

Just conservation? Knowing Mapuche perspectives on environmental justice at Villarrica National Park, Chile

Maria Daniela Torres-Alruiz¹

Marx José Gómez-Liendo²

¹ Universidad de Los Lagos, Chile

² De Anza College, USA

Abstract

To advance Environmental Justice (EJ), it is crucial to analyze underlying power relations in conservation conflicts from a decolonized perspective, focusing on the sense of justice of marginalized groups. We analyze the discourse and practices deployed by Mapuche territorial organizations neighboring the Villarrica National Park (VNP), in the light of global and national debates over protected areas (PAs) that overlap ancestral territories and territorialities. We aim to understand local territorial perspectives and senses of justice regarding the VNP. Mapuche respondents critically question the state's project of de/re-territorialization of the PA. Their contestation can be interpreted as part of a grassroots process of re-territorialization. There is an ontological-political reappropriation of the conservation territory and the reconstruction of *Wallmapu*, reflecting the Mapuche sense of EJ. Discourses underline the costs associated with the PA and its management. Benefits are considered in terms of safeguarding the relational values of the territory. The culturalist and functional perspective of PA management held by the State is transcended by a politicized conception of participation that fosters self-determination and safeguards the territory along with its human and non-human inhabitants. This relational perspective underlines the importance of the political and cultural recognition that residents demand. Our findings are a significant step towards understanding how the Mapuche perceive the historical debt incurred by the Chilean state with their community within the current context of conservation. This understanding is fundamental for fostering genuine intercultural dialogue and charting potential pathways towards fairer governance of PAs in Chile.

Keywords: Mapuche, radical environmental justice, Villarrica National Park, de-territorialization, re-territorialization

Resumen

Es reconocido que para avanzar en materia de Justicia Ambiental (JA), es crucial analizar las relaciones de poder subyacentes en conflictos de conservación, desde una perspectiva descolonizada, centrándose en los 'sentido de justicia' de los grupos marginados. Situados en el fenómeno global y nacional de sobreposición de áreas protegidas (AP) sobre territorios y territorialidades ancestrales, y con el objetivo de conocer sus perspectivas territoriales y los sentidos de justicia sobre la figura y Gobernanza del Parque Nacional Villarrica (PNV), analizamos el discurso y las prácticas que despliegan organizaciones territoriales mapuche vecinas al PNV, que cuestionan críticamente el proyecto estatal de des/reterritorialización del AP. Encontramos que sus prácticas de impugnación pueden interpretarse como parte de un proceso de re-territorialización desde abajo de la figura de protección. Este proceso significa una reapropiación ontológico-política del territorio de conservación y la reconstrucción del *Wallmapu*, reflejando la concepción mapuche de JA. Este sentido mapuche

¹ Dra. Ma. Daniela Torres-Alruiz, Programa Doctoral Ciencias Sociales en Estudios Territoriales, Universidad de Los Lagos, Osorno, Chile. Email: madatoal@gmail.com. Marx José Gómez-Liendo, Sociology, De Anza College, CA, USA. Acknowledgements: the Agencia Nacional de Investigación y Desarrollo de Chile ANID, Beca Doctorado Nacional 2018, Folio 21180045. This research was part of the first author's doctoral research conducted in the ancestral land of the Mapuche People, *Ngulumapu*. I am grateful for the participation of the leaders who, despite the academic extractivism they have endured, decided to trust me and share their testimonies and experiences. Both authors also thank to three anonymous reviewers for their constructive revision of the previous draft.

de JA se articula a través de discursos que subrayan los costos asociados con la AP y su gestión. Los beneficios más importantes se consideran en términos de los valores relacionales del territorio, que se comprenden mejor en el contexto de 'resguardo' y no de la sola conservación del parque. La concepción politizada de participación trasciende la perspectiva culturalista y funcional del manejo del AP que tiene el Estado. Se aboga por una forma de participación que fomente la autodeterminación y resguarde el territorio junto con sus habitantes humanos y no humanos. Al profundizar en esta perspectiva relacional, podemos subrayar la importancia del reconocimiento político y cultural que exigen. Nuestros hallazgos constituyen un paso significativo hacia la comprensión de cómo el pueblo mapuche percibe la deuda histórica contraída por el Estado chileno con su pueblo en un contexto de conservación actual. Esta comprensión es fundamental para fomentar un diálogo intercultural genuino y trazar caminos potenciales hacia una gobernanza más justa de las AP en Chile.

Palabras clave: Mapuche, Justicia Ambiental Radical, Parque Nacional Villarrica, Des/re-territorialización

Sumário

É reconhecido que, para avançar na Justiça Ambiental (JA), é crucial analisar as relações de poder subjacentes em conflitos de conservação, a partir de uma perspectiva descolonizada, focando nos 'sentidos de justiça' dos grupos marginalizados. Situados no fenômeno global e nacional de sobreposição de áreas protegidas (AP) sobre territórios e territorialidades ancestrais, e com o objetivo de compreender suas perspectivas territoriais e os sentidos de justiça em relação à figura e Governança do Parque Nacional Villarrica (PNV), analisamos o discurso e as práticas das organizações territoriais mapuche vizinhas ao PNV, que questionam criticamente o projeto estatal de des/reterritorialização do AP. Descobrimos que suas práticas de contestação podem ser interpretadas como parte de um processo de reterritorialização de baixo para cima da figura de proteção. Esse processo significa uma reapropriação ontológico-política do território de conservação e a reconstrução do *Wallmapu*, refletindo a concepção mapuche de justiça. Esse sentido mapuche de JA é articulado por meio de discursos que enfatizam os custos associados à AP e sua gestão. Os benefícios mais importantes são considerados em termos dos valores relacionais do território, que são melhor compreendidos no contexto da salvaguarda e não apenas da conservação do parque. A concepção politizada de participação transcende a perspectiva culturalista e funcionalista do manejo da AP pelo Estado. Aboga-se por uma forma de participação que promova a autodeterminação e proteja o território junto com seus habitantes humanos e não humanos. Ao aprofundar essa perspectiva relacional, podemos destacar a importância do reconhecimento político e cultural que exigem. Nossas descobertas constituem um passo significativo para entender como o povo Mapuche percebe a dívida histórica contraída pelo Estado chileno com sua comunidade em um contexto de conservação atual. Esta compreensão é fundamental para promover um diálogo intercultural genuíno e traçar caminhos potenciales para uma governança mais justa das AP no Chile.

Palavras-chave: Mapuche, Radical Justiça Ambiental, Parque Nacional Villarrica, Des/re-territorialización

1. Introduction

Environmental Justice (EJ) has emerged as a key concern at the intersection of protected area (PA) conservation policies and the lives of indigenous peoples, evident in the Global Biodiversity Framework's "30x30" Target (Targets 21, 22) and in conservation research (Dawson, *et al.*, 2018; 2021). Defining 'just' conservation proves challenging. Radical EJ analyses advocate for a focus on three interrelated dimensions of justice: distributional, procedural, and recognition (Schlosberg, 2004; Martin *et al.*, 2016; Martin, 2017; Massarella *et al.*, 2020). A critique leveled at the EJ academic community, and even radical practitioners, is a reliance on a Western and universalist analytical framework. This can result in cultural domination, non-recognition, or disrespect towards indigenous people affected by conservation (Svarstad & Benjaminsen, 2020).

To achieve Environmental Justice (EJ), it is crucial to analyze power relationships from a decolonized perspective, focusing on the 'senses of justice' of marginalized groups. This involves understanding how affected individuals subjectively perceive and evaluate environmental interventions (Svarstad & Benjaminsen, 2020). This is especially pertinent when colonial values persist in conservation policies, perpetuating structural oppression and environmental injustices, particularly in the Global South (Dominguez & Luoma, 2020; Rodríguez, 2020). Additionally, it is essential to examine the social impacts of conservation and biodiversity conflicts (Redpath *et al.*, 2013; Oldekop *et al.*, 2016; Friedman *et al.*, 2018; Lecuyer *et al.*, 2019), especially in cases where protected areas are established and managed on ancestral territories (Brockington *et al.*, 2008).

Political ecology literature has examined the social impacts of establishing protected areas (PAs) quite extensively (Brockington *et al.*, 2008; Robbins, 2012; Neumann, 2015). Political ecologists have used terms like the political forest, territorialization, and territoriality to understand PA dynamics (Peluso 1993; Vandergeest & Peluso 1995, 2006 a,b, 2015; Peluso & Vandergeest 2001, 2011). Building upon Robert Sack's (1986) conception of territory, these ideas have provided valuable insights into understanding State PAs as territorialization projects that have consequences (Holmes 2014). A deeper understanding of the critical conservation arguments and the sense of justice articulated by marginalized groups opposed to them has been proposed by Brazilian geographer Rogerio Haesbaert (2011, 2014, 2016), adopting a relational, historical, and contextual perspective of territory that explicitly considers power. We suggest that this perspective is particularly relevant for certain Mapuche territorial organizations experiencing the dynamics of de/re-territorialization within Chilean PAs.

We apply Haesbaert's concepts of de/re-territorialization (2011, 2014, 2016) to examine Mapuche actions within Villarrica National Park (VNP) in southern Chile, as well as the sense of environmental justice (EJ) arising from these actions. We inquire: 1) How is EJ framed within the resistance discourse of Mapuche territorial organizations neighboring the VNP? and 2) What practices are employed to articulate this discourse? We analyze EJ discourses (in terms of recognition, distributional, and procedural dimensions) articulated by leaders of territorial organizations surrounding VNP, especially those challenging the park's existence.

In the first section, we present the theoretical framework, focusing on (a) the notion of de/re-territorialization in the context of PAs and the relationship with ontological politics and (b) the notions of equity and radical EJ, their decolonial dimensions, and their application in conservation. The second section describes the methodological approach. Then we identify some key sociohistorical aspects of de/re-territorialization used by state PAs, and characterize the conflictive situation surrounding the park today. In the fourth section, we analyze some of the Mapuche's direct and indirect contestation practices and discourses around the VNP, associated with re-territorialization processes and the Mapuche senses of environmental justice. The main characteristics of the Mapuche EJs' discourses are presented in the fifth section, with insights in the conclusion.

2. Theoretical approach

Protected areas de/re-territorialization

From Haesbaert's perspective (2011), territory is inherently intertwined with power and social processes, shaped by the control of space. It evolves through the simultaneous movements of deterritorialization and reterritorialization, reflecting unequal power dynamics among actors that hold varying capacities for agency and have divergent interests. Haesbaert (2011) emphasizes an explicit, relational understanding of power, encompassing both material and symbolic practices. He contends that deterritorialization cannot be separated from reterritorialization. When examining deterritorialization, it is crucial to identify the agents involved, their motivations, and the outcomes for different stakeholders. Deterritorialization can manifest in two ways: territorial deterioration or transformation. The former entails the loss of economic, social, cultural, and political foundations experienced by marginalized groups, often observed in the establishment of state PAs (Brockington *et al.*, 2008). The latter is driven by subaltern groups, representing moments of resistance and efforts to navigate precarious conditions, thereby shaping territorial dynamics (Banerjee *et al.*, 2021).

The re-territorialization process refers to the construction of 'another territory,' either a new territory or a new territoriality (with territorial representations) in a de-territorialized territory. Re-territorialization movements can occur from the top down, as a state encloses a space and converts it into a conservation territory, using its power to dominate, applying a zonal logic. The zonal logic shapes space, through fixing land uses and closing them to previous uses. Re-territorialization can be a bottom-up response, for example when subaltern groups struggle to defend their territories and territorialities in complex games of resistance within the state apparatus. To this end, and using an appropriation kind of power, they deploy reticular logics, which prioritize their networks. Different forms of re-territorialization are evidence of the simultaneous and/or successive experience by actors of different territories they inhabit, that is, multi territoriality (some examples are given in Vela-Almeida, 2020 and Clare *et al.*, 2017).

State-led protected area (PA) re-territorialization introduces new definitions and meanings into dynamic social, political, and cultural landscapes, where local communities have established their territories, structures, and identities. For indigenous peoples, whose existence is deeply intertwined with local relational worlds (Escobar, 2017), this often leads to the emergence of conflicting interpretations, resulting in prolonged disputes and conservation conflicts (*sensu* Redpath *et al.*, 2013). These disputes necessitate a distinct negotiation process among stakeholders. Such negotiations may prompt direct actions (such as demonstrations, protests, and legal proceedings) or indirect forms of resistance against the PA designation (Holmes, 2007, 2014). There can also be disputes over ownership symbols or material conditions within the conservation territory, or the preservation of subsistence practices that have been restricted or regulated (Holmes, 2007, 2014).

In these scenarios, actors strive to establish discursive hegemony, seeking acceptance of their definition and purpose of the PA, and thereby undermining alternative legitimacies. However, the distribution of political agency among actors is always uneven. The State possesses substantial resources to define and defend the territoriality of PAs. In contrast, local populations lack comparable resources and must navigate their actions while sustaining livelihoods on a daily basis. Consequently, opposition and resistance tend to be fragmented and of low intensity, and primarily localized (Holmes, 2007). In certain instances, these struggles may entail ontological political practices, wherein actions construct a distinct worldview, with each worldview embodying a unique approach to politics and conflicts revolving around fundamental assumptions about life (Blaser, 2018; Escobar, 2020).

In the case of the Mapuche people, cultural revitalization or claims aimed at restoring ancestral practices within PAs, both in Chile (*Ngulumapu*) and Argentina (*Puelmapu*), can be interpreted as bottom-up endeavors at re-territorialization (Trentini, 2023; Pell, 2022; Ramos, 2017, 2022; Antümilla Panguiküll & Torres-Alruiz, 2021). Political-ontological claims, or political and spiritual projects, are efforts to revitalize culture and identity, and to re-appropriate territory. They involve the revival of ritual practices that were prohibited when ancestral territories first came under the administration of national parks during the 20th century. Simultaneously, these projects are political processes sustained by affective and spiritual experiences intertwined with personal, familial, and collective memories (Ramos, 2022, 2016). They emerge from world-making practices – ways of inhabiting, acting, and understanding the world – that shape the determination behind defenses, inform collective decision-making, and delineate the boundaries of intercultural negotiations. These practices imbue community life with cultural significance and facilitate the transmission of fundamental cultural values, even in contexts where they may have disappeared or undergone radical transformation.

Environmental justice and biodiversity conservation

The Convention on Biological Diversity (CBD) employs the concept of "equity" in conservation management, emphasizing social justice and fairness, which involves subjective notions of what is considered "fair," taking into account diverse principles and viewpoints (Martin *et al.*, 2016; Martin, 2017). In contrast, Environmental Justice (EJ) encompasses a wider array of ethical perspectives on conservation, including the rights of non-human beings and responsibilities to future generations. EJ transcends the outcome-oriented focus of equity, making it valuable in analyzing environmental governance and socio-environmental conflicts. Consequently, EJ is increasingly applied in assessing conservation policies, practices, and conflicts (Lecuyer *et al.*, 2019; Torres-Alruiz, 2024).

Equity and environmental justice utilize a conceptual framework that acknowledges interrelated dimensions of analysis. Mainstream approaches typically focus on distributive and procedural dimensions, while critical perspectives of EJ incorporate a third dimension: recognition (Martin *et al.*, 2016; Martin, 2017; Sikor *et al.*, 2014). In the context of PA management and governance, the distributive dimension concerns sharing benefits and burdens, along with options for mitigating costs from PA establishment through to management. A participatory dimension addresses the processes, strategies, instruments, and mechanisms through which authorities pursue conservation objectives. 'Recognition' emphasizes the importance of respecting identity, valuing cultural differences, and acknowledging political rights. In biodiversity conservation, recognition is considered pivotal, particularly when negotiating parties exhibit cultural or ontological differences (Escobar, 2017; Blaser, 2013a, 2013b), or differing conceptions of justice (Ulloa, 2017).

Emphasizing distributive or procedural justice does not guarantee respect for such differences (Martin, 2017).

Recognizing the connections between conservationist ideology and various forms of coloniality (of knowledge, power, and being), more radical interpretations of EJ incorporate a decolonial perspective into their analysis. This approach aims to illuminate the colonial and epistemic origins of injustices in the Global South and underscores the necessity of democratizing science itself, fostering genuine intercultural dialogues within the realm of environmental governance (Rodríguez, 2020; Martin *et al.*, 2016). The decolonial EJ perspective can engage with the emerging decolonial movement within conservation, which scrutinizes the colonial legacy of the capitalist conservation paradigm and challenges power hegemonies, exploitative relations, and mechanisms proposed by colonial environmental governance (Collins *et al.*, 2021; Youdelis *et al.*, 2021; Dominguez & Luoma, 2020).

Finally, we investigate the 'sense of justice' (Svarstad & Benjaminsen, 2020), or the sense of EJ expressed by Mapuche organizations critical of the Villarrica National Park (VNP) as an entity and its management, aiming to advance this decolonized perspective. We posit that to recognize marginalized communities, it is imperative to first listen to their voices. So, interventions aimed at conserving biodiversity must acknowledge the sense of justice among affected communities for such initiatives to be successful (Tumusiime & Svarstad, 2011; Lecuyer *et al.*, 2019, 2022)

3. Methodological approach

This study utilizes a qualitative approach to explore the Environmental Justice (EJ) discourses of Mapuche territorial organizations, employing ideological critical discourse analysis (CDA) as the chosen methodology (van Dijk, 2008; Pardo, 2013).

Data collection

CDA employs various techniques to generate and analyze textual data. The data for this study was gathered through semi-structured interviews and participant observation conducted during face-to-face meetings with local groups and in virtual learning spaces and discussion forums between 2020 and 2022. Additionally, the first author collaborated with two young Mapuche traditional leaders and authorities from the communes of Villarrica and Curarrehue on two cartographic exercises (see Figure 1). The comprehensive depiction of the study area provided by the cartography, which included extractive pressures, presence of land grant titles, indigenous communities and associations, protected areas, and Mapuche territorial and land claims, allowed for a spatial and temporal analysis of the current sociopolitical situation within the park's vicinity. Furthermore, in addition to using the snowball technique, the cartographic work and review of secondary sources aided in establishing criteria for identifying the organizations to contact.

We found that 119 Mapuche territorial organizations were involved in 15 territorial claims. These mobilizations were identified by collaborators as collective Mapuche protest actions advocating for territorial and land claims. Subsequently, the first author focused on these protests, a methodological approach akin to some studies of socio-environmental conflicts (Allain, 2019). The documented actions were systematically recorded on data sheets, following the methodological framework proposed by Temper *et al.* (2015), which was deemed suitable for the mapping objectives. Following the methodology outlined in the Atlas of Environmental Justice (Temper *et al.*, 2015), three criteria were utilized for selecting and documenting cases. Firstly, the geo-referenced claims were linked to economic activities or legislation with discernible negative environmental and/or social impacts. Secondly, the demands were related to territory and/or land, aligning with one of the five demands through which the Mapuche people articulate their claims using the language of human rights. Lastly, each claim received coverage from at least one media outlet.

Among these organizations, secondary sources indicated that 44 expressed interest in utilizing Villarrica National Park (VNP), 19 showed interest in potential co-management, and 7 expressed interest in concessions within the park. Finally, ten organizations were identified as key for this study based on two criteria: 1) they demonstrated interest in the park's management and governance while being mobilized by at least one territorial claim, indicating agency within the territory, and 2) they were organizations that, at the time of fieldwork,

reported political involvement in their territories and/or were informally recognized by state officials and non-governmental organizations.

The primary data corpus comprises 20 semi-structured interviews conducted by the first author with Mapuche leaders from these ten territorial organizations. The group consisted of 7 women and 13 men, with 4 individuals under 35 years old, 7 between 36 and 60, and 9 over 60. The interviews were conducted between January 2021 and February 2022 in the four communes in the PA. These groups have diverse political trajectories and have been organized around different historical junctures. The participants hold various roles and positions within ancestral organizations (*Lof* or territorial and family clans), parliaments, and legal entities (Indigenous Communities and Associations recognized and structured by the state of Chile, Councils). Interviews were conducted in Spanish, lasting from forty-five minutes to three hours, and took place in public spaces or participants' homes. Two interviews were conducted virtually. Transcription of the interviews was done by the researcher using Sonix.ai software. Interview participants provided written or oral consent (for virtual interviews) to participate in the study and for the use of their testimonies.

The second corpus consisted of 26 documents selected from a total of 71, chosen because of their direct relevance to the territorial and land claims identified within the buffer zone or VNP itself. These documents, including communiques, statements, testimonies, interviews given to local media, and complaints presented by territorial organizations in defense of their territories, were compiled through digital searches, social networks, and alternative media.

Data analysis

Employing a mixed approach – guided and corpus-based – we concentrated on topicalizing words by frequency of occurrence. This method enabled us to identify the predominant themes in the discourse based on the frequency of appearance of lexemes associated with these themes. Additionally, we conducted word co-occurrence and concordance analyses to discern thematic or ideological framing relationships in certain instances.

The qualitative analysis centered on thematic categories, some of which arose from the quantitative study, determining how units of analysis were chosen. For the primary data corpus, axes of analysis associated with each EJs' dimension were chosen based on Zafra-Calvo *et al.* (2017) and Dawson *et al.* (2021). For the procedural dimension, the focus was on satisfaction with the park's decision-making process, access to park planning and management information, and satisfaction with prior consultations. In the distributive dimension, considerations included the material or non-material benefits provided by the park and the costs associated with establishing and managing it. Regarding recognition, we considered factors such as respect for cultural identity and the inclusion of knowledge systems in the park management plan, adherence to legal and customary rights in the establishment or management of the park, and the social and cultural impacts of the park on the livelihoods of the Mapuche people interviewed.

4. VNP in a broad context

State de/re-territorialization: Ngulumapu colonization

The PAs in La Araucanía played a pivotal role in the occupation and disarticulation of ancestral *Wallmapu* (Sepúlveda & Guyot, 2016). The process of La Araucanía's occupation, officially termed the 'Pacification of Araucanía' (1861-1883), facilitated the territorial expansion of the Chilean State by dispossessing Mapuche territories south of La Frontera. The Mapuche people were unique in their agreement on political and territorial sovereignty with the Spanish colonial government, exercising it over an extensive territory in the southern cone, now referred to as *Wallmapu*. This territory encompassed two large areas on both sides of the Andes Mountains: *Ngulumapu*, or western lands, presently within the borders of Chile, and *Puelmapu*, or eastern lands, currently under the jurisdiction of the Argentine State. *Ngulumapu* alone covered approximately 30 million hectares (Marimán, 2006). The boundary between *Ngulumapu* and the territories of the Captaincy General of Chile was commonly known as La Frontera.

Drawing from the theoretical framework presented in section 2, the State-led de/re-territorialization project amounted to an act of ontological occupation of La Araucanía (see Escobar, 2018, for a similar case of occupation in the Colombian Pacific). This State-driven endeavor involved transforming the land into large agricultural and livestock properties, introducing agricultural and forestry industries, establishing territorial and administrative units, fostering urbanization, and integrating Mapuche society into capitalist economic circuits (Romero-Toledo *et al.*, 2021). Military actions were accompanied by laws such as the *Radición y concesión de Títulos de Merced* (Filing and granting of Merced Titles) to indigenous people, effectively enabling the dispossession of Mapuche lands and reducing populations on remnants of their lands.

Wars and regional environmental changes aimed at fostering the aforementioned industries relied heavily on fire as a political tool (Escalona, 2020). This led to severe issues such as erosion, flooding, desertification, and the depletion of ancient native forests (Romero-Toledo *et al.*, 2021). In response to public concern over their destruction, initial measures were implemented to protect and establish 'political' forests in *Ngulumapu* (Escalona, 2020; Folchi, 2016). The territorialization of VNP took place on alienated lands of the Villarrica Forest Reserve, one of the earliest National Forest Reserves established in this context (Supreme Decree 1.722, 1912).

Meanwhile, forestry legislation progressed and was solidified in the first Forest Law of 1931 (D.S. 4.363, 1931), which remains in effect today. The overarching aim of this law was to regulate the timber trade, ensure the survival of certain tree species, and to preserve the aesthetic appeal of the landscape. To achieve this, it introduced 'parks' and 'reserves' without specifying the distinctions between the different categories of protection and management regimes (Folchi, 2016). Subsequently, the establishment of National Tourism Parks (Forest Law D.L. 656, 1925) took place, followed the Yellowstone model of nature preservation in the USA, emphasizing human agency and centralized state control (García & Mulrennan, 2020).

The territorialization of these political forests was integral to the colonial formation of the State of Chile and its colonizing dynamics of deterritorialization. The deterritorialization of *Ngulumapu* involved several key events. As noted by Nahuelpán & Antimil (2018), the colonial violence exerted on the Mapuche people towards the end of the 19th century and in the early decades of the 20th century was characterized by various factors:

...the dispossession of a significant portion of the territory controlled by Mapuche society until the mid-19th century (approximately 96%); its gradual occupation by Chilean and European settlers who seized the lands and exploited their resources (forests, horse and cattle ranching, textile production, and silver and gold mining); the racial subordination of the indigenous population, leading to their impoverishment and demographic disintegration due to reducing populations and forced displacements; as well as the establishment of various civilizational spaces (missions, schools, farms, the army) aimed at 'regenerating' the surviving Mapuche population following the systematic policy of physical and socio-cultural elimination or extermination. (Nahuelpán & Antimil, 2018, p. 216)

Other consequences included the ontological rupture caused by, among other factors, 'internalized colonialism' (Nahuelpán, 2013). This manifested in the suppression of language (*Mapuchezugun*) and knowledge (*Mapuche kimün*), alongside other forms of ethnocide, resulting in Mapuche economic instability, community division, and forced urban migration. In urban settings, Mapuche encountered additional forms of violence, racism, and exclusion, as documented in the literature (Nahuelpán, 2012; Nahuelpán & Antimil, 2018; Quidel, 2016). In this context, protected areas were established with a fortress-style management approach. This colonial model persists in many terrestrial protected areas across the country, including the VNP (Arce *et al.*, 2016). Initially, this model shaped conservation territories linked to the preservation of pristine ecosystems. Subsequently, these territories shifted towards biodiversity conservation when the top-down re-territorialization of the park was implemented. State territorialities have evolved throughout the 20th and 21st centuries, currently

embracing a pro-market conservation approach within multicultural and neoliberal recognition frameworks (Torres-Alruiz, 2024).²

The conflictive context today

VNP forms part of the SNASPE (National System of State Protected Wildlife Areas), overseen by the Chilean Ministry of Agriculture through CONAF (National Forestry Corporation). It covers 53,460 hectares, spanning the regions of La Araucanía (the communes of Villarrica, Pucón, Curarrehue) and Los Ríos (the commune of Panguipulli; see Figure 1). A significant portion of the population in these communes identifies as Mapuche: Panguipulli (41.9%), Villarrica (26.2%), Pucón (27%) and Curarrehue (65.2%) (National Institute of Statistics, 2017). VNP's management and administration encounters various tensions and challenges. Notably, the entire park overlaps with Mapuche ancestral territory. The official land ownership was only registered in 2010 through the Ministry of National Assets (VNP Management Plan, 2013), drawing criticism and resistance from local Mapuche inhabitants (Aylwin, 2008). Additionally, disputes persist over the park boundaries because there are Mapuche territories legally recognized by the Chilean state (Antümilla-Pangiküll & Torres-Alruiz, 2021). Despite interest in promoting more participatory management and recent initiatives in that direction, the fortress-style model persists (García, 2011; Arce *et al.*, 2016).

A significant portion of the territories where the PA is situated is either under state or private protection. However, there are notable extractive pressures within and surrounding the park's buffer zones. As depicted in the map (Figure 1), there are 1,880 water rights concessions granted for high-impact uses such as hydroelectricity, fish farming, and industry. These concessions are distributed as follows: 61% in Curarrehue, 37.6% in Panguipulli, 33% in Pucón, and 20% in Villarrica. Additionally, there are 100 mining concessions (38 for exploration and 62 for exploitation), two geothermal exploration concessions, and 29 investment projects related to fish farming, hydroelectric projects, and road improvements. While further studies are required to assess the impact of these extractive pressures, which fall beyond the scope of this article, many Mapuche territorial organizations perceive this situation as threatening.

In response to the socio-environmental deterioration within the PA and its buffer zones as perceived by the Mapuche inhabitants, there is ongoing collective mobilization.³ This entails collective actions displayed by Mapuche organizations against interventions perceived as threats to their ways of life. These constitute the second layer of information presented on the map, offering a temporal overview of the conflict situation in the territories where the PA is situated, represented by 15 territorial claims and Mapuche land claims (Table 1).

² Mental models of EJ shaped by these State de/re-territorialization processes and their implications for the Mapuche people will be examined in forthcoming articles.

³ In the context of socio-environmental conflicts, mobilization encompasses three interconnected features: 1) its forms or actions (such as blockades, protests, boycotts, media-based activism, artistic expressions, among others); 2) its characteristics, whether preventive, reactive, or reparative; and 3) its intensity or the degree of visibility and confrontation among groups of actors (see Scheidel *et al.*, 2020; <https://ejatlas.org/>).

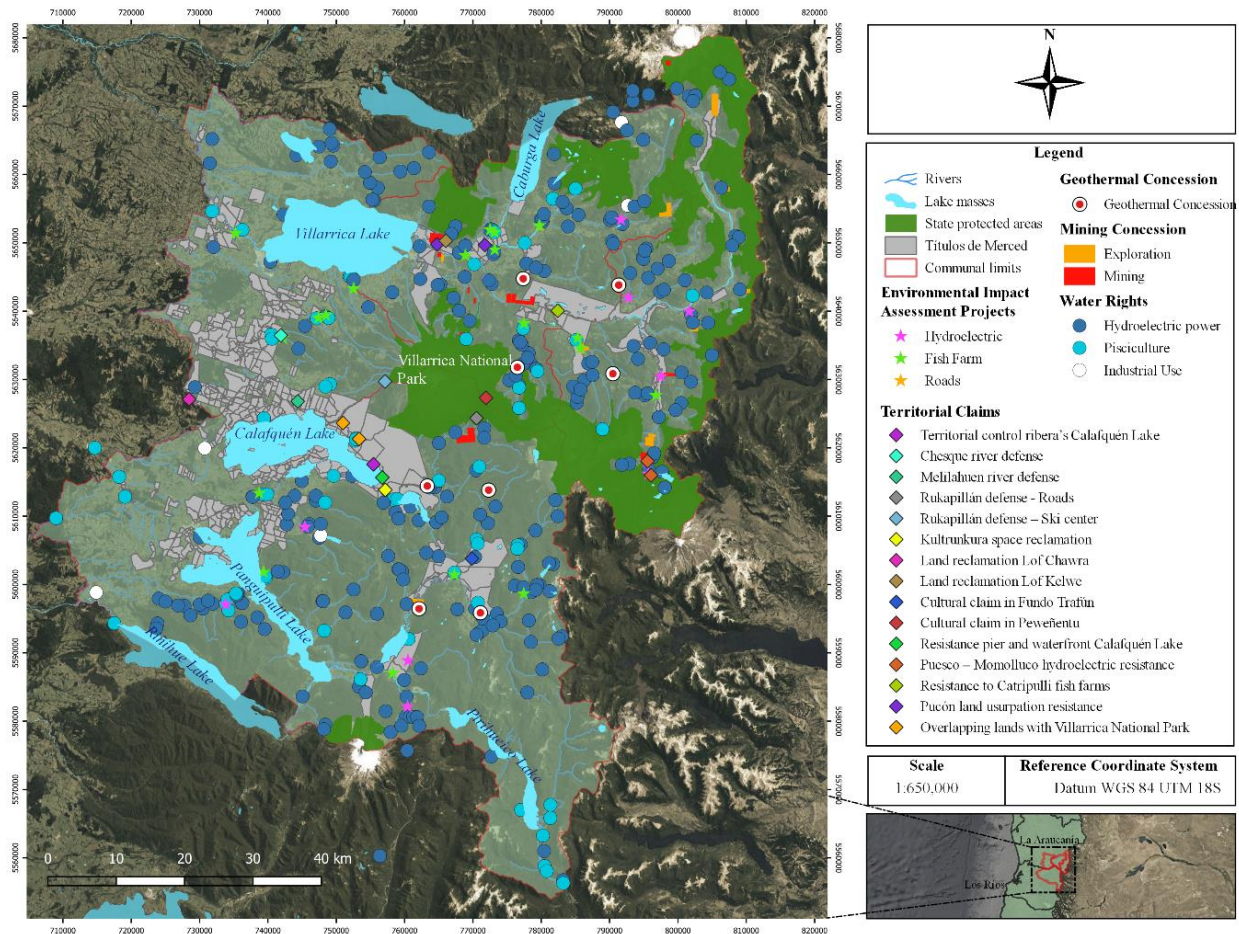


Figure 1: Extractivist pressures in VNP buffer zones and Mapuche land and territorial claims. Source: Torres-Alruiz in collaboration with Longko (Head of families and Lof) Cristian Antümilla-Pangiküll and Werken (Longko Messenger) Simón Crisóstomo Loncopán. Cartography Simón Crisóstomo Loncopán. English version: Jessica Castillo.

Each mobilization involves anywhere from one territorial organization to as many as forty-three, varying in intensity and outcome. Recurrent protests occur over time, often sharing similar forms of mobilization such as land occupation, official complaints, media activism, cultural events, marches, and involvement of NGOs. Common causes include disputes over indigenous lands recognized by the Chilean state through Merced Titles, targeting various entities like government institutions (Ministry of National Assets, CONAF), the Catholic Church (the Diocese of Villarrica), individuals, and private real estate developers. For instance, while Case 1 focuses on denouncing the establishment of VNP limits on Merced Titles, Cases 6 and 7 defend rivers against pollution caused by private companies and fish farms. Cases 4 and 5 advocate for respect for cultural practices and associated spaces.

CASES	Conflict sources	Mobilization intensity*	Number of Mapuche organizations involved
1. LAND OVERLAP WITH VILLARRICA NATIONAL PARK	Direct: Land claims, Biodiversity, and Conservation	Medium	7
2. EFFECTIVE POSSESSION OF LAND, SHORE OF LAKE CALAFQUEN	Direct: Land claims Indirect: Biodiversity and Conservation	High	6
3. KULTRUNKURA SPACE RECOVERY	Direct: Land claims Indirect: Biodiversity and Conservation	Medium	>1
4. CULTURAL VINDICATION IN FUNDO TRAFUN	Direct: Land claims; Respect for cultural practices Indirect: Biodiversity and Conservation	High	9
5. CULTURAL CLAIM IN PEWEÑENTU - REWE	Direct: Respect for cultural practices Indirect: Land claims, protected areas creation	Low	4
6. MELILAHUEN RIVER DEFENSE	Direct: Water management; Pollution; Indirect: Biodiversity and Conservation	Medium	9
7. CHESQUE RIVER DEFENSE	Direct: Waste management, Land claims, Water management Indirect: Aquaculture and fisheries, Water access rights, Water treatment, and access to water sanitation.	Medium	8
8. RESISTANCE TO THE PUESCO-MOMOLLUCO HYDROELECTRIC PROJECT	Direct: Water management Indirect: Water access rights, land acquisition conflicts, dam construction conflicts, water transport, and distribution infrastructure	Medium	8
9. RUKA PILLAN-<i>Peweñentu</i> DEFENSE	Direct: Transportation infrastructure Indirect: Land claims, Biodiversity, and Conservation	Medium	43
10. DEFENSE OF THE RUKA PILLAN-Ski center	Direct: Tourism, Infrastructure Indirect: Land claims, Biodiversity, and Conservation	Medium	40
11. RESISTANCE TO FISH FARMING, CATRIPULLI	Direct: waste management; water contamination Indirect: aquaculture and fishing, land claims	Low	19

12. RESISTANCE TO USURPATION OF ANCESTRAL LANDS, PUCÓN	Direct: Land claims Indirect: Transportation and tourism infrastructure, real estate development	Medium	8
13. RESISTANCE TO THE CALAFQUÉN-COÑARIPE LAKE PIER AND WATERFRONT PROJECT	Direct: Transportation infrastructure (pier), tourist facilities (waterfront) Indirect: Biodiversity and Conservation	Medium	20
14. TERRITORIAL RECOVERY <i>LOF KELWE</i>. MANUEL HUAQUIVIR MERCED TITLE RECOGNITION	Direct: Land claim, Tourism, Real Estate Development Indirect: Biodiversity and Conservation	Medium	3
15. TERRITORIAL RECOVERY <i>LOF CHAWRA</i>. RAFAEL HUENUPAN MERCED TITLE RECOGNITION	Direct: Land claim, Tourism, Real Estate Development Indirect: Biodiversity and Conservation	Medium	9

Table 1: Mapuche territorial and land claims in the VNP buffer zones. Source: Antümilla-Pangikull & Torres-Alruiz (2021). Updated 2022. *Intensity of mobilizations at peak of actions: High (violence, arrests, etc.), Latent (no visible organization to date), Low (some local organization), Medium (street protest, visible mobilization). Source <https://ejatlas.org/>

Most of these claims are rooted in the colonization processes of the Chilean State, including reductions (i.e. mobilization of Indigenous communities from their original territories to smaller and less productive lands), the creation of protected areas, evangelization, and modern education. They are also related to extractivism, capitalizing on nature and local development, particularly consolidated in the post-dictatorship era (from 1990) (Nahuelpán, 2012; Romero-Toledo, *et al.*, 2021). Furthermore, they unfold within a context of neoliberal multicultural (Richards, 2013) and pro-market environmental (Tecklin, *et al.*, 2011) recognition policies, which limit the margins for negotiation and impede access to environmental justice for these communities (Cuadra Montoya, 2021).

Like cases in *Puelmapu* (Ramos, 2016, 2017, 2022; Pell, 2022; Trentini, 2023), these claims are integral to responses that acknowledge and challenge the processes of subordination and otherness experienced by numerous Mapuche communities, organizations, and individuals. Subordination emerged through the military occupation of *Wallmapu* and the territorial displacement of the Mapuche people in the 19th century, orchestrated by the governments of Chile and Argentina. 'Otherness' is perpetuated through various mechanisms through which the inclusion and exclusion of 'Indigenoussness' is managed: the 'internal other.' These claims can be interpreted as part of restoration exercises, serving as modes of agency that recognize the deterioration of the reality facing local people, seeking to address it to halt and ultimately reverse it (Ramos, 2017).

Hence, the episodes of protest in Table 1 are driven by relational and structural factors, contributing to a 'conflictive' landscape (*sensu* Rodríguez *et al.*, 1998, 2015) in the territories adjacent to the VNP. Within this analytical framework, all these restoration efforts are interconnected. Recognizing this broader conflict scenario is crucial for grasping the significance of the actions and discourses contesting the VNP's existence, the structural challenges in its management, and Mapuche senses of environmental justice.

4. Direct and indirect challenges to VNP

Walking along one of the trails in the park, starting from the Challupen sector, Torres-Alruiz encountered a sign, depicted in Figure 2. The sign displayed the route and distance to the ski center situated on *Ruka Pillán*, the Mapudungun name for the Villarrica Volcano. This ski center has also faced criticism and resistance from certain neighboring Mapuche territorial organizations (refer to Table 1, cases 9, 10). The sign had been removed from its original location, and the words 'Mapuche Territory' were inscribed on the back. This act, as Holmes (2007) suggests, can be interpreted as a form of indirect resistance to conservation, implying a contestation over symbols of park ownership.

Another comparable instance is the intervention on park signage, executed on November 10, 2019, by Mapuche activists.⁴ The activists presented this as a 'political action claiming Mapuche territorial resistance' in response to the threats of intervention documented in cases 9 and 10 (Table 1). In a video shared through social media, CONAF signs are observed inverted and rewritten as "*Pewēñentu*. Mapuche territory recovered." The speaker states that these actions are taken "because they do not represent the meaning of this space for us." Other texts say, "Out with Conaf," and "*Wallmapu* resists the murderous state." In their own words, such actions are carried out as "reaffirmation of our struggle, for the maintenance and recovery of our territory." This is an affirmation of the ontological-political principles of territorial struggles (Oslender, 2019), specifically the right to space for being and existence (Escobar, 2008; Gómez-Liendo, 2015). Such struggles for territory seek to sustain, restore and reserve 'other' worlds in the face of dominant ontologies (Oslender, 2019; Ramos, 2016). It is important to stress that the ownership of the ancestral territories where the park is located are struggles in addition to claims for Mapuche lands legally recognized by the state through Merced Titles, on which the park boundaries are superimposed (Cases 1 and 2; Table 1).



Figure 2. Photo taken in VNP, March 2022. Park signage; on one side (a) 'Ski Center 20 kilometers away', on the other side (b) 'Mapuche Territory'. Source: first author

Interviewees emphasized the importance of reconstructing *zayeles*, which served as shelters for resting or spending the night during journeys for exchanges of merchandise or family visits across the territories now enclosed by the park. These shelters were also utilized during *veranadas*, when cattle were taken to pasture. However, during the dictatorship (1973-1990), the shelters were destroyed as part of measures to forcibly remove inhabitants from the park. Their reconstruction has been an act of vindication, demanding recognition of Mapuche pre-existence in the park's territories. Negotiations with CONAF have been necessary for these reconstructions. While these actions could be seen as indirect resistance, others involve healing practices or the

⁴ <https://www.facebook.com/228640044487337/videos/999122160425155>; see July 2021.

use of fire, prohibited within the PA, though these rules have recently been relaxed to permit some burning. Those resisting conservation through such practices see their actions as struggles for the right to continue them, asserting this right (Holmes, 2007).

Finally, some individuals engage in linguistic resistance by referring to the PA as *Peweñentu*, the Mapuche name for a place with native *araucaria* forests, instead of using the term VNP (Table 2). This was a topic of discussion in the interviews and is also documented in the secondary sources examined. In our view, this reflects indirect resistance to conservation.

Regarding direct actions challenging the park, two stand out: those associated with cultural revitalization efforts, such as the construction of ceremonial and organizational complexes called *Rewe* within the PA, and those related to the *Ruka pillán* defense movement. A *Rewe* serves as a material intermediary between the *Mapun* dimensions: *Inumamapu* (deep land), *Miñchemapu* (underground land), *Nagmapu* (intermediate land), and *Wenumapu* (land of the sky). It synthesizes a *werkün* ('mandate' or message) given to a *zullinche* (chosen person) in a *pewma* (dream). This ontological political practice carries social, territorial, and religious implications and serves as an organizational framework for various actions and objectives, such as protecting a space, manifesting a *Newen* (spiritual force), and strengthening knowledge. Etymologically, *Rewe* can be broken down as follows: Re= referencing something unique, only; We= the new, the pure. It could be translated as 'Place of only the new/pure.' One *Rewe* was built in the Chinay sector of VNP within *Peweñentu*. This site was chosen by the ancestors for Mapuche to offer prayers to defend the *Mawiza* inside the Villarrica National Park (Cristian Antümilla-Pangikul, personal communication, 2023).

Words	
<i>Peweñentu</i>	VNP
Frequency: 27	Frequency: 74
Occurrence in documents: 10 out of 26	Occurrence in documents: 14 out of 26
...Mapunche people around the <i>Ruka Pillañ</i> (Villarrica Volcano) and the <i>Peweñentu</i> – named in 1940 as Villarrica National Park...	...The entire area of today's VNP was under the control of our territories until 1940...
...you know the outrage that is happening there with our <i>Peweñentu</i> , better known as the 'Villarrica National Park'...	...Mapunche ancestry associated with the territory of the incorrectly named 'Villarrica National Park and Villarrica Volcano'...
...So, for us, it was <i>Peweñentu</i> and it is still <i>Peweñentu</i> in our language, for us it is not a park, because they never told us that they were going to change the name either...	...They say that they are the owners of the 'National Park', when we, the ancestral territories, have been the true owners ...

Table 2: Examples of concordances for the words *Peweñentu* and VNP. Source: See section 2, methodological approach. Literal translation from Spanish.

Mawiza in Mapudungun encapsulates the interconnectedness of trees, land, subsoil, air, water, plants, and animals. While often translated as 'forest,' its significance extends beyond a mere ecological designation, embodying complex historical, economic, political, and spiritual dimensions vital to Mapuche life in forested territories. These translation problems reveal ideological and ontological conflicts between what exists within and beyond words (Skewes, 2019; Riquelme, 2021). Defending the *Mawiza* and conserving the forest are two radically different issues, even if it seems that they are talking about the same thing.

Longko Antümilla Pangiküll underscores the intricate nature of resistance actions within VNP with several key points:

Territorial control for us means assuming a presence in that place... Visiting the spaces, protecting them, cleaning them if necessary, and talking to the spaces. Because today, the machi have also told us that the spaces are sad because their *Mapunche* does not speak to them anymore. So, of course, exercising territorial control means that I am speaking to the *Mapu* again. I am speaking to the *Menoko* [marshy ecosystems, such as wetlands], to the *Mawizantu*, I am speaking to the *Lafken* [lakes, sea], to the *Leufu* [streams] to the *Trayenko* [running water, waterfall or stream]. And that is why it is important to what I was telling you before, the spiritual issue because the spiritual issue is related to the *Mapuzungun* [Mapuche language]. So, in this way, I know how to speak to a space and that space will listen to me and will transmit to me its *Newen* [vital energy] it will give me a good *Peuma* [dream] perhaps, good dreams, or it will give me the *lawen* [Mapuche medicine] that I have there... If I speak correctly to the *Ngen*, the *Ngen* [spiritual force guardian of a place] listens to me and transmits and gives me its *Newen*. That is why the importance of the spiritual must be strengthened, in that way, I do not walk alone... but I am accompanied by my ancient strength, by my family, and also by the space that surrounds me, which is also important, because that space is not alone, no space is alone. Here, there is no creator God, omnipresent who controls and regulates everything, it's not like that... (personal communication, 2022)

Longko Antümilla Pangiküll's words, shared with his consent, offer a nuanced insight into the ontological political practice inherent in resistance actions within VNP. Firstly, they illuminate the construction of a reality where humans and non-humans interact, highlighting the interconnectedness of all beings. Secondly, his testimony transcends personal narrative, weaving together collective struggles and the ongoing enactment of relational ontology. Thirdly, it serves as a restorative act of memory, drawing upon collective experiences to assert and reaffirm Mapuche identity. This embodies an ontological political practice that fosters alternative ways of knowing, relating, and inhabiting the land in accordance with a Mapuche worldview.

The insights provided by Aravena (1999) and Antona Bustos (2012) underscore the significance of ritual practices in the process of Mapuche cultural revitalization and social reconfiguration across diverse rural and urban landscapes. These revitalization efforts entail a public commitment to community and cultural preservation, affirmed through sacred Mapuche institutions. By revitalizing spiritual and social bonds within the community and strengthening institutional frameworks, these rituals symbolically reclaim the territory, restoring it to its *Az Mapu* essence. When applied to the case of the *Rewe* in the Chinay sector, this reading unveils a conflict that encompasses not only ancestral lands but also ontological dimensions, highlighting the complex interplay between cultural resurgence and assertion of territorial rights (Blaser, 2013a, 2013b).

The movement for the defense of *Ruka Pillán* emerged in 2019 amidst two bidding processes for concessions where infrastructure developments were planned inside and outside the park. The first was for tourism infrastructure, particularly linked to the PNV Mountain Center in the Rucapillán sector (see Table 1, Case 9). The second involved transportation infrastructure, specifically for the construction of public roads leading to and from the park (see Table 1, Case 10). While the tourism project was granted for a duration of thirty years, the roads project was ultimately rejected (CONAF, Ministry of National Assets, 2022, response to data request for transparency).

The *Ruka Pillán* holds significant cultural and spiritual importance for the Mapuche population residing near it. Historically, the volcano has served various purposes tied to traditional subsistence and spiritual activities. However, beyond its utilitarian aspects, the *pillán*, is considered the foundation of their spirituality. For the Mapuche people, volcanoes represent a space where the earth connects directly with the sky. They are seen as embodiments of heaven on earth, because within them reside some of the stars and the principal spiritual entities of Mapuche cosmology. As one activist interviewee aptly expressed, "Everything passes through there,

everything comes from there." In Mapudungun, *ruka* denotes dwelling or habitat, while *pillán* refers to the supreme spirit, owner, and protector believed to inhabit the volcano.

According to Cecilia Caniumán (2020), a young Mapuche leader who coordinated actions in the movement for the defense of the *Ruka Pillán*, the volcano symbolizes a space of transcendence, representing life after death. The *Pillán* is believed to be the origin and the end of life, because four essential energies or elements of the universe and Mapuche existence are believed to originate from it and spread around it: *Folil ko* (water root), *Folil Mapu* (earth root), *Folil kütral* (fire root), and *Folil küriif* (wind root). In all the *Ngillatun* ceremonies performed in the surrounding territories, the *Ruka Pillán* is called the axis of life, signifying a deeply sacred territory. Many interviewees highlighted that ascents to the volcano occur under certain conditions and rules of respect, which come into tension with the mass tourism use that part of Chilean society gives to the *pillan*. In informal conversations with the leaders, some mentioned that they found it difficult, if not useless, to express to government authorities the spiritual reasons that made them oppose any intervention in the entire *Ruka pillan*. Therefore, they were looking for conservationist reasons to argue their defense, or they were adopting family tourism initiatives that would allow them to spread and explain their cosmovision and relationship with the volcano.

The direct and indirect challenges mentioned here reveal the limits of the rational politics that inform the state's action in the conceptualization and management of VNP. This rational politics is anchored to a modern and colonial ontology that, through a process of state de/re-territorialization, has excluded the Mapuche population. In contrast, the territoriality of these Mapuche leaders reflects an ontology where humans and non-humans are in a relationship of *mongen* (life). Similarly, this ontological-political stance also makes visible how different forms of appropriation, use, signification, and control over a material and symbolic space turn the territory into an 'uncommon' (Blaser & De la Cadena, 2017): a condition that interrupts and strains the idea of a world made of a single world – the mono-ontological occupation generated by state de/re-territorialization. The conceptualization and management of the VNP reveal that resources in a territory and the need to conserve them are at stake. But also, fundamentally, territorialities involving non-human kin or more-than-human agencies. This situation exceeds the limits of modern politics which reduces these demands or positionings to a mere cultural belief, starting from an idea of culture as a symbolic structure and not as a radical difference (Escobar, 2017). Therefore, the cultural recognition expressed, for example, in the location of sites of cultural importance in the Management Plan (2013) is a step forward, but it is insufficient. The actions mentioned here reflect a way of configuring the territorial identities of a people. Consequently, the distinctions between *Peweñentu* / PNV and *Ruka Pillán* / Villarrica volcano are not just different ways of naming, but of living.

5. *Peweñentu*: VNP from a Mapuche sense of environmental justice

As explained in the previous section, the Mapuche territorial organizations in the vicinity of VNP employ various strategies to navigate their relationship with the government and the discourses surrounding the Park. They emphasize the following characteristics in relation to conservation governance of the park and senses of justice. Firstly, there is a strong emphasis on highlighting the adverse impact of the territorialization of the park on the original Mapuche inhabitants. This prioritizes the recognition of the costs incurred by the Mapuche communities over any potential benefits derived from the establishment of protected areas. Secondly, there's a challenge to the exclusionary and apolitical nature of participation within the park's management processes. There is a desire for more inclusive and politically engaged forms of participation that allow for meaningful input from Mapuche communities. Finally, there is an urgent call for the park's management to prioritize political recognition alongside cultural recognition. This entails seeking autonomy in governance structures and decision-making processes, allowing Mapuche communities to assert their political agency and have a greater say in the management of their ancestral territories.

The leaders and activists were asked about the park's benefits and costs. Except for two individuals who argued that the protection against the extractivist advance could be considered a benefit '...to a certain extent...', the rest indicated that they did not perceive any benefit from the existence of the park and its administration: "...The fact that they [the State] have the administration... nothing, in this case, is beneficial for the Mapuche, whatever name it may be called" (Anonymous, 2021).

To comprehend certain leaders' stances on the benefits of the park, it is crucial to grasp the concept of 'safeguarding', rather than mere conservation. Under this paradigm, relational values take precedence, mirroring social preferences and decisions. These values establish connections between individuals and encompass ideals like justice, reciprocity, kinship, care, and virtue, not only among humans but also extending to all entities that share the planet (Klain *et al.*, 2017). One of those relational principles is respect (*Ekuwün, Yamuwün*) between human beings, territories, and more-than-human beings.

... *Ekun* is the intrinsic respect that I must have for each being, each species, and each landmark that has remained in this territory. And I must respect it as such, as well as *Yamuwün* or *Yamun*, which is respect among people. I need to understand how or how my actions are going to interfere with the tranquility or the harmony that this other space has. I am referring to relationships, people, animals, water, everything. When there is no harmony, when this is transgressed, there is no more respect, there is no *Ekun*, and justice must be applied. And what is justice? To return things to their natural order, to return to their normal order, to the harmony of this space. (Anonymous, 2021).

Respect was cited by all 20 interviewees in various contexts as highly important. For the Mapuche, respect, balance, reciprocity, harmony, and the heteronomous nature of human existence, as well as their dependence on other forms of life, constitute the pillars of *Küme mongen* (Good living) according to the *Az Mapu* (Antona Bustos, 2012; Melin *et al.*, 2016). The *Az Mapu* is the ethical and normative framework guiding social and territorial behaviors and relationships. Within Mapuche knowledge (*Kimiün*), respect is a multifaceted value fundamental to both ancient and contemporary societal codes of conduct (Antona Bustos, 2012; Melin *et al.*, 2016). Tourism development as promoted by the state is viewed as disrespectful within the park, or its surrounding areas. For instance, enhancing or expanding infrastructure at the ski center on the Villarrica volcano or *Ruka pillán*, with the aim of boosting tourism in the region, is deemed by many of these organizations to be profoundly disrespectful to the territory and its identity. Similar to other indigenous peoples worldwide, the material benefits associated with infrastructure development, job creation, and income generation from tourism ventures are considered by these leaders to be less significant than the symbolic and historical dimensions of their traditional territories (Thondhlanaa *et al.*, 2015). So, conservation without respect undermines any potential material benefits.

Respondents did draw attention to the costs of the de/reterritorialization of the PA:

... I think it does not bring, it does not bring me, neither personally nor collectively, any benefit. Quite the contrary. Why? Because there is the park, there is this limit, isn't it?... One time we almost forced a *ñañita* [women who take care] who was 80 years old and had not been to the park since the park was created. She has now passed away, but she did not want to go because it brought back very, very bad memories. She thought that the park ranger who destroyed her *zayel* [wooden accommodation] was going to be there. Because CONAF destroyed the *rukas* [traditional Mapuche housing]... that were there in *Peweñentu*. So, she witnessed that and... that is why she never returned to *Peweñentu*. To the park. (Anonymous, 2021)

Some interviewees expressed discomfort with the establishment of the park without their consent and the costs it imposed on the Mapuche people: evictions, and the disintegration of political, social and family bonds, with a loss of intergenerational transmission of knowledge about the territory, and restrictions on free movement within it for foraging, and the performance of cultural practices. One interviewee mentioned that the exercise of their sovereignty had become necessarily clandestine. While some leaders acknowledge that these regulations have become somewhat more flexible over time, they also note that this flexibility has its limits, typically not extending back more than ten years. Others question the monocultural imposition inherent in the very name of the PA, as well as the fortress-like management model manifested, for example, in the human-nature divide that excludes them.

Therefore, this legal figure of a park, that excludes the Mapunche human being, is not good... I mean, there may be complementary visions... but I would also like to add more things regarding the bad relationship with the concept of the park... I don't know, the *longko* themselves also mention it... they say it in *Mapuzugun*, the fact that it is called 'Villarrica National Park' is an imposition, and 'National' to boot, as if there was only one nation... (Anonymous, 2021)

From a distributive justice perspective, these testimonies reveal that, according to the Mapuche sense of justice, their people have borne the costs of establishing and managing the park without reaping any benefits from its existence. Furthermore, the colonial principles underlying the State's de/re-territorialization project of the park are strongly criticized. Simultaneously, the notion that there are material benefits is challenged, highlighting an ontologically different perspective on the benefits that should be considered in the park's management.

Regarding participation, there is dissatisfaction with the informative and non-binding nature of state-convened instances, the lack of access to timely information on aspects related to PA management, and questions about the guarantees made about Indigenous prior consultation. Additionally, participation in the VNP's decision-making bodies is seen as an opportunity to access potential material benefits and to advance roles in the Park's territorial self-governance. These issues highlight the politicized nature of participation. They could be a mechanism for progressing towards more autonomy.

Some argue for state reparations, or addressing the historical debt owed to the Mapuche people due to the creation of the PA. In this context, they refer to the restitution of the conservation territory, as well as the political recognition that would allow them to establish their own self-government and compensation measures associated with capacity building and the financing required to carry out its administration. This is evident in communiqués and joint statements that claim *Pewëñentu* as a collective patrimony of the Mapuche people or nation:

1. Suspend all types of intervention in the area of Villarrica National Park, while there is no real participation by the communities' decision-making process that seeks the protection of this space for its cultural and spiritual significance...
2. We, the *Lof* or territories summoned, propose to advance in the restitution of this ancestral space, to protect and administer it, exercising customary law, which is currently recognized nationally and internationally (Indigenous Law 19.253, ILO Convention 169) acknowledging the use and customs of Indigenous peoples and access to spaces of ancestral use...⁵

Among the interviewees, ensuring the safeguarding of *Pewëñentu* was seen to require genuine participation in decision-making, enabling the management of the area based on its principles of *mongen*. Procedural justice involves reclaiming decision-making and power. This is evident in the Mapuche discourse and reveals the political ontological connection between autonomy, territory, and identity.

The direct and indirect re-territorialization actions previously described, which challenge the figure and management of the VNP, take on greater political significance when considering the dimensions of distributive and procedural justice outlined earlier. Simultaneously, these actions demonstrate demands for the type of recognition available to the State and Chilean society. While cultural recognition granted thus far has enabled the rebuilding of *zayeles*, ceremonies in specific sectors, and even partial co-management agreements for certain locations in the park (Torres-Alruiz, 2024), these actions and discourses reveal that cultural recognition alone is insufficient to rebuild the political, material, and identity foundations of Mapuche society according to *Küme mognen* and *Az Mapu* principles. Advancing towards the autonomy necessary to rebuild *Wallmapu* with self-determination requires real political influence, which cultural recognition does not generate, presenting instead

⁵ For the defense of the *Ruka pillán*, advancing the restitution of ancestral spaces. See <https://www.facebook.com/konarupu.conaripe>, November 8, 2020.

a culturalist bias that restricts the deployment of Indigenous agencies (Cárdenas Llancamán, 2019). On the contrary, there is a demand for the assimilation of these people into political and institutional forms of organization that are not their own. Therefore, achieving justice from the Mapuche standpoint necessitates the manifestation of both cultural and political recognition through their right to exercise autonomy, which is currently lacking.

6. Conclusions

To better understand the relationship between EJ, conservation, and indigenous peoples in Chile, we analyzed the environmental justice discourse of Mapuche territorial organizations near the VNP. They critically question the state's de/re-territorialization project for the Park. We also studied the practices used to deploy this discourse, providing insights into the territorial perspectives and senses of justice held by these groups regarding the Park. The territory is a cornerstone of identity, constituting a space where a politics of difference takes shape. *Pewëñentu*, therefore, represents a locus of *mongen* crucial for the sustenance of Mapuche life in its broadest sense. Through direct and indirect contestation practices outlined in this article, the reconstitution of identity emerges, offering a Mapuche perspective on EJ. These acts of contestation against the VNP can be interpreted as part of a bottom-up process of PA re-territorialization. This process signifies an ontological-political re-appropriation of the conservation territory and the reconstruction of *Wallmapu*, reflecting the Mapuche conception of fairness. This re-territorialization is accompanied by the intent to de-territorialize the park, not only to safeguard it but also to transform or redress the subordination and otherness that has been perpetuated by the Chilean state in *Wallmapu*. However, further studies are needed to substantiate this assertion.

We have also observed that this emerging Mapuche sense of environmental justice is articulated through discourses that underscore the costs associated with the PA and its management. The non-material benefits from the Park are relational, and better comprehended as safeguarding land and territory from worse extractivism, rather than simply conserving habitat. The Mapuche's politicized conception of participation transcends the culturalist and functionalist biases of the state. They advocate for a form of participation that fosters self-determination and safeguards the territory along with its human and non-human inhabitants. By delving into this relational perspective, we have underscored the significance of the type of recognition they demand. Their demands carry the weight of past humiliations and moral grievances, propelling Mapuche and their movements to strive for the moral restoration of their collective dignity rather than merely seeking distributive or procedural justice or cultural recognition. From this standpoint, EJ can be comprehended as comprising ethical, political, and territorial imperatives, where a sense of responsibility and reciprocal actions between and across human and non-human entities guide ways of life and actions.

This study has made several significant contributions. By centering on a marginalized group, it illuminates how Mapuche territorial organizations assert their identity and cultural revitalization through restoration activities in the VNP area. It is evident that the Mapuche's perceptions and discourses of EJ surpass the confines of modern politics that inform the conceptualization and management of the VNP, showing the necessity for progress in establishing spaces for substantive intercultural dialogue in *Pewëñentu* governance. Our findings are a significant step towards comprehending how the Mapuche people perceive the historical debt owed to their community in a tangible setting of conservation implementation. This understanding is paramount for fostering genuine intercultural dialogue, acknowledging the tensions it generates, and charting potential pathways towards fairer governance of protected areas.

References

- Allain, M. (2019). Conflictos y protestas socio-ambientales en Chile: Reflexiones metodológicas y resultados. *Revista de Sociología* 34(1), 81101. <http://doi.org/10.5354/0719-529X.2019.54271>
- Antona Bustos, J. (2012). *Etnografía de los derechos humanos. Etnoconcepciones en los pueblos indígenas de América: el caso mapuche*. PhD dissertation. Universidad Complutense de Madrid.

- Antümilla Pangiküll, C. M. & Torres-Alruiz, M. D. (2021). *Ingkayafiyiñ taiñ mapu inaltu fütapillan meu mapun kimün engu*. Hacia un relato ontológico político de las reivindicaciones territoriales y por tierras mapuche en torno al *Fütapillan*. In Alister, C., Cuadra, X., Julián-Vejar, D., Pantel, B., & Ponce, C. (Eds.) *Cuestionamientos al modelo extractivista neoliberal desde el Sur. Capitalismo, territorios y resistencias*. (pp. 435-458). Ariadna Ediciones. <https://books.openedition.org/ariadnaediciones/11775>
- Aravena, A. (1999). Identidad Indígena en los medios urbanos. Procesos de recomposición de la identidad étnica mapuche en la ciudad de Santiago. In G. Boccara & S. Galindo (Eds.), *Lógica mestiza en América* (pp. 165-199). Instituto de Estudios Indígenas, Universidad de la Frontera. <https://doi.org/10.13140/2.1.3033.2169>
- Arce, L., Guerra, F. & Aylwin, J. (2016). *Cuestionando los enfoques clásicos de conservación en Chile. El aporte de los pueblos indígenas y las comunidades locales a la protección de la biodiversidad*. Observatorio Ciudadano, Consorcio TICCA, IWGIA.
- Aylwin, J. (2008, December 8th). ¿De quién es el Parque Nacional Villarrica? *La Nación* http://www.lanacion.cl/prontus_noticias_v2/site/artic/20081206/pags/20081206213705.html
- Banerjee, B. S., Maher, R. & Krämer, R. (2023). Resistance is fertile: Toward a political ecology of translocal resistance. *Organization*, 30(2), 264-287. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1350508421995742>
- Blaser, M. (2013a). Ontological conflicts and the stories of peoples in spite of Europe: Toward a conversation on political ontology. *Current Anthropology*, 54(5), 547-568. <https://doi.org/10.1086/672270>
- Blaser, M. (2013b). Notes towards a political ontology on 'environmental conflicts'. In L. Green (Ed.), *Contested ecologies. Dialogues in the South on nature and knowledge* (pp. 13-27). Human Sciences Research Council Press.
- Blaser, M. & de la Cadena, M. (2017). The uncommons: An introduction. *Anthropologica*, 59(2), 185-193. <https://doi.org/10.3138/anth.59.2.t01>
- Blaser, M. (2018). Doing and undoing Caribou/Atiku: Diffractive and divergent multiplicities and their cosmopolitical orientations. *Tapuya: Latin American science, technology and society*, 1(1), 47-64. <https://doi.org/10.1080/25729861.2018.1501241>
- Brockington, D. & Igoe, J. (2006). [Eviction for conservation: A global overview](#). *Conservation & Society*, 4(3), 242-470.
- Brockington, D., Duffy, R. & Igoe, J. (2008). *Nature unbound: Conservation, capitalism and the future of protected areas*. Earthscan.
- Caniumán, C. (2020). *Guía informativa. Reseñas: territorios en defensa del Kalfaquen, Melilawen, KaRuka Pillan*. Unpublished.
- Cárdenas Llancamán, M. (2019). [Justicia, democracia y reconocimiento desde el movimiento mapuche: una discusión de filosofía](#). *Política. Persona y Sociedad*, XXXIII (1), 89-107.
- Clare, N., Habermehl, V. & Mason-Deese, L. (2018). Territories in contestation: Relational power in Latin America. *Territory, Politics, Governance*, 6(3), 302-321. <https://doi.org/10.1080/21622671.2017.1294989>
- Collins, Y. A., Maguire-Rajpaul, V. A., Krauss, J. E., Asiyambi, A. P., Jiménez, A., Mabele, M. B. & Alexander-Owen, M. (2021). Plotting the coloniality of conservation. *Journal of Political Ecology* 28(1), 968-989. <https://doi.org/10.2458/jpe.4683>
- Cuadra Montoya, X. (2021). [Multiculturalismo neoliberal extractivo en la cuestión hidroeléctrica en territorio mapuche. Un análisis a la implementación de la consulta indígena en Chile](#). *Revista de Geografía Norte Grande*, 80, 35-57.
- Dawson, N., Martin A. & Danielsen, F. (2018). Assessing equity in Protected Area governance: Approaches to promote just and effective conservation. *Conservation Letters*, 11(2), 1-8. <https://doi.org/10.1111/conl.12388>

- Dawson, N., Carvalho, D. W., Bezerra, J. S., Todeschini, F., Tabarelli, M. & Mustin, K. (2021). Protected Areas and the neglected contribution of Indigenous Peoples and local communities: Struggles for environmental justice in the Caatinga dry forest. *People and Nature*, 5, 1739–1755. <https://doi.org/10.1002/pan3.10288>
- Domínguez, L. & Luoma, C. (2020). Decolonising conservation policy: How colonial land and conservation ideologies persist and perpetuate Indigenous injustices at the expense of the environment. *Land*, 9(3), 65. <https://doi.org/10.3390/land9030065>
- Escalona U. M. (2020). Transformaciones territoriales en Wallmapu/Araucanía. Una ecología política histórica. In M. Escalona U., A. Muñoz Pedreros & D. Figueroa Hernández (Eds.). *Gobernanza ambiental. Reflexiones y debates desde La Araucanía* (pp. 19-69). RIL Editores.
- Escobar, A. (2017). Sustaining the pluriverse: The political ontology of territorial struggles in Latin America. In M. Brightman & J. Lewis (eds.) *The anthropology of sustainability*. (pp. 237-256). Palgrave Macmillan. https://doi.org/10.1057/978-1-137-56636-2_14
- Escobar, A. (2018). *Designs for the pluriverse: Radical interdependence, autonomy, and the making of worlds*. Duke University Press.
- Escobar, A. (2020). Thinking-feeling with the Earth: Territorial struggles and the ontological dimension of the epistemologies of the South. In B. Santos & M.P. Meneses (Eds.), *Knowledges born in the struggle. Constructing the epistemologies of the global South*. (pp. 41-57). Routledge.
- Folchi, M. (2016). Historia de las áreas protegidas en Chile. In G. Simonetti-Grez, J. A. Simonetti & G. Espinoza (Eds.) *Conservando el patrimonio natural de Chile. El aporte de las áreas protegidas* (pp. 32-56). MMA / PNUD / GEF. <https://www.undp.org/es/chile/publicaciones/conservando-el-patrimonio-natural-de-chile-el-aporte-de-las-areas-protegidas>
- Friedman, R. S., Law, E. A., Bennett, N. J., Ives, C. D., Thorn, J. P. R. & Wilson, K.A. (2018). How just and just how? A systematic review of social equity in conservation research. *Environmental Research Letters*, 13, 053001. <https://doi.org/10.1088/1748-9326/aabede>
- García, M. & Mulrennan, M. E. (2020). Tracking the history of Protected Areas in Chile: Territorialization strategies and shifting States rationalities. *Journal of Latin America Geography*, 19(4), 199-234. <https://doi.org/10.1353/lag.2020.0085>
- Gómez-Liendo, M. (2015). [Una aproximación a las contribuciones de Arturo Escobar a la ecología política](#). *Ecología Política*, 25, 100-105.
- Haesbaert, R. (2011). *El mito de la desterritorialización. Del 'fin de los territorios' a la multiterritorialidad*. Siglo XXI.
- Haesbaert, R. (2014). Lógica zonal y ordenamiento territorial: Para rediscutir la proximidad y la contigüidad espaciales. *Cultura y representaciones sociales*, 8(16), 9-29. <https://www.culturayrs.unam.mx/index.php/CRS/article/view/375>
- Haesbaert R. (2016). De la multiterritorialidad a los nuevos muros: Paradojas contemporáneas de la desterritorialización. *Locale*, 1, 119-134. <https://doi.org/10.14409/rl.v1i1.6267>
- Holmes, G. (2007). [Protection, politics, and protest: Understanding resistance to conservation](#). *Conservation and Society*, 5(2), 184–201.
- Holmes, G. (2014). Defining the forest, defending the forest: Political ecology, territoriality and resistance to a protected area in the Dominican Republic. *Geoforum*, 53, 1–10. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.geoforum.2014.01.015>
- Klain, S. C., Olmsted, P., Chan, K. M. A & Satterfield, T. (2017). Relational values resonate broadly and differently than intrinsic or instrumental values, or the New Ecological Paradigm. *PLoS ONE*, 12(8), e0183962. <https://doi.org/10.1371/journal.pone.0183962>
- Lecuyer, L., Calmé, S., Blanchet, F. G., Schmook, B. & White, R. M. (2019). Factors affecting feelings of justice in biodiversity conflicts: Toward fairer jaguar management in Calakmul, Mexico. *Biological Conservation*, 237, 133–144. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.biocon.2019.06.017>

- Lecuyer, L., Calmé, S., Blanchet, F. G., Schmook, B. & White, R. M. (2022). Conservation conflict hotspots: Mapping impacts, risk perception and tolerance for sustainable conservation management. *Frontiers of Conservation Science*, 11(3). <https://doi.org/10.3389/fcosc.2022.909908>
- Mariman Q. P. (2006). Los Mapuche antes de la conquista militar Chileno Argentina. In P. Mariman, S. Caniuqueo, J. Millalén & R. Levil, (Eds.) *¡Escucha Winka! Cuatro ensayos de historia nacional Mapuche y un epílogo sobre el futuro*. (pp. 53-127). LOM Ediciones.
- Martin, A., Coolsaet, B., Corbera, S., Dawson, N. M., Fraser, J. A., Lehman, I. & Rodriguez, I. (2016). Justice and conservation: The need to incorporate recognition. *Biological Conservation*, 197, 254–261 <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.biocon.2016.03.021>
- Martin, A. (2017). *Just conservation: Biodiversity, wellbeing, and sustainability*. Earthscan.
- Massarella, K., Sallu, S. M. & Ensor, J. (2020). Reproducing injustice: Why recognition matters in conservation project evaluation. *Global Environmental Change*, 65, 102181. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.gloenvcha.2020.102181>
- Melin Pehuen, M., Coliqueo Collipal, P., Curihuinca Neira, E. & Royo Letelier, M. (2016). *AZMAPU. Una aproximación al sistema normativo Mapuche desde el rakizuam y el derecho propio*. Diseño Editorial.
- Nahuelpán Moreno, H.J. (2012). Formación colonial del Estado y desposesión en Ngulumapu. In, Andrés Cuyul et al., *Ta ñ fijke xipa akizuameluwün. Historia, colonialismo y resistencia desde el país Mapuche* (pp. 119-152). Ediciones Comunidad de Historia Mapuche
- Nahuelpán, H. (2013). [Las 'zonas grises' de la historia Mapuche. Colonialismo internalizado, marginalidad y políticas de la memoria](#). *Revista de Historia Social y de las Mentalidades*, 17(1), 11-33.
- Nahuelpán Moreno, H. J. & Antimil Caniupán, J. A. (2019). [Colonialismo republicano, violencia y subordinación racial mapuche en Chile durante el siglo XX](#). *Historelo. Revista de Historia Regional y Local*, 11(21), 213-247. <https://doi.org/10.15446/historelo.v11n21.71500>
- Neumann, R. P. (2015). Nature conservation. In T. Perreault, G. Bridge & J. McCarthy (Eds.). *The Routledge Handbook of Political Ecology* (pp. 391-405). Routledge.
- Oldekop, J. A., G., Holmes, W. E., Harris & Evans, K. L. (2016). A global assessment of the social and conservation outcomes of protected areas. *Conservation Biology*, 30(1), 133–141. <https://doi.org/10.1111/cobi.12568>
- Oslender, U. (2019). Geographies of the pluriverse: Decolonial thinking and ontological conflict on Colombia's Pacific coast. *Annals of the American Association of Geographers*, 109(6), 1691-1705, <https://doi.org/10.1080/24694452.2019.1572491>
- Pardo A., N. G. (2013). *Cómo hacer análisis crítico del discurso: Una perspectiva latinoamericana*. Universidad Nacional de Colombia. <https://repositorio.unal.edu.co/handle/unal/20012>
- Pell R., M. (2022). El proyecto político-espiritual del Pillan Mawiza Lanín como sitio sagrado mapuche. In V. Stella & M.E. Sabatella (Eds.) *Memorias de lo tangible. Lugares, naturalezas y materialidades en contexto de subordinación y alteridad* (p. 95-118). Editorial UNRN, <https://doi.org/10.4000/books.eunrn.7462>
- Peluso, N. L. (1993). Coercing conservation? The politics of state resource control. *Global Environmental Change*, 3(2), 99-218. [https://doi.org/10.1016/0959-3780\(93\)90006-7](https://doi.org/10.1016/0959-3780(93)90006-7)
- Peluso, N. L. & Vandergeest, P. (2011). Political ecologies of war and forest: Counterinsurgencies and the making of national natures. *Annals of the Association of American Geographers*, 101(3), 587–608. <https://doi.org/10.1080/00045608.2011.560064>
- Quidel Lincoleo, J. (2016). El quiebre ontológico a partir del contacto mapuche hispano. *Chungará. Revista de Antropología Chilena*, 48(4), 713-719. <https://doi.org/10.4067/S0717-73562016000400016>
- Ramos, A. M. (2016). Un mundo en restauración: Relaciones entre ontología y política entre los Mapuche. *Avá*, 29, 131-154. <http://ref.scielo.org/g5kpgf>

- Ramos, A. M. (2017). Cuando la memoria es un proyecto de restauración: el potencial relacional y oposicional de conectar experiencias. In A. Bello, J. Gonzalez, P. Rubilar & O. Ruiz, (Eds.), *Historias y memorias: Diálogos desde una perspectiva interdisciplinaria* (pp. 32-50). Colección Espiral Social. <https://bibliotecadigital.ufro.cl/?a=view&item=1319>
- Ramos, A. M. (2022). La historia de un territorio. La producción de lo tangible desde la inter-existencia. In V. Stella & M. E. Sabatella (Eds.) *Memorias de lo tangible. Lugares, naturalezas y materialidades en contexto de subordinación y alteridad* (p. 217-238). Editorial UNRN. <https://doi.org/10.4000/books.eunrn.7462>
- Redpath, S. M., Young, J., Evely, A., Adams, W. M., Sutherland, W. J., Whitehouse, A., Amar, A., Lambert, R. A., Linnell, J. D. C., Watt, A. & Rodríguez, R. J. (2013). Understanding and managing conservation conflicts. *Trends in Ecology & Evolution*, 28(2), 100–109. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.tree.2012.08.021>
- Richards, P. (2013). *Race and the Chilean miracle: Neoliberalism, democracy, and Indigenous rights*. University of Pittsburgh Press.
- Riquelme M., W. (2021). Comunes de la *Mawiza*. Aproximaciones desde el sistema socioecológico del bosque nativo de Panguipulli. In R. Reyes, J. Razeto, A. Barreau & S. Müller-Using, (Eds.), *Hacia una socioecología del bosque nativo en Chile* (pp 123-143). Social-Ediciones / Instituto Forestal. <https://bibliotecadigital.infor.cl/handle/20.500.12220/30397>
- Robbins, P. (2012). *Political ecology*. 2nd edition. Blackwell.
- Rodríguez, I. (2020). The Latin American decolonial environmental justice approach. In C. Brendan, (Ed.), *Environmental justice. Key issues*. Earthscan.
- Rodríguez, I., M. L., Inturias, J., Robledo, C., Sarti, R., Borel & Cabria Melace, A. (1998). Abordando la justicia ambiental desde la transformación de conflictos: experiencias con Pueblos Indígenas en América Latina. *Revista de Paz y Conflictos*, 8(2), 97-128. <https://www.redalyc.org/articulo.oa?id=205043417005>
- Rodríguez, I., Sarti Castañeda, C. & Aguilar Castro, V. (Eds.), (2015). *Transformación de conflictos socio-ambientales e interculturalidad: Explorando las Interconexiones*. Universidad de los Andes de Venezuela.
- Romero-Toledo, H., F., Castro & del Romero, L. (2021). El conflicto territorial en las tierras ancestrales mapuche del sur de Chile: Entre oleadas de extractivismo y territorios permitidos. In L. del Romero Renau, H. Castro & A. Valera Lozano (Eds.), *Globalización neoliberal, extractivismos y conflictividad ambiental y territorial en América Latina y Europa. Diálogos entre dos orillas* (pp. 299). Tirant lo Blanch Editorial.
- Sack, R. (1986). *Human territoriality: Its theory and history*. Cambridge University Press.
- Scheidel, A., Del Bene, D., Liu, J., Navas, G., Mingorría, S., Demaria, F., ... & Martínez-Alier, J. (2020). Environmental conflicts and defenders: A global overview. *Global Environmental Change*, 63, 102104. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.gloenvcha.2020.102104>
- Schlosberg, D., (2004). Reconceiving environmental justice: Global movements and political theories. *Environmental Politics*, 13, 517–540. <https://doi.org/10.1080/0964401042000229025>
- Sepúlveda, B. & Guyot, S. (2016). Escaping the border, bordering the nature: Protected areas, participatory management, and environmental security in northern Patagonia (i.e. Chile and Argentina), *Globalizations*, 13(6), 767-786. <https://doi.org/10.1080/14747731.2015.1133045>
- Sikor, T., A., Martin, J., Fisher & He, J. (2014). Toward an empirical analysis of justice in ecosystem governance. *Conservation Letters* 7, 524–532. <https://doi.org/10.1111/conl.12142>
- Skewes, J.C. (2019). *La regeneración de la vida en los tiempos del capitalismo. Otras huellas en los bosques nativos del centro y sur de Chile*. Ocho libros.
- Svarstad, H. & Benjaminsen, T. A. (2020). Reading radical environmental justice through a political ecology lens. *Geoforum*, 108, 1–11. <http://doi.org/10.1016/j.geoforum.2019.11.007>

- Tecklin, D. R., C., Bauer & Prieto, M. (2011). Making environmental law for the market: The emergence, character, and implications of Chile's environmental regime. *Environmental Politics*, 20(6), 879–898. <https://doi.org/10.1080/09644016.2011.617172>
- Temper, L., Del Bene, D. & Martínez-Alier, J. (2015). Mapping the frontiers and frontlines of global environmental justice: theEJAtlas. *Journal of Political Ecology*, 22, 255–278. <http://doi.org/10.2458/v22i1.21108>
- Thondhlana, G., Cundill, G. & Kepe, T. (2016). Co-management, land rights, and conflicts around South Africa's Silaka Nature Reserve. *Society & Natural Resources*, 29(4), 403–417. <https://doi.org/10.1080/08941920.2015.1089609>
- Torres-Alruiz, M. D. (2024). ¿Comanejo en el *Peweñentu*? Una mirada crítica a los discursos sobre Justicia Ambiental en la conservación del Parque Nacional Villarrica, Chile. PhD dissertation. Universidad de Los Lagos.
- Trentini, F. (2023). Between conservation and care: Ontological mixtures and juxtapositions in protected areas of Patagonia, Argentina. *Journal of Latin American and Caribbean Anthropology*, 28(4), 276–285. <https://doi.org/10.1111/jlca.12690>
- Tumusiime, D. M. & Svarstad, H., (2011). A local counter-narrative on the conservation of mountain gorillas. *Forum for Development Studies*, 38(3), 239–265. <https://doi.org/10.1080/08039410.2011.610000>
- Ulloa, A., (2017). Perspectives of environmental justice from Indigenous Peoples of Latin America: A relational Indigenous environmental justice. *Environmental Justice*, 10 (6), 175–180. <https://doi.org/10.1089/env.2017.0017>
- van Dijk, T.A. (2008). *Discourse and context. A sociocognitive approach*. Cambridge University Press.
- Vandergeest, P. & Peluso, N. L. (1995). Territorialization and state power in Thailand. *Theory and Society*, 24(3), 385–426. <https://doi.org/10.1007/BF00993352>
- Vandergeest, P. & Peluso, N. L. (2006a). [Empires of forestry: Professional forestry and state power in Southeast Asia, Part 1](#). *Environment and History*, 12, 31–64.
- Vandergeest, P. & Peluso, N. L. (2006b). [Empires of forestry: Professional forestry and state power in Southeast Asia, Part 2](#). *Environment and History*, 12, 359–93.
- Vandergeest, P. & Peluso, N. L. (2015). Political forest. In R.L. Bryant (Ed.), [The international handbook of political ecology](#), (pp. 162–175). Edward Elgar.
- Vela-Almeida, D. (2020) Seeing like the people: A history of territory and resistance in the southern Ecuadorian Amazon. *Journal of Political Ecology*, 27(1), 1110–1127. <https://doi.org/10.2458/v27i1.23286>
- Youdelis, M., Townsend, J., Bhattachary, J., Moola, F. & Fobister, J. B. (2021). Decolonial conservation: Establishing Indigenous Protected Areas for future generations in the face of extractive capitalism. *Journal of Political Ecology* 28(1), 990–1022. <https://doi.org/10.2458/jpe.4716>
- Zafra-Calvo, N., Pascual, U., Brockington, D., Coolsaet, B., Cortes Vázquez, J. A., Gross-Camp, N., Palomo, I. & Burgess, N. D. (2017). Toward and indicator system to assess equitable management in protected areas. *Biological Conservation* 211, 134–141. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.biocon.2017.05.014>