

biodiversity in small spaces

EDITED BY

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EMBODYING BIODIVERSITY

Sensory Conservation as Refuge and Sovereignty

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*To Virginia Nazarea, for teaching us that
scholarship can be caretaking relations.
Thank you for reminding us that our work
is the beautiful and serious business
of co-completion.*



Homegardens in the Southern Andes

Cultivating Agrobiodiversity, Learning, and Sovereignty from Interculturality

JOSÉ TOMÁS IBARRA, JULIÁN CAVIEDES,
AND ANTONIA BARREAU

Next to each house, you will find the huerta. From a distance, this vibrant area, enclosed by a protective fence, resembles a diverse, multilayered forest more than a typical garden. As you approach, you can discern a distinct structure—rows etched into the soil and plants reaching for the sky, revealing careful cultivation and thoughtful management. Unfasten the modest gate, securely closed to prevent the entry of uninvited guests, and you will be greeted by a wide array of neatly organized plants: tall and short, displaying various shades of green and unexpected hues, adorned with flowers and budding fruits—some even bearing hanging pods. Birds gracefully dart among the scarecrows, while insects buzz between blossoms—it is a place teeming with life! We find ourselves in a homegarden, a lush and diverse social-ecological system that sustains not only the family but also the community as a whole—a shared endeavor that simultaneously remains deeply personal, reflecting the trajectories and life histories of individual homegarden tenders. Much like life itself, it renews with each passing year, in harmony with the natural rhythms of existence.

Introduction

The southern Andes, which are part of the Wallmapu, the ancestral territory of the Mapuche Indigenous people, are one of South America's most iconic territories in biocultural terms. In Chile, some of the most extensive

remnants of the native forest of the central-southern part of the country are confined to mountainous areas (>600 meters altitude). These forests co-occur spatially with hundreds of Mapuche communities, along with the small-scale farms of many non-Indigenous families and, recently, a growing number of migrants of different cultures (Barreau et al. 2016; Zunino, Espinoza, and Vallejos-Romero 2016).

This territory embraces a unique intercultural setting in which to explore and learn about the importance of family agriculture for agrobiodiversity conservation and food sovereignty (Ibarra et al. 2020b). In these territories, family agriculture serves as a true refuge against a homogenizing wave of vast nonnative forest plantations, monoculture-intensive farming, introduced salmon farms, networks of highways, and large cities that has transformed a large part of central-southern Chile (Barreau et al. 2019). Here, homegardens are essential systems of family agriculture. These open-ended systems are the result of daily interactions among complex bodies of knowledge, practices, beliefs, and emotions associated with farming and food (Marchant Santiago et al. 2020). In addition, they take place in a landscape of reciprocal relationships between the people and active volcanoes, mountains, forests, rivers, springs, wetlands, and myriad animals, plants, fungi, and microorganisms that coinhabit it (Ibarra et al. 2022).

Homegardens are the backbone of family agriculture in the southern Andes. These small-scale productive systems can be home to great agrobiodiversity since they are multipurpose, where plants are grown not only for food, but also for medicinal, ornamental, and ritual purposes (Eyzaguirre and Linares 2010). They are also multistratified systems in which root and tuber crops, small annual and perennial plants, shrubs and small trees, and, in many cases, large trees all coexist (Galluzzi, Eyzaguirre, and Negri 2010). These homegardens, which are true extensions of the home, should be understood in a broader context as contributing to the heterogeneity of the Andean landscape. In general, scientific literature has paid great attention to the diversity of plants grown in homegardens in different countries, mainly in tropical areas (Eyzaguirre and Linares 2010; Kumar and Nair 2006; Norfolk, Eichhorn, and Gilbert 2013). Nonetheless, the information reported about biodiversity in homegardens in Chile remains scarce (Urrea and Ibarra 2018). In Chile, plants of pre-Hispanic origin, many of them unique varieties adapted to local environmental conditions, are grown in homegardens, along with traditional medicines and foods (Ibarra et al. 2019).

Homegardens are constantly adapting to environmental changes (e.g., climate variability, water scarcity, the arrival of new species), to the historical context (e.g., new technologies, changes in the agricultural market, and state policies about agriculture and rural territories), and to the decisions of those who tend them. In homegardens it is possible, for example, to find cultivated plants that are considered to be “modern” or new to a territory alongside traditional varieties (landraces) and other native and exotic plants that may have been grown intentionally or not. The biodiversity found in homegardens is, in other words, a reflection of change, memory, and adaptation (Ibarra et al. 2021; Marchant Santiago et al. 2020; Nazarea 2006).

A homegarden is also a true open-air school, where plants and seeds, but also knowledge, memories, and learning, are exchanged (Barreau 2014; Celis 2003; Mellado 2014). To keep a homegarden is a skill that requires not merely experienced hands, but also vast knowledge about the ecology of the ecosystem (Celis 2003; Toledo 1994). Historically, this knowledge has been learned through experience and has been passed on orally through generations. Technological developments and mobility (virtual or real) over long distances, however, have diversified, added to, and hybridized local knowledge (Calvet-Mir et al. 2016). Knowledge is acquired no longer only from the mothers, grandmothers or neighbors who tend the homegarden, but also from the internet, state agricultural programs, NGOs, universities, books, workshops, and courses.

Gardening knowledge is also learned through creating networks of support and exchange with other gardeners and small-scale farmers of different origins and, therefore, with different ways of relating with the land. These networks, together with facilitating the exchange of agricultural knowledge among homegardeners from different cultures, could play a fundamental role in strengthening food sovereignty in intercultural contexts (Altieri and Toledo 2011; Wright 2014). Individuals’ motivations for having a homegarden may differ, but their collective articulation could be critical in fostering informed, conscious, and empowered decision making about what, how, for whom, and how much to produce. This articulation can also favor biodiversity, care, and use of traditional varieties adapted to local conditions. Furthermore, it can support the family economy (e.g., cash income), access to healthy and high-quality food, and the genuine integration of diverse cultures in landscapes, such as the southern Andes, that are subject to constant social-environmental change (Caviedes et al. 2023; Marchant Santiago 2017).

In this chapter, we present the general results of a project based on three fundamental pillars of family agriculture in intercultural contexts: agrobiodiversity, learning, and food sovereignty. In particular, we (1) analyzed the general attributes and composition of plants in one hundred homegardens in the southern Andes of Chile; (2) explored sources of learning about gardening, management practices, and motivations for keeping a homegarden; and (3) facilitated a process of learning, exchange, and articulation between Mapuche and non-Mapuche campesino farmers with a long history in the territory and recent migrants to it.¹

Methods

In the context of a larger project of social-environmental transdisciplinary research and place-based education in the southern Andes (Ibarra et al. 2022), between 2016 and 2020 we studied homegardens in the Andean zone of the La Araucanía region, including sectors of the municipal districts of Loncoche, Villarrica, Pucón, and Curarrehue. In this area, the Andean landscape is characterized by valleys whose floors are a heterogeneous mosaic of human settlements, farmlands, fragments of native forest, plantations of nonnative trees, shrubland, lakes, and rivers. As the land rises, native temperate forest increasingly dominates the landscape. The land of Mapuche and non-Mapuche campesino farmers is interspersed among large productive farms, public and private protected areas, and migrant and tourist country houses (Barreau 2014; Söhn 2012).

A sample of homegardens was selected using the snowball method (Newing 2011). It included fifty homegardens of Mapuche and non-Mapuche campesinos with a relatively long history in the area (>30 years living in the territory; *campesino homegardens*) and fifty homegardens of migrants to the area (*migrant homegardens*; figure 5.1). Non-Mapuche campesinos are understood as family nuclei of non-Indigenous people who were born, live, and work in the territory, in close contact with Mapuche families. Their agriculture and ways of living are derived from and incorporate the Mapuche agricultural system. Migrants are understood as families that represent a modern phenomenon of counter-urbanization, often referred to as “lifestyle migration.” They moved from urban areas as adults, seeking places with unique natural and cultural attributes (Marchant Santiago 2017; Otero, Zunino, and Rodríguez 2017; Zunino, Espinoza, and Vallejos-Romero 2016; Zun-

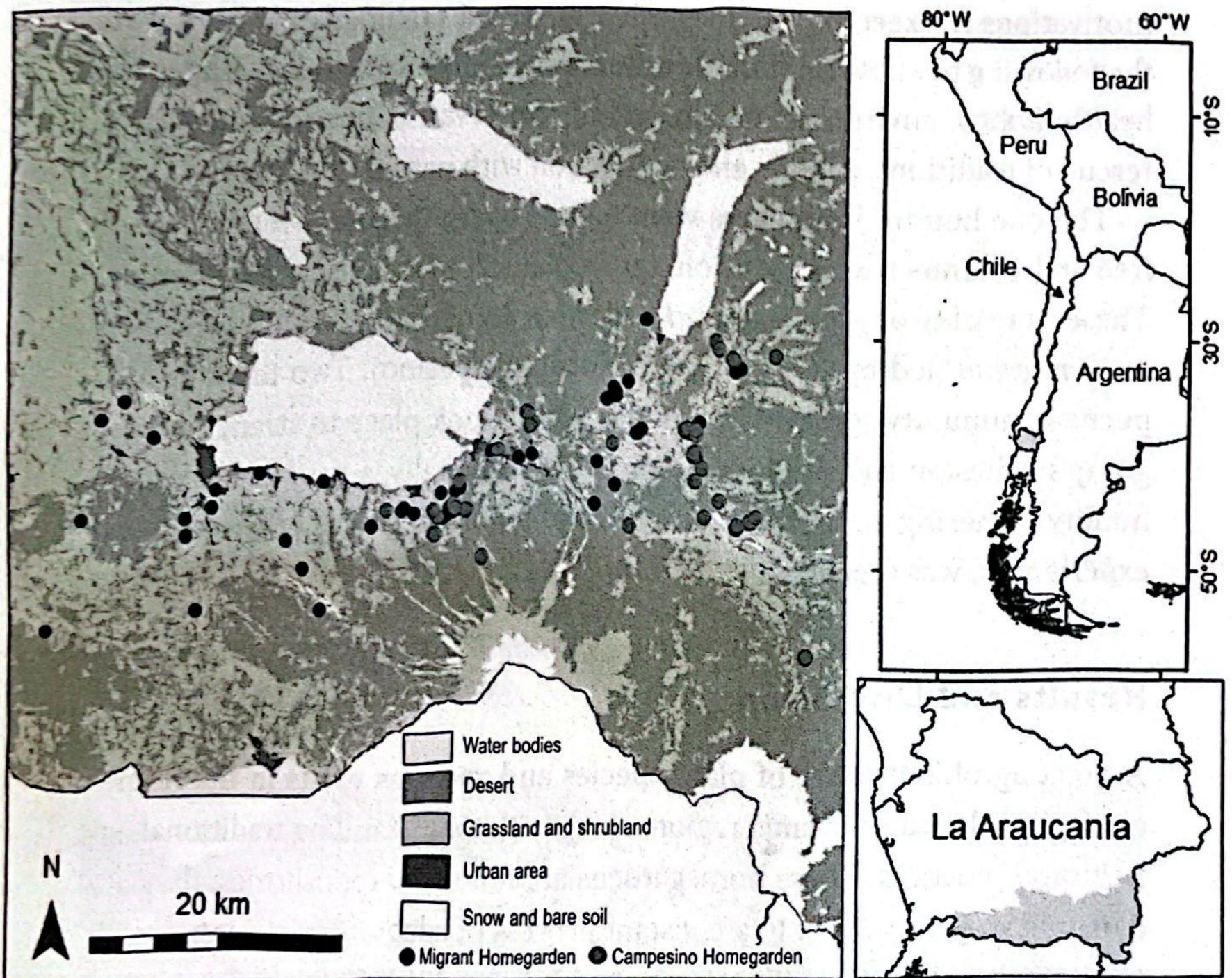


FIGURE 5.1 Location of the fifty campesino homegardens (gray dots) and the fifty migrant homegardens (black dots) who participated in the project. The box on the bottom right shows the location of the study area (in light gray), which includes Loncoche, Villarrica, Pucón, and Curarrehue municipal districts within the La Araucanía region, southern Andes of Chile.

ino and Hidalgo 2010). They are mostly professionals, sometimes of foreign origin, who have a paid job outside the agricultural sector. For the study, we considered homegardens from migrants (hereafter migrant homegardens). We specifically considered homegardens that were more than two years old, as this timeframe ensured that participants had gained sufficient gardening knowledge and experience.

A complete inventory of the plants grown intentionally was conducted in each homegarden through a guided tour with the gardener tending it. Information was also collected about the socioeconomic context and management practices of the homegarden through structured and semistructured interviews (see Bernard 2005; Newing 2011). To understand the main

motivations for keeping a homegarden, weighted rankings were built with the following possible eight motivations: food, family economy, therapeutic/health, hobby, environmental education, conservation of agrobiodiversity, rescue of traditions/culture, and connection with nature (Newing 2011).

The one hundred gardeners were invited to participate in a program of free and volunteer workshops on agroecological principles and gardening. These were of two types: *technical* (led by an agroecologist) and *campesino-to-campesino* (led by an experienced local campesino). Two tours to Mapuche community agritourism initiatives also took place to strengthen the group's cohesion and share experiences.² Additionally, a *trafkintu*, or community gathering for exchanging seeds and plants as well as knowledge and experiences, was organized.

Results and Discussion

A great agrobiodiversity of plant species and varieties exists in the homegardens of the La Araucanía region, along with long-standing traditional agricultural practices. These homegardens are not static repositories; they are dynamic systems subject to a constant process of adaptation and innovation in intercultural contexts (Eyzaguirre and Linares 2010; Galluzzi, Eyzaguirre, and Negri 2010; Ibarra et al. 2021). Campesino homegardens have gradually incorporated "modern" varieties and innovative management practices, depending on the gardener's contemporary interests or new culinary tastes, or simply because they make the work easier or are consistent with the current context in terms of, for example, soil quality, the age of the gardener, or climate variability (Eyzaguirre and Linares 2010; Parraguez-Vergara et al. 2018). Migrant homegardens, in turn, reflect an interwoven diversity of agricultural and culinary cultures, depending on who tends them. These migrant homegardens, however, also adopt local practices, species, and varieties. The general characteristics of the two groups differ significantly (table 5.1), but in broad terms, the homegardens of the southern Andes are small-scale productive systems, surrounded by some protection (generally fences) and located near homes (figure 5.2). Our results support the notion that homegardens are an eminently feminine place (Celis 2003; Eyzaguirre and Linares 2010) since 89 percent of the homegardens in our sample were managed by women. Campesino homegardens are generally managed by women of advanced age and with long experience (see table 5.1).

TABLE 5.1 Attributes of fifty Mapuche and non-Mapuche campesino homegardens and fifty homegardens of migrants in the Araucanía region, southern Andes of Chile

Attribute ^a	Campeminos	Migrants
Age of gardener (years)	59 ± 13	49 ± 15
Experience of gardening (years)	35 ± 20	10 ± 10
Size of homegarden (m ²)	394 ± 320	235 ± 227
Age of homegarden (years)	11 ± 12	5 ± 3
Contribution of homegarden to family consumption (scale 1–10)	9	6

^aThis table shows only attributes in which there were significant differences according to the Student's or Kruskal-Wallis t-test, depending on the type of data. The average ± standard deviation is shown for all attributes except "contribution to family consumption," for which the median is shown.

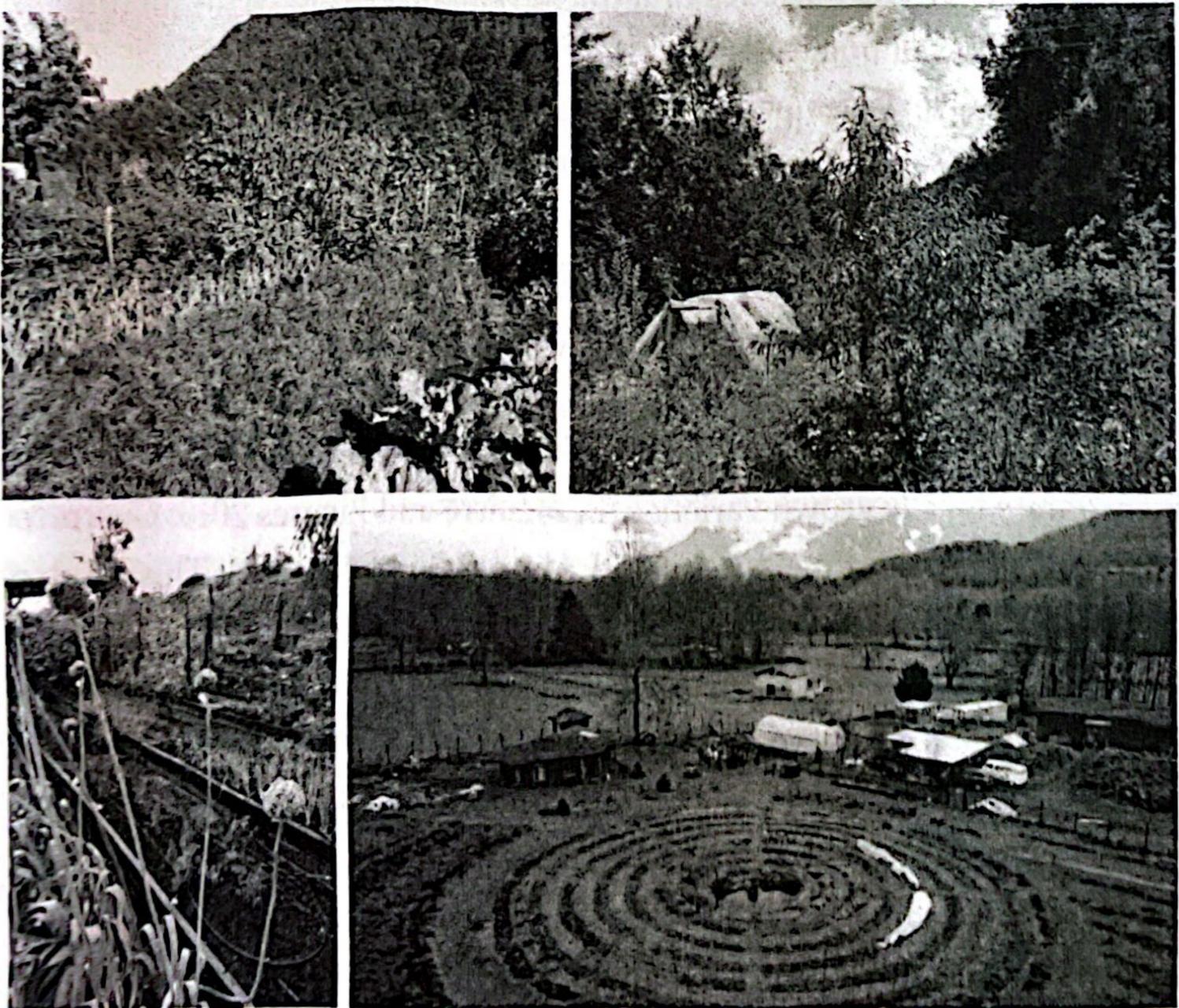


FIGURE 5.2 *Top*, examples of traditional Mapuche and non-Mapuche campesino homegardens. Photos by Antonia Barreau and Tomás Ibarra; *bottom*, homegardens of lifestyle migrants. Photos by Valentina Westermeyer and Lorena González.

Cultivated Plants: Homegardens as Dynamic Repositories of Biological Diversity

We found 284 species and 543 ethnovarieties of plants grown intentionally in the homegardens, with a great diversity of edible, aromatic, medicinal, and ornamental species.³ The botanical families with the highest representation were Asteraceae ($n = 34$ species), Rosaceae ($n = 26$), Lamiaceae ($n = 23$), and Fabaceae ($n = 18$). The most common cultivated species, found in at least half of the homegardens, were cilantro, chives, oregano, peas, carrots, beets, fava beans, raspberries, chard, thyme, strawberries, parsley, tomatoes, common beans, potatoes, squash, and corn. The homegardens were diverse not only in species, but also in varieties, which are grown for their different colors, textures, flavors, and histories (Eyzaguirre and Linares 2010). For example, we recorded thirty-eight varieties of common beans (*Phaseolus vulgaris*) as well as more than six varieties of runner beans (*Phaseolus coccineus*; figure 5.3), twenty-five varieties of lettuces (*Lactuca sativa*), and more than twenty varieties of potatoes (*Solanum tuberosum*).

The most diverse campesino and migrant homegardens had a similar total of varieties: 100 and 107, respectively. Migrant homegardens, however, had a greater total diversity of species than the campesino homegardens (247 and 225 species, respectively, out of a total of 284 between the two groups). Similar results regarding a greater number of species in migrants' homegardens have been reported for other countries and reflect the flexibility of migrants who, when moving to a new place, take seeds of their favorite crops and incorporate locally grown varieties (Eyzaguirre and Linares 2010; Guerrero Peñuelas 2007; Neulinger, Vogl, and Alayón-Gamboa 2013). This greater plant diversity is not reflected in higher food production. Indeed, campesino gardeners reported a higher contribution to family consumption than migrants. In addition, half of the campesino gardeners produced surpluses for sale. This calls for attention since it has been reported that, in many cases, an increasing sale of produce from homegardens is detrimental to crop diversity (Eyzaguirre and Linares 2010; Howard 2006; Parraguez-Vergara et al. 2018).

Preliminary analysis indicates that older homegardens (range of 2–50 years) and larger ones for both groups contain a greater richness of plant species. In terms of plant composition, no clear patterns of similarity were found in the homegardens studied since those that were compositionally most similar had only 30 percent of their species in common. The great variability seen in floristic composition reflected the different emphasis that gar-



FIGURE 5.3 A sample of ethnovarieties of common beans (*Phaseolus vulgaris*) and runner beans (*Phaseolus coccineus*) recorded in homegardens in the southern Andes of Chile. Photo by Tomás Ibarra.

deners give to the use of plants for different purposes (Calvet-Mir et al. 2016; Eyzaguirre and Linares 2010; Galluzzi, Eyzaguirre, and Negri 2010). What is grown in each homegarden often reflects individual or family trajectories, rather than a specific sociocultural pattern. For example, one gardener relied on seeds inherited from her family and, in some cases, exchanged with neighbors, while another obtained their seeds during some visit to a relative in another place or through a workshop. Yet another could have received a plant as a thank-you from a friend or as an exchange in a *trafkintu*. We can, in other words, say that each homegarden and each plant bear their own stories; homegardens reflect different trajectories that will determine their composition, often without a common pattern between them.

Hands in the Earth: Learning Sources, Exchanges, and Management Practices

The transmission of knowledge is a dynamic and incessant process that depends on the circumstances of the home and changing ecological, social, and

TABLE 5.2 Sources of learning about the skill of gardening for campesinos and migrants in the southern Andes

Sources of learning	Campesinos ($n = 50$)	Migrants ($n = 50$)
Self-taught (%)	12	84
Training workshops (%)	2	24
Relatives (%)	90	28
Neighbors/local people (%)	0	52

Note: The participants could mention more than one source of learning; therefore, the sum of all percentages is higher than 100.

economic drivers (Howard 2006). The literature on traditional or campesino homegardens shows that plant knowledge is transmitted from an early age, first among women within a family nucleus and then among other close relatives (Celis 2003; Eyssartier, Ladio, and Lozada 2008; Howard 2006). In the southern Andes, campesinos identified female relatives (grandmothers, mothers, or older sisters) as their main source of knowledge, combined with some self-learning through experience (table 5.2). Migrants' sources of knowledge proved to be more diverse, which is related to factors such as not learning from an early age and not coming from a campesino family, greater mobility, and access to information and technologies as well as a lack of local learning networks. Many migrants defined themselves as self-taught through books, websites, and their own experimentation, but many also acknowledged seeking the support of a campesino neighbor or worker to tend their homegarden. This interaction between campesinos and migrants has enabled the latter to incorporate local varieties and the former's practices.

Trafkintus are also an opportunity to exchange knowledge and, at the same time, strengthen social networks that favor the conservation of agrobiodiversity (Nazarea 2005; Nazarea, Rhoades, and Andrews-Swann 2013; Peralta and Thomet 2013). When a seed or plant is exchanged, not only is plant material shared, but so is the associated knowledge, such as when to sow; what soil, water, and light the plant needs; and when to harvest (Calvet-Mir et al. 2016; Celis 2003; Peralta and Thomet 2013). As this is a long-standing activity, it is no coincidence that almost 50 percent of the campesinos participated in these seed exchanges. They also commonly exchange seeds with relatives and neighbors (Mellado 2014; Peralta and Thomet 2013). By contrast, only 24 percent of migrants mentioned participating in *trafkin-*

tus and, in many cases, were even unaware of their existence. They tended to buy seeds and seedlings and not to rely on obtaining seeds through exchange.

In terms of management practices, differences between the two groups to some extent reflect their origin, history, and socioeconomic situation (figure 5.4). Migrants' soil management and pest-control practices were more diverse. This can be attributed to their incorporation of practices learned from local campesinos and techniques derived from other sources of learning, most of them agroecological. Differences were also observed in the use of agrochemicals, particularly fertilizers and pesticides, of which the campesinos made greater use. It is important to note that 72 percent of the campesinos interviewed (compared to only 12 percent of the migrants) were beneficiaries of state agricultural subsidy programs, which generally provided free agrochemicals (Candia 2013; Clark 2011; Parraguez-Vergara et al. 2018). In some cases, we observed agrochemicals stacked up in the storehouses of gardeners who opt for "clean or organic" production.

Other campesino gardeners who received agrochemicals from state agricultural subsidy programs said they sold them or gave them away. This indicates that these subsidies, albeit providing opportunities, are often not aligned with organic production or the beneficiaries' intentions. As one

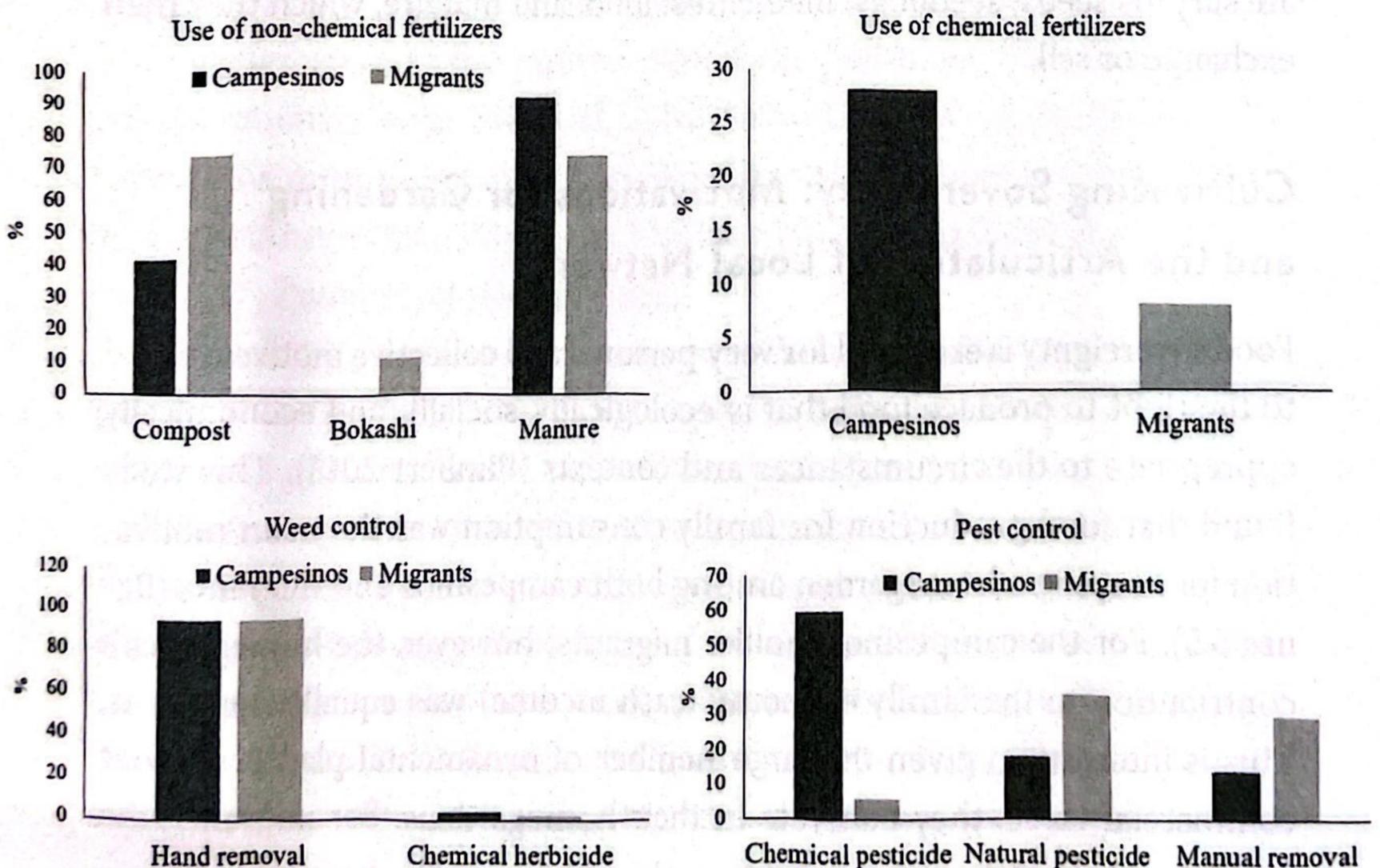


FIGURE 5.4 Management practices in campesino homegardens ($n = 50$) and migrant homegardens ($n = 50$) in the southern Andes of Chile.

campesino observed, “State agricultural subsidy programs try to be a help for our soils; however, they end up ruining them.” This disconnect between state subsidy programs and small family farming has been reported in the literature as a possible threat to biocultural diversity when local knowledge and practices are not valued or promoted (Clark 2011; Jacobi et al. 2017; Parraguez-Vergara et al. 2018). In addition, many campesino gardeners have had fewer opportunities for formal studies and less access to information about the potential negative effects of these agrochemicals. Among campesinos, certain traditional practices, such as the use of manure, adherence to lunar cycles, secret ways of avoiding frost, and the cultivation of certain magical or oracular plants, were also more common. The migrants, on the other hand, mostly adhered to the agroecological movement and its principles (Marchant Santiago 2017; Otero, Zunino, and Rodríguez 2017; Zunino, Espinoza, and Vallejos-Romero 2016).

In economic terms, migrants reported buying more inputs such as seeds, seedlings, and manure than campesinos, who, as part of a broader agroforestry system, are more self-sufficient (e.g., farmers generate fertilizer from their own animals) and tend not to buy inputs for their homegardens (Engels 2002; Eyzaguirre and Linares 2010). In addition, many campesinos generate surplus seeds, seedlings, medicines, food, and manure, which they then exchange or sell.

Cultivating Sovereignty: Motivations for Gardening and the Articulation of Local Networks

Food sovereignty is exercised for very personal and collective motives related to the right to produce food that is ecologically, socially, and economically appropriate to the circumstances and contexts (Pimbert 2018). This study found that food production for family consumption was the main motivation for keeping a homegarden among both campesinos and migrants (figure 5.5). For the campesinos, unlike migrants, however, the homegarden’s contribution to the family economy (cash income) was equally important. This is interesting, given the large number of ornamental plants, without commercial value, they cultivate in their homegardens. For migrants, the second and third most important motivations were the homegarden as a therapeutic place associated with health and as a means of (re)connecting with nature. This is consistent with results found for gardeners in the Catalan

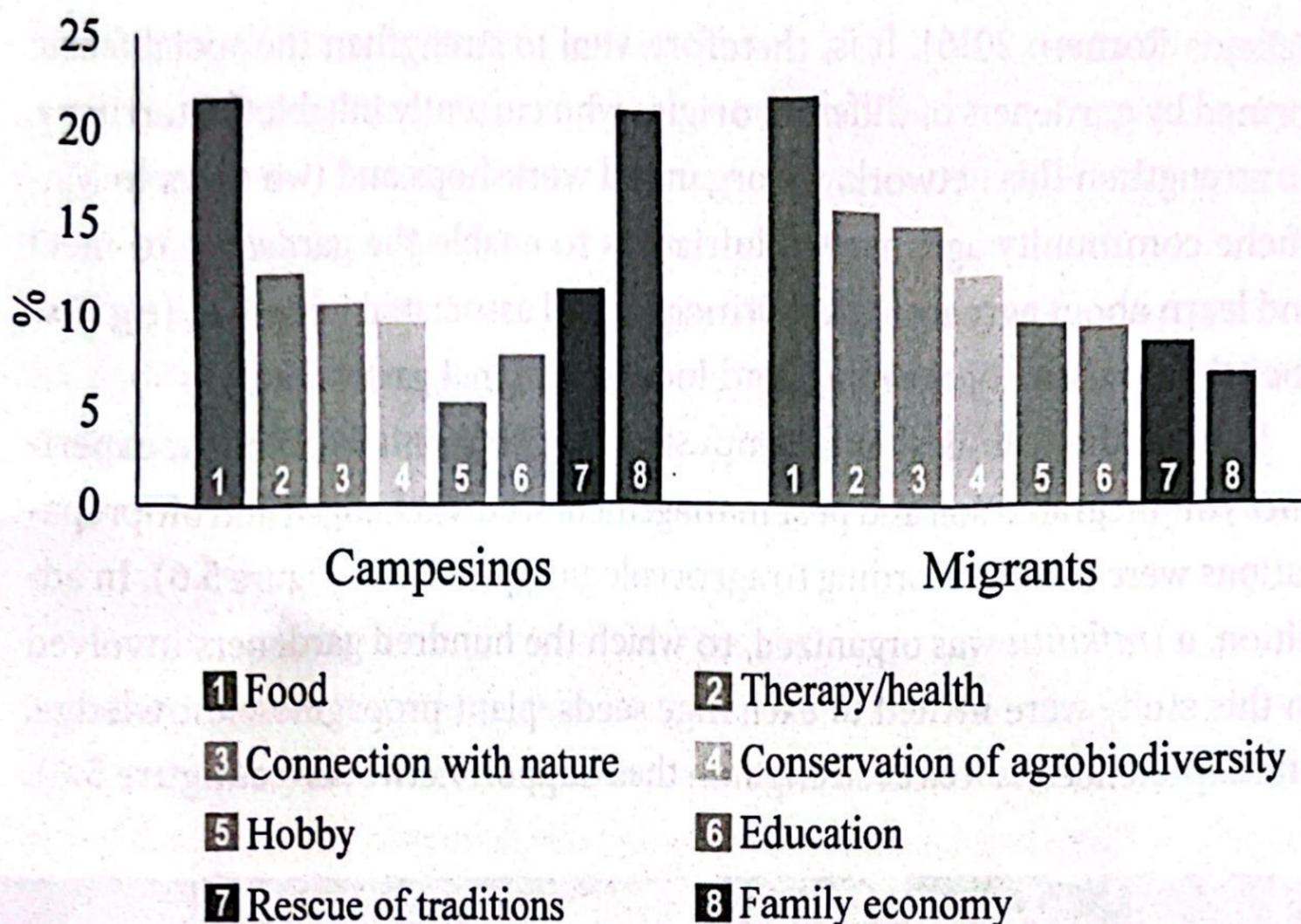


FIGURE 5.5 Results of weighted ranking of the motivations of Mapuche and non-Mapuche campesinos and of migrants for keeping a homegarden in the southern Andes of Chile.

Pyrenees, a rural population in an industrialized country, whose motivations were related more to the positive effects for well-being than to economic considerations (Calvet-Mir et al. 2016; Reyes-García et al. 2012). This also reflects the more personal aspirations of lifestyle migrants to this mountain area in southern Chile (Marchant Santiago 2017; Otero, Zunino, and Rodríguez 2017; Zunino and Hidalgo 2010).

Through the practices of campesinos and migrants, food sovereignty can permeate the territory beyond their specific individual motivations. Campesinos are often motivated by their interest in producing food and medicinal plants to give away or sell in their communities or at the local market. As homegardens are a living repository of species and varieties that, year after year, are reproduced, stored, and exchanged, they also serve to exercise and strengthen seed sovereignty (Nazarea 2005; Nazarea, Rhoades, and Andrews-Swann 2013; Peralta and Thomet 2013). Many lifestyle migrants aspire to learn more about the Mapuche culture and strengthen the local agricultural culture (Marchant Santiago 2017), and some become involved in local government activities, rural schools, and community organizations to promote intercultural education (Ibarra et al. 2020a; Zunino, Espinoza, and

Vallejos-Romero 2016). It is, therefore, vital to strengthen the social fabric formed by gardeners of different origins who currently inhabit the territory. To strengthen this network, we organized workshops and two tours to Mapuche community agritourism initiatives to enable the gardeners to meet and learn about agroecological principles and associated initiatives (e.g., associative tourism, beekeeping, and local/traditional gastronomy).

In both the technical and campesino-to-campesino workshops, experiences of integrated soil and pest management were exchanged and biopreparations were made, according to agroecological principles (figure 5.6). In addition, a *trafkintu* was organized, to which the hundred gardeners involved in this study were invited to exchange seeds, plant propagules, knowledge, and experiences as well as strengthen their support networks (see figure 5.6).



FIGURE 5.6 *Top*, *trafkintu* organized as part of the project in which Mapuche and non-Mapuche campesinos and migrants exchanged seeds, plants, and experiences. Photos by Cristóbal Saavedra; *bottom left*, gardeners participating in a biopreparations workshop, led by Lorena González. Photo by Antonia Barreau; *bottom right*, gardeners discussing the structure of the soil and care for it in the workshop on agroecological management led by Heraldo Carvacho. Photo by Julián Caviedes.

This incipient articulation has generated new trust and friendships, and it is hoped that, with ongoing long-term work, it will foster social cohesion, appreciation, and respect for the Mapuche and non-Mapuche campesino territory. This fabric can also be a true seed of hope for the creation of a network of exchange (sale or barter) that favors the local circular economy and the flow of local varieties that need to be widely propagated and consumed to ensure their conservation (Galluzzi, Eyzaguirre, and Negri 2010).

Conclusions

Homegardens in the southern Andes, or Wallmapu, the ancestral land of the Mapuche people, contain an extraordinary agrobiodiversity of plants of which there was previously no record in southern Chile (Urrea and Ibarra 2018). These small agricultural systems can be true individual refuges for the revitalization of biocultural memory (Barreau and Ibarra 2019; Marchant Santiago et al. 2020; Nazarea 2006). Beyond this valuable individual role, the collective articulation of these homegardens and those who cultivate them could become a powerful network for strengthening family agriculture and maintaining local traditional varieties and practices. Even more importantly, it can strengthen food sovereignty and serve as an engine of intercultural respect and integration.

While lifestyle migrants can be a source of agrobiodiversity and agricultural innovation, Mapuche and non-Mapuche campesinos are a source of local expert knowledge and traditional varieties. Cooperation between these two types of gardeners and their integration can be harnessed to the conservation of local agrobiodiversity and its intercultural manifestations. This integration may also be conducive to different modes of transmission of agricultural knowledge and practices, fostering diversity and the resilience of a territory that is experiencing important demographic and social-environmental changes.

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Resumen

En el sur de los Andes conviven huertas de campesinos mapuche y no-mapuche, y las de un número creciente de inmigrantes. Exploramos la agrobiodiversidad, fuentes de aprendizaje, prácticas de manejo y soberanía en 100 huertas familiares (50 campesinas y 50 migrantes) en La Araucanía andina del sur de Chile. Utilizando metodologías mixtas, encontramos una extraordinaria diversidad de plantas (284 especies y 543 etnovariedades). Las huertas de migrantes presentaron una mayor diversidad de plantas. Para los campesinos, las fuentes de aprendizaje fueron principalmente familiares, mientras que para migrantes fueron más diversas dada su mayor movilidad, acceso a información y tecnologías. Para ambos grupos, la principal motivación para cultivar una huerta fue el aporte alimentario, pero, para campesinos, también lo fue el aporte económico. Mientras los migrantes son fuente de agrobiodiversidad e innovación, los campesinos son fuente de conocimiento local experto y variedades tradicionales. Proponemos e implementamos acciones para la integración entre agricultores para favorecer la agrobiodiversidad y la soberanía alimentaria en contextos interculturales del sur de Sudamérica.

Notes

1. Although the literature differentiates the terms *Indigenous* and *campesino* (with the latter generally implying non-Indigenous), we refer here to Mapuche and non-Mapuche campesinos since the Mapuche farmers who inhabit rural areas of the southern Andes of Chile self-identify as campesinos.

2. See Mapuche Trekan, accessed March 17, 2024, <https://www.mapuche-trekan.com/>.

3. The varieties correspond to what the literature defines as *ethnovarieties* since they are identified as such by the homegardeners themselves. Therefore, two or more ethnovarieties could be the same variety for one species.

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