Diplomacy and Diversity: Intercultural Dialogues and Collaborations in Tarapacá (Northern Chile, Atacama Desert)

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Abstract

We present three case studies illustrating how the relationships between academic teams and local communities in northern Chile (in the middle of Atacama Desert) aided in the reconstruction of the past, the enhancement of heritage and the recognition of Indigenous rights. First, we discuss intercultural dialogues with the Mocha community regarding archaeological projects on the millenary history of humans and non-humans in the Tarapacá territory, which led to further collaborations with the neighboring Huaviña community, where we are in the process of co-writing a book about their past on their own terms. Second, we analyze the anthropological and archaeological reports mandated by the communities of Camiña and Quipisca according to their own defense processes of their ancestral lands. Third, we reflect on a co-produced cultural project with Nama community, which included heritage and museum interpretation at the

nearby archaeological site, designed and developed together with researchers. These case studies are used to illumine the relevance of writing as a diplomatic process in the context of diverse social realities.

Introduction: Decolonial considerations

Through archaeological and ethnographic research in the Tarapacá region, several exchanges and collaborative experiences have been conducted with Andean communities. There is a shared commitment amongst community members and anthropologists/archaeologists to foster dialogues and joint initiatives between academic scientific knowledge and ancestral wisdom. Interactions between these different ways of thinking and living must be carried out through symmetrical and reciprocal relationships But, it is important to keep in mind that the approaches of each are not equivalent and that both have their own particular practices, narratives, methodologies and conceptualisations.

Taking into account the coloniality of power in Latin America (Mignolo 2007; Quijano 2000), internalised colonialism in Africa (Fanon 2004), and the decolonial studies in Asia (Bhabha 1990; Chatterjee 2008), it has become clear that subjectivity and knowledge are arenas to which the violence of the modern colonial world is transferred. Subalternised and marginalised populations carry out their own decolonisation alongside that of their national governments/states and the international organisations that have influence over them. There is a coloniality of time, imagination, sensorialities and affinities. Indigenous archaeology in South America declares a decolonial or postcolonial perspective (Acuto 2025; Ayala 2024; Haber 2017; amongst others), echoing similar discussions and reflections in the fields of anthropology and history (Castro 2009; Goldman 2024; Hale and Millamán 2006; Nahuelpán 2013; Platt 2018; Rappaport 2007; Rivera Cusicanqui 2018; Spedding 2008; amongst others). Counter-hegemonic and emancipatory powers are made visible and activated, demanding committed and situated practices in the territories, as well as greater participation of local communities.

These experiences situate us within the contemporaneity of Andean worlds, where we are keen to nurture diversity and diplomacy at its edges. The three following case studies are used to provoke reflection, with the understanding that such provocation is always virtual and requires constant actualisations. We

contend that one of the mechanisms through which ongoing actualisation can be enacted is within the very practice of writing and so follow Latour's view (2007) that the report or the manuscript is the laboratory of the social scientists.

It is evident that more social science work engaged with community voices is needed, and with that must come a renewal of methods and concepts. However, we must not idealise or homogenise communities that face their own ambiguities and inner conflicts. Within each community there are different visions of what is needed for their territories. Factors such as diverse political ideologies and religious cults that coexist with ancestral wisdoms, varying economic capacities and educative formations, along with tensions between persons, families, and generations add layers of complexity.

Writing can become an exercise in diplomacy and relationality not necessarily by making local voices speak within the academic circuits nor by merely incorporating their perspectives in our texts. Such practice may also risk generating totalizing or essentialist interpretations that reduce the theoretical vision to fixed compositional schemes. Rather, writing can create a kaleidoscopic landscape of the diverse practices emerging through interactions with the environment and the many beings that dwell within it. Archaeological writing engages us with the power of material situations themselves and inspires us to describe their relational terms and transformative possibilities.

Writing cosmopolitics in Andean relational worlds

Cultivating Andean identities under hegemonic neoliberal logic requires challenging and demanding diplomatic work, as does writing and inhabiting them on the margins of modern thought. Diplomacy is a social technology of belonging that builds provisional bridges between dissenting interests and articulates holistic, local and contextual approaches in which previous contradictions co-exist in positive contrast (Stengers 2005: 186). Its achievement is a cosmopolitical event that succeeds in facilitating communication between divergent parts, with each symmetrically involved in the performance of a shared agreement (Stengers 2014).

'Ecology of practices' (Stengers 2005: 184) is a concept that allows us to go beyond the particular, recognising and understanding something that transcends the appearance of singularity. The emphasis on context, as material and discursive surroundings, entails a gravitational complex within manifold matters

of attention and importance (Despret 2022). There are multiple negotiated social and analytical relationships among heterogeneous—even seemingly divergent—socio-cultural and historical dispositions. The challenge is to avoid the temptation to approach them only through their processes of integration and stabilisation, but rather also by capturing their dynamics of heterogenisation and contradiction.

Andean peoples are actors and co-creators of dissonant modernities. They are undertaking their own cultural revitalisation (Arnold 2018; Salcedo 2024; van Kessel and Condori 1992; Weismantel 2001; amongst others), facing political demands and defence processes against extractive companies and state projects (Acuto 2025; Ayala 2024; Urrutia and Uribe 2021; amongst others), as well as the challenges of recreating their own relational modes and social forms in order to build larger collective projects (de la Cadena 2001; Platt 2018; Rivera Cusicanqui 2018; amongst others). In these processes, heterodoxy flows from an uneven encounter between two divergent systems that become mutually juxtaposed, creating new intercultural conceptions and practices that irrevocably changed the original forms and forces (Mills 2007; Odone et al. 2023; Spedding 2008).

Diplomacy asserts diversity through the cultivation of multiplicities at the boundaries of many worlds, taking seriously the transformative power generated by the performance of ritual (Stengers 2005: 194). Within this framework, our team has engaged for over two decades in archaeological and anthropological research in Tarapacá region with local communities (fig. 1). Intercultural dialogues and collaborations are experienced under tensegrity, as a movement of tension and understanding: a dance around limit and possibility between the many actors involved. There is, in short, no single way to go through.

Diplomacy in action

Diplomatic writing is a demanding and challenging praxis because it needs constant collaboration with local communities and their ancestral territories. This makes us vulnerable to their own associations, affinities, conflicts, and contradictions. The variability of social organisation—past and present, human and non-human—becomes more complex and difficult to appraise. But yet more nourishing, as we recognize how societies are continuously being performed through variability of ways of being with one's surroundings (Despret 2022;

Haraway 1991; Strum and Latour 1987; Stengers 2005) .

The three study cases each required different styles of writing to reflect their unique ecologies of intercultural practices. The first consists of scientific projects based on archaeological ethnographies in Mocha that incorporate local ontologies through communal living and knowledge circulation. In this case, the academic themes and research questions were not necessarily related to local contingencies and matters of importance. Nevertheless, our investigations were still dedicated towards enhancing the community's relational perspectives on the past, while also addressing our own research goals. Our successful intercultural dialogues in Mocha naturally flowed into collaborations with Huaviña, a neighbour of the former, where we co-produced a book on the Huaviña past.

The second experience in Camiña and Quipisca involves a case of activist participation on of researchers in the political demands and the defense of ancestral territory, as the community leadership requested anthropological and archaeological reports to support their legal struggles and negotiation processes. Nama is the third, community-led, case study. There, the archaeological sites near the village are well known, and knowledge about them continues to be circulated, so local community members proposed a collaborative heritage interpretation project to the research team. Their objective was to preserve these sites, make them accessible to visitors and incorporate them into a wider heritage landscape alongside the museum they had built.

From archaeological project to community book

Mocha is a village located in the upper Tarapacá ravine (2200m above sea level), known in colonial times as Cato valley. Through an archaeological study of agriculture and local animal herding in the Tarapacá region, we built a close and fluid relation with the Aymara community of Mocha, which has been maintained to this day. Even though we already had our own research agenda, we wanted our research to be fruitful to the community and to receive their feedback.

The community granted us permission to excavate the two archaeological sites known as *pucaras* (hilltop settlements associated with the Pica-Tarapacá Complex), Pariqollo and Kuico, in the vicinity of the village (fig. 2). We agreed to reciprocate our intervention through several activities: lectures about our investigations and results ("but make them entertaining") at the village hall and in the coastal city of Iquique where many of its members live. We also held

practical workshops involving field walks and site visits and distributed outreach material (printed booklets with images, digital maps and photograph files).

Our sharing of archaeological knowledge followed traditional protocols. We formalised this collaborative pact with a *pawa,* a ritual to ancestral deities to ask permission and receive protection for the successful development of the archaeological study. This ceremony consists of a *mesa* ritual on a traditional textile (*llijlla*) with coca leaves and alcohol, also cigarettes, flowers, fruits, amongst other materials, as well as a fire to burn copal and sacred herbs (*koa* or *kolla*). All the participants (research team and community members), kneeling and in pairs, performed libations and burnt offerings to *Pachamama* (Mother Earth), *Achachilas* (tutelary mountains) and ancestors, while giving thanks for the opportunity to encounter one another with the presence of all the other beings that cohabit the landscape, and asked that everything goes well for everyone.

Huaviña (2400m above seal level) is a village neighboring Mocha, also located in Tarapacá upper ravine, and it is where I, the ethnographer, live. The leadership of the Aymara community of Huaviña asked me to apply together for a cultural project funded by the Chilean government. Their aim was the publication of a book about their ancestral territory including toponymy, footpaths and landscape marks with associated histories. Additionally, they aimed to publish the description of their ritual calendar with the detailed traditional procedures of each festivity and ceremony, as an effort to record and pass on the elders' knowledge and memories. The book, of which 200 copies will be given to members of the community, includes USB sticks with its digitised version, photos and a georeferenced map of the most important places. The project was adjudicated last year and is still ongoing.

I play the role of scribe—"you do better with writing" (personal communication from Francisca Salazar Callasaya, head of Huaviña community, 2023)—both in its formulation and development. I also contribute with ideas that may or may not be accepted. The co-writing process between the community leaders and me started with the organisation of the book themes. Together, the decision was made to do it in three parts: the first relating to the five footpaths that radiate from the village to different places, the second with the description of the ritual calendar with all the festivities and ceremonies and the third a brief summary of the history and archaeology of the Tarapacá region with Huaviña at its centre. The two women leaders of the Aymara Community coordinated

the field walks with other villagers, the *pawa* to each footpath and the visits to members recognised for their wisdom regarding ancestral traditions and local memories. The registration sessions were interspersed with sessions devoted to reading my ethnographic writings for the leaders' review. We have also convened community meetings to present progress.

I knew that the co-writing process would be challenging. I accepted mainly as I felt indebted to my community for not doing archaeological research here. Huaviña does not have a *pucara*, but it is well-known among the people of Tarapacá ravine for its accurate performing of ancestral traditions. The reading sessions with the two community leaders took place at my home. They are friends with each other and I get along well with both, so there is a bond of trust between us. We can be ourselves as "strong and independent women" (a phrase we often use to ease tensions). The reading sessions involved between five and ten pages of text. They proved very useful in presenting the information concisely and clearly. Sometimes I became frustrated because they wanted to remove parts of the text that are significant to me and so we had to reach an agreement. Most of these parts were related to the borders with neighbouring villages and their ancestral territories. Currently, state institutions demand the establishment of fixed boundaries that clearly separate the different territories, which has caused much disagreement among community representatives. So, I come to remind the two community leaders that for the Andean people, borders of any kind (social, temporal, territorial, political, cultural, economic, cosmological) are mobile. They do not see these categories separately but rather as places of intense interaction that require constant negotiation. Nonetheless in these groups they remind me of their political reality as community heads: they must defend their ancestral territory according to current state guidelines.

They are extremely proud to be writing a book, and it reinforces their achievements as representatives of the community. Larger community meetings are easier and, in general, our writings are validated. Usually, younger people participate in these meetings, so I take it upon myself to visit the homes of older people to find out their opinions and settle any disagreements about certain traditions. Community members are eager to see the finished book and encourage us in our work. In fact, at the first assembly, both leaders requested permission for the three of us to appear on the cover as authors. I would have preferred that credit be given to the community as a whole, but everyone agreed that our work

should be recognised. In writing about these traditions and territories, the social structure of the community is reified in relation to present political demands. My writing about these spaces must communicate without essentialising and confront social theory itself by encouraging plural means of expression, often cacophonous and kaleidoscopic.

These social links harken back to the region's heterogenous past and non-human expressions. In the writing process, rituals mediate the human, the wild and the sacred. Ancestral territories are defined by local communities as a socio-natural community that integrates human collectives (*jaqi*), wild agencies (*sallqa*) and sacred entities (*wakas*). Landscapes and their transformations recombine pre-Hispanic, colonial and contemporary times in unison, organising material memories according to their particular aesthetics and politics. The confluence of native and Catholic devotional spaces in the same place recreates performativities and local narratives that shape the historical meaning given by the community to its past and its cultural traditions (Urrutia 2022, 2024). Rituals are at the heart of social life, as they enable communication between the different beings and worlds that shape the landscape of the living (*aka pacha*), where *manqha pacha* (interior world) and *araj pacha* (exterior world) perform their forms and forces. Ceremonies such as *pawa*, *kolla*, and *wilancha* are "politics and magic to grant good fortune to all, with respect so that everything happens at the right time" (personal communication from Fortunato Vilches Mamani, *yatiri* or spiritual authority of Alto Camiña community, 2014). It is the energy (*ch'ama*) we possess that enables material expressions, not the other way around. "Work should always be done cheerfully, and then things will turn out well. If you are angry, everything will go wrong" (personal communications from Irineo Vernal Vilca, wise elder of Huaviña community, 2024). So, the three of us try to follow this advice in the defying co-writing process.

Archaeological reports for native peoples' recognition

The intention of the Tarapacá communities and settlers, in requesting scientific reports to endorse their respective positions within a broader field of identities and heritage, is to have a source of legitimacy and so legal recognition of their claims, rights and various struggles. This implies the need to be autochthonous in terms of origin and socioeconomic organisation, as well as follow modern or constitutional forms in the way legalities are handled. They present themselves

as a progressive collective engaged in self-research, and in permanent contact with a living tradition that expresses its own historicity and relationality. Our archaeological and anthropological texts turn into legal documents. These situations make relevant the myriad of internal processes that show the variability and mutability of Andean assemblages in the Chilean neo-liberal context.

In 2014, the twelve Aymara communities of Camiña ravine (1200-3500m above seal level) formed the *Comando de Defensa de Camiña y Territorio Asociado* (Camiña and Associated Territory Defense Command) to fight against the construction of a multi-purpose reservoir that would not serve their agricultural activities, but instead serve the electricity and water demands of large-scale mining. They used actions such as roadblocks at the ravine entrance and mass protests in Iquique City, and self-financed anthropological and archaeological reports to scientifically base their ancestral right to choose the type of development they want in their territory. Subsequently, in 2018, they reactivated the Command to demonstrate opposition during the Indigenous Consultation carried out by the Chilean government for the installation of a geothermal power plant at the ravine's headwaters (fig. 3). In both cases they were successful due to the strong unity amongst them (Urrutia and Uribe 2021).

Another example is given by Aymara families of the Quipisca ravine (1000-3300m above seal level) who are engaged in a legal struggle to constitute themselves as an Indigenous community, separated from the current Quechua community, with the aim of confronting the advance of large-scale mining projects on their ancestral territory and the right to participate in the negotiations. In 2023, they promoted an ongoing archaeological and anthropological study through the Environmental Impact Assessment System, which delimits and individualises archaeological sites to make them manageable for large investment projects. Nevertheless, the findings complicate these linear methodologies and narratives and urge us to understand these spaces not as isolated sites but as parts of a continuous, yet also fragmented, multi-temporal landscape. Our products delivered to the community consist of written reports and cartographies composed of multiple layers of information produced through archaeological and anthropological methodologies, both of which are nurtured by ancestral knowledge. In turn, these products feed back into that same knowledge as it is enacted in everyday life, avoiding technical language as well as incorporating local toponymy, explanations and concepts.

In this sense, the still-in-construction heritage landscape has been resisting reduction to discrete units, since its very construction, through both archaeological methodologies and ancestral knowledge. The information collected reflects vast territories composed of interconnected artefacts, places, routes, and productive and ritual practices from different periods, which for the community do not assemble in a linear manner. In doing so, the Aymara community has sought to construct its local identity around specific elements, such as the Pica-Tarapacá archaeological characteristics, while confronting and blurring the Inca identity that has long been associated with the Quechua community. Aymara identity and language predominate in the region, but Quechua has a strong presence in some villages, such as Quipisca. According to Chilean Indigenous legislation, a locality constitutes a single identity, therefore, the first formally recognized Indigenous community is the official one. In this process, it places under tension the very linearity and parsimony of our own archaeological practice, showing how relationalities are also created through the selection and reactivation of certain expressions, although this may result in cacophonous narratives of archaeological pasts.

This second case shows us as activists following the praxis and rhetoric commanded by the communities. These experiences reveal contradictions and critical strategies within our own practice and intentions, challenging the normative and technical frameworks through which heritage is typically approached in contexts of environmental assessment and under pressures of investment projects. In this sense archaeological heritage appears as a contested field, where acts of appropriation, resignification and resistance converge. Andean rhetoric interacts in parallel with other non-Indigenous discourses and allies that collaborate in land claims, identity self-affirmations and incorporate and transfigure external narratives with a new vitality. However, the communities run the constant risk of being stuck in a neoliberal vision of multiculturalism which fails to account for these relationalities. Here, culture enters the market of exotic goods and the difference is institutionalised through formal channels of representation that restrict both the form and content of Indigenous political demands (Hale and Millamán 2006).

At this point, Indigenous leaders and activists must articulate a diversity of spaces and positions, taking care that the new responsibilities entailed do not lead to the consolidation of a literate Indigenous elite which eventually detaches

itself both from traditional authorities and native epistemologies and from its own ways of inhabiting and congregating (Rapapport 2007; Spedding 2008). Chilean Indigenous legislation tends to encapsulate native peoples in cultural and territorial essentialisms, demanding homogeneous expressions of identity and linear historical narratives. Local ancestral territories can only be defended as indivisible possessions within fixed borders belonging to a single Indigenous community (Nahuelpán 2013; Urrutia and Uribe 2021). The coloniality of knowledge, affinities and time is evident. In Tarapacá, this situation has led to conflicts between Aymara and Quechua communities within the same locality, as well as boundaries disputes between neighboring territories.

According to Andean logic, social and environmental borders are mobile, porous and multiple. For this reason, the drafting of reports involves political language and a sophisticated way of writing-as-diplomacy. Writing can endorse legal claims, smooth over internal disagreements and strengthen alliances between the political and social projects of different communities. Furthermore, we must know how and when to use the term 'Indigenous', which is only enunciated in legal documents and institutional contexts. Andean people of Tarapacá do not really like this term, as it denotes a marginalised condition. As a collective group, they prefer to be referred to as native Andean peoples and, in local terms, by the name of their village. In the outreach material for the Mocha community and in Huaviña's book, these terms never appear because they expressly decided so.

Dissonant heritages: archaeological knowledge versus ancient agencies

In another ravine of the region lies Nama, a village located at 3000m above seal level. Due to the numerous archaeological investigations and a long ethnographic residence, the Aymara community of Nama contacted us to draw up a joint project for the installation of a visitor circuit to the *pucara* and the *chullpas* (adobe funerary towers with stone bases corresponded also with the Late Intermediate Period). This project compliments the museum built by them in 1986. Their interest was to protect and promote their places of heritage and memory, in the knowledge that in accordance with Chilean law, archaeological sites are property of the state, and any intervention on them requires special permits with the direction of the relevant experts.

By tensing the traditional technical foundations of such collaborations and working under the premise of participation and co-production of knowledge

grounded in mutual trust and affection, we were able to implement strategies that allowed community members to voice their concerns and expectations regarding the project through open conversations. These revolved around the need to reach consensus and minimum criteria regarding chronologies in a way that intertwined the "spoken stories" of the villagers with the "expert knowledge" of the academic tradition, so that two perspectives may "take one direction" (Uribe et al. 2017: 378). Together, we renewed the communal museum, applied conservation measures and reorganised the showcases through a collaborative museography approach.

Our close relationship with them was crucial in ensuring everyone's participation in the museum. This was especially true at the start, when community members explained where each of the pieces came from and what they meant to them. After that, in the community hall, we prepared a presentation for them summarising the archaeological information about Tarapacá. Together, we decided to arrange the showcases according to the dates of the pieces and to include both types of knowledge in the texts. We were responsible for writing the archaeological and historical sections. We also transcribed the local voices. The final writing was validated by a community assembly, as was the new arrangement of pieces and showcases.

Together, we also designed and constructed the circuit and the script for the visitor guide. First, we took several walks around the *pucara* and the *chullpas* to choose the route for the circuit, while exchanging our respective knowledge about the site. The visitor script followed the same path and combined both. Afterwards, community members responsible for carrying out the construction work were designated. We helped them as best we could and made sure that it was as non-invasive as possible. Here again, at the beginning of the heritage actions, permission from the ancestral deities of the landscape was sought through a *wilancha* (a more elaborated ceremony than the *pawa*, which also includes a lama sacrifice and communitarian feasting). At present, the circuit has been travelled by students from nearby schools and by tourists, who visit thanks to initiatives generated by the Nameños themselves. All visitors are required to take part, as we did, in a *pawa* before entering the *pucara*.

A mummified grandmother housed in Nama's Museum became a main character during these heritage actions. She is seen as an ancestor and is affectionately referred to as granny or abuelita by the community. In the

conservation measures we applied to this individual, we took her out of the display case and left her in a protected corner. We held the idea that the mummified remains should be covered and rest in peace. We had all previously worked with communities who dislike seeing their ancestors in display cases and push for museums to remove them from public view. However, our actions were not well received by community members: "My granny will be mad at you because you covered her, you left her in a corner, away from her *chicha* pots. You put her away, she can't see anything. She feels alone" (personal communication from Bernardo Flores Challapa, member of Nama community, 2016). Therefore, the challenge we met with the conservation specialist was one of leaving the "mummy granny" in the best conditions possible to be on display with her pots making *chicha* (fig. 4). Once we had restored her to her place, the unanimous commentary from community members was that now she was fine (Uribe et al. 2017).

In every situation, the collaboration and the co-creation of knowledge is required to explain to each other the concepts used and the shifting positions represented. This entails not only understanding different perspectives, but also rethinking and evaluating one's own. Such writing does not produce a univocal and enclosed construction of the past and heritage, but a situated appraisal of the multiplicity enacted. The circulation of archaeological/anthropological knowledge supports the enhancement of the researchers, just as joint reflections foster local leadership and traditional forms of organisation. Above all, ritually empowered dialogues and commitments towards productive relationships for all are facilitated by means of practical spirituality.

Itinerant conclusions

It is impossible to escape from multi-relationality. We are ourselves transformed by the ideas and social practices we study. Diplomatic writing moves us toward diverse and transitory possibilities, fixes our attention on different and unexpected matters and means imagining simultaneous alternative interpretations and listening closely to changing pluralities of meaning. It also means keeping in mind that life is not made merely by writing: "Paper can withstand anything" (personal communication from Rina García Taucare, head of Huaviña community, 2025). How we perform our daily actions is the real key.

With the first case, we showed how conventional archaeological research

can lead to collaborative writings, which are highly valued by the Andean peoples of Tarapacá. Through the second case, we underlined how the construction of archaeological and anthropological reports is based on the demands of local communities, how these challenge our concepts and approaches as well as highlight their conflicts and contradictions. Writing in this way is a complex form of diplomacy.

The third case invites us to go deeper, reflecting on other agencies that are not written but embodied in local voices and practices. The Nama's mummified grandmother reflects how what we call objects or things have agency in and of themselves, not because it is granted by humans. The Andean relational mode reveals how they enact an active and subjective existence of their own. Indeed, what we refer to as subjects or beings can also become less agentic, passive and reified.

Nor can we escape coloniality. Clear evidence of domination and aggression often obscures those more subtle social technologies, sometimes invisible at first glance, that hold things and beings together through rituals and performances and embody other forms of inscription and affinities. Diplomatic writing must also take this into account. Indeterminacy is not a defect or a problem to be corrected, but a productive force that disrupts our certainties in the constant search for new and better relationships.

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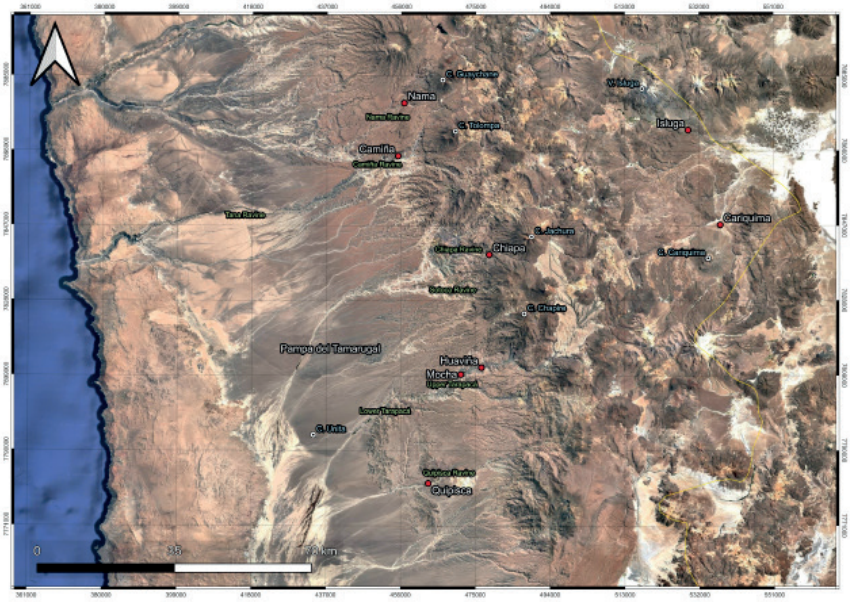


Fig. 1: Map of the Tarapacá Region including the main ravines, villages, and tutelary hills/mountains. The yellow line on the left marks the frontier between Bolivia and Chile. Image elaborated by Claudio Wande-López.

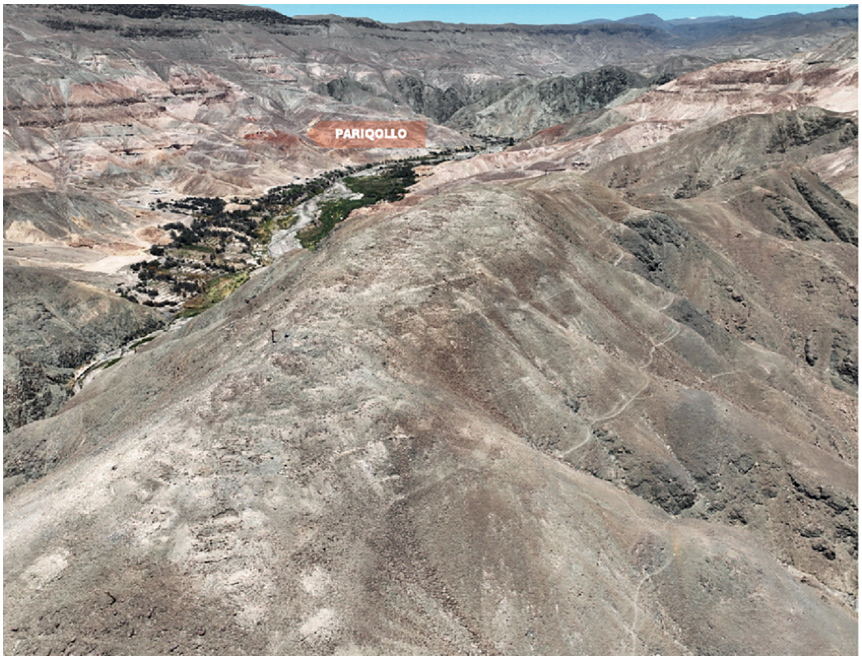


Fig. 2: Photo at the *pucara* of Kuico, beyond is the *pucara* of Pariqollo and the agricultural lands of the Mocha village. Photograph reproduced with permission of Pablo Mendez-Quiros.



Fig. 3: Command leadership and some members at the at the Camiña ravine's headwaters. Photograph by Francisca Urrutia-Lorenzini.



Fig. 4: Nama's mummified grandmother with her pots for making *chicha* in the showcases of the Nama museum, displayed according to Nameño's wishes. Photograph by Francisca Urrutia-Lorenzini.