same time, that the content of the territory can be manipulated and its character designed.

Boundaries are the manners in which territories are defined creating a puzzle of territories. However, it is important to note that the manifestation of territoriality is also necessary when previously stated boundaries are contested or not recognized. A possible display of problematic boundaries is a territorial invasion; once the trespassing occurs, territoriality will play a main part in the actions required to identify the territory as owned by one state and not the other.

A problem with the sub-state bordering process and territorial behaviors is the possible creation of significant spatial differences in educational opportunities, political representation, government services, or financial services (Diener and Hagen, 2012: 55). The differentiation of life conditions between nearby populations (each under different jurisdiction) plus an inefficient or contested boundary can translate into territorial conflicts between two or more political administrative powers. Within boundary delimitation theories, the possibility of new conflicts at any level is not excluded. Instead Storey (2001: 33) states that territories are often the centre of disputes and these disputes may relate to the precise location of the border or they may centre on whether or not a particular border should exist.

2.3. Territorial conflicts

Territorial conflicts involve the study of territory and territorial changes at several spatial levels. From the demarcation of national boundaries between states, to control and ownership of resources (land, settlements, water) at the intra-state level (Newman, 2006: 5). That is why Murphy (1990: 545) proposes that territorial conflicts should be studied “at different scales or of different kind”.

Territorial conflicts in some way or another are connected to human territoriality. In one hand the “drawing of boundaries represent the most obvious political expression of territoriality” (Storey, 2001: 15). On the other hand territorial behaviors “involve the classification of geographic areas” (ibid: 16) in which they have sovereignty over the land. When the bordering process and its resulting line are contested, a territorial conflict is initiated. The disagreement between social actors (claimers or protectors of the contested territory) will result in the use of territorial behaviors to defend, communicate or fortified the relationship with the land. In brief, Diener and Hagen (2012: 6) explain that territoriality in relation to territorial conflicts serves as a social mechanism for control by demarcating and/or defending territories.

Most of the time, territorial conflicts are present under two situations. The first scenario includes problematic boundaries which can be not permanent or vague on their description requiring a reinterpretation of the dividing line. Consequently those can be used, changed, or even abolished (Diener and Hagen, 2012: 1) at any time. The second scenario relates to spaces

where boundaries are not established leading to vulnerable places where sovereignty can be claim by different actors.

According to Hasson and Razin (1990: 267), territorial conflicts based on boundaries do not appear overnight. Conflicts are manifestations of socio-political issues that have been affecting the contested area for a prolonged period of time; and the active display of these disconformities is just the way people have to obtain listeners. Based on this, it is important to define the arguments used by active actors in order to move past the manifestation towards a negotiation phase. The arguments used to back up the claim will need to have strong foundations. Historically, territorial claims, in order to obtain territory in favor of one or the other administrative power, are based on legal and non-legal arguments. Within territorial conflicts, perhaps, most claims are based ultimately on non-legal factors with weak legal arguments to fortify the claims (Burghardt, 1973).

Based on these commonly non-legal claims, Burghardt (1973: 228) detailed that all claims to territory can be placed in one or more of the following categories: effective control; history, culture, territorial integrity, economy, and ideology. But most of the claims are a combination of the explained factors.

Mason and Spillmann (n.d.: 3) proposed that there are five basic components to identify in any conflictive situation:

- Issue at stake, e.g. resources, self-determination;
- Actors and the characterization of these, e.g. State, Non-State;
- Form of the conflict, e.g. latent, manifest, violent, non-violent;
- Causes of the conflict, e.g. acquiring or defending material and immaterial values;
- Arena in which the conflict takes place, e.g. local, international, river basin, forest area.

In order to understand these conflicts, it must be analyzed the sources, actors involve and the level at which the conflict manifests. When talking of possible causes Gleick (1993: 84) suggests that interstate conflicts may be caused by many factors, including religious animosities, ideological disputes, and arguments over historical borders, and economic competition. When the focus goes to the levels of occurrence, Homer-Dixon (in Gleick, 1993: 83) states that there are many possible levels and scales: regional disputes at the village level, disputes within the national political subdivisions, or border disputes between two nations.

Additionally, recent experience suggests that it is more possible for conflicts to happen on the local and regional level. Other authors highlight this local analysis, for instance McNeish (2010: 21) agrees that “recognition is needed of the other forms of conflict existing at the regional and sub-regional levels”. As it is known, most of the land either intra-national or international has been divided into countries, regions, districts, among other. However there are regions that have unclaimed areas, discrepancies over the boundaries or places where the boundaries are not strictly defined (Giordano, Giordano and Wolf, 2005: 54). All this places are considered vulnerable locations to territorial conflicts.

At its core, territorial conflicts are struggles to obtain access and possession of resources such as “land, especially topsoil, water, forests and woodland, and the wildlife” (Pearce, 1987: 255). The conflicts exist where “there have been shifts or where there were ambiguities in the establishment of boundaries (Murphy, 1990: 542). Furthermore, it needs to be a disagreement between two or more governmental institutions where at least one does not accept the definition of where the boundary line is located (Huth, 1998: 19) and it’s vocal about its disconformity.

2.4. Summary

As it is explained, territoriality is the feeling that a space belong to us. In consequence an individual or a group of people will have to interact with that territory in order to define and take control over the geographical space, surfacing feelings of belonging and ownership. But the territorialization process does not end there; once the territory has been defined and delimited, territorialization becomes a force to maintain the control over that territory.

Boundaries are used as territorial strategies to undermine the possession of the territory. All boundaries are social constructs and they might be contested at any time. Thus, the presence of these ill-defined boundaries can initiate territorial conflicts. Furthermore, the Presidency of the Council of Ministers (2014) states that “the lack of boundaries can potentially cause conflicts involving the ownership of towns, archaeological sites, or natural resources, and the allocation of money to the respective government”. However, it is necessary to note that besides the presence of diffuse or non-existent boundaries; within a territorial conflict, there must be a source of interest for which the land becomes of importance to one or more parties. Territorial conflicts can be instigated by hidden interests such as ideological, political or

economic benefits or the presence of natural resources. It should be emphasized that the interest behind the conflict is a unique process to the land under contestation and most of the time it is impossible to declare which are the real motive behind territorial claims.

On the whole, the territoriality process through its relation to territory and boundaries aims to control space. When this control is undermined it can and will lead to territorial conflicts. This type of conflicts can be based on different arguments. Usually, the arguments refer to the presence of ambiguous phases in the delimitation process (Prescott, 1990: 132) or no demarcation process at all.

Chapter 3: Methodology

Within a research study, there are several decisions to make that will lead the researcher to explore a situation in-depth, with the objective to answer the planned research question. All of these steps should be acknowledged and described as part of the researcher's methodology. It could be said that everything starts with a topic of interest. From that point on, it is important to consider that any investigation in geography must involve thinking about the relationships between methods, techniques, analysis and interpretation (Clifford, French and Valentine, 2012: 7). The process can be summarized as research design. This design will allow to link data collection methods and analysis techniques in order to produce relevant knowledge.

Research design is a process with several stages to consider: from fieldwork, to the ways in which the analysis and description of the findings should be made. First of all, it is important to choose the type of research design to be used. For this project, it was decided that the intensive approach was the most appropriate due to its emphasis on describing a single case with the maximum amount of detail and the ability to find possible explanations for the situation under investigation (ibid: 11).

My case study will allow me to link the planned theoretical framework to my fieldwork's findings in order to produce a detailed answer to my research question and objectives formulated in Chapter 1. In the following section, it will be described my research design, the selection of the case study, and the qualitative techniques used. Additionally, it will be recounted some of my experiences during fieldwork and the encountered challenges. Lastly, the chapter will include some of my biases and my intentions to conduct an objective and valid investigation.

3.1. The case study

Under the intensive research design, one option is to focus the investigation to a case study. This will allow confronting reality (fieldwork findings) with a theoretical approach by exploring and analyzing a specific situation in depth. From the decision to use the case study

approach to the selection of the event, it is important to have in mind that the case will become your unit of analysis (Baxter and Jack, 2008: 545). Allowing you to explore individuals or organizations through complex interventions, relationships, communities, or programs (Yin, 2003 in Baxter and Jack, 2008: 544).

Case studies can be defined as empirical inquiries that investigate a contemporary phenomenon in depth and within its real-life context (Ridder, 2012: 93). By choosing a study case, the researcher can concentrate on creating several propositions or a hypothesis that should be tested against the information collected. Consequently, the importance of single case studies is that they enable the researcher through examples to analyze “processes that can be theorized” (Bradshaw and Stratford, 2010: 72).

My overall goal is to report a case study that will allow me to understand the connection between literature (theories) and fieldwork findings at its different scales. In particular I would like to understand the intra-national territorial delimitation process in Peru and how human territoriality is applied according to the social actor who is implementing it. Furthermore, I will like to connect territorial behaviors as a possible source of intra-national territorial conflicts.

History in Peru shows an irregular and messy delimitation process that comes from the Republic until present times. Nowadays, it is accepted that Peru has a serious problem related to the lack of legal boundaries at different administrative scales. Due to this alarming situation, it was created a governmental institution called the Dirección Nacional de Técnica de Demarcación Territorial (DNTDT). The purpose was to settle the inner border situation and resolve any conflict that could arise due to the lack of borders or the imposition of new ones. In 2008, through a survey, the DNTDT in combination with every regional government in Peru were able to create a database of territorial conflicts, classified according to their characteristics.

A few years ago, while reading this territorial conflict list, one entry caught my attention, which later became the starting point of my research project. The Huaytire case was a very public conflict that was categorized as latent with several mobilizations and no resolution at all. As it will be explained with more detail in the upcoming chapters, Huaytire is a small town located in the Andes of Southern Peru, at more than 4500 m.a.s.l. with a population that

rounds the 370 habitants³. This amount is not considered a high number in terms of residents leading to a low impact in the national context. However the media impact was extensive due to several mobilizations held by both regional governments (Tacna and Moquegua) and the local population. The situation went from a local problem to a territorial dispute involving national institutions like the DNTDT, the National Congress and many more.

After hearing people's opinions and collecting some information about this case, it became important, for me, to identify what was happening in Huaytire, what are the perceptions of the people living there and how the different administrative scales could relate to the problematic situation. In sum, according to the situation described, I believe that the Huaytire case could be an interesting example to analyze territorial behaviors and the territorial demarcation process in Peru.

3.2. Qualitative methodology

Geographical research describes qualitative and quantitative methodologies as “forms of data collection/analysis” (Clifford, French and Valentine, 2010: 5). In a research, both or just one can be chosen according to what you plan to achieve. Most importantly, both of them offer different techniques to work with, allowing researchers to gather valuable information. Therefore, the next step in the research design was to consider and evaluate if one or both methodologies were appropriate for the case study under investigation.

Based on my research question and objectives, the qualitative methodology was the most suitable because its methods are “intended to elucidate human environments, individual experiences, and social processes” (Winchester and Rofe, 2010: 3). This type of methodology will provide the tools to interconnect real life events and obtain information from the actors involved in the process. As the author (*ibid*: 21) mentions, qualitative methods have been used for a long time to verify, analyze, interpret and understand behaviors. Hence, by using the qualitative approach it is possible to give a voice to the people involved in the situation.

When creating my guideline for fieldwork and evaluating which methods will be more useful to gather information for my study, I decided to use the semi-structured interview and

³ Data provided by the ex-Mayor of Huaytire, Erasmo Flores.

document revision techniques. Also, I was planning to participate in a Mesa de Dialogo⁴. Once in contact with the appropriate institutions and authorities, I realized that it was not going to be possible to attend one due the limited time of my stay in Lima. In relation to the other technique, document revision stage started long before going to fieldwork. The main reason to collect internet based information of the conflict was that I needed to have a general panorama of the situation. The topics varied from the delimitation processes in Peru; the events (related to the Huaytire case) reported by media outlets. Additionally, I needed to assess the information needed and what I wanted to achieve from fieldwork. Governmental institutions through their web pages gave me basic information of what I could find during fieldwork and what information would I need to search as primary information. With this previously executed research process, I was able to develop a guideline for my interviews and the type of informants required.

One important consideration is brought by Valentine (2005: 113) in which it is stated that under the qualitative methodology, more precisely interviews, the researcher should recognize his/her positionality beforehand. Additionally I needed to be reflexive during the interview process because any interaction with informants can shape or interfere with the collection data process. This particularity is necessary to have in mind during all stages of the research process and they will be explained later on this chapter.

3.3. Fieldwork experience

Fieldwork involved going back to my home country -Peru- in order to gather as much information as possible to later interpret and analyze. The time planned for fieldwork was from June to August 2013, staying in 3 cities and 1 small town. My stay in these 4 places aimed to interview specific people that could enlighten my knowledge of the case study. These cities were Lima, Tacna and Moquegua and the town being Huaytire. Lima is Peru's capital and Tacna and Moquegua are regional capitals. Hence in all three of them I was able to find all the facilities that relatively big cities are able to provide without any further complication.

⁴ Mesa de Dialogo/Roundtable: mechanism of civic participation aiming to build consensus and establishing agreements. (Enfoquederecho.com)

This research project is focused on Huaytire, so a visit to the town was ensured. I was able to visit the place on two separate occasions. Each visit was programmed to spend a week (Tuesday to Friday) in the town. Moreover, each visit had to be organized around the school calendar which includes winter vacations between July and August. This scholar break is for three weeks but can be extended to four weeks according to the School principal decision. The importance of not visiting Huaytire during the school vacation was that families with children tend to go out of town. Families go to their second house in the countryside to take care of to their animals, leaving the town for as long as three weeks in a row.

Besides my visits to Huaytire, my time spend in Peru was divided between Tacna, Lima and Moquegua. Each city represented interviews with local authorities who would provide me with the different points of views of the actors involved in the Huaytire situation. In both cities, I was able to interview representatives from both regional governments. Additionally, to the interviews, this differentiation of regions provided useful when acquiring second hand information like internal studies, reports, among others. Another benefit, when visiting both cities, was the possibility to go over to the regional Ombudsman offices. My stay in Lima represented interviews with the national authorities. Those interviews provided valuable information of the Huaytire territorial conflict and the Territorial Demarcation and Organization Plan. In addition, in an indirect way, their collaboration guided my meetings with the regional authorities.

As a comment from fieldwork, during my stay in Peru, I had to halt my work due to a national and a regional holiday. For the former, Peru Independence Day is celebrated at the end of July and it is a week holiday for the governmental authorities. For the later, at the end of August, the region of Tacna celebrates the anniversary of their reincorporation into Peruvian sovereignty after the Peru-Chile war. This local festivity and their commemorative activities also represent a week off for the regional authorities.

Following I will explain with more detail the qualitative methods used during fieldwork, the interview process, who were my informants, how I was able to contact them and the topics of my interviews. Moreover, I will describe some challenges that I had to endure during fieldwork.

3.3.1. Interviews

Dunn (2010) explains that interviews take a conversational form allowing open responses to discover what is relevant to the informant, and permits the researcher to describe events in the informant's words. Between the characteristics of interviews as data collection methods, Valentine (2005: 119) says that interviews are social encounters and there are no hard rules about interviewing, each interviewee is an individual and therefore each interview will be different. By doing interviews, researchers can fill the gap between theories and case studies by collecting points of views, understanding the social context of the informants and their concerns. Also, interviews are conversations with a purpose, so interviews should be prepared according to whom you are talking to and the goals behind each specific interview.

Between the different types of interviews, I chose to use the semi-structured interviewing technique because "this form has some degree of predetermined order but maintains flexibility" (Dunn, 2010: 112). When using semi-structured interviews, it is important to have an interview guide or a list of topics that you will need to cover for the research purposes. This guideline has to be designed according to the person that was going to be interviewed because not every interviewee has the capacity to give the same information. Before my interviews took place, I wrote a list of topics that I needed to address according to who I was interviewing. The exact questions were developed during the interview. The approach to the interviewees and the pre-set list of topics will be described in the informants section of this chapter.

During fieldwork, I was able to do 23 interviews of which 18 were recorded. The other five were not recorded upon request from the interviewee leaving me to take notes. The big difference in the interviews was related to whom they represented. Governmental employees were talking as representatives of their institution so they provided me their permission to identify them. Additionally, most of the information provided corresponds with official topics (public information) which they have certain authority to talk about. On the contrary, locals share their opinions, concerns and provide personal information on how the situation affects them in a daily basis; hence their wish to remain anonymous.

3.3.2. Informants

Selecting the informants is considered equally important as selecting the case to investigate. Even so, Bradshaw and Stratford (2010: 72) believe that participants or informants make up some of the elements of the case because they will give their opinions, experiences and beliefs. Those, later on, will be considered significant information to be analyzed and become the foundation for the assumptions that will answer the case's research question. Additionally, it is fundamental to think about the different sample techniques on qualitative research and how each one can provide the information needed. For this investigation, the purposive method was deemed as the most helpful when searching any relevant data on field.

When talking about the informants recruiting approach, as a result of fieldwork planning, I was able to identify several actors that were or are involved in the controversy. They represent the governmental, private and local sectors and all of them in a direct or indirect way are relevant participants. The design, as mentioned, was to conduct a purposive methodology, identifying vital participants that could explain the situation both in a technical and every day perspective.

My first couple of weeks in Peru was dedicated to find key informants. Fortunately I was able to get in contact with Tania Burstein (at the moment working at the DNTDT) and with John Beraún, who is the geographer for the DNTDT in charge of all conflicts in southern Peru. They were my first contact with possible informants. Both, in a long interview, were able to explain in detail the situation in a nutshell from the national governmental perspective. What happened, the aims of the DNTDT and what they are hoping to achieve in the long term. They gave me a quick introductory course on how some governmental institutions, which I planned to visit, work; and informed me that the best manner to gain access was through their local subsidiaries. Furthermore, they gave me some names of potential informants both in Tacna and Moquegua. Also Tania put me in touch with the expert in charge of this exact conflict in the Regional Government of Moquegua who turned out to be a great provider of written information.

The information gathered from this first interview represents the national perspective of the case. As it will be explained later, the national scale was introduced into the Huaytire situation through the territorial claim. Thus, the topics that I was planning to approach were related to the territorial conflict, what is happening with the Huaytire situation at the national scale and

what are the solving techniques applied or to be applied. Lastly, one of my objectives was to understand the Territorial Demarcation Plan developed in Peru. Tania and John are representatives from the institution in charge of creating and applying this plan. Both informants were able to recount the basis for this territorial plan and explained what have been the challenges encountered in every stage of this plan.

Once in Tacna and Moquegua, I was able to establish contact with the regional governmental representatives by visiting their offices. In most cases, they agreed to talk to me, but due to their daily activities they gave a more suitable day and hour to conduct the interview. In this stage I got meetings with the representatives of both regional governments, also I talked to the Local Water Authority and Tacna and Moquegua Ombudsman's office representatives. Lastly, I was referred to Mr. Julio Ferreyra León who is a freelance historian and at some point was working in the Huaytire area. During our chat he was able to give me some historical information about the territorial delimitation process plus some data about the water use of Suches Lake.

The interviews at the regional level were directed to representatives of the regional governments of Tacna and Moquegua. When talking to Tacna's representatives, as an opening, the conversation was directed to the territorial conflict. Once the territorial conflict was mentioned, the informants explained, in their own words, the events in Huaytire, the importance of the Huaytire territory for them (Tacna) and for the authorities of Moquegua. Also, the conversation was directed to the programs and actions conducted after the 2007 mobilization in order to provide aid for the local population. Lastly, a topic approached was the living conditions in the town and people expectations in terms of help coming from the Regional Government of Tacna.

Furthermore, in Tacna, I interviewed the director of the Local Water Authority. This governmental office is in charge of the management of the Locumba watershed to which the Suches Lake belongs. This group of informants was able to give valuable information related to the watershed, and its management. Additionally, I consulted with them, the mining company legal process in which they were granted water rights from the Suches Lake.

The interviews in Moquegua, also, were conducted with regional governmental representatives. My first approach to the Regional Government of Moquegua came with a series of emails in which Tania (national representative) put me in direct contact with a

representative of the planning office. Glider, as an informant, provided significant secondary information of the conflict and the technical aspects of the arguments presented to support the territorial claim. After reading these documents, I held an interview with him to clarify certain information previously provided. Also, Glider introduced me to the Director of the Planning office. The topics asked were related to the annexation petition, the 2007 mobilization and their interest behind their territorial claim.

During my visits to Huaytire, I talked with the representatives of the town. However, due to the lower number of organizations, I turned to talk to some locals. Getting to interview people over there was a bit more complicated than in the other places. People in isolated places tend to be suspicious of foreign people and Huaytire population is not the exception. Since my arrival, the local population was a little apprehensive towards my presence but agreed to be interviewed. Above all, I was able to talk with the current major; the ex-major who was more open and cooperative, and representatives of the Agricultural office, the School director and the Fishing Association.

Interviews in the Lima, Tacna and Moquegua were different to the interviews in Huaytire. The difference lies in the tone of the conversation. In the former group, the topics were approached directly. Authorities preferred to hear what information I had and the purpose of my investigation. Then, they dove directly to the territorial conflict and the importance of Huaytire to them. In the latter, there were two types of interviews. The first group corresponds to the town authorities. With them I had to introduce myself, explain the purpose of my visit and then go to topics related to their function, the living conditions and the town's problems. The second group is covered by the local population. These interviews started as a conversation, touching themes as the weather, the activities of the town, etc. When informants of both groups felt more at ease with my presence, I was able to talk about the mobilization, the reason behind the petition, their living conditions before 2007 and their relationship with the mining company. The last topic to be approached was the territorial conflict, what they expected to obtain from the regional governments and the reasons behind both regional governments to appreciate the Huaytire territory. This last theme has to be brought up very delicately and without resting importance to the others topics.

It could be considered that all the interviews were done in relaxed environment either in a formal or informal setting. During the interviews, most of the informants had no problem being recorded because they were talking as representatives of a bigger institution. So they

were not giving personal opinions but facts of the case study; those interviews were mostly done in their offices or common areas within their institutions. However, when talking to locals, the panorama changed completely, they felt more uncomfortable than they were, if they had to be recorded or identified. So in a subtle manner, they requested to not be recorded and remain anonymous before agreeing to an interview. These conversations still were done in open spaces, streets around the main square where they gather to chat, normally the afternoon get-together takes place in the main square but for the last few months (since March 2013) the place is close due to renovation.

On the whole, before fieldwork I was able to identify different sectors that were involved in my research study. However I did not have specific names to interview but I knew to which institutions I should go and try to find the correct person to interview. The identification of informants at the local and regional scale was conducted under the purposive sampling technique using two strategies. The snowball approach which “identifies cases of interest reported by people involve” (Bradshaw and Stratford, 2010: 75) in the situation. And the opportunistic approach where the researcher should be able to be flexible and follow new leads during fieldwork (ibid). During my visits to Huaytire, I followed the opportunistic approach in combination with the convenience strategy which involves selecting informants based on your access to local population (ibid). The convenience approach was used due to the low number of possible informants. After gathering information from the representatives of the town I decided to collect information from locals in order to broaden my data.

One difficulty is that my research will lack official information from the private sector. In my study area, there is a mining company which is entitled by law to use a certain percentage of water from the nearby lake. So I planned to get some information or statement about their activities. Sadly my attempt to contact them was unsuccessful. Also, on fieldwork I noticed the presence of another mining company which according to locals is in the exploration phase. Their personnel tend to keep their distance from the locals and they also were not in any competence to give me an interview.

3.3.3. Guide turned into translator

My first concern about going to Huaytire was that I had never been there. I did not know the route to take or if the town was accessible by public transportation. That is why I hired a

person that had been in Huaytire previously. Mr. Ramos knew which roads to take and had an idea of what we were going to find in the town. He said that it was possible to go to Huaytire by public transportation. But, it was better to go in a private car due to our large amount of baggage and supplies for my companion and me. The items included blankets, sleeping bags, warm clothes and food for the week. As a result, Mr. Ramos became my driver and guide. Most importantly, an unexpected function, during fieldwork, turned out to be an improvised translator.

Before going to Huaytire I talked to him and explained the theme of my investigation, what I wanted to accomplish in my visit and gave him some guidelines when talking to locals about my motivation for the visit. Once we were there, as mentioned, talking to locals turned out to be a bit difficult. Locals are not used to unknown people asking questions. Thus, they try to avoid contact with those that they do not know, in this case me.

In general, locals were not that comfortable with my presence or talking directly to me. Nonetheless, thanks to Mr. Ramos being fluent in Aymara⁵, complemented with his impressive communicative skills, he was able to engage locals into conversation. His presence created a more comfortable environment for the locals. Mr. Ramos was able to explain who I was, my intentions in relation to my visit and my investigation. Once they were comfortable with him it was possible for me to participate in the conversation. In some cases, I achieved to change the language from Aymara to Spanish; in other cases I would ask my questions in Spanish and they would answer in Aymara which Mr. Ramos would translate. In both cases his presence was of great benefit.

3.3.4. Challenges during fieldwork

As researchers we affront several challenges when planning and doing fieldwork. Just the notion of going to a new location, in order to collect data, brings several questions. As Binns (2006: 14) refers “when considering the logistics of fieldwork, you need to ask: why? where? when? And how?” For instance, when thinking about the timing or the when, it must be considered that undertaking fieldwork during the rainy season can be difficult and uncomfortable. But if you avoid the rainy season you could actually miss much of the farming activity (ibid: 15). Based on these types of questions, we need to inform ourselves in themes

⁵ Local language

like how to reach the place, where to stay, how to contact the correct people, etc. However all the questions presented above only can be answered accurately on arrival to your fieldwork destination. Everything done before is just an approximation of what could happen.

My visit to Huaytire was nothing compared to what I expected to find. One of my biggest concerns, before going to the town, was related to my accommodations. At first I was told by a friend (supposedly she was there a couple of years before) that there was a ‘pension’⁶ in the town. However, once there, I was not able find any place that provided that type of services. In both of my visits I was able to find accommodation with the help of the major. In my first visit, I was able to stay in the local school. The second floor of the school is implemented to be a boarding school in the future. So, they were able to give me an empty room to sleep on. In my second visit the major offered me a small room in his house for my stay. Overall, finding a place to stay was challenging.

My second concern was related to food. Having in mind that Huaytire is a small town I thought that we could find a basic restaurant to obtain our dinners. Nevertheless, as a precaution, I decided to bring some canned food, water and bread. Luckily, the provisions were enough for a week. Huaytire does not have a restaurant or a place to buy prepared food. The only time we were able to buy food was during the biweekly fair. The other days we had to use our supplies. For the second visit, my companion and I were more prepared in relation to our food supply.

A third challenge encountered, as mentioned, was the language barrier. Locals prefer to talk in their mother tongue (Aymara) even though they are fluent in Spanish. This obstacle was overcome thanks to my guide and unofficial translator.

Above all, I think my biggest problem was related to the major. He occasionally was very helpful, but mostly he was skeptical of my presence in the town. My impression at the moment was that he was always trying to ‘see’ and ‘hear’ what I was asking and to whom. During the interviews (with local representatives or inhabitants) he always was nearby, if not taking part of the conversation. Overall, I felt that I was not welcome by him. Even after some thought, I am considering that the major was able to talk to some people in order to block my access to more informants.

⁶ Small hostel with basic services run by locals

3.4. Document revision

Document revision is the main process where technical information is gathered in order to support ideas and possible research questions. This technique is done before, during and after fieldwork. In the course of each step, literature will allow to refine ideas and create a reliable framework to present the findings. News reports from local papers were the leading providers of general information about the studied situation and the opinions of different people (locals, their representatives, governmental representatives, among others). Additionally, it opened a new set of facts that could only come from the people that were and is involved in the controversy.

In some cases, I was able to collect secondary information via my interviewees. Some informants were able to provide additional official information (studies, laws, census, and news reports) that could complement my personal research. Most of the complementary information was given without any problem. Some interviewees referred to their information as internal data reachable through a transparency law which allows Peruvian citizens to get information following official channels. Therefore, I was able to access that data by presenting an introductory letter from my university –University of Bergen– accompanied by an official request. This letter had to explain what information was needed, my academic background, and why I need that information in particular. Only in one case I was shown a compilation of charts and maps explaining the progression of the territorial conflict. However when requesting the information, my petition was denied due to being sensitive and confidential figures.

3.5. Data interpretation

Data analysis and further interpretation is a subjective process where the researcher finds the most appropriate approach to address the collected information. The first step was to transcribe the information collected on fieldwork. For instance, the not recorded interviews were transcribed the same day the conversation took place. This was necessary in order to understand the notes taken during the interview. Also, it was easier to recall information that was not included in the notes. The recorded interviews were transcribed once fieldwork was finished. This happened due to the lengthy duration of some interviews and the transcribing process in general.

Once the transcription process ended, it was time to do some data organization by re-reading all the interviews and taking notes on possible topics (not considered before fieldwork) that could arise from the new information provided by the informants.

After the theoretical framework was established, Chapter 5 and 6 will provide the space where collected information will be discussed. The data analysis will be based on the research question and objectives posed in Chapter 1. In those chapters, the findings will be presented in relation to the theoretical framework designed. Most of my data comes from semi-structured interviews. Therefore, I will be using extensively quoted material from the informants (Yin, 2010: 235) in order to emphasize my primary information.

3.6. Biases and Validity

Qualitative methods are often the central topic on debates due to its “interpretative nature” (Mansvelt and Berg, 2010: 345), “flexibility” (Yin, 2010: 41) and subjectivity when collecting and analyzing data. Nonetheless, qualitative studies are commonly used by researchers. The goal of any researcher is to improve validity and conduct an objective investigation. A potential approach to succeed is by applying research integrity which “means that you and your words can be trusted as representing truthful positions and statements” (ibid). Yin believes that in order to achieve research integrity it is necessary to disclose the (methodological) conditions that may influence the study and its outcomes. Furthermore, Winchester and Rofe (2010: 16) agrees with researcher’s disclosure saying that geographers using qualitative methods might achieve an objective investigation by declaring the researcher’s possible sources of bias, summarizing their own background and their relationship to the research. In short, it could be said that both authors deem of importance to detail the methodological process used, such as the data gathering techniques, informant’s selection process, and possible sources of bias, among others.

Previously, in this chapter it was stated the reasons for which I believe this type of methodology was appropriate for my research topic. Consequently the selection of qualitative methods would allow me to capture real live events in a systematized approach. Additionally, under this perspective my personal and academic backgrounds play an important role in the investigation. Thus, they should be described. First of all, my motivation for working in Huaytire comes from my previous knowledge of Moquegua and Tacna. Moreover, I have

family and friends in both cities and by association I was able to establish an easy contact with possible informants through them. The chosen research topic was related with some of my previous work when with a group of geographers I partake in the labor to develop a territorial controversies database in Southern Peru. Before going to field, I reviewed some theories that could be applied to the case study and also established a data gathering strategy. This process can represent a possible interference due to having previous knowledge of what I would find in there. Further, another possible source of bias is that I was not able to conduct an interview with the mining company (private sector) that is working in the studied area.

Another issue as Yin (2010) explains is that in the final analysis researchers cannot avoid their own research lenses in rendering reality. Thus the goal is to acknowledge that multiple interpretations of similar events may exist. Each researcher develops a strategy to conduct their research so their personalities are embedded in every step of it. What it is important is that, we, researchers must be aware of this and try to do our jobs as accurate as possible. Having in mind that the results will be our own interpretation of a case study based on our informant's perspectives.

In summary, it is important for all qualitative studies to demonstrate their trustworthiness and credibility (Yin, 2010: 3). This could become a little challenging when considering that qualitative methodology sometimes “gives emphasis to subjectivity due to its social interaction techniques” (Dowling, 2010: 35). However, by being transparent with the data, describing the methodological procedures, identifying possible sources of bias and doing some reflexivity defined as the process of constant, self-scrutiny of myself and the research process (England, 1994 in Dowling, 2010: 31), I have tried to remain as objective as possible in order to offer my interpretation of the case.

3.7. Summary

Throughout this chapter, I have tried to describe the methodological process that guided my entire investigation from planning my research design, selecting the case study, preparing fieldwork to my ethical approach. Additionally, I have described my experience during fieldwork and some of the challenges encountered.

To achieve my research goals, I decided to use a qualitative approach in which semi-structured interviews and document revision were the main gathering information techniques. The collected information will serve to be analyzed and discussed throughout this project. I have described why I decided to use this techniques and how each of one have contributed to my work. Interviews were done to representatives from governmental institutions involved in the conflict and to locals in Huaytire. Most of those interviews where recorded to be later transcribed and the one that were not recorded were captured by notes.

Lastly, I have explained my possible sources of bias and my interest for choosing this specific topic. On the whole, my research is a single case study which has allowed me to comprehend in a concrete way what is happening and why. Additionally, the study will be contrasted with a bigger theoretical framework. Nonetheless my intention has never been to generalize my findings but relate this situation to others that could share similar characteristics.

Chapter 4: An overview of the context

The 2007 mobilization, described in the Introduction, brought to the national public arena the dispute between the regional governments of Tacna and Moquegua over a portion of territory in the southern Andes. This contested land includes the small town of Huaytire and some natural resources, the most prominent being the Suches Lake. However, the apparition of this territorial conflict was not a fortuitous event. Peru since its independence has had a series of problems related to boundaries and the efficient division of its territory. Due to the increasing inner-borders conflictive situations, national authorities decided to prioritize the territorial demarcation and organization of the territory. In this chapter, I will identify the participants of this controversy and explain the national context in which the controversy was born.

In the first section I describe the characteristics of the territorial conflict, the position of both regional governments and the town. Huaytire will be described based on its characteristics, its inhabitants living conditions and the possible importance of this land. Additionally, I will relate the Peruvian situation in terms of territorial conflicts and how an imprecision in most of the intra-national boundaries is being the source of several social and territorial conflicts. Then, I move to the detail explanation of the territorial organization in the national context. This organizational process is necessary in term of management of the territory. Peruvian authorities, after finalizing all external land controversies, realized the importance of clear boundaries to create a decentralized government and a more equal developing process. Based on those goals, the Territorial Demarcation and Organization Plan was created which is a bottom-up process to create an efficient fragmentation of the Peruvian territory.

Additionally, through a little history, it will be explained the basis of our current political administration division. And the efforts made by local, regional and national authorities to create an integrated territory where all population will have access to improve their living conditions.

4.1. The Huaytire territorial conflict

The conflict started at the local and regional scale. The big mobilization and later displays of disconformity were held in Huaytire. These events had the presence of local population and in one way or another, the presence of both regional governments involved in this situation. The process started as a local disconformity towards the Regional Government of Tacna. The Regional Government of Moquegua was included due to Huaytire spatial attraction. This situation after a couple of years was brought to the national context. National authorities recognized the situation as a territorial conflict in need of their supervision.

At the regional level, Tacna and Moquegua are the main actors within this controversy. Both are located in Southern Peru. It could be said that both regions are economically dependent on mining activities. Their revenues represented on tax for their municipalities budgets and jobs for the nearby population come from this industry. If we analyze the regional statistics for both areas, apparently both regions do not have extremely poor population, and the satisfaction indexes show a content population with access to basic services. However, the picture changes dramatically when the analysis of the same indexes are done at the lower administrative levels (districts) and most importantly when the real living conditions of some towns are seen.

As stated previously, Tacna and Moquegua are neighboring regions sharing a significant border. Most of those borders do not represent a source of conflict. However there are some spaces where conflict has not been avoided. The Huaytire - Suches area is a part of these territories that are under dispute. In the governmental database, this struggle is classified as a conflict generated by border disputes between Tacna and Moquegua regions due to a non-existence territorial demarcation, being the common interest the economic benefits given by the presence of natural resources. At the moment this conflict is being supervised by governmental institutions. The Ombudsman Office bulletin (September, 2012) reported the conflict as latent due to sporadic mobilizations.

At first glance, the problem is a territorial delimitation dispute between two administrative regions. The goal for both parties is to obtain or retain ownership over Huaytire, Suches Lake and all the natural resources that might be available in that land.

Overall, the conflict involves these main actors: the Huaytire population who feels neglected and just wants to have more governmental support to survive. Two regional governments with a set of authorities whom could have different interests in the area; and the national authorities that acts as mediators. Through the years there have being several mobilizations and confrontations followed by negotiation processes. But at the end all official mechanisms have fail and the conflict disappears from the authorities' mind until someone will bring new arguments or theories about the management and ownership of Huaytire territory.

4.1.1. Huaytire

Huaytire is the place where all the described events took place. The small town is located in the Andes at 4550 m.a.s.l. The low number of inhabitants has increased slowly or remained stable through the years. According to official data, provided by INEI (Peruvian National Institute of Statistics and Information) Huaytire, within the administrative national system, belongs to the district of Candarave, province of Candarave, region of Tacna.

In 2010, the Regional Government of Tacna was in charge of doing a study called 'Socio-Economic Assessment and quality of life for the residents of Huaytire' in which it was made a brief introduction of the town characteristics and its difficult living conditions. According to the report, in the 1876 census, Huaytire already had a population of 23 habitants. By 2010, it was said that there were around 140 families in the town. However there is not an exact number due to a problem during the last official census on 2007. Additionally to the inhabitant's official data, during a conversation with the ex-major, he expressed that there are around 370 people living in the area.

Due to its location, Huaytire has several problems. One of them is the extreme weather conditions. Rainy, hot summers and freezing temperatures in the winter are the common climate. The other problem is related to the low sources of employment and income. Due to the altitude and remote location, it is not possible to implement many development programs. As shown in Figure 2, their economy is based mainly in two productive activities: breeding of alpacas to sell fur and meat, and the trout industry. A third sporadic activity is working for the municipality building new infrastructure.



Figure 2: Productive Activities

The access to the town has become a lot easier since the construction of the binational highway in the mid 90's. Huaytire population now has an easier access to the Pan-American national highway. Consequently, it means better access to coastal cities like Tacna and Moquegua. There are several buses that cover the route Tacna – Moquegua – Huaytire – Puno. The connectivity brought by this road has being helpful to the population in terms of the commercialization of their products. Nonetheless, when talking about their living conditions and levels of poverty, FONCODES, through its poverty map (2010) described a worrisome situation. The district of Candarave has a high percentage of poverty and most basic needs are not guaranteed. One example of the extreme living conditions is manifested in the lack of fresh (food) products for consumption. Huaytire population receives every 15 days a traveling fair (Figure 3) in which they can buy all the products needed from rice to batteries and clothes. At the same time, locals can sell their products, mostly alpaca meat or fur.



Figure 3: Traveling Fair held every 15 days

An important component of the Town is the Suches Lake which is also a source of jobs for Huaytire population. This lake is located nearby Huaytire (10 minutes by car) and has an extension of 370 square kilometers approximately. The lake is a component in the great basin of the Locumba river and it is the product of the “melting of nearby glaciers” (Defensoría Del Pueblo, 2008). The lake mostly recharges itself in the rainy season, from January to April. Also it has small “tributary rivers being them: Huaytire, Livicani, Callapa and Masocruz rivers” (Gerencia de RRNN y Medio Ambiente, 2010: 8). This lake, at the moment, is used for the local fishing industry in which the Huaytire Association has developed the trout market as a constant source of income for the last 20 years. Also, the lake’s water is used by a private mining company that extracts water to use it in the cooper extraction process. Their consumption and the permitted amount of water are regulated by law.

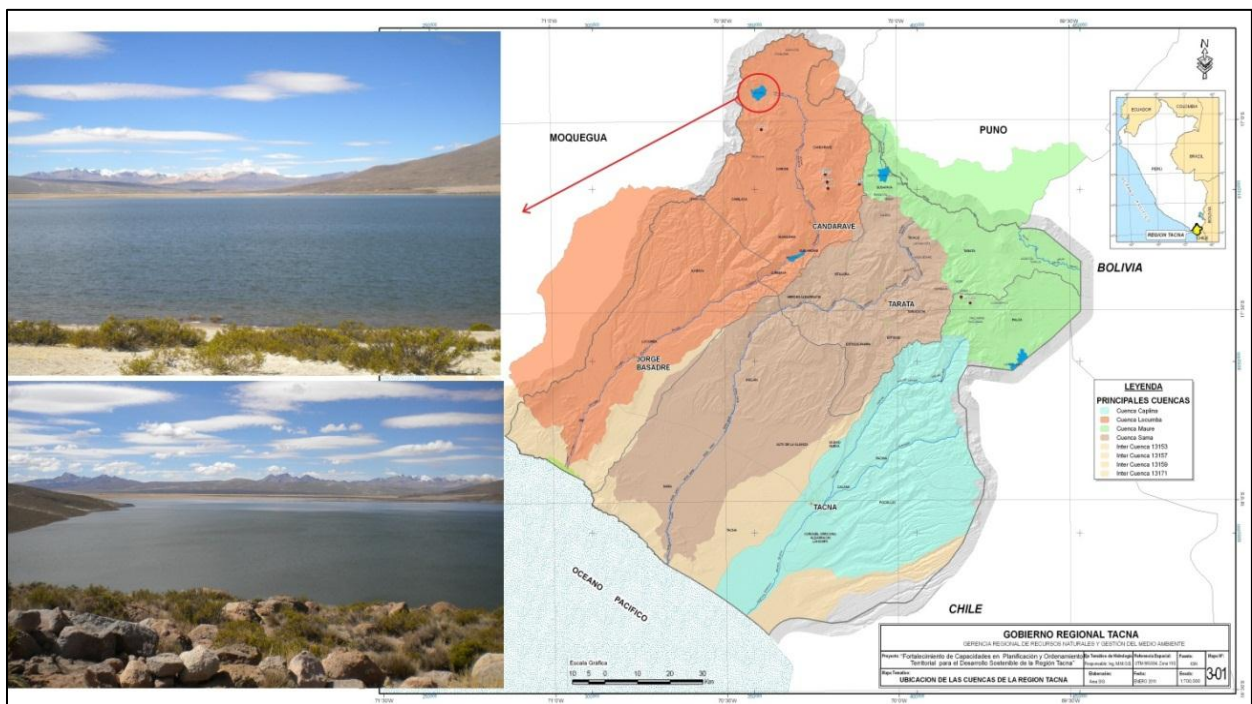


Figure 4: Watershed Map of Tacna

4.1.2. Moquegua claims ownership over Huaytire

Moquegua is the region that is interested in gain ownership of the space. Their Sub-Management of Territorial Conditioning Office through an internal report called 'Border Conflicts in the Moquegua Region' (2007) established all the places within their territory that are under controversy due to the lack of legal or clear boundaries. In this list, it is identified the Suches Lake and Huaytire town problem. According to this report, the situation is defined as an economic problem due to the existence of Suches Lake and the potential of inland waters and aquatic resources (trout). Complemented with the blurry boundaries that defines both regions (Tacna and Moquegua) territory. Also, the economic attraction from Huaytire to Moquegua contributes to the problem. They conclude that the rural community is wrongly registered in Tacna.

Several years later, they still maintain their claim for this territory, stating that Huaytire and Suches belong to Moquegua due to historic, legal and geographic references, since the creation laws of both regions. Furthermore, they have shown several maps corroborating their claims. For instance, The Defensoría del Pueblo (2008: 2) mentions a map from 1938 made by the Geographic Society of Lima and a map from 1875. Both maps sustain Moquegua's ownership over Huaytire.

The strongest point of the claim made by the Regional Government of Moquegua is based on the 1988 creation law of the Candarave Region (Law No. 24887). The law states all the limits of the province; specifically it says that in the north-west border, the region limits with Puno and Moquegua regions following the departmental boundary. Based on this description, authorities believe that the drawn line does not match what the law says. Further it gives them power to claim ownership over the land where Huaytire and Suches are located.

4.1.3. Tacna defends its territory

Meanwhile, the version presented by the Moquegua government is not accepted by Tacna. Authorities consider that Huaytire territory was inscribed in public records in 1984 when the Candarave province was created (La Region, 2011). At the moment, Huaytire and its territory are administratively depended on Tacna region and all the official maps confirm this. However, it is known at all governmental levels that there is a border problem and the

ownership of this territory is under investigation. The authorities in Tacna are worried about Moquegua claims. They are taking Moquegua expansionists intentions as a treat to their territory and territoriality. The Tacna government, as a last resource, is ready to demonstrate that this territory is legally theirs. Even though they firmly believe there should not be any negotiation phase because the law is clear in terms of their jurisdiction over Huaytire. Therefore there is nothing to be discussed.

As mentioned, Tacna bases their ownership stating that they are legally responsible for this territory. And they have been doing it legally since the 80's when the Candarave Province was created. Moreover, it is recognized that the No. 24887 Law does not describe in detail the boundary line; however, also in the same law, it is stated that the document is accompanied by a map in which the line is drawn following the Locumba watershed.

4.1.4. What is at stake?

In this conflict, one of the biggest questions is what is at stake. None of the sources of information about the conflict give a clear and definitive answer as to what the conflict is about. The first impression is that the conflict is about the possession of land. The need to control more space is not a strange behavior to find in societies. Additionally, it must be understood that any territory comes with a series of natural resources attached. Resources can be visible in the landscape or hidden into it. For the former type, the Suches Lake is a good example. For the later, the area is considered a possible mining concession and not far there are several mining operations.

So, at first glance the benefits of owning the land will be to have access to water resources which are scarce in the area. Water resources are considered a commodity nowadays, so the presence of this big lake can be motive enough to desire the territory. However, it is not clear that the ownership of the lake will generate any direct income for the local population or the regional government.

Another reason for the importance of owning the territory could be to add population to the region. In Peru, one of the elements to consider when assigning regional budgets is the number of people living in the region's territory. However, the amount of people living in Huaytire town is not a high amount. The addition of population should not be translated into a

significant increase of the regional budget. Lastly, it could be an attempt to take care of a population due to shared identity or regional integration.

Before fieldwork I considered the Suches Lake the source of the territorial problems. However, after visiting the area and conducting interviews with representatives of both regional governments and local population, I cannot state firmly what the true reason behind the territorialization of Huaytire is. The desire, by both regional governments, to possess this particular land is still unknown to me. What it could be said is that humans within their territorial characteristics will try to expand their area of influence. So maybe this conflict is roused by that territorial objective.

4.2. Territorial conflicts in Peru

In recent years boundary controversies have become a common situation in Peru. There has been a series of incentives made by the national government to clarify where these boundaries are and to get consensus among the population about its position. The delimitation process is driven by the concept that without these boundaries it will impossible to establish budgets, social or educational programs, among other. As it will be explained, most of the Peruvian boundaries come from a long history of changes. Political history and territorial development projects are the source of some of those changes. Also, it is known that most of those borders were drawn taking referential points to distribute the available land. Nowadays, this non-existent or diffuse delineation has brought several conflictive situations between two or more regions or provinces. Besides our colony origins, the imprecision or lack of territorial boundaries situation was enlarged mainly by “old creation policies, as well as the inadequacy of terminology, procedures, and technical requirements” (PCM, 2013).

According to the National Bureau of Territorial Demarcation (DNTDT), a territorial controversy is defined as the “differences in the interpretation of the location and exact location of the political administrative boundaries of a territory by inaccuracies in the description of geographic entities, physical references and/or laws that allow their cartographic interpretation (representation in the national maps)”. The National Bureau of Dialogue and Sustainability (ONDS) complemented the concept by stating that conflicts manifest themselves with frequent disputes between districts and provinces or regions. Therefore, this indecisive demarcation has been the root of several conflicts. However, most

of the time, these types of conflicts have different reasons behind them or different interests that drive the conflict. Any situation that present one or more of these characteristics should be treated as disagreements within the territorial demarcation process.

One particularity of this type of conflicts, identified by ONDS (2013: 23), is that unlike other disputes or conflicts, it is more often that their leadership is in the hands of local or regional authorities. With the active participation of some local and social organizations leaders claiming their territories as part of a political or social agenda that helps them to be legitimize in front of the population. Moreover, in contrast to conflicts where the participant population feels that their traditional ways of life are threatened. In disputes over territorial demarcation, the protagonists believe in the idea that the contested territories belong to them since ancient time, and must be defend the expansionist ambitions of other groups. Inclusive when these threats (alleged or actual) are not viewed as an imminent threat to individual and social existence.

There have been many efforts made by the national government to solve all types of conflicts, in particular territorial problems. There is no easy fix for this type of situations; and most of the time the final decision is made by the DNTDT. However, before taking any rash decision there must be a period of trial where actors involved are able to explain their positions and back up the claims made. This process then is followed by a dialogue phase where a combined decision is wished for the benefits of all parts, most importantly for the benefit of the population located in the disputed land.

4.3. Peruvian territorial organization

Territorial conflicts do not arise from nowhere; there are several elements that might be in existence in order to create those controversies. Besides the actors involved and their interest with respect to the gains to be obtained, it should be considered that behind any claim, territory is the great reward. Territory is taken as the “space that was subject to the jurisdiction of a city” (Del Val, 1999: 68). Demarcated by something such as a river, a fence, or an imaginary line showing where an area ends and another begins (Merriam-Webster Encyclopedia). When talking about territorial boundaries the definition becomes more detailed by adding the political factor. Thus boundaries become the “limits of administrative spaces which are represented in the national cartography and determine the jurisdiction of the

various levels of government” (Law No. 27795: 2002). Any state is responsible to determine their international and intra-national boundaries and both of them are truly important to the development of a country.

It is true that international boundaries are the source extensive research projects due to the possible violent conflicts that could arise from the lack of them. However, the intra-national borders are as important as the international ones. The inner borders are the last to be implemented but are equally significant. “They mark what should be done in the territory including all its inhabitants” (Del Vas, 1999: 82). Countries need to maintain a structured organized territory to be able to conduct their actions within their limits and be able to work in favor of all their population towards better living conditions and a developed society.

Peru is no different, for many years there has been several international boundaries conflicts that have taken all the attention from the authorities. A few years ago it was possible to define the last contested space. Since then, Peruvian authorities have turned their attention to the intra-national organization of their territory. Thus, boundaries came as a topic of interest due the possible controversies derived from the lack of legal and detailed boundaries. Moreover, the National Congress became aware of the importance of strengthening the integration of the territory. This concern is responsible for the Demarcation and Territorial Organization Plan and Law enacted in 2002.

The law is dedicated to regulate the Territorial Demarcation and Organization Process in Peru. It establishes basic concepts and objectives under which the institutions should work. According to this law, the Territorial Demarcation Process is the technical-geographical practice by which the territory is organized, from the definition and delimitation of the political administrative areas nationwide. It explains that the organization of the territory is a set of technical and regulatory guidelines aimed at the adequacy of the territorial spaces, political, economic and social dynamics and physical environmental processes. Lastly it says that the political administrative division, according to their level, determines the territorial scope of government and administration and “guarantees the government exercise and the state presence” (ONDS, 2013: 8).

On the whole by having a well-organized territory the national government will be able to structure all the political, economic and productive relationship ensuring the development of its population. In terms of the intra-national economy, the importance of an organized

territory with clear boundaries is related to the way Peruvian budget is distributed. In its 2013 study, the DNTDT explains that a well-defined and organized territory gives access to FONCOR, FONCOMUN, and taxes revenues for the regions. The mentioned funds are designated to create the budgets for regions and provinces. According to the Ministry of Economy and Finance of Peru, the Regional Compensation Fund (FONCOR) is established as a source of funding for regional governments. This fund is a tool that seeks to distribute additional resources to regional governments, under the criteria of equity and redress. In relation to the Municipal Compensation Fund (FONCOMUN), this fund is established in the Peruvian Political Constitution, with the objective to promote investment in different municipalities over the country. It is based on a redistributive criterion in favor of remote and deprived areas, prioritizing rural and marginal urban areas.

Having an organized territory has multiple benefits for the national authorities and for the regional and local authorities as well. In order to achieve this organization based on designed regions through definition of boundaries, it is important to understand the historical organization of the territory and implement a well-structured organizational process to conduct such task.

4.3.1. Territorial division: a view from the past

Peru, for many years, was a Spanish colony. Therefore, the early beginnings of the cities, as we know them, are based on the model brought by Spaniards into our territories. At first, a vast territory was assigned to a ‘Conquistador’ and there were no specific instructions on how this land was supposed to be defined in reality or its function in relation to other lands. After many years, the Spanish crown established the Recompilation of India’s Law which were a set of “instructions that regulated the settlement and founding of new cities” (Del Vas, 1999: 70) creating an early version of cities, provinces and regions in the new continent.

As soon as the crown had some knowledge about the new land, the new territory was divided and structured in an organized way, according to the necessities of the time. At first, European institutions and delimitation ideas were used in the new continent, however, over the years the system needed modifications to suit the peculiarities of American space and time (ibid: 82). By 1821, with the Independence, the territory of the Viceroyalty of Peru in 1810 served as the basis for forming the Republic (ONDS, 2013: 8). The Intendencias (intra-national

administrative system) became Regions. Nevertheless, from this period, the country has undergone several changes resulting in the modification of its external and internal limits.

The delimitation of international boundaries was not finished until the 20th century. These territorial boundaries are the result of a consolidation of many years from the Independence until 1998 with the last controversial section between Peru and Ecuador border. In the case of the inner borders, this process has been a little more complicated due to the historical process of changes. Those changes include the occupation and appropriation of the Peruvian territory and the rapid and uncontrolled growth of urban and rural populations which resulted in continuous changes of delimitation (PCM, n.d.) and division of territory.

4.3.2. Current Peruvian political administrative division

According to ONDS (2013: 8) the political division in Peru represents the organization of the state and society on a territory. It consists of three administrative categories: Regions, Provinces and Districts. Peru is divided into 1839 districts, 195 provinces and 24 regions plus a constitutional region. However the National Bureau of Territorial Demarcation explains that 76.8% of districts and 89% of provinces do not have a legal territorial delimitation which sometimes is translated into conflicts over the ownership of towns, archeological places, buildings, natural resources, among others.

In 2010, the ONDS mentioned their efforts to update an internal study in which it was analyzed the national administrative division and its territorial demarcation problematic. From this document, they were able to identify two types of conflictive situations that derive from fussy borders. First, there are the constant controversies and conflicts that come from the imprecision and lack of borders. The second type of problems comes from an irrational division of the territory in which there are too big or too small (in terms of population) spaces efficiently limiting the state presence and further development of the town. From that point, the national government in collaboration with its institutions created the territorial plan to be followed. This guideline rules the division of the territory.

4.3.3. Establishment of boundaries: bottom to top process

According to the Territorial and Organization Peruvian Law, any boundary consolidation process had two objectives: (1) the definition of territorial spaces of districts, provinces and regions in order to ensure the exercise of government and administration; and (2) to produce information, mainly maps, that will help in the planning of development plans at all administrative levels.

In order to achieve those objectives, and acknowledging the importance of a well-structured and divided territory, the PCM saw the necessity to introduce an institutional office be dedicated to the territorial organization and delimitation process. Another function was related to the resolution of all the conflicts that may arise from the lack of boundaries. The National Bureau of Territorial Demarcation aims “to drive the territorial demarcation process and the legal determination of boundaries in order to facilitate the process of decentralization” (DNTDT) and this task should be treated as a “priority national interest” (ibid).

Since its establishment, the DNTDT has been the “national governing body in charge of the National System of Territorial Demarcation” (PCM, 2013) and it has been able to develop a technical background for the integral delimitation of the country as well as the rational division of the territory. The aim is to create a systematized and informed delimitation process resulting in defined territorial boundaries to partition the territory. These efforts resulted in an analytical framework (Figure 5) to regulate the entire process.

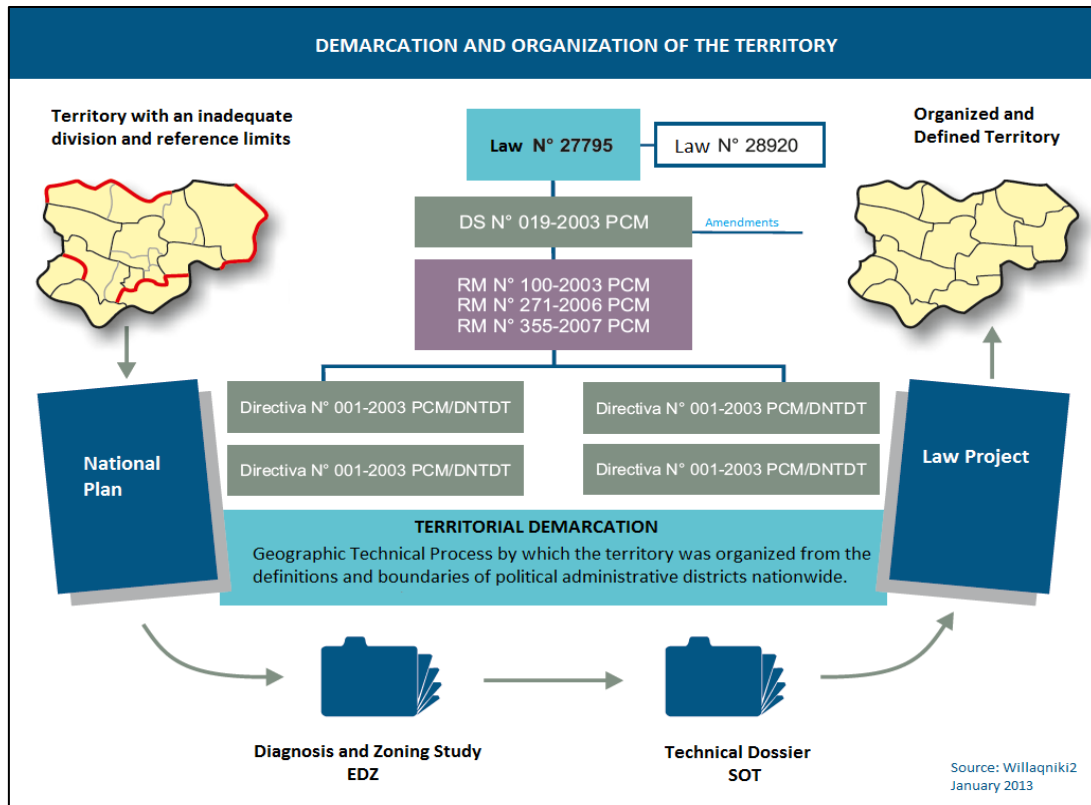


Figure 5: Demarcation and Organization of the Territory Process

Based on the Law No. 27795, Peru has an inadequate division of the territory that can bring management problems or some type of conflict. So it is necessary to devise a national plan. To achieve this characterization of the national territory, regions should present two studies. The Diagnosis and Zoning Study followed by the Sanitation and Territorial Organization Dossier. Both are considered “technical tools that allow the organization and rational division of the territory” (PCM, 2006: 1).

The Diagnosis and Zoning study (EDZ) is a study in which all regions and provinces give details about their borders and the relation between them and their neighbors. Moreover, EDZ’s are considered as territorial evaluation studies, developed to analyze the cultural, economic and physical interactions, which transform, structure and finally organize the political-geographical administrative areas (PCM, 2013). According to the Demarcation Law (2002) provinces are the referential unit of analysis. These studies should be accompanied by several maps.

Once the EDZ is finalized, presented and approved, it is time to elaborate the Sanitation and Territorial Organization Dossier (SOT). According the same Law, the SOT is a set of actions

aimed at the consolidation of territorial boundaries and further organization of existing districts and provinces nationwide. In this stage, it is performed the consolidation of the technical file, the proposal should include maps, technical reports, records, among other documents. As well as the EDZ, the SOT is formulated by the regional government and later forwarded to the PCM for approval and development of the appropriate law (ONDS, 2013). Based on the information provided by both documents, the DNTDT is capable to create the Border Law Project to present to the National Congress for its legalization.

This process is not centralized to the national authorities. From the get go, it was considered that regional and local institutions must work in cooperation with their provinces and the DNTDT, creating a bottom up process. Every party involved is in charge of explaining the conditions, problems and establishment of its limits through documentation. In Figure 6 it is shown that regional governments are the responsible institution to conduct the territorial organization at the province administrative level. Both, EDZ and SOT, must be developed at the provincial scale defining their characteristic, and explaining their inter-district as well as their interprovincial boundaries. Mainly the organization process is managed by the regional governments at the provincial political administrative scale. Additionally, the regional governments, during the elaboration of both studies, are supervised by the Presidency of the Council of Ministers represented by the National Bureau of Territorial Demarcation.



Figure 6: Institutions in charge of Intra-National Boundaries in Peru

The ONDS (2013: 18) supports this joint task by saying that the only way to face the boundary situation and the territorial division is by the establishment of laws, procedures, tools and institutional responsibilities. According to the Law No. 27795 (2002), regional governments are in charge of “executing technical actions” to define their boundaries. The DNTDT has two roles in this process: the first role is to work with the regional governments

by giving guidance and supervising the process and the second role is to create law projects to send them to the National Congress for their approval.

4.4. Summary

The mobilization of 2007 was the first display of disconformity shown by the Huaytire population. The small town is known to live under extreme conditions. The population needs as many help as possible mostly represented by social services. They also need investment through development projects in order to increase their livelihoods quality standards. After the mobilization and posterior events, an unexpected result was the establishment of the territorial conflict between Tacna and Moquegua regions for the ownership of Huaytire's territory. Tacna, at the moment has the administrative jurisdiction of Huaytire. Meanwhile, Moquegua is claiming ownership over the same territory based on old maps and a legal gap in the creation Law of the Candarave Province.

This territorial conflict is part of a series of conflicts registered in Peru in the last decade. The Peruvian authorities, after finalizing all the international controversies, turned their attention into the intra-nation borders and the proper organization of the Peruvian territory. The goal was to achieve a manageable fragmented territory. Within these efforts, it was created the National Bureau of Territorial Demarcation (DNTDT) which became the national institution responsible for the framework for the territorial organization and later they came to regulate the process until the final goal was achieved. The territorial demarcation and organization process is characterized by two mandatory documents, the Diagnosis and Zoning Study and the Sanitation and Territorial Organization dossier. Both documents must be elaborated at the provincial administrative level and they must be done by the regional governments in collaboration with the local municipalities and the DNTDT.

The information described is the background in which territorial conflicts are developed and the landscape in which the different actors will apply their territoriality. Those territorial behaviors, to be analyzed and discussed in the following chapter, will shape both the local population lives and the territorial conflict at the national scale.

Chapter 5: Territorial behaviors as a consequence of an intrusion

The 2007 event, explained in Chapter 1, is considered the first step in the determination of the Huaytire territorial conflict. However, the political acceptance of the conflict came years later, turning a regional problem into a national controversy. What is important to understand is that after the event, there were several reactions and actions from different actors at the local and regional scale with real impact on the Huaytire population. In this chapter, I will narrate the 2007 event and its consequences from the point of view of my informants. Also, my intention is to describe and analyze some of the strategies generated by the territorial intrusion used to territorialize Huaytire. Based on this, and focusing on the local and regional scale, I am aiming to answer my research question: *What strategies are being used to territorialize Huaytire?*

5.1. Territorial local reality

As elaborated in the theoretical framework, territoriality is seen as a “form of behavior that uses a bounded space, a territory, as the instrument for securing a particular outcome” (Taylor, 2003: 101). In order to apply any territorial strategy, it is necessary to have a confined geographic space, thus territory becomes the principal component in human territoriality. Additionally, the foundation of any state (at its different levels) is also linked to a territory. Therefore, through the smaller or regional governments, the state has been in charge of controlling the space, managing the economy, providing services and many more strategies to identify a space (ibid: 102). This might reveal some functions of the state; however, the extensive territory, and the inefficiency of the authorities has left some spaces neglected.

This territorial abandonment, where some spaces within the national territory do not have the same opportunities for development or the same amount of support compared to other cities, is present in the Peruvian context. Due to an extensive territory and the different communication conditions between the three sections: coast, mountains and rainforest, the

national and local governments have had significant problems when trying to implement development programs and connect all the territory (in physical terms like roads and physiological terms such as culture or traditions).

Each natural region, the Andes, rainforest and coast, have their own particularities and characteristics making them unique in their social, economic and political composition. For instance, in the rainforest, transportation has to be understood not in terms of roads, but in rivers and their ability to connect places. Also, the needs of people living in that environment are different from a person living in the Andes or the coast. The Andes or 'Sierra' as it is called by Peruvian is considered a deprived territory and any integration approach has to be unique taking into consideration the inhabitant's characteristics, problems and needs.

In terms of population and its organization, Peru comes from a difficult past, where most of the population seeks to move to the coast in order to improve their living conditions. "Approximately 55.2%" (Ribotta, 2010) of the Peruvian population lives in the coastal regions, so the national government had to focus all the attention to this place, leaving behind the Andes and Rainforest for later integration. This late concern for the rural population has had its impacts in the population and their view within the national identity.

In the long run, these less integrated spaces, mostly rural, have grown with some type of resentment towards the national political power because the state was supposed to be their benefactor which in reality never happened. People's needs in remote places, which in some cases are extensive, have not been listened to (OXFAM, 2008: 48), so as a result they do not feel any kind of allegiance unto the national state. In recent years, regional governments have tried to fill that void and in some places the results have being positive. But in general, these efforts "have not been accompanied by a policy that allows to overcome the deficit in coverage and quality of social services" (ibid: 31).

For the case study, lack of reach of the Regional Government of Tacna (GRT) toward the land and its population within their territory is well emphasized with the declaration of the director of the Planning and Territorial Conditioning office of Moquegua: "*The Huaytire population made a formal annexation petition to the Regional Government of Moquegua (GRM). They were asking for services; they did not felt satisfied with what they had and complained about it to us. They (Huaytire population) have a strong integration with Moquegua because most of*

the population has a second house, their families live there or they come to work in Moquegua. Thus they believe that they can obtain more support from us” (Interview, 12).

In general, Huaytire population felt that the region to which they belong was not doing anything for them. They expressed their feelings of abandonment by their government with that annexation petition. Additionally, this complaint was directed to the Moquegua government. Under no circumstances they expressed their discomfort to the national government. This is a subtle message indicating that the local population does not feel connected to a higher political power or to their regional administrator. Once their region no longer provided the required care, they complained about it to the Regional Government of Moquegua. A consequence of this petition was the Moquegua decision to support Huaytire as best as they could.

5.2. The mobilization: possible invasion of territory

Based on the informal annexation petition from the Huaytire population, the Regional Government of Moquegua decided to visit Huaytire in order to offer the provision of social services. This visit is considered the big mobilization of 2007, which was referred as an attempt to invade Tacna’s territory. After the event, the involved actors adopted a series of territorial behaviors and strategies towards the area and the establishment of their presence. Moreover, the event also led to the definition of a territorial conflict to be resolved at the national scale.

Both the petition of help and the event in itself were displays of disconformity against the Regional Government of Tacna. From the point of view of the authorities of Moquegua, the March 2007 mobilization can be summarized as an effort to offer social support in a territory that should be under their jurisdiction. On the other hand, the ex-major of Candarave, Mario Copa, explains: *“the event was an intention from Moquegua to invade a territory that does not belong to them. They know that Huaytire is ours by law, history, and geography through the Locumba watershed”*. During the interview, he remembered: *“I got a call from someone in Huaytire letting me know of what was happening. Once in Huaytire, I confronted the President of Moquegua asking him to leave. However, I noticed that Huaytire population was divided into two groups, one in favor of Moquegua and the other supporting Tacna rights over Huaytire” (Interview, 8).*

5.3. Change of territorial behavior towards Huaytire

As expected, every story is explained according to the one recounting the facts and in this case both regional governments have been very vocal about the mobilization and further territorial controversy. These opinions and protests were reported by local and national outlets, leading to a generalized interest for the area. From those reports it can be drawn two positions: on one hand, Tacna who considers the visit an intrusion to their territory; and on the other hand, Moquegua claiming that they just wanted to offer basic services that weren't been provided for.

Both regional governments have shown an upstanding interest for the Huaytire territory and its population; and have deemed of importance to secure its ownership. That is why they have applied several strategies, highly linked to a “physical space” (Brown, Lawrence and Robinson, 2005: 578), to reassure the population that they are important to them. From there, it seems that Tacna has tried to re-integrate Huaytire to the regional identity by consolidating its presence. Moquegua has also shown and expressed their concern by continuing their visits to Huaytire in order to voice their desire to improve their living conditions. The changes have not come only from the regional level, equally important has been the aid provided by the Municipality of Candarave and the private sector.

In the previous discussion, it seems that the common denominator is the importance of establishing or maintaining (Sacks 1986: 19 in Elden, 2010: 802) ownership over that territory through “strategies to affect, influence, and control people, phenomena, and relationships” (ibid). For instance, in hope of retaining the territory, the Regional Government of Tacna has provided new infrastructure resulting in the extreme change of Huaytire. Additionally, it is important to study how regional governments have tried to “communicate, maintain, defend, and restore the territories towards which they feel ownership” (Brown, Lawrence and Robinson, 2005: 578). In this section it will be described which territorialization actions were taken, by whom and how locals reacted to the new policies.

5.3.1. Municipality of Candarave: the first responder

The first action to maintain the ownership over Huaytire and its territory came from the Municipality of Candarave. Before leaving Huaytire, Moquegua authorities, designated a group of teachers to remain in the town. The ex-major of Candarave in order to get rid of those teachers, two days later, returned to Huaytire accompanied by the Candarave Police captain. The police captain asked the teachers to identify themselves, but they refused. In Peru, it is mandatory to provide an official ID if required; thus when the teachers refused to do it, the police captain was entitled to arrest them. This situation is explained by the ex-major of Candarave: *“the police captain went directly to the teachers to ask for their ID and none of them wanted to provide it, then the captain said that anyone who refuses to identify himself must be arrested. The Captain took them into custody”* (Interview, 8).

A second approach was the organization of a vigil for several months. A vigil is considered a gathering of people in a representative public space. The congregated people will stay awake overnight guarding something. In relation to this vigil, once again the ex-major describes *“from that date, the 22th of March, 2007, we did a vigil for almost three months, because Moquegua, at that point, was threatening to get into Huaytire by force”* (Interview, 8). The intention was to group people from different districts in Candarave and sends them to Huaytire regularly. They accomplished to place, permanently, people from several towns for at least three months as a protectionist strategy.

A third approach to territorialize Huaytire came as offerings of new projects for the local population. The first one to be completed was the local Municipality, in Figure 7 it is shown the premises under construction; today the building has 3 floors and is used for storage. The Candarave Municipality also has a list of projects to be executed in coordination with other institutions. Examples are the installment of solar power, construction of infrastructure such as a wastewater treatment plant, a center for the collection of alpaca fiber, a fairground and the electrification of Huaytire (Conde, 2010: 11).



Figure 7: Huaytire Municipality building under construction

In addition to these campaigns, the Municipality of Candarave has a program to create new sources of employment for the locals. The jobs include cleaning the highway and streets, performing maintenance to the sewerage system and working in construction. A local inhabitant states *“the jobs provided by the Huaytire Municipality are financed by the Municipality of Candarave. Mostly they hire women to clean the highway and they pay around 36PEN (10€ approximately) per day”* (Interview, 20). However, these jobs are only available to people with an ID document from Tacna. The same occurs when Huaytire population is invited to participate in the regional and provincial festivities; another local shares *“now that the festivities in Candarave and Tacna are coming the only ones allowed to go and participate in the parades are the ones with ID from Tacna”* (Interview, 21). This type of differentiation is taken as a territory appropriation strategy based in the idea that the group in charge of the territory can “impose its rules” (Beraún & Beraún, 2009: 117).

Lastly, the ex-major of Candarave said that “Huaytire is the best served area in the province and the one which has been allocated more resources to attend the population” (La Region: 2011). In addition, he requested, through a local magazine (Conde, 2010: 13) “the only thing we ask, as a Municipality, is that the authorities of Moquegua let us continue to work for the destiny of our people respecting our limits that we know ancestrally”.

5.3.2. Territorialization by the Regional Government of Tacna

As explained, the events occurred in 2007 were considered an invasion of Tacna's territory, prompting Tacna authorities to consider possible actions to secure both its possession of the territory and new rapprochement of the population to consolidate the regional identity. Moreover, they came to the conclusion that the Huaytire territory was important for Tacna's regional development plan and its "possession and control should not be lost for any reason" (Zoido, 2007: 3). Based on that premise, authorities started to pay attention to local's request and the use of several territorial strategies that would consolidate their presence, without a doubt, in the area.

After all, territorial behaviors might manifest themselves as defense actions, when there is a perceived invasion (Thom-Santelli, Cosley and Gay, 2009: 1481). Faced with this trespass, the Regional Government of Tacna opted for a protectionist and defensive discourse where the objective was to protect locals from external sources; consolidate their presence in the area; and signal to others that there is a group that already has ownership of that territory.

From that point on, Huaytire has undergone dramatic changes, illustrated by new infrastructure, development programs adequately supervised by technicians provided by Tacna, several promises to invest in the area and offers for a better integration with the regional capital.

The Regional Government of Tacna first territorial action was the construction of several communal buildings in order to mark the territory and show that a regional government has claimed the space as theirs. When visiting Huaytire, it is peculiar to see the high amount of new buildings for such a small town. The biggest and newest is the school (red and white building in Figure 8). A possible explanation for these modern buildings comes from a characteristic in territorialization strategies. Thom-Santelli, Cosley and Gay (2009: 1481) explain that "the basic expression of territoriality is marking, the placement of an object or substance into a space to indicate ownership of one's territory". Based on that proposition, the Regional Government of Tacna could have had the idea to implement new buildings in the area to show possible intruders that Huaytire belongs to their jurisdiction, and any trespasser will not be welcomed.



Figure 8: Huaytire School and Municipality

The GRT (2011) mentions the construction of the sports field and medical center (Figure 9). According to a representative of the GRT those buildings were part of the integration strategy which was based on “*locals’ request for basic services like education and health*” (Interview, 10). In order to provide the services, it was necessary to renovate the infrastructure. Within this scheme, the new school was prioritized; the Huaytire school principal says “*the school has been working for over 48 years, but the new infrastructure is two years old. The school is important in Huaytire because it provides education to people from nearby towns and the GRT donated bicycles to provide faster transportation methods to students that live far away and want to participate in regular school lesson*” (Interview, 18).



Figure 9: New Infrastructure

Another territorialization strategy is based on the attachment to territory which is related to the identification of symbols and signs in the landscape (Newman, 2006: 14). This technique was verified on fieldwork with the remodeling of the main square of Huaytire. The latest work done by the regional authorities was the restyling of the square which, interestingly, will have as a center piece a smaller replica of a monument called 'Alto de la Alianza' found in Tacna city. It represents the history of Tacna during the war with Chile in the 19th century. The presence of this replica, with so much history behind it, might be another strategy to claim the space in the eyes of foreigners or intruders. At the same time, this symbolism could be seen as an attempt to "reflect one's identity" (Bosti, 1981; Sundstrom, 1987 in Brown, Lawrence and Robinson, 2005: 581) into a town that felt neglected for so many years. In short, territorial behaviors are used to bring locals closer to a regional identity and make them realize that they belong to something bigger.

This territorial strategy of marking the territory through visible investments or new infrastructure is used to "affirm the presence of Tacna" (Diario Correo, 2008) in Huaytire. Buildings are a tangible manifestation of ownership of the territory, any visitor or passerby will be aware that those (shiny) new buildings were made by someone that has the right to invest in that land. In this case is the Regional Government of Tacna who obviously has put its name as many times as possible in the new infrastructure. Besides the sign to foreign people, the local population by visiting those buildings and obtaining services (health, school, entertainment) will refresh their memories of the GRT commitment to the local development.

Another integration technique was to hear locals request and needs. Social and economic projects became a main request from locals, and the Regional Government of Tacna considered that implementing them would help to placate people's expectations and improve the relationship between authorities and locals. The importance of solidifying this relationship can be understood in Brown, Lawrence and Robinson's (2005: 579) characteristics of territoriality which is more than expressing some form of attachment to a geographic space; for them, it also involves social actions. A representative of the Regional Government of Tacna explains "*as authorities, assisting them is our duty, thus GTR made programs and projects. Stockbreeding is what they do, so we help them in it*" (Interview, 10). The informant is referring to the South American Camelids Breeding Programme implemented in Huaytire two years ago, which involves a permanent veterinarian to provide assistance.

In general terms, the agriculture coordinator in Huaytire says *“the program is about strengthening productive chains of domestic camelids. We have been here for a year and a half. We work transforming alpaca meat into cold cured meat. Additionally, I have to gather them to work. Lastly, their market is local, thus, sometimes we take them to regional fairs to display their products in order to open new distribution markets”* (Interview, 5).

An experimental program, working at the moment, is a little greenhouse. As mentioned, in Huaytire, agriculture is not possible due to the extreme weather and the high altitude, their diet is based mainly on *“corn, barley, rice, and alpaca meat”* (Interview, 21). There is a need to incorporate healthier products. Therefore, *“the GRT, through the ‘Club de Madres’⁷ implemented the experimental greenhouse; at the moment they are growing lettuce and radish”* (Agriculture rep. Interview, 5). Nonetheless, the scale of the project is small and has not had visible results.

The last project announced by the regional government, through their webpage, is the Cultural Identity Project (GRT, 2011) that should be already working. However, during fieldwork I was not able to confirm the existence or implementation of it and none of my informants referred to this program during the interviews. Overall, all the actions, programs and infrastructure are considered to be part of the development plan for Huaytire. According to the Regional Government of Tacna (2011), their motivation is *“to reaffirm its compromise to continue working for the development of the town”*.

5.3.3. Actions taken by Moquegua to support Huaytire population

Since 2007, Moquegua has shown interest in the well-being of the Huaytire population and its territory; this has been confirmed by the events described in chapter 1 and the continuous visits to the town. Legally, Moquegua does not have possession or jurisdiction over Huaytire or Suches Lake; hence, they have not been able to build any infrastructure in the town or directly provide a specialist to attend the locals needs such as doctors, teachers, dentists, among others. Nonetheless, they have been able to find different techniques to show their interest for the place and try to entice the population to become more involved with the Regional Government of Moquegua.

⁷ Club de Madres are association of women that work to improve their living conditions. In Peru, their work is strongly bounded to child nutrition. (IFRC.org)

The best technique found, by the GRM, to territorialize Huaytire was to visit the town, regularly, in order to hear people's complaints. As a result they put together a group of authorities and send them every few months to organize the meetings. Throughout the years, local press has reported and documented these visits. For instance, in 2008, it was reported (Diario Correo) that some representatives from Moquegua went to Huaytire to offer jobs to improve their living conditions. Moreover, they took advantage of the informal meetings to deliver some maps where Huaytire was represented as Moquegua's territory.

Later on, in 2011, several newspapers (Poma, La Region, Republica, Rodriguez) reported that the Major of Moquegua visited the area in order to hear the population's problems and give social aid (Figure 10). The civic action included free medical services, children's shows, free food and other services which demonstrated the willingness of the authorities to work in favor of residents of the high Andean region of the province. Especially showing interest in border areas, like Huaytire, that have border problems with neighboring regions. He also announced that in the future he will continue with these visits. However, the major was adamant about the territorial problem stating that the national government should be the one to decide what will happen to the land under contestation.

Miércoles 24/8/2011 El Gran Sur | La República SOCIEDAD

OBJETIVO. AUTORIDADES HICIERON JORNADA CÍVICA

Moqueguanos visitan Huaytire

KAREN RODRIGUEZ, LA REPÚBLICA

Sin embargo, este encuentro no agradó a autoridades de Tacna, quienes consideraron que se trata de una provocación.

■ **Karen Rodríguez.** Moquegua. El alcalde provincial y presidente regional de Moquegua se unieron para atender a Huaytire, territorio en disputa con Tacna, región que considera que esta localidad está en su jurisdicción. Los moqueguanos organizaron una jornada cívica que se cumplió ayer, siendo el primer pueblo en visitar Huaytire, donde las autoridades



escucharon a los pobladores, quienes coincidieron en que aún no reciben ningún beneficio del Gobierno Regional. "Solo somos electores de esta región. Tenemos el recurso hídrico de la laguna de Suches, pese a ello no hay ninguna atención", remarcaron. El pedido más inmediato es la generación de trabajo a través de la ejecución de obras. Pero la reunión no fue del agrado de Tacna. El consejero Pablo Huacasi indicó que la incursión de las autoridades de Moquegua es una provocación, considerando que jurisdiccionalmente Huaytire pertenece a Tacna. Mientras que el consejero, Rafael Vargas, dijo que la visita de las autoridades de Moquegua debería ser denunciada en caso que se haga inversiones.

ACCIÓN CÍVICA. Autoridades de Moquegua se reunieron en Huaytire.

Figure 10: Local press reports visits to Huaytire

Through their visits, they have achieved to hear the local concerns, and show that the area is not forgotten (J.H.N.: 2011, La Region: August, 2011). An inhabitant of Huaytire explains “*Moquegua told us, in their visits, that they wanted to support us with everything*” (Interview, 21). Notably Moquegua took advantage of the local needs in order to make their territorial claim relevant.

Another offer made during the visits, is related to an open invitation to change the National Identification Document (DNI) from Tacna to Moquegua. The mayor of Huaytire explains that “*Moquegua began a campaign in which all the habitants of this area would receive economic benefits, employment, and housing in Carumas (Moquegua district) if they changed their DNI. Right now, at least half of the population has changed it*” (Interview, 1). Locals viewed this opportunity as a form of protest and changed the address in their ID. This is possible because “*the Huaytire population has more social relation with Moquegua, they have houses in Carumas or their families are in Moquegua, so, they come and go*” (GRM rep. Interview, 13). Additionally, they saw an opening to get social services. A local inhabitant (Interview, 21) expressed that she changed her address to Moquegua because she wanted to get specialized health assistance and going to Moquegua was easier and closer than going to Candarave (Tacna region).

5.4. Voice of the locals

The creation of Huaytire as a town is recent; the ex-major of Huaytire tells that the town was consolidated in the “*late nineties*”, in the space where the old school was located. The town is relatively new; however, they had their “*huts nearby built by their fathers or grandfathers*”. Mostly, the population was dispersed over the territory with a focal point where they would congregate once in a while. According to the Huaytire school principal, the school has been in function for over “*48 years*” (Interview, 5); and its mission, besides being a place to learn, was to be a central point so the disperse population can gather when necessary.

Once “*the main road (binational highway) was built, the disperse population tried to move*” (Interview, 21) near the road. The ex-major of Huaytire recalls “*we use to have meetings in the school, and sometimes it was too late to return home, so we decided to move out of our*

sheds to be near the road and school” (Interview, 7). Basically, the town as it is actually known was consolidated through the construction of the highway and the interest of the locals to stay close to each other to coordinate their communal fishing company.

As explained in Chapter 4, Huaytire population lives under extreme conditions. At the moment they have three significant sources of income: first, their communal fishing company, where an association is in charge of the production and commercialization of trout (Figure 11). Secondly, they are characterized for being a camelid town, so each family has a considerable amount of south-American camelids, mainly alpacas. These animals are a source of food and money through the sale of meat, and fur. Finally, some families are dependent on sporadic labor jobs on regional infrastructure projects where they work as laborers.



Figure 11: Trout Fishermen

The foundation of the new town and the creation of sources of employment, mainly trout and alpaca have been done under the initiative of locals. However, the income produced is not enough to improve their livelihood. The population requires services that the regional government should provide such as education, health, roads and infrastructure of quality and those services were not given. The President of the Trout Association recalls *“people were abandoned, there was no support. I remember that at some point there were too many earthquakes, so we asked for help, we asked for houses to relocate in a better place. There was nothing. We were tired. We were forgotten” (Interview, 6).*

Locals became aware of their right to protest and turned vocal about the necessities of the town and the social services that were entitled to have. When the town did not get feedback from the Regional Government of Tacna, the logical step, for them, was to ask help to another regional government. A local inhabitant states *“Tacna never helped us so we asked support from Moquegua” (Interview, 21)*.

The petition of help to the Regional Government of Moquegua is the town’s way of expressing their territoriality towards their own territory. They are aware of the importance of their land and natural resources, just to name one, the Suches Lake. Water is a commodity, especially in southern Peru where it is scarce. The political representatives of Huaytire, having in mind the land potential and the indifference of their government, went in search of someone who will provide what is lacking in the area.

Some years have passed since the 2007 mobilization and Huaytire has changed in some many ways. The mayor of Huaytire explains, *“The town was forgotten, from 2007 to today, we have changed. There was no municipality; the medical post did not have premises. There was nothing, no kindergarten nor a good school. Most of the buildings are new, from that date we have change; we are working hard in combination with Tacna. From that date, they have been committed to help. Now, they are doing the main square, after that the communal building will be done. Also, we need better water system, sewerage and public lighting” (Interview, 1)*.

Both regional governments have tried to assist the locals as their administrative capabilities allow them. But an important question is how the locals have seen the changes, are they happy with what they got from the problem. It is true that they have new buildings and some services that they did not have. During my time in the town, locals were content with the new investments and buildings. However, they still believe that the changes are not enough, buildings is not the only thing they need. Jobs are a constant request and the only solution to the low income problems.

When the aid petition was made, the Huaytire population was thinking of improving their living standard. However, what they did not expect was the recognition of the territorial conflict at the national administrative level. Despite being a national conflict between regional actors, locals have taken three positions in relation to the territorial conflict: they support the change of jurisdiction; prefer to stay under Tacna administration; or merely do not care what

happens with the borders, as long as development plans are implemented. One supporter of Tacna's jurisdiction is the ex-major of Huaytire; he explains "*people are divided. I believe we belong to Tacna, but there are groups that say otherwise*" (Interview, 7). His support for Tacna relies in oral local history: "*Our grandparents told us, that there are ancestral documents that prove that we are from Tacna. Also, if you see the mountain and where the water goes, it is clear, the water goes to Candarave – Locumba. I had grandparents that told me that those mountains divided the territory between Moquegua and Tacna*" (Interview, 7).

The group of informants supporting the change of jurisdiction thought that Huaytire needed a political administrative change. The main reason for the change is the little help provided by authorities from Tacna and this group believes that Moquegua could give them more attention and services. At the moment, the Moquegua supporters do not talk openly about the change because they feel that their opinions could be taken out of context in a negative way. A female informant explains that she "*wanted the change because the town needed more supervision*" (Interview, 21); however, when asked if she still supports the change, she prefers to change the subject.

The third group simply does not care about the issue of boundaries, as long as their needs are met. Another local remembers "*there was a territorial problem but we really do not know to which regional government we belong. Maybe the old people could be able to give more information about it. We just want to improve our living conditions*" (Interview, 23).

In terms of the territorial conflict per se, they believe that the problem is at the regional and national scale, and that it should be resolved at those levels. Nonetheless, locals believe that the regional government should try to explain what is happening with the borders and the territorial conflict. The Huaytire major says "*someone explained to me that they (both regional governments) are fighting for the lake. They are politicians, misleading the people is what they do. They say come to us (Moquegua) and the other (Tacna) says Huaytire is ours; but they do not face each other. They are looking for maps and documents and the other is doing the same, but they do it secretly. I would like that both regional governments come here and explain us what are they doing and what is the truth*" (Interview 1).

5.5. The private sector

The private sector cannot be considered an active participant in the territorial controversy or in the big mobilization in 2007 because they are not directly responsible for any of the protests. However, there is a mining company operating in the area, so they need to be included in the analyses as a participant in the events.

Also, there have been sporadic displays done by local private institutions which have given some type of contribution to the local population. Their involvement is not significant in terms of the development of the area but there has been a recurrent exhibition of concern for the Huaytire population. The main supply from these locals institutions come as food and warm clothes. Huaytire for its location in the mountain has extreme weather conditions which leaves locals with several problematic living conditions that affects their daily lives. The help comes in different ways, for instance, every year, institutions in Tacna ask for donations to send to the area, mostly they ask for warm clothes, one example is the campaign called “Abrigando Sonrisas”⁸ (Figure 12, J.H.N. 2011) that collects food and clothes to give to Huaytire population.



Figure 12: Sheltering Smile Campaign

⁸ Sheltering Smiles Program

The mining company is not directly linked to Huaytire or its territory but the water used for both operations come from Suches Lake. According to Peruvian Legislation the mining does not have any legal obligation to participate in any type of support or payment of taxes to the local municipality. The company has water rights since 1970's, when a ground water use license was issued, giving them access to the Huaytire-Gentilar Watershed. In 1989, the Ministry of Agriculture (RD No. 053-89) issued a confirmation of the water rights but it diminishes the amount to be extracted; nowadays, the extraction can go up to 1950 L/s⁹. According to Director of the Local Water Authority, the mining company for using the lake's water "*has to pay economic retribution to the national state*" (Interview, 15); the regional and local governments are not entitled to receive any compensation for the extracted water.

Despite not having legal obligation towards Huaytire, the company has established a direct and amicable relationship with the Huaytire population; and they are considered a source of support. The subject concerning received aid is not talked about it openly; nonetheless, during my second visit, the mayor of Huaytire mentioned briefly that at some point 'Southern Peru' (name of the company) helped the entire population "*to put wires and sticks to create the boundaries of our countryside properties*" (Interview, 1), where the animals are kept.

During the same visit, I found a notice (Figure 13) in the school door offering scholarships for higher education. The piece of paper did not have any reference to who it belonged; the only name provided was 'La Empresa'¹⁰. Having in mind this notification, I was more direct with my questions and a local explained that "*Southern gives support to the ones that finish high school. The students just have to keep good grades otherwise the support is taken away. At the end they get hired*" (Interview, 22).

Another local described this education aid program with more detail, stating "*Southern has a support program which gives scholarships and support to students with good grades. The requirements are that you have to study in a technical institute, in Tacna or Moquegua, and maintain good grades. Once the studies are completed the company will employ them in their operations. Additionally, villagers, through a request application, ask for material for the school year. The petitions are answered with donation of uniforms and scholar supplies; most of the time, requests for the school have a positive answers*" (Interview, 23)

⁹ Data from the Local Water Authority.

¹⁰ La Empresa is translated as The Company

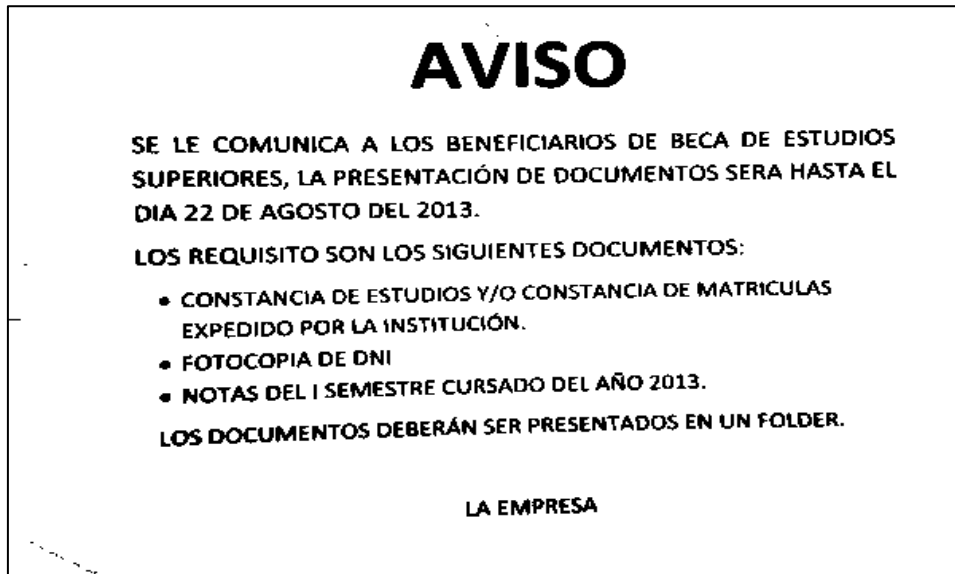


Figure 13: Notification for the beneficiaries of the scholarship

The signature of the notification is interesting in the way that the mining company does not need to identify themselves in order to be recognized. By signing as ‘La Empresa’ they are giving enough clues about their identity; at the same time, locals know that Southern Peru is behind that notice. Within territoriality, it is considered that territories are the means in which we define relations (Dahlman; 2009: 80) between different actors. Territoriality is not just the effort to control a group of people but establish a stable relationship that can bring benefits and/or losses to either actor. The relationship, between the mining company and locals, is difficult to grasp because both actors do not acknowledge the support openly. Notwithstanding the relationship exists and the locals by knowing who is signing the notice, are consolidating the relationship and communicating that the mining company has hegemony in the area which also can be treated as a territorial behavior.

When talking about the relationship between the territorial conflict and the mining company, there is no document, news report, statement or any proof that the company is related in any way to the 2007 mobilization or other events. However, during the interviews in Tacna, the representative from the regional government affirms that the mining company was a hidden actor in all this conflict. She explains: “*The mine is not in Huaytire, but Southern takes the water resource from there. Southern generates the biggest income to Moquegua, so*

Moquegua supports any decision in favor of the company. And for the company is convenient that the territory with the water resource belongs to Moquegua” (Interview, 10).

Taking into consideration that this declaration comes from a governmental representative from Tacna, the declaration should be treated carefully. The GRT goal is to put an end to the conflict with a favorable result, meaning Huaytire stays under Tacna jurisdiction; so they need to undermine any argument presented by their opponents. By including the mining company as a silent supporter of the Moquegua claim, Tacna is stating that the interest behind the problem is not to provide services and better care for the Huaytire population. On the contrary, Moquegua wants to support the interest of a private company. If there is any participation of the company in the territorial conflict, this has not been stated publicly. Additionally, due to not be able to interview them, I am in no position to state their opinions in the topic. Therefore, the only conclusion I can reach is that the company does not appear to be a significant actor in the territorial controversy.

5.6. Summary

Territoriality is manifested as feelings of ownership over the territory. When an event occurs involving the transgression of a geographical space, a possible result will be the appearance of territorial strategies to control and organize the contested space. These strategies will include arguments trying to prove why the territory and its population should belong to one or another community. In the Huaytire case study, every actor is proceeding according to their interests. Both regional governments are using all the possible techniques to claim that space as theirs.

The 2007 event brought the attention of Tacna authorities. After rediscovering the importance to maintain Huaytire territory within their region, Tacna authorities applied territorial strategies to communicate its possession and defend the territory. Within territoriality theory, actors will try to establish their presence in a visible manner. Based on this principle, new infrastructure was built, and social services of better quality were provided. The Regional Government of Moquegua, due to not having legal jurisdiction, had to limit its territorialization practices to constant visits, enticing local population towards Moquegua.

Locals are living under extreme conditions and have strong feelings of neglect from their administrators. They made public their dissatisfaction by reaching out to the neighboring

regional government. The petition has brought them many changes from their authorities and the town has improved in terms of buildings and social services. Also, developing programs have been created generating new sources of employment.

Lastly, the private sector does not appear to be an active participant but there are some signs that the mining company influences people's lives. This company is entailed to extract water from the Suches Lake; so there is some sort of voluntary support as retribution. Since territoriality is a geographical form of power (Sack, 1986: 55), it can be said that the company has also territorialized Huaytire. By achieving an amicable relationship with locals and implementing aid programs they have claim their hegemony and influence over the space.

Chapter 6: From local and regional territoriality to national territorial conflicts

In Chapter 5, it was shown how the 2007 event had different repercussions for the participants of the controversy by the execution of a series of strategies, in the local and regional context, to claim the territory as theirs. Those actors saw an opportunity to territorialize Huaytire by claiming ownership or establishing their presence in the area. However, the problem did not end there; in this chapter it will be presented how the local controversy is taken to a higher scale. As opposed to the explicit local and regional territorial behaviors, explained previously, in this chapter territorialization strategies are more diffuse in their presentation. This territorialization process, at the national scale, implicates different strategies in order to create a territorial demarcation conflict. Furthermore, it was aimed to include the controversy into the national database to be supervised by the authorities in charge of the territorial organization. For this I will be referring to the national scale within my research question: *What strategies are being used to territorialize Huaytire?*

The Peruvian government is conducting a plan to organize the territory through the establishment of clear boundaries at all administrative levels. As discussed in the theoretical chapter, boundaries are “symbolic representation and practical embodiment of human territoriality” (Diener & Hagen, 2012: 12). Thus, as a manifestation of these territorial behaviors, borders provide a means to assign spaces and regulate access into and/or out of specific areas (ibid: 6). If or when a territory is been contested, a strategy to gain or maintain its possession can be to undermine the veracity of the boundary line between two places. In the Huaytire context, the Regional Government of Moquegua resorted to this technique by finding reasonable legal and historical arguments to elaborate a territorial claim.

All territorial behaviors, conducted by the Regional Government of Tacna, were aimed to mark or defend the Huaytire territory. However, the Regional Government of Moquegua due to lack of jurisdiction was not allowed to invest in infrastructure or social services as was done by Tacna. Therefore, they needed to be more creative if they wanted to make their claim

heard. Their opportunity came with the Territorial Organization Plan in which it was requested that all Peruvian provinces must have a Diagnosis and Zoning Study (EDZ).

As a territoriality technique, Moquegua presented the EDZ of Mariscal Nieto, province of Moquegua, in which was included their disagreement with the boundary, stating that the Huaytire limit has not been established. Once the EDZ is approved in the National Bureau of Territorial Demarcation (DNTDT), the claim was recognized and the boundary controversy became a territorial conflict. On the whole, the EDZ was used as a legal mechanism to territorialize Huaytire by presenting convincing arguments in order to prove the absence of a legal boundary between both regions.

6.1. Territorial organization, from the regional to the national scale

In chapter 4, it was explained how the Peruvian Government was concerned with the effective internal political administrative fragmentation of the territory. Authorities believed in the implementation of a structured plan to achieve an organized territory through a clear definition of boundaries. Thus, since the early 2000's, it was decided to create several policies to regulate this division and the establishment of regional governments' domain. The objective was to consolidate regional territories in order to achieve sustainable development based on efficient resource management (DNTDT, 2013: 8). As consequence of these efforts, the demarcation conflicts have increased considerably. This does not mean new conflicts; on the contrary, most of them existed at local realities, out of the national authorities' radar.

The DNTDT since its creation was in charge of organizing the territory and creating a database of territorial demarcation problems. Their functions and objectives were written into the Territorial Demarcation and Organization Law which also established the policies to be followed by regional governments in order to define their internal and external boundaries. The first step in the Territorial Demarcation Plan is the Diagnosis and Zoning Study (EDZ), which aims to define territorial spaces from districts to regions in order to ensure an efficient administration of local and regional governments (LAW No. 27795).

Each Peruvian Region needs to elaborate an EDZ which is "*done by the regional government at the province administrative scale*" (GRM, Interview, 12). This study must be presented to the DNTDT in order to communicate the actual situation in terms of social, economic,

political characteristics and also inform the internal and external boundary situation of the province. A representative from the DNTDT explains “*the different EDZ should make a mosaic map of Peru. One EDZ must check the border situation of its adjacent province. Thus, each boundary is a reference from its neighbors*” (Interview, 2).

When several EDZs started to arrive to the DNTDT, “*many territorial issues grazed to the surface, not just between regions but between districts in the same province.*” (DNTDT rep. Interview, 3). Therefore, the organization of the territory was prioritized, where the DNTDT needed to follow, closely, these problems and reach agreements in short periods of time.

In relation to Huaytire, the Regional Government of Moquegua based on this new intra-national boundary structure was able to present the Mariscal Nieto EDZ in which, through maps and documents, the boundary controversy was established. The GRM affirms that they have conclusive evidence indicating that Huaytire territory was legally under their jurisdiction and that due to some obscure process there was a jurisdictional change in favor of Tacna. Consequently, this situation should, in their argument, be rectified.

The EDZ was the first territorial legal claim to obtain the ownership of Huaytire and Suches Lake. Once the information was made public, it was possible to talk about the Huaytire territorial conflict. A historian corroborates the impact of the Mariscal Nieto EDZ stating “*the territorial conflict per se appears very recently, and basically it is made public when Moquegua presents their Zoning Study (EDZ) to the DNTDT declaring that the Huaytire territory and Suches Lake belong to them. Even though the true problem began when authorities from Moquegua went to Huaytire offering development programs, social aid and material things*” (Interview, 4).

This new boundary information, which “*was not specified in the approved Candarave EDZ*” (DNTDT, Interview, 2), generated a series of official complaints from the Regional Government of Tacna. The GRT thought that the boundary situation was already established, hence there is no reason to listen any new claims and the case must be closed. However, the representative from the DNTDT explains that it is their “*obligation to analyze the contents of both Candarave and Mariscal Nieto Study in order to reach a solution for both parties*” (Interview, 3).

6.1.1. The message behind the Mariscal Nieto EDZ

Moquegua, as requested by law, elaborated an EDZ for each of its administrative provinces, one of those provinces being Mariscal Nieto. The Diagnostic and Zoning Study from the Mariscal Nieto evaluated the province by explaining the actual situation (politics, economics, population, environment, etc.). According to GRPPAT (2011: 1), the EDZ is considered the guiding framework for evaluation and feasibility for developing of the Technical Sanitation and Territorial Organization Proposal of the province. This study will help to establish a territorial zoning and to detect territorial demarcation problems.

Throughout the study, it is explained the characteristics of the province, districts and towns that belong to the province administration; in the text, it is included a spatial analysis of Huaytire's accessibility and economical attraction to Moquegua. Based on this analysis, "*Huaytire was identified as a place with special, social and economic characteristics that give a spatial attraction to Moquegua*" (GRM rep. Interview, 13). Additionally, it was established that the town is located in an area where "boundaries are not clear" (GRPPAT, 2011: 50); so the town needs to be mentioned in the characterization of the Mariscal Nieto Province.

The representative of the DNTDT states that the problem is revealed "*at the end, in the conclusions section of the EDZ. The document was fine; they presented some spatial flows towards Moquegua, which is ok, but at the end they presented a map (Figure 14) where they color the different controversies of the province*" (Interview, 3).

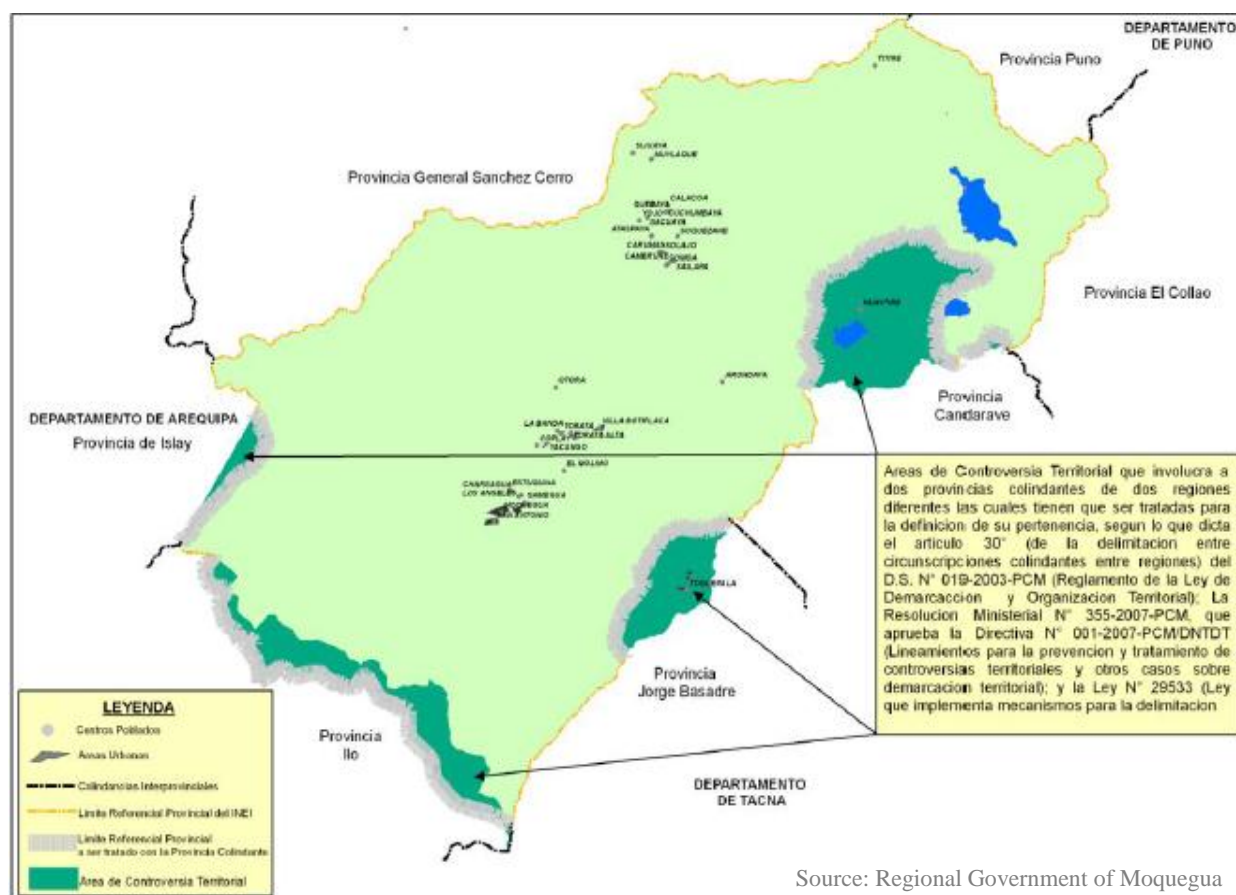


Figure 14: Territorial Conflicts Map presented by Moquegua in the Diagnosis and Zoning Study

In this map, the Mariscal Nieto province current territory is colored in light green; the grey (heavy) lines represent the limits considered mistakenly placed. The proposed new border line and their gain of territory are represented by dark green spaces. In short, the GRM represents, with dark green spaces, the territory that is not under their administration but should be. In addition to the map, the EDZ states that there is an “imprecision of boundaries” (GRPPAT, 2011: 186) in Huaytire, thus the area is considered “a interdepartmental zone of controversy and deserves special treatment” (ibid).

States or regional governments, when pursuing territorial claims, need make visible “their side of the story” (Murphy; 1990: 534); thus, maps serve as “propaganda cartography” (ibid). These images are considered a good technique to achieve a visual impact and communicate information in a simple way. And the Regional Government of Moquegua took advantage of the power of maps to represent their arguments.

The Mariscal Nieto EDZ was presented and approved by the DNTDT in 2011, a representative from the DNTDT states “most of the information provided is accurate”

(*Interview, 2*) because they are explaining the characteristics of a unique place. At the moment, this study is suspended due to the new information about the limit situation. This data must be analyze and compared with the creation laws of both provinces, Mariscal Nieto and Candarave. Additionally, the EDZ will not be accepted until both regional governments can discuss peacefully and reach an agreement on the diving line.

6.2. The territorial conflict

Taking advantage of the national context, in which an organized territory is the final goal, the Mariscal Nieto EDZ was used by the GRM as a tool to territorialize Huaytire. By claiming a territorial diffuse demarcation, Moquegua is trying to (re)gain the ownership and political administrative jurisdiction over Huaytire and its natural resources. The end game for the Moquegua government is to get restitution of the territory that used to be under their administrative control. In order to achieve the goal, they claimed a boundary discrepancy through valid supporting arguments.

Human territoriality, as a controlling force of space, needs to demarcate territories through boundary lines which are “designated to distinguished spaces controlled by members of a specific social group, symbolize the limiting of access to others, and compel certain norms of behavior” (Diener & Hagen, 2012: 58). The demarcation process is made by societies that need to own the space and “reflect their human territoriality” (Raento, 1997: 241) through the use of dividing lines. Newman (2006: 9) explains that all boundaries are artificial and can be changed at will, through agreements between neighboring politic-territorial entities, or through unilateral imposition.

When a change in boundaries is requested a territorial controversy arises. Territorial controversies will try to “define the origins of the boundary, and the behavior and arguments of different actors within a specific set of rules” (Hasson & Razin, 1990: 269). In the Huaytire case, the EDZ is the “trigger” (Prescott, 1990: 94) that leads to the territorial claim and controversy. A representative of the GRM confirms this notion stating “*noticeably the controversy was born when this study is developed and approved*” (*Interview, 14*).

After the recognition of the conflictive situation, a series of “claims and counterclaims” (Newman, 2006: 18) were made in order to support or deny the arguments presented. Over

this section it will be describe and discuss the supporting arguments, the documentation presented to validate the diffuse demarcation and the reaction of the Regional Government of Tacna.

6.2.1. Evidence to sustain Moquegua territorial claim

When the EDZ was presented to the national authorities, the DNTDT became aware of the complexity of the border situation between Moquegua and Tacna for Huaytire and Suches. A representative from the DNTDT explains “*we were not aware of the complete situation*” (Interview, 3). After the controversy was established at the national scale as a possible source of violent conflicts, the GRM put together a file presenting the necessary documentation to explain and consolidate the veracity of their territorial claims.

The first statement done by the Major of Moquegua indicated that the EDZ is not supposed to define the boundary situation between two regions; and the only entity capable of doing it is the National Congress. However, the EDZ needed to include their territorial claim because this diffuse boundary is part of the province problems. (La Región, 2012). With this declaration, Moquegua recognized that as a regional government, they do not have the power to establish areas of controversy. Nonetheless, it was their duty to make public the controversy.

Basically, Moquegua has presented two main justifications based on historical and legal arguments. In the former, they used oral history, maps and census to demonstrate their ownership allegations towards Huaytire. In the latter, Peruvian legislation was presented to document a loophole in the creation law of Candarave where there is not detailed boundary line.

Historical arguments are used constantly in territorial claims. Murphy (1990: 532) explains that the justifications offered in support of territorial claims are almost invariably couched in terms of recovery of territory that historically belonged to the claiming state. The Regional Government of Moquegua developed a Specialized Study enclosing historical documentation. The purpose was to collect as many documents as possible to create a historical panorama where Huaytire territory, after the Independence, was placed under their jurisdiction and only recently, this territory was taken from them.

In order to create this historical justification, the first step was to use local oral history in which they found several informants stating that Huaytire, indeed, was Moquegua's territory. A representative from the GRM explains: *"we started to collect historical information related to the Huaytire area. The process started by interviewing older people in Moquegua, they talked about Huaytire belonging to Moquegua in the past, and this fact was common knowledge at the time. That information led us to search and analyze documents and maps which later come to be the source of our claim for that territory"* (Interview, 14).

Additionally to interviews, the GRM was able to find census and maps from the 19th and early 20th century, where Huaytire was included in Moquegua's territory. The representative of the Moquegua states: *"for example in the census from the 1940's Huaytire was in Moquegua, for some reason it changes in 1981 census. And the census maps say the same"* (Interview, 14). All censuses are accompanied by the respective maps. The use of maps as justification of territorial claims is not uncommon. Murphy (1990: 534) explains that in the pursuit of territorial claims, maps are a primary tool for this endeavor. Still, let's not forget that maps are social constructed forms of knowledge and they are never value free (Harley, 2009: 129). Maps will always show the bias of their makers.

Moquegua, as one of its territorialization strategies, elaborated the 'Specialized Study for the Purposes of Territorial Demarcation' in which it is presented a series of maps showing different demarcation lines from what current maps show. For example, the census of 1961 was accompanied by the map of Tacna (Figure 15). In this map it is obvious that the shape of the northern border of Tacna does not match the current territorial demarcation, therefore the Huaytire territory is not included.

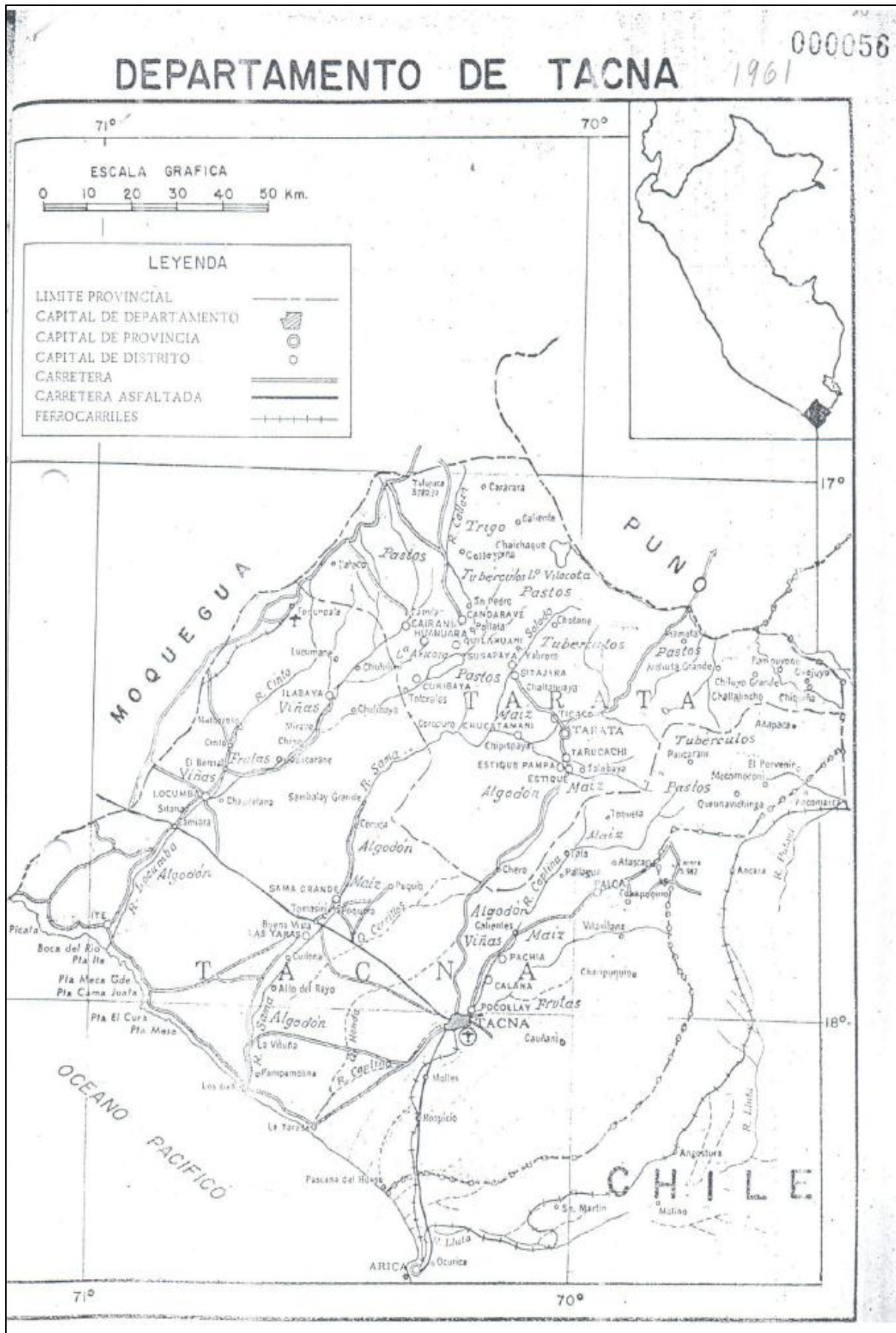


Figure 15: Map of Tacna from 1961

The second argument was based on the Territorial Demarcation Legislation and the analysis of the Creation laws of the provinces involved in the controversy (Mariscal Nieto and Candarave). It is known that “Mariscal Nieto province does not have a creation law stipulating its legal limits” (GRM, 2007: 6). So the Regional Government of Moquegua had to analyze the 1988 Creation Law of Candarave Province, which have some “*legal gaps because there are spaces where the limit line is not defined*” (GRM rep. Interview, 14). This law describes in detail all the borders of the Candarave province; but in relation to the Huaytire boundary, the law states that the Candarave Province limits in the north-west, north and northeast are with the departments of Puno and Moquegua, following the departmental border, from the peak of Toro hill to reach the summit of San Francisco Mountain. According to GRM (2007: 18), the law “does not describe the direction or orientation of the limit line”.

Based on this description, authorities believed that the boundary does not match what the law describes, consequently the “*Moquegua made a formal petition to the National Geographic Institute (IGN) to interpret and draw the line based on the law*” (DNTDT, Interview, 13). The IGN through a Technical Report (2012) informs that they have read and analyzed the Candarave creation law and have concluded that the “law does not mention any geographical entities for which the limit line will pass; therefore the boundary is not ‘cartointerpretable’”.

The National Geographic Institute, as the official mapping agency in the territorial organization of Peru, has define two types of boundaries: (1) ‘cartointerpretable’ and (2) ‘aproximativos’. In the lecture, GIS application in the territorial demarcation, it is explained the meaning of both concepts. ‘Cartointerpretable’ refers to the “lines that are the product of cartographic interpretation of the Creation Laws and/or amendments, which are clear and not necessarily lend themselves to ambiguity”. And ‘aproximativos’ means the “lines that are products of cartographic interpretation of the Creation Laws y/o amendments, but these in turn are vague or ambiguous”.

Authorities in Moquegua alleged that the collected historical documentation accompanied by the IGN affirmation that the line is not ‘cartointerpretable’ was enough evidence to sustain the GRM claims about the ownership of Huaytire’s territory and Suches Lake. Additionally, the GRM hired a group of specialists to develop their interpretation of the boundary line in the national cartography (Figure 16).

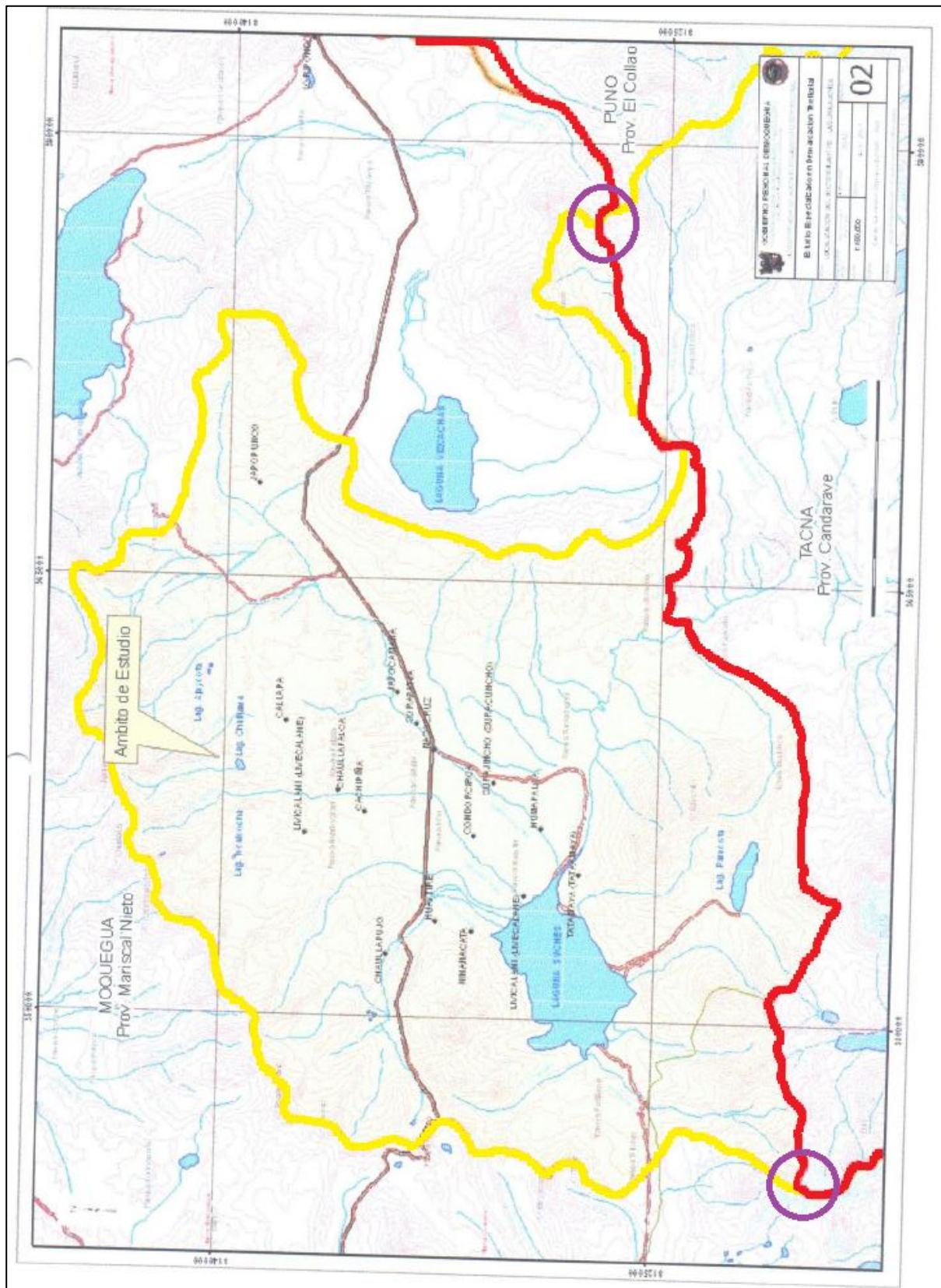


Figure 16: Current and Proposed Boundary, demarcating the disputed territory between Tacna and Moquegua¹¹

¹¹ Map included in the Estudio Especializado para fines de Demarcación Territorial del sector de Huaytire y Laguna de Suches. This map was elaborated by the Regional Government of Moquegua.

In this map presented in the mentioned Specialized Study is possible to observe the current boundary (yellow line) that defines the separation between both Regions. In addition, it is being drawn the Moquegua interpretation of the boundary (red line) based on the natural features - el Toro and San Francisco mountains (purple circles) - mentioned in the Candarave Creation Law. Their interpretation of the law will put under Moquegua jurisdiction a considerable amount of land and several disperse population living on that territory. Furthermore, Huaytire town and Suches Lake will also belong to the Moquegua political administrative jurisdiction.

Both arguments, historical and legal, are heavily illustrated by maps showing the difference between the current and old -proposed- boundary. The use of maps, by the GRM, is considered a territorial strategy because maps are inventions to control the space. Generally, they are used as land division manuals, but also as social apparatus for legally regulating the land (Harley, 2009: 134). As mentioned, maps, due to their communicative function, are used as propaganda tools; their images convey “historical codes” (ibid: 129). The actor who elaborates them can show biased information in order to reach a bigger audience.

In summary, The GRM (2007: 6) considers that the issue of the territorial demarcation in the Huaytire case arises due to the (1) lack and inaccuracy of its territorial limit, (2) the fast and disorderly growth of district creations which brought the irrational division of the provinces, and (3) the Ancient Province and District Creation laws. And by presenting the complementary documents and maps, they are attempting to prove that the Huaytire territory in the past was under their jurisdiction.

6.2.2. Tacna standpoint within the territorial conflict

On September 2012, a second wave of mobilizations emerged in Tacna, when the DNTDT published the Mariscal Nieto Diagnosis and Zoning Study. The news reported that Moquegua established the Suches Lake and Huaytire as their territory (La Republica, 2012). Once the news reached both, the authorities and the population of Tacna, there were several public protests rejecting this information.

When the Mariscal Nieto EDZ was approved by the DNTDT and the territorial conflict is legalized, *“Tacna made a formal appeal to the DNTDT stating that the Mariscal Nieto EDZ*

infringed their limits; in simple words, Tacna says that their limits are established and Moquegua disagrees with those limits” (DNTDT, Interview, 3). The GRT is not interested in talking about an inexistent conflict; the representative from Moquegua states *“Tacna authorities say that they do not have to participate in a conflict that has been already solved” (Interview, 13).*

Tacna has been clear in its position with respect to Moquegua declarations. They maintain that there is nothing to talk about because the Huaytire boundaries were demarcated by law and there is no doubt about the ownership of Huaytire and Suches. A representative of the Regional Government of Tacna affirms *“in 2005, if I am not mistaken, the Candarave EDZ is approved. Those studies are based on referential boundaries (when there is no law) and on legal boundaries. In our case (Tacna), we had the creation law, and according to that law the lines were drawn. This was explained in the EDZ and the PCM and DNTDT approved our document long before the Mariscal Nieto EDZ was even elaborated” (Interview, 10).*

Tacna, despite the firmness of the no-negotiation position, has addressed and counterclaimed one of the arguments presented by Moquegua authorities. As described previously in this chapter, one of the Moquegua arguments explains that the Candarave creation Law (No. 24887) is not clear in the boundary description, leaving some territorial spaces open. The representative from Tacna clarifies: *“it is true that the Candarave law, from 1988, mentions two geographic attributes (mountains) to define the limits, but the description of the border is not detailed. That is why in the next article of the law, it is said that the limits description is drawn based on the national cartography and the maps are attached to the law file” (Interview, 10).*

In other words, the Candarave law was accompanied by a series of maps where the boundary or departmental line was drawn following the watershed limits; and in those maps, Huaytire and Suches Lake were included in the territory assigned to Candarave Province. Since that time, Huaytire was legally included under the supervision of the Municipality of Candarave, region of Tacna. A representative from the Ombudsman office, headquarters Tacna, confirms that *“the limits were established cartographically. For the Regional Government of Tacna, there is no boundary problem because this is already settled in the law if there were no legal instrument to clarify this situation, there could be a conflict” (Interview, 17).*

Based on those reasons, the Regional Government of Tacna has refused to participate in any meeting concerning the Huaytire territorial conflict. Furthermore, the Regional Government of Moquegua tried to establish a meeting to have a conversation about the boundaries, the living conditions in Huaytire and the possible joint effort to attend local needs. Nevertheless, Tacna has remained confident in their ownership over Huaytire and Suches Lake.

6.3. The future of the Huaytire territorial conflict

The legal definition of who owns what part of land and population is in the hands of the regional governments with their supporting arguments and the DNTDT. The three institutions must engage in a dialogue to reach an agreement and finalize the details of the Huaytire boundary.

According to national legislation, there are several mechanisms to approach this situation like consultation processes, roundtables with the actors involved in the conflict or just the decision of the DNTDT based on the presented arguments. The Territorial Demarcation and Organization Law (No. 27795) has different stages to attend boundary problems; one of the options is to realize a referendum in which Huaytire population will vote to which region they want to go. This process could be an easy solution to the territorial conflict based on local's desires, however, at the moment, Peruvian legislation, does not allow that type of process because the problem is between two different regions. The representative of the Regional Government of Tacna explains that *“at some point the Regional Government of Moquegua talked about territorial annexation (procedure included in the territorial demarcation law); however, they forgot that at the moment, it is not an option between regions, this only can be done when the conflict is between provinces or districts. Nonetheless, in the future these regulations can be changed”* (Interview, 9).

A representative of the DNTDT confirms that at the moment *“there is no room for Huaytire population or the GRM to ask to vote to which administration they desire to go. This annexation petition could be done when the national government implements the regionalization process”* (Interview, 2).

A second option to solve the problem is the establishment of a roundtable to discuss the border situation; this approach has the potential to reach an agreement between both regions.

Even so, the representative of the GRM states that “Moquegua, *as an institution, agreed to assemble a roundtable to talk peacefully, however, Tacna continues with their position that there is nothing to talk about, the problem is solved*”. Additionally, the director of the Ombudsman office in Moquegua reports that “*the conflict is considered latent by the DNTDT, but, to date there has been no mechanism to resolve it. According to the law both regional governments should set up a joint technical committee, led or advised by the IGN and the DNTDT to compile a Delimitation Technical File and determine the best way to proceed*” (Interview, 14).

There are several possible mechanisms to adopt in order to solve the boundary problem in Huaytire. All of them include the opinions of all the social actors in the controversy. However, for reasons unknown or unclear to me, there has not been a more active approach to reach a solution for the Huaytire conflict. A representative from the Regional Government of Moquegua informs that the conflict “*at every scale is in standby. There is noise about it*” (Interview, 13) but there is no a final decision. In the future, one or more than one process or different territorial strategies might be necessary to demarcate the territory and put an end to the territorial conflict.

6.4. Summary

Territorial behaviors are directed to different scales and can be manifested in different ways. Individuals try to find the best approach to territorialize the desired territory. The Regional Government of Moquegua found this opening in the territorial demarcation and organization legislation. Through the elaboration of the Diagnosis and Zoning Study of the Mariscal Nieto Province, the GRM was able to bring into question the existing boundary line between Tacna and Moquegua in the Huaytire area. Boundaries, as social constructs, are artificial lines, drawn to delimitate spaces where societies or ruling groups can execute their policies and projects.

Based on the Mariscal Nieto EDZ, and further historical documentation, the Huaytire territorial conflict was shaped at the national administrative scale. The arguments presented to sustain the claims are based on oral history, documents, census and maps dating back to the Republic era. A second supporting argument is based on local legislation. The Moquegua

government has tried to demonstrate their ownership by undermining the Candarave creation law and the lack of detail in the description of the border.

What is important to emphasize is that both arguments are profoundly accompanied by maps which are trying to prove that the territory was in their possession. Maps can be considered tools of territoriality due to its organizing and communicative nature. Studies presented by Moquegua include copies of maps elaborated in the early- mid 19th century. Additionally, the studies mention older maps but those are not included. The role of the maps, for this case, is to indicate the veracity of the boundary proposed by Moquegua.

On the other hand, Tacna has retained the same position over the years, the GRT considers that the boundary was established in 1988 with the Candarave Creation Law and rectified in 2005 with the approval of the Candarave EDZ. Since 2012, the conflict has been reported as latent; nevertheless, no resolution mechanism has been applied. During the interviews at the DNTDT, their representative indicated that the conflict is in stand-by due to disagreements in the manner to proceed and at the moment their concern is directed to other territorial conflicts.

Chapter 7: Conclusions

Throughout this master thesis, my goal has been to understand the Huaytire situation through the territoriality perspective. For this, I designed the research question: *What strategies are being used to territorialize Huaytire?* Due to the diverse list of territorial strategies used, the answer to the research question had to be analyzed according to the political administrative scale in which those were applied. In addition, I have tried to interconnect the use of territorial behaviors as a possible source behind the development of territorial conflicts.

In this final chapter I will answer my main research question as a summary of the encountered territorial strategies. Next, I will discuss the importance of the territorial conflict and how the historical and legal justifications are based, also, on territoriality. Lastly, I will argue that not all territorial strategies are suited to be used in the same political scales. On the contrary, the scale in which the strategies are going to be applied will influence the type of behavior to be implemented.

7.1. Identified territorial strategies

The territoriality literature explains that people or groups of individuals will try to establish their presence into a geographical space. The objective is to execute their policies, control the space, and deny or/and admit access to the natural resources inside the territory. Due to the necessity to protect a territory, boundaries become an effective mechanism to differentiate what is yours from what is mine. Additionally, to create a demarcated space, people need to behave territorially in order to communicate to the neighbors or visitors that someone has already claimed the ownership of the territory. That is why in order to show this territoriality, different actors will resort to different techniques to manifest their appropriation and attachment to the territory.

The events, actions and reactions observed in Huaytire relate to the territoriality framework proposed. In 2007, the small community witnessed a rare event. The Regional Government of Moquegua paid a visit to the town in order to offer social services and jobs to improve the

living conditions of the local population. The visit was considered by Tacna authorities as a territorial intrusion. Moquegua authorities excused their presence stating that they were invited by the town population in an informal petition.

The Huaytire population, besides being situated in a remote location has been living under extreme conditions. Feelings of abandonment are common to be heard. Locals, during fieldwork interviews, expressed strong opinions about being forgotten by their regional representatives. In several occasions, locals manifested that they did not receive any type of development aid and the few social services, were not of quality. After many years, it was decided to take action in order to change their situation. The request for support to Moquegua is considered a manifestation of territoriality. Locals through their territorial actions were trying to control their living situation. Also, it could be said that the petition was designed to get a reaction from both regional governments in order to improve the local's quality of life.

This mobilization became the turning point for the Huaytire population. Several territorial behaviors started to be implemented in order to territorialize Huaytire. These actions were designed to mark, defend or acquire the overlapping territory. As the legal manager of Huaytire, the Regional Government of Tacna deemed of importance to re-establish their relationship with locals. On the other hand, the authorities of Moquegua aware of the possible importance of Huaytire to their region and motivated, according to them, by the lack of development on the area continued to visit the town. Moreover, strategies were formed to acquire the legal management of the town.

The territorialization of Huaytire by the Regional Government of Tacna was conducted as a defense mechanism against the 'expansionism' of Moquegua and as a protectionist discourse towards the population. Between the territorial behaviors found, there is the organization of a vigil to protect the territory from future trespassing activities. This was one of the first actions taken after the mobilization. Additionally, the regional government, shortly, started with its territorialization process. First of all, the necessity to defend the territory came with new buildings followed by the improvement of quality in certain social services. Next, taking into consideration the few sources of income for the local population, several programs were designed to create more employment and future development of the town. To reaffirm their presence in the area, several public hearings were also organized. Authorities from Tacna visited Huaytire, in several occasions, to hear local's problems. Overall, Tacna's territoriality

aimed to control, mark and defend the territory at the local level. The purpose was to protect its population and preserve their political administrative jurisdiction over Huaytire.

On the other hand, the Regional Government of Moquegua continued their territorialization by visiting the town on several occasions. In those visits, authorities spoke to the population about the benefits of the change of jurisdiction. These benefits included plans to create new sources of employment. During one particular visit an offer was made in which the locals should change their ID document to an address in Moquegua. In return, they would get the opportunity to have access to better health services. Besides these local strategies, the Moquegua government, based on the premise to acquire possession of the town's territory, presented a territorial claim. They considered that the current boundary was inaccurate. Within territoriality, boundaries are considered the tools to demarcate the space, creating territories where people can act according to their own rules. When those boundaries are contested, territorial behaviors can arise in order to secure the access to the space. By stating a boundary disconformity, the Regional Government of Moquegua, established the basis of the Huaytire territorial conflict at the national scale.

The last participant is the private sector. The mining company is not a significant actor in the controversy. However it has been cited, by Tacna governmental representatives, that the company's hidden agenda is the reason behind Moquegua's pursuit of this territorial conflict. It is difficult to verify if these allegations are true or false. However, it is possible to describe the amicable relationship between locals and the company. Although, locals do not talk openly about this relationship, I was able to witness one of the educational programs implemented by the company.

The Huaytire case study has been identified and analyzed at three Peruvian political administrative levels. The problem started at the local scale, with the annexation petition to the Moquegua regional government. Once the regional authorities were approached, the relation between the local and regional scale was established through the application of several territorialization techniques. The second stage in this problematic situation is represented by the territorial conflict. Within the organization plan, a territorial claim was presented, requiring the supervision of authorities at the national scale. At this stage, with the manifestation of the territorial conflict and consequent arguments supporting the claim, the local scale was left behind, concentrating in the resolution of the problem between the national and regional authorities.

Additionally, it must be stated that all of the participants on the Huaytire case might have different interests and goals to achieve in their territorial practices. The actors involved have different perspectives of what is happening and have expectations of the possible outcomes based on the applied territorial strategies. For instance, both regional governments believe they are entitled to that territory and commonly express that the place belongs to them by culture, tradition and history. One of them is trying to reestablish its presence and the other is attempting to claim ownership of a geographic space. Meanwhile, locals are trying to secure a better future for them and integrate themselves into a larger group or society that will take care of them.

7.2. The Huaytire territorial conflict

In Chapter 6 was discussed how certain territorial behaviors were established to incorporate the national authorities into the Huaytire situation. The opportunity for the Regional Government of Moquegua came with the territorial organization plan proposed by the national government. The tool created for this purpose was Diagnosis and Zoning Study which concerned all provinces in Peru. One of the objectives of this study is the characterization of the province in terms of boundaries. Based on this EDZ, the authorities of Moquegua used their territoriality to undermine the current boundary line that separates Tacna and Moquegua territories.

There is no doubt that boundaries in territoriality are key elements when establishing and defending territories (Mountz, 2009: 201). Boundaries serve to differentiate territories belonging to different groups of people. These markers are products of social relationships and can be contested, generating conflicts over territories. As stated territorial conflicts might be a consequence of territorial behaviors. Diener & Hagen (2012: 63) argue that different groups have overlapping senses of territoriality, meaning two or more governments (at any scale) claim the same land as their influence area. The claim must be based on strong arguments which can rely on history, economy, and culture, among others.

The Huaytire territorial conflict started as a territorial strategy. By disregarding the current boundaries, a claim was presented in order to acquire the ownership of Huaytire. However, the situation evolved into a territorial conflict on its own, supported, at the same time, by

other type of territorial strategies. Before analyzing these new territorial strategies, there are some characteristics in territorial conflicts that should be presented.

Based on the designed theoretical framework, when analyzing territorial conflicts, Mason and Spillmann (n.d.: 3) proposed some basic components to be recognized. First of all, it is necessary to identify the issue at stake. As mentioned, this topic has remained a mystery to me. I have not been able to identify a decisive element leading to the territorialization of Huaytire. The ambitions and reasons for each region to own the town and its land are diverse. Each governmental representative presents a different answer to what is at stake. For the representatives of Tacna the *“the issue here is that there is a water resource”* (Interview, 10). On the other hand, Moquegua representatives affirm that their concern for the population and *“the lack of attention (in Huaytire) is their justification”* (Interview, 13). Both answers can be valid according to the specific *“interest and points of view”* (Hasson & Razin, 1990: 272). These contradictory statements reveal a complex situation where one or more factors and motives might be behind the territorial claim.

A second component to identify is the actors behind the territorial conflict. In the Huaytire case, there are three main groups. The first group is the local population. The second group is composed by the representatives of both regional governments and the third group is represented by the national government. A third element is the form of the conflict; national authorities have defined the Huaytire territorial conflict as latent due to sporadic mobilizations

Territorial conflicts should be accompanied by arguments or evidence supporting the territorial claim. Murphy (1990: 531) explains that the justifications offered in support of their actions play an important role in shaping territorial conflicts. A common argument is the historical justification in which if the territory was controlled by a state at any time but the control was subsequently and involuntarily lost, the state can be entitled to restitution (ibid: 544). For the purposes of reclaiming the territory, Moquegua government presented an historical and legal argument based on old documents.

Through the analysis of the territorial conflict what came as an interesting topic is that the territorial conflict as a territorial behavior is also supported by other territorial strategies. The arguments used to convey their point of view are also territorial strategies. The Regional Government of Moquegua based their arguments in old documents which included maps, census and laws. The use of maps in territorial conflicts is common; maps are created to

deliver specific messages through images. These social constructed maps are created to “control space and facilitate the geographical expansion” (Harley, 2009: 130) which at the same time is the application of territoriality.

An inconvenience when trying to establish a theoretical baseline for territorial conflicts is the deficiency on literature about intra-national borders and their conflictive nature. Territorial conflicts are subjected to several articles and books, however, most of them will only approach the international sphere. It is true that the international division of the world is structured with the same rules, and there are institutions supervising the process. Also, the fragmentation and organization of the intra-national territory into political administrative scales does not have a strict guideline. Every country is free to create the governing scale as they consider appropriate. However, this freedom to divide internal territory can cause a higher amount of intra-national territorial conflicts. And without a framework to regulate or analyze them, the complexity of these situations can increase considerably.

7.3. Territoriality in Huaytire

Territoriality, according to Sack (1986: 216) “can result in the joint employment of a specific group of tendencies” to achieve control over space. The aim of this thesis has been to identify these tendencies and relate them as territorial behaviors with a purpose behind them. The Huaytire case study provided a social context in which several actors (mainly two regional governments) applied strategies in order to territorialize the town and its territory. As stated, territorial behaviors as a human social characteristic, serves diverse purposes. Overall, my theoretical framework proposes that the reason behind the implementation of strategies is to defend, communicate and organize occupied spaces.

In Chapter 5 and 6, it has been explained in detail which strategies were applied by both regional governments, and the purpose behind every action. Figure 17 shows a summarized version of which territorial behaviors were found. Moreover, I have made a distinction between the actions taken at the local and national scale by a regional actor.

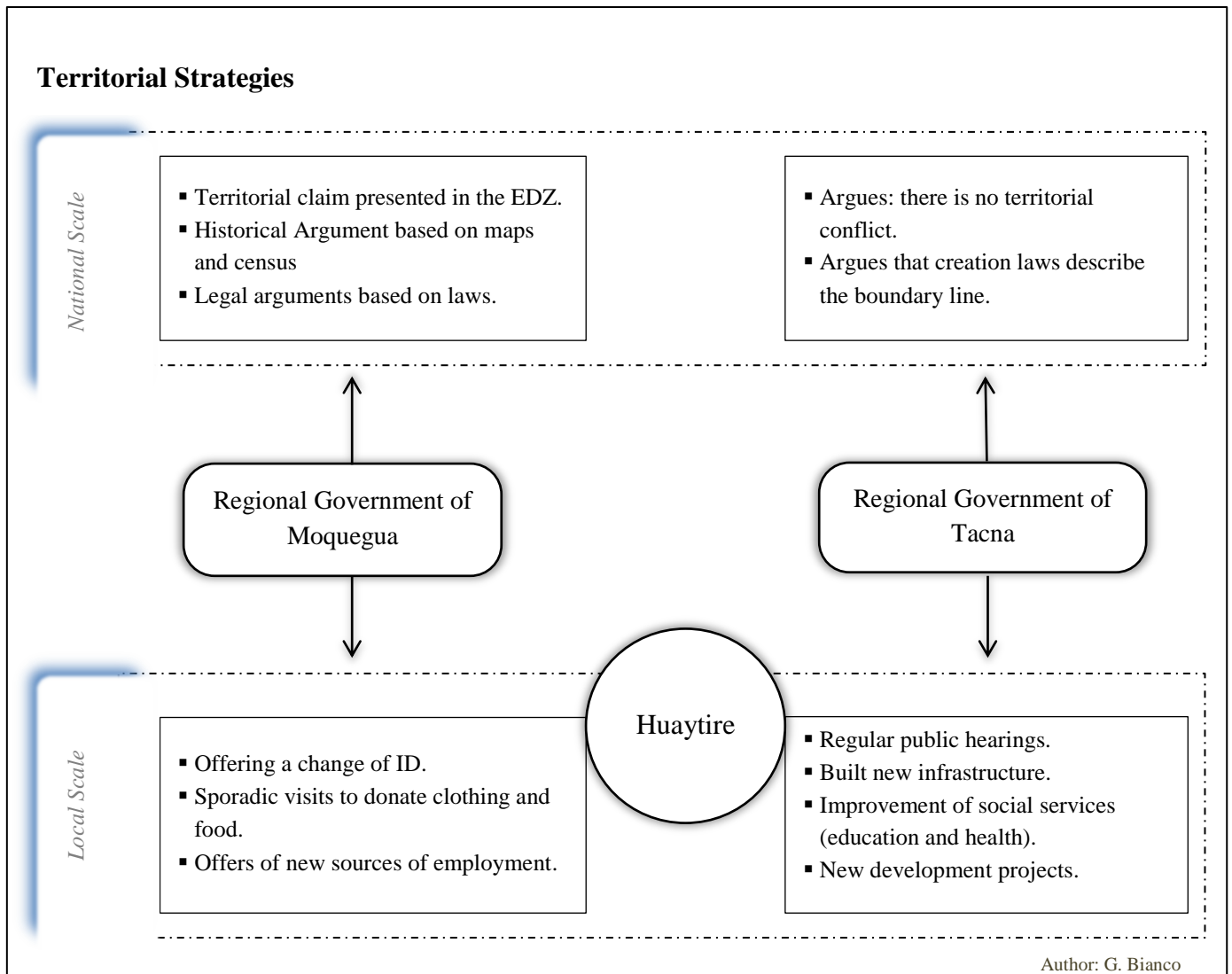


Figure 17: Strategies used in the Territorialization of Huaytire

The different territorial strategies to be used will “depend on the social context of who is actually using territoriality and for what purposes” (Sack, 1986: 217). The reasons behind territoriality can vary according to the actors executing the territorialization process. And every space has its own characteristics that will also influence in the implementation of these territorial behaviors. The Huaytire case is not different. Each of the territorializing actors has a purpose driving their actions. For the Regional Government of Tacna, the main goal is to re-establish its tangible control over the area. Meanwhile, the Regional Government of Moquegua is trying to acquire control over the same space. Thus, the implementation of these strategies was planned to influence specific audiences.

As seen on figure 17, a convenient approach was to differentiate which strategies were formulated for the national or local scale. It also can be noticed that there is no repetition, according to scale, of the strategies used. The Regional Government of Tacna directed its territoriality efforts to the local scale. Similarly, the Regional Government of Moquegua also applied a package of territorial strategies at the local level; however the extend of its influence was not satisfactory. Thus, Moquegua authorities changed their perspective, re-directing its territorialization process to the national scale. Their actions were focused to the creation of a boundary conflict supported by historical data. In general, Tacna authorities have tried to avoid any interaction or territorialization technique at the national scale. Their position has remained the same: there is no boundary controversy or territorial conflict to be discussed.

One key finding is that scale is important to territoriality. Newman (2006: 26) agrees stating “particular attention should be paid to the different scale dimensions of territorial behaviors”. However, it is not common to find detailed theoretical work about the strategies used at different scales. Most of the time, territorial actions are driven by one or more functions (organize, defend and communicate) of territoriality. Nonetheless, it is impossible to categorize all possible territorial behaviors. What is important is to differentiate that strategies will be applied in accordance to the listeners and the locality to which is aimed to influence.

Through my analysis of the Huaytire case study, I have found that there are territorial strategies that might influence one sphere more than the other. Not all the strategies can have the same impact, on different listeners, when delivering a specific message. Therefore, not all territorial strategies can be executed at the same scales or social context. Taking the example of the territorial conflict, this strategy is used to communicate a problem with boundaries. The goal behind the not-recognition of the boundary is to gain the desired territory. But this strategy in order to reach appropriate listeners has to involve the national authorities. Thus, it has to be applied at the national scale if is aiming to be a successful technique. A territorial conflict not validated by the national authorities will lack fundament and it will not transcend the local or regional status. After analyzing the different territorial strategies according to the political administrative Peruvian scale, I would suggest that research should go beyond the identification of territorial behaviors. Instead, it should be focused on the purposes, scales and audience to who is directed.

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Appendix A: List of Informants

Interview 1: Saturnino Paquera / Major of Huaytire

Interview 2: John Beraún / DNTDT

Interview 3: Tania Burstein / DNTDT

Interview 4: Julio Cesar Ferreyra León / freelance historian

Interview 5: Milton Siña / Coordinator of Agriculture Office - Huaytire

Interview 6: Saturnino Escobar / President of the Trout Association in Huaytire

Interview 7: Erasmo Flores / Ex-Major of Huaytire

Interview 8: Mario Copa / Ex-Major of Candarave

Interview 9: German Cutimbo / Regional Government of Tacna

Interview 10: Grace Benítez / Regional Government of Tacna

Interview 11: Hernán Cubas / Defensoría del Pueblo Moquegua

Interview 12: José Pérez / Regional Government of Moquegua

Interview 13: Renato Rojas / Regional Government of Moquegua

Interview 14: Glider Aguilar / Regional Government of Moquegua

Interview 15: Adrián Ale Ale / Director of the Local Water Authority

Interview 16: Juan Quispe / Technician at the Local Water Authority

Interview 17: Miguel Ángel Uscuchagua Gálvez / Defensoría del Pueblo Tacna

Interview 18: Luis Alberto Catachura / Huaytire School Principal

Interview 19: Anonymous Female - Huaytire

Interview 20: Anonymous Male - Huaytire

Interview 21: Anonymous Female - Huaytire

Interview 22: Anonymous Female - Huaytire

Interview 23: Anonymous Female – Huaytire