Human Ecology
https://doi.org/10.1007/s10745-025-00598-6

Co-Management at *Peweñentu*? A Micro-Political Ecology Perspective of Mapuche Sense of Environmental Justice at Villarrica National Park, Chile

María Daniela Torres-Alruiz[1,2] · **Iokiñe Rodríguez**[3]

Accepted: 28 May 2025

Abstract
We examined the sense of justice embraced by Mapuche leaders and activists involved in the conservation and governance of Villarrica National Park. Through this process, we identified three key positions on co-management that reflect two distinct territorial representations of the park. One group emphasized participation and distribution, assigning less importance to recognition as an aspect of justice. In contrast, the other two groups regarded recognition as equally important alongside participation and distribution. According to most Mapuche leaders, communities do not perceive benefits from the park, and some highlighted the negative consequences of establishing this protected area. We conclude by exploring key factors that may influence a potential co-management scenario at the park.

Keywords Co-management · Micro-political ecology · Radical environmental justice · Inclusive conservation · Mapuche · Parque Nacional Villarrica · Chile

Introduction

The Post-2020 Global Biodiversity Framework targets the fair and equitable sharing of nature's benefits and ensures equitable and effective biodiversity decision-making (targets 13, 21). To achieve this, an inclusive conservation perspective has been proposed. As Raymond et al. (2022) suggested, inclusive conservation is grounded in distributional, procedural, and recognition justice, which respects diverse rights and identities. These three aspects are interconnected dimensions of radical environmental justice (EJ) (Martin, 2017; Martin et al., 2016; Massarella et al., 2020; Schlosberg, 2004). It also builds upon various conservation approaches, including the co-management of protected areas (PA).

✉ Iokiñe Rodríguez
i.rodriguez-fernandez@uea.ac.uk

María Daniela Torres-Alruiz
madatoal@gmail.com

[1] Universidad de Los Lagos, Osorno, Chile

[2] Visiting PhD Fellow, University of East Anglia (UEA), Norwich, UK

[3] School of Global Development (DEV), University of East Anglia (UEA), Norwich, UK

The literature on co-management (CoM) is extensive, exploring various topics such as the proximate causes of CoM, mechanisms, pathways for its consolidation, barriers and challenges, and the conditions that contextualize its progress (Santos Prado et al., 2022). Although CoM is widely accepted, its operationalization is not straightforward. Additionally, CoM does not necessarily support Indigenous peoples'self-determination (Grey & Kuokkanen, 2019), and in many cases, conservation conflicts have been triggered by CoM implementation (Adewumi et al., 2019; Ndzifon et al., 2019).

Limited discussion exists regarding the conditions for intra-cultural dialogue about the use of nature among various actors, especially in scenarios where local identities have evolved and cultural transformations have occurred. The loss of ancestral knowledge and communal diversity often results in conflicting and inconsistent opinions on development, environmental understanding, and conservation management. Moreover, complex power dynamics can hinder reflexivity and dialogue at the intracultural level (Rodríguez & Inturias, 2018). Grasping these constraints is crucial for acknowledging internal tensions within CoM and promoting both inter- and intracultural dialogue.

We understand CoM as a space for conservationist political action, where various interests, resources, and rights are

Published online: 16 August 2025

contested. It is shaped by discursive entities that influence territorialities and identities (Ameghino, 2021; Ferrero, 2013; Trentini, 2016) and, as we propose, a sense of justice. We argue that a sense of justice underlies the different CoM visions recognized from a micropolitical ecology perspective. Micropolitical ecology aims to understand the dynamics of conflict and cooperation at the local level, both within and between communities, as well as in relation to the state; these dynamics unfold within broader historical, political, economic, and social contexts (Horowitz, 2008, 2012; Little, 2012).

To clarify the various senses of justice held by Mapuche leaders and activists involved in the conservation and governance of Villarrica National Park (VNP), we examine their practices and discourses surrounding environmental justice. This state-managed protected area is located in southern Chile, or *Ngulumapu* (the western ancestral territory of *Wallmapu*; Marimán, 2006), and entirely overlaps with Mapuche ancestral lands. Due to its political complexities, the government has delayed the development of a co-management model. However, there is a strong desire to promote more participatory management (interview with governmental officials, 2021). We pose two key questions: 1) How do Mapuche organizations position themselves regarding potential co-management? 2) How do Mapuche leaders view protected area management? We propose key explanatory factors that may influence a potential co-management scenario at the VNP and discuss their implications within the framework of Indigenous self-determination in Chilean conservation.

Management of Chile's State-Protected Wildlife Areas

The intersection of Indigenous Peoples'(IP) rights, conservation, and environmental justice research is particularly significant in Chile. The state has acknowledged and formalized five experiences of shared management with IP: Los Flamencos National Reserve, Villarrica National Reserve, Lauca National Park, Rapa Nui National Park, and Kawésqar National Park (Table 1).

Shared management operates under various institutional models, primarily featuring associative or collaborative levels of participation. This reflects the participatory demands of the diverse Indigenous peoples involved, which include claims for ancestral uses (resource extraction, livestock use, and ceremonial practices) and self-determination, as well as impacts on public use areas, heritage conservation, and engagement in managing public use of the park. Rapa Nui National Park appears to be the only place where this has occurred, at least to some extent (Coulter, 2015; Wade Young, 2020). Despite these five experiences, there remains an unmet demand for shared governance and autonomy in decision-making (Aylwin et al., 2021). Additionally, Chilean

Table 1 Shared management with Indigenous peoples in Chile

Key aspects	Cases				
Name	Los Flamencos N.R	Villarrica N.R	Lauca N.P	*Rapa Nui* N.P	*Kawésqar* N.P
Region	Atacama	Araucanía	Arica y Parinacota	Isla de Pascua. Valparaíso	Magallanes
Year	1990	1912	1965	1935	2018
Indigenous people	Lickanantay	Mapuche pehuenche	Aymara	Maorí Ma'uHenua	Kawésqar
Land Tenure	State owned	State owned	Privately and state-owned	State owned	State owned
Collaboration strategy	Co-management of public use areas through association contracts since 2002. CONAF provides administrative and financial advisory services	Collaboration agreement between communities and CONAF, 2000	Cooperation agreement between the families and CONAF, 2002	Co-management through an association agreement between CONAF and the community, 2016. Subsequently, full management through a 50-year concession	Under negotiation
CoM Objectives	Eco-ethno-tourism development; Management of tourism services within the reserve	Joint and sustainable management of natural resources	Land-use planning; design of the management plan	Protection of the archaeological, natural, and cultural heritage of Rapa Nui's ancestral use area	Under negotiation

Source: Torres-Alruiz (2024)

terrestrial and marine PA regulations have not effectively addressed these aspects, distancing themselves from international guidelines. Specifically neglected are issues of land restitution and recognition of territories of traditional Indigenous occupation and governance (Aylwin et al., 2021).

By 2008, reports indicated that 24 of the 105 Chilean Protected Areas (PAs) were linked to eight state-recognized Indigenous groups (Rauch González et al., 2018). Currently, there are 109 PAs registered in the National System of Protected Wildlife Areas, and the state acknowledges 11 Indigenous groups. Nonetheless, the establishment of public and private protected areas has generally occurred without the free, prior, and informed consent of the communities involved in their creation, as well as the exclusion of Indigenous peoples from their governance (Rauch González et al., 2018; Aylwin et al., 2021). Huaiquimilla-Guerrero et al. (2022) reported that Indigenous participation in managing national terrestrial and marine PAs is 7.3%. In the case of the Mapuche, who represent 79.8% of the Indigenous population in Chile, there is only a 0.02% participation rate, despite frequent demands for participatory rights in PA governance and mobilization to protect their territories (Huaiquimilla-Guerrero et al., 2022).

Finally, according to the Progress Report on the implementation of Aichi Target 11 in the countries of the Latin American Network for Technical Cooperation in National Parks, other Protected Areas, Wild Flora, and Fauna (RedParques), by 2020, Chile made significant progress in terrestrial and marine coverage of protected areas. However, equity in the governance of protected areas was not achieved, which remains an unresolved issue.

Why Villarrica National Park?

Nearly 50% of protected areas worldwide were established on lands traditionally inhabited by Indigenous peoples (Domínguez & Luoma, 2020). Although the exact figure is unavailable, the FAO (2008) indicates that this overlap is significant in Latin America. For instance, in Colombia, 16 protected areas within the national protection system overlap with more than 50 territories belonging to 30 Indigenous peoples. In Ecuador, this overlap occurs in 16 out of 36 protected areas, while in Mexico, 57 areas overlap out of 160. Furthermore, the FAO acknowledges that this overlap is the primary source of most conflicts that have arisen between Indigenous peoples and the state management of protected areas. Villarrica National Park is a prominent example of a contested territory where the protected area intersects with ancestral lands and territorialities (Torres-Alruiz, 2024).

The VNP is part of the National System of State Protected Wildlife Areas (SNASPE), which is overseen by the Chilean Ministry of Agriculture through the National Forestry Corporation (CONAF). It was established by the Ministry of Lands and Colonization in 1941, but official land ownership was not registered until 2010 by the Ministry of National Assets (Corporación Nacional Forestal (CONAF), 2013), a delay that drew criticism and resistance from the Mapuche (Aylwin, 2008). The total area is approximately 53,400 hectares, located in the Chilean political-administrative regions of La Araucanía (including the communes of Villarrica, Pucón, and Curarrehue) and Los Ríos (commune of Panguipulli; Fig. 1). This territory has a significant percentage of residents identifying as Mapuche (Panguipulli 44%, Villarrica 28%, Pucón 29%, Curarrehue 67%; INE 2017). This protective designation includes a Management Plan that was last updated in 2013 and is one of five PAs prioritized nationally for tourism development (National Tourism Strategy 2012−2020).

The park is one of eleven protected areas that overlap with Mapuche ancestral territories (Arce et al., 2016; Aylwin & Cuadra, 2011). Torres-Alruiz & Gómez-Liendo (2024) propose that the VNP is situated in a 'conflictive' landscape (sensu Rodríguez et al., 1998, 2015), characterized by numerous investment projects, extractive activities in buffer zones, and Mapuche mobilizations to protect their territories. As shown in Fig. 1, 1.880 water right concessions are granted for high-impact uses such as hydroelectric power, fish farming, and industrial activities. 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, with investment amounts ranging from $ 1.5 million to $ 180.000 million. Although further research is needed to evaluate the impact of these extractive pressures, which is outside the scope of this paper, many Mapuche territorial organizations view this situation as a threat.

In response to perceived socio-environmental degradation within the PA and its buffer zones, ongoing mobilization among Mapuche inhabitants has taken place. These mobilizations involve numerous organizations, similar forms of action, and shared causes (Antümilla Pangiküll & Torres-Alruiz, 2021; Torres-Alruiz & Gómez-Liendo, 2024). Most claim for mobilization are rooted in the colonization processes of the Chilean State, including reductions, the establishment of protected areas, evangelization, and educational efforts. They also relate to extractive processes, notably solidified in the post-dictatorship era (Nahuelpán Moreno, 2012; Romero-Toledo et al., 2021; Torres-Alruiz, 2024).

Thus, the management and administration of the VNP face several tensions and challenges. First, there are unresolved disputes regarding the boundaries between the park and legally recognized Mapuche territories (Antümilla Pangiküll & Torres-Alruiz, 2021; Torres Alruiz & Gómez Liendo, 2024). Second, some Mapuche communities have initiated tourism projects in response to rising real estate development associated with mass

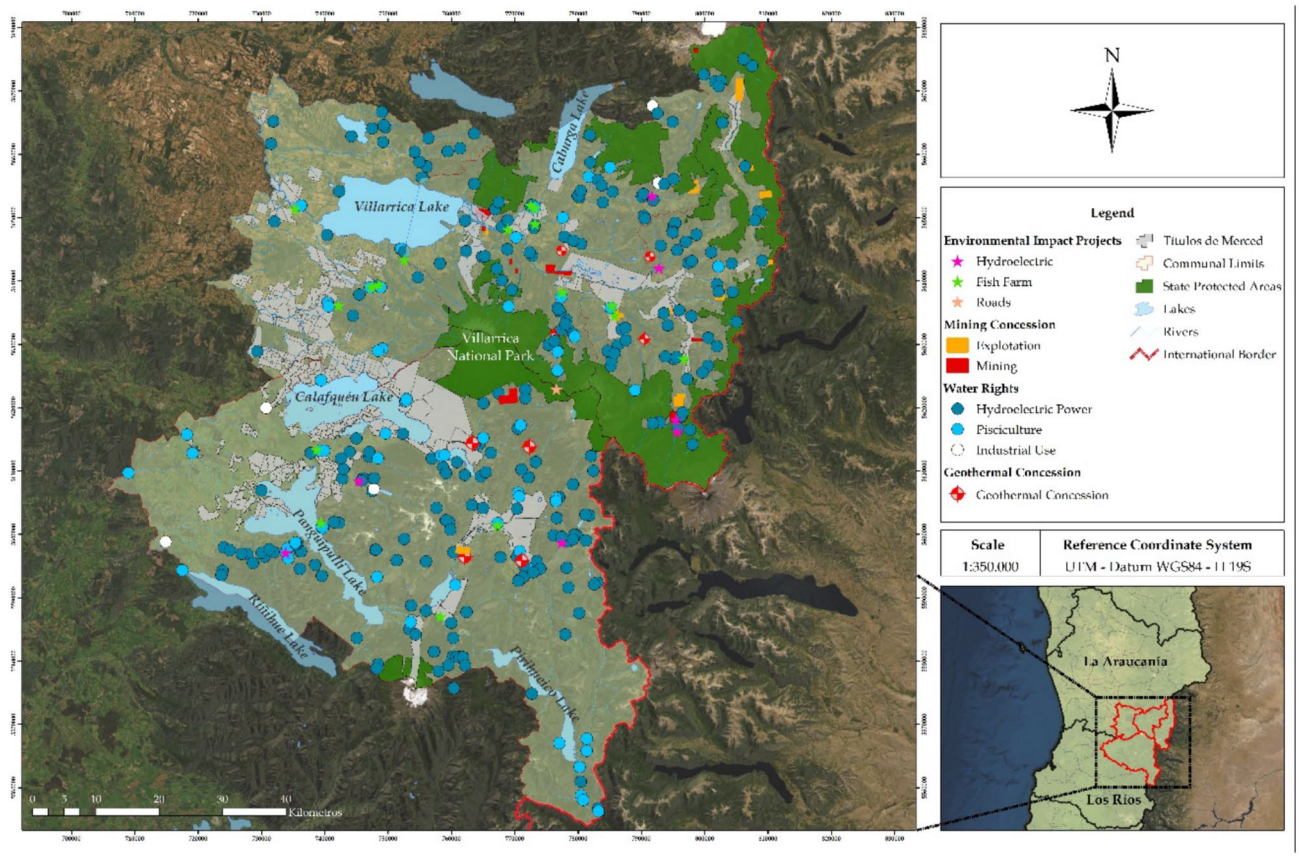

Fig. 1 Extractivist pressures in the VNP buffer zones. Cartography created by Torres-Alruiz in collaboration with Werken (Longko Messenger) Simón Crisóstomo Loncopán. English version by Jessica Castillo. Source: Torres-Alruiz (2024)

tourism in the buffer zones. These projects create tensions surrounding tourism activities, complicating the park's territorial dynamics (Marín & Henríquez-Zúñiga, 2015; Pilquiman Vera et al., 2020). Third, despite movements toward a more participatory management model, a fortress-type conservation approach persists in the VNP. Consequently, technocratic management involves minimal collaboration with local communities while restricting the use of nature and developing subsistence socio-productive practices that hold significant symbolic and cultural value (Arce et al., 2016).

Finally, some authors note that an environmental governance approach guided by the principles of co-administration or participatory management is emerging along the Chile-Argentina border and at the national level (Marín & Henríquez-Zuñiga, 2015; Sepúlveda & Guyot, 2016; Trentini, 2016). However, a potential co-management (CoM) of the VNP is only a viable option for specific Mapuche organizations in *Ngulumapu*. According to Ruest (2017) and Maturana (2019), weak cohesion among and within Mapuche communities, as well as differing visions for the territory, affect the possibilities for co-management. We explore this intra-community heterogeneity in detail.

Theoretical Approach

We have utilized two theoretical approaches in our analysis. First, we adopted a radical EJ micro-political ecological perspective (Horowitz, 2008), emphasizing the importance of recognition, distributive and procedural EJ dimensions (Martin, 2017). Second, we employ critical geography to analyze EJ claims, particularly the concepts of territory, territoriality, and multi-territoriality as proposed by Rogerio Haesbaert (2011, 2016).

Micropolitical Ecology of Environmental Justice

Conservation and EJ studies (Martin, 2017; Sikor et al., 2014) recognize that effective CoM must promote equitable power distribution. However, equitable or environmentally just conservation can take many forms. According to Zafra-Calvo et al. (2017), equitable management is a dynamic process in which factors linked to procedural, distributional, and recognitional aspects interact and evolve together. The distributional element pertains to sharing benefits and burdens in the PA context. Additionally, it considers cost-mitigation options that arise from the establishment of PA

management. A distributive factor addresses the following questions: How are the costs and benefits of protected area management shared? Who gets what? Who must live with what? What principles or values are used to make normative claims about fair sharing?

The participatory component addresses the processes, strategies, instruments, and mechanisms through which authorities pursue their conservation objectives. This perspective poses the questions: how are decisions made, who participates, and what principles do we use to establish the rules for what we consider fair? Additionally, recognition emphasizes respect for identity and appreciation of cultural differences. A pertinent question is: how are equal opportunity rights to participate, benefit, and avoid harm respected and enforced without requiring assimilation to dominant cultural norms? This includes respect for indigenous justice, customary norms, mechanisms for decision-making, conflict resolution, the use of natural commons, and their worldviews and approaches to valuing the environment (Martin, 2017; Zafra-Calvo et al., 2017).

However, according to Rodríguez and Inturias (2018), despite its sensitivity to social meaning, intersubjectivity, and long-term historical contexts, EJ literature pays little attention to the fact that culture is often contested at local and intra-community levels. We argue that to broaden EJ's critical perspective, it is essential to understand how collectives accommodate differences while simultaneously challenging the fundamental foundations of structural subordination. In the case of conservation and CoM, this has been explored through the lens of micropolitical ecology, engaging with the dominant narrative of EJ (Horowitz, 2008, 2012; Little, 2012).

The micropolitical approach has also been employed to study Mapuche resistance within the Chilean extractive and neoliberal context (Nahuelpán, 2016; Nahuelpán & Antimil Caniupán, 2019). The authors described the various political actions and collective resistance adopted by the Mapuche. According to Nahuelpán & Antimil Caniupán (2019), resistance in the private sphere has facilitated the transmission and maintenance of their language, family, and socio-territorial ceremonies, along with the Mapuche *Az Mongen* (ways of life) and Mapuche *Rakizuam* (knowledge). Additionally, actions have been directed toward organizational forms within the state and its structures, from which Chilean society has sought integration and recognition. Thus, a large part of "…these and other strategies, together with the capacity to take hold of and re-signify foreign spaces and elements, have had as a motive to cushion structural racism, dispossession and extermination as structuring processes of republican colonialism…" (Nahuelpán & Antimil Caniupán, 2019; p.239; our translation). To understand the intra-community aspects behind Mapuche CoM positions, we have adopted a micropolitical ecology perspective to study the radical environmental justice discourses upheld by Mapuche organizations near the VNP.

Territoriality and Multiterritoriality

In many protected areas across Latin America, Indigenous peoples assert their rights over conservation territories established by states, employing various political strategies (Trentini, 2012; 2016; Ojeda, 2012; Holmes, 2014; Premauer & Berkes, 2015; Villalba, 2016). In southern Chilean Patagonia, numerous experiences and outcomes exist concerning the relationship between the state and the Mapuche-Williche, Kawésqar, and Yagán peoples who inhabit these regions (Aravena et al., 2018; Aylwin et al., 2021; Tacón et al., 2021).

Political ecology literature has thoroughly explored the social impacts of establishing PAs (Brockington et al., 2008; Neumann, 2015; Robins, 2012). Drawing on Robert Sack's (1986) conception of territory, these frameworks have been instrumental in understanding state-run PAs as territorialization projects and their subsequent impacts (Holmes, 2014). However, as Torres-Alruiz and Gómez Liendo (2024) and Torres-Alruiz (2024) propose, adopting a relational, historical, and contextual approach to territory that explicitly incorporates the notion of power, as suggested by Brazilian geographer Rogério Haesbaert (2011; 2016), provides a more nuanced understanding of critical conservation debates and the sense of justice expressed by marginalized communities. We argue that this perspective is particularly relevant for understanding the different co-existing territorialities with which various actors engage in conservation territories, specifically among different Mapuche communities.

According to Haesbaert (2011), a territory is shaped by a combined movement of deterritorialization and re-territorialization of unequal power relations among actors with different agency and interests. Taking a critical view of the Eurocentric discourses of deterritorialization, Haesbaert argues that it is essential to distinguish who is affected by deterritorialization, for whom it occurs, and in what territory. 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). However, deterritorialization can also be driven by subaltern groups, representing moments of resistance and/or a search for ways out of such precarious conditions, which the author refers to as deterritorialization as transformation.

The process of re-territorialization refers to the creation of an'other territory,'which can be either a new territory or a new territoriality (territorial representations) within a previously de-territorialized space. Re-territorialization

movements can occur top-down, where the state encloses an area and transforms it into a conservation territory, often exercising a form of power grounded in domination and a zonal logic. This zonal logic organizes spaces through specific dispositions related to enclosure and fixation. However, re-territorialization can also occur bottom-up, as subaltern groups struggle to defend their territories and territorialities through complex resistance within the state apparatus. In this case, by employing a form of power based on appropriation, these groups deploy reticular logics that prioritize spatial networks and arrangements. Both forms of re-territorialization reflect the simultaneous and/or successive experiences of actors inhabiting multiple territories, a concept known as multiterritoriality (see Clare et al., 2018; Vela-Almeida, 2020, for examples).

As Torres-Alruiz (2024) proposed, we argue that the VNP has been shaped by an ongoing process of territorial reorganization resulting from the state's de/re-territorialization of the protected area and the actors'multi-territoriality. This process includes: 1) the dispossession and state-imposed enclosure of the park, which the original Mapuche inhabitants experienced as deterritorialization through pauperization; 2) the construction of territoriality associated with the national park designation (re-territorialization from above) by the Chilean state, which some Mapuche individuals and communities support; and 3) the re-territorialization from below, executed by Mapuche organizations that critique both the national park concept and the processes of state de/re-territorialization. For these groups, territoriality is experienced as the reconstruction of *Wallmapu* through direct and indirect acts of resistance that foster a transformative deterritorialization of the PA, their ancestral territory (Torres-Alruiz & Gómez-Liendo, 2024). We have used this framework to analyze the Mapuche territorialities linked to the VNP and to highlight the differences between them regarding what it would mean to develop a CoM plan for this protected area.

Methodology

We use a qualitative approach to analyze EJ discourses through critical ideological discourse analysis (CiDA) (van Dijk, 2008). As a methodology in discourse studies, CiDA examines discourse as a key phenomenon in perpetuating power and social inequalities.

Data Collection

We collected data from 2020 to 2022 through 20 semi-structured interviews and participant observations conducted during in-person meetings with local groups and on virtual platforms, including learning spaces and discussion forums. We adhered to the saturation criterion to determine the sample size, aiming to include extreme cases, intensity, and maximum variety. The fieldwork occurred during the COVID-19 pandemic, which presented various logistical challenges for conducting in-person interviews; however, these challenges were effectively managed.

The interviewees included seven women and 13 men. Four were younger than 35, seven were between 36 and 60, and nine were over 60 (Table 2). Although female leadership in the sector was underrepresented in this sample, the discourse saturation criterion allowed the sample to be considered representative. The interviews were conducted between January 2021 and February 2022 in the four municipalities where the PA is located. The first author also collaborated with two young Mapuche traditional leaders and authorities from the Villarrica and Curarrehue communes to create two sets of maps (Fig. 1 is part of these sets). These maps detailed the study area, incorporating key elements such as extractive pressures, land titles, indigenous communities and organizations, protected areas, and 15 Mapuche territorial and land claims (Torres-Alruiz & Gómez-Liendo, 2024).

In one instance, a leader helped identify the territorial and land claims they were aware of or had been involved in. These claims were then organized and documented by the first author. In the second instance, collaborative efforts highlighted extractive pressures and investment projects, with the other leader creating the map (Fig. 1). The maps produced were made accessible to both leaders. This cartography facilitated a spatial and temporal analysis of the current sociopolitical dynamics surrounding the park. The snowball sampling technique, cartographic work, and secondary source analysis were essential for developing criteria to identify relevant organizations to contact. This was crucial for the research because Mapuche mobilization occurs through various tactics, introducing a level of complexity for those entering the field, particularly non-Mapuche and foreign individuals, as was the case for the first author.

According to secondary sources, 44 organizations expressed interest in utilizing the common goods of the VNP; 19 were interested in exploring potential co-management opportunities, and seven showed interest in securing concessions within the park. In total, ten organizations were identified as central to our study based on two main criteria: 1) they demonstrated interest in the park's management and governance and were actively engaged in at least one territorial claim, reflecting their agency within the territory; and 2) they were organizations that, during the fieldwork period, had political engagement in their territories and/or were informally or formally acknowledged by state authorities and non-governmental organizations.

The leaders interviewed represent six of the ten organizations identified as key, along with 22 other territorial

organizations. These groups have diverse political trajectories and are organized around historical junctures. The participants hold various roles and positions within ancestral organizations and legal entities (indigenous communities and associations recognized and structured by the state of Chile, Councils). The interviewed participants provided either written or oral consent to participate in the study, allowing the use of their testimonies.

For data triangulation, the corpus of primary sources was supplemented by identifying and organizing secondary sources related to Mapuche public discourse. These documents—public pronouncements, statements, testimonies, interviews with local media, and complaints—were gathered through digital searches on the Internet, social networks, and alternative media. Seventy-one documents associated with Mapuche discourse were organized, and 26 were selected because they were directly related to the organized territorial claims associated with the PA.

Data Analysis

Using a mixed approach—both guided and corpus-based—we focused on topicalizing words based on their frequency of occurrence ("Just Management"). This method allowed us to identify the dominant themes in the discourse by analyzing the frequency of lexemes associated with these themes. The latter examined predetermined categories within the corpus: participation, recognition, benefits, costs, distribution, justice, equity, territories, conservation, and concessions. Additionally, we performed word co-occurrence and concordance analyses to investigate thematic or ideological framing relationships in specific instances.

The qualitative analysis focused on thematic categories to determine the nomination forms for the selected units of analysis. For the primary data, axes of analysis corresponding to each dimension of EJ were selected based on the works of Zafra-Calvo et al. (2017) and Dawson et al. (2021). For the procedural dimension, the analysis centered on satisfaction with the park's decision-making process, access to information regarding park planning and management, and satisfaction with prior consultation processes. In the distributive aspect, considerations included the park's material and immaterial benefits, as well as the costs associated with its establishment and management. Regarding recognition, factors such as respect for cultural identity, inclusion of knowledge systems in the park's management plan, adherence to legal and customary rights during the establishment or management of the park, and the social and cultural impacts of the park on the livelihoods of the interviewed Mapuche individuals were considered. For the analyses, the software Maxqda version 2020 was utilized.

Results and Discussion

Mapuche CoM Positions

In Chile, most IPs encounter a situation where a total cession of state-owned territories is impossible, leading people to view CoM as a form of legal protection for the territory (Oltremari & Jackson, 2006; Zorondo-Rodríguez et al., 2019). Various political approaches and strategies coexist within the Mapuche movement; however, the movement unites around identity (Tricot, 2008). Thus, we anticipated that diverse interpretations of CoM would also be present. Three fundamental positions regarding CoM were identified (Table 3). Groups 1 and 2 (G1 and G2) consisted of four individuals each, while Group 3 (G3) included 12 individuals.

The three groups view the state's role as providing technical support, capacity building, and financial resources. However, they differ in their perception of the state's participation. For G1, the state is considered a permanent technical partner, with its involvement expected to continue over time. They see CoM as a process aimed at local economic development. Group 2 views the state's role as temporary, focusing on strengthening management capacities to facilitate the transition to full indigenous governance. In contrast, G3 rejects the notion of CoM as either a long-term or temporary mechanism, instead calling for immediate Indigenous governance and not considering state participation. Additionally, some G3 interviewees perceive the restitution of conserved territory, technical support, capacity building, and financing as forms of reparation. G2 and G3 explicitly challenge the state's de/re-territorialization process of the park, a concern that G1 does not share.

An autonomous and decentralized governance structure, with coordination among the various organizations surrounding the PA, was deemed desirable by the three groups. Building shared visions and respecting territorial and final decisions in each area were also acknowledged, although they certainly pose significant challenges. This addresses various territorial connections, including family, cultural, political, economic, social, and spiritual aspects. Several management mechanisms and actions to be developed were mentioned. Fundamental differences emerged regarding eco-tourism concessions, tourism development projects, and management objectives. There is also a need to adapt to or resist the logics of state institutions and the business sector in managing the park. Regarding management principles, there was consensus on recognizing that the space is common and intended for collective use. Although they differ in conservation concepts, all emphasized economic development and *küme mogen* (good living).

Table 2 Overall characteristics of the groups

Gender	Age range	Organization roles	Commune	Group
F	> 60	Werken, President, Ina Longko, Member	Curarrehue	1
M	> 36 < 59			1
M	> 36 < 59			1
M	< 35			2
F	< 35			2
M	> 36 < 59			2
F	> 60			3
F	> 36 < 59	Member, Werken	Panguipulli	2
M	> 60			2
M	> 60			2
M	< 35			2
F	> 36 < 59			3
F	> 60	Member, Treasurer, Werken, President	Pucón	1
M	> 36 < 59			2
M	> 60			2
M	> 60			2
M	> 60			2
F	> 36 < 59			3
M	> 60	Member, Longko	Villarrica	2
M	< 35			3

Source: Torres-Alruiz (2024)

There was unanimous agreement on the need for autonomous political, economic, and cultural development within their territories. As Tricot (2008) proposed, this indicates a clear relationship between identity and politics, suggesting that Mapuche society cannot be restructured within the existing system of domination and power. However, in the case of G1, the concept of development is more closely associated with the dominant discourse of conservation for economic growth. In contrast, G2 and G3 see development as a means to shape their life plans and revitalize their culture, language, and traditional and political organizations. For these two groups, integration with Chilean society is not a political goal. Compared to G1, they demonstrate distinct territorial organizations and methods for engaging with Chilean institutions and the private sector.

For G1, CoM is a process focused on addressing local problems and enhancing their economic situation. These leaders have experience negotiating with extractive companies in the sector, such as fish farms, and have achieved significant results for their communities, including roads, infrastructure, and service installations, among others. More recently, they even developed a joint tourism project. This required them to adapt their political structure to those dictated by the state in order to be recognized as indigenous. Finally, some expressed interest in fostering"indigenous entrepreneurship" in their pursuit of economic autonomy. Nevertheless, they acknowledged that to achieve this, they would have to endure discrimination and stigmatization from Chilean society, statements that pave the way for further research.

For G2, CoM serves as a transitional mechanism toward indigenous governance. For G3, indigenous governance should be a political priority. It is worth noting that some organizations from both groups have already negotiated with the CONAF on numerous occasions. Some have participated in a Consultative Council convened to inform and express opinions on issues of interest concerning various stakeholders involved in managing the VNP, as well as in working groups and collaborative agreements, such as the 'Mesa del Piñón' and agreements regarding the use of fire. Others have reconstructed and built *zayeles* (traditional shelters) in the park, which, according to some interviewees, is viewed as cultural revitalization and a resistance strategy. Clearly, irrespective of the type of CoM, the willingness to engage in discussions and participate in dialogues about a potential CoM structure for VNP was common among the interviewed leadership, a historical feature of the Mapuche mobilization that seeks to recompose *Wallmapu* (Pairicán, 2022). Regarding state-run de/re-territorialization of the PA, criticism arose after introducing the issue of environmental injustice in the territories.

Table 3 General features of the EJ discourse exemplified by the different positions of interviewed Mapuche leaders

EJ aspect	Analyses axes	Group 1	Group 2	Group 3
Participation	P1	*	No	No
	P2	NM	*	NM
	P3	*	No	No
Distributive	B	No (income)	No (different values and autonomy demand)	No (different values and autonomy demand)
	C	NM	Yes. PA territorialization and management	Yes. PA territorialization and management
Recognition	R1	NM	No	No. Ontological emphasis
	R2	No	No	No
	I	Yes. Mass tourism	Yes. Mass tourism, PA territorialization	Yes. Mass tourism, PA territorialization

P1: Satisfaction with the park decision-making process; P2: Access to information on PA planning and management; P3: Satisfaction with prior consultation processes; B: Benefits of park management; C: Costs associated with park establishment and management; R1: Respect for cultural identity and inclusion of knowledge systems in the park management plan; R2: Respect for legal and customary rights in PA territorialization and/or management; I: Social and cultural impacts on livelihoods. NM: Not mentioned; * No evident trends in responses. Source: the authors

Just Management

On the Exclusionary Nature of Participation

Most interviewees have attended meetings on PA management convened by governmental institutions. However, they expressed dissatisfaction with the meetings'informative and non-binding nature, as well as the lack of timely information regarding PA management. This sentiment was more pronounced among G2 and G3 than in G1. Additionally, questions arise about the guarantees for IP prior to consultation processes: (i) they are conducted only when companies are already established in the territories; (ii) they are not performed in good faith since they are merely informative and not legally binding; (iii) their implementation lacks adequate mechanisms, and the procedures are not consensual; some interviewees noted that these processes overlook Mapuche protocols and their traditional organizations, and do not facilitate conditions for all individuals to participate (time, connectivity, locations) (Table 3).

Additionally, G2 and G3 express an interest in political autonomy and self-governance in park management and administration as benefits of participation, while G1 emphasizes economic autonomy and the potential for a CoM with the state. Consequently, the majority are concerned with the development of their territories from a Mapuche perspective, although for G1, the focus is on the economic aspect. This is evident not only in the frequent use of words related to these issues (see Table 4) but also in how they articulate solutions: "… when one says I am autonomous, I do not depend on the state […] So today we have a challenge, we have things to do. We are thinking about a business […] and that money is going to go to the communities and […] the community will be free to see […] how it reinvests those resources. Then some people will say […] 'we have a bad road, we are going to fix our road', we do not depend on the municipality, we do not depend on others, […] we are going to hold an internal competition […] for entrepreneurs. […] And I do not know what each community is thinking. However, at some point, our community will put more money into this fund that already exists […] at some point in our territory, we will have autonomy, not full autonomy. However, we can resolve many things that we cannot resolve today. Moreover, we will never depend on the State" [Anonymous, Group 1, 2021].

Table 4 Main themes of corpus groups 1 and 3

		CoM 1		CoM 3	
	Word	Frequency	% Documents	Frequency	% Documents
State relationship	Adapting	3	25	0	0
	Chile	43	100	8	100
	Development	45	50	12	75
	State	111	75	54	100
	National	24	75	0	0
	University	14	25	0	0
Environmental Justice	Benefits	7	75	8	100
	Rights	13	100	40	100
	Justice	75	100	47	100
	Participation	31	100	19	75
	People	36	75	30	100
	Reconognition	5	25	3	50
	Repair	0	0	4	25
	Respect	35	75	16	75
CoM	Administration	7	50	25	100
	Co-administration	11	50	9	75
	Autonomy	7	25	13	75
	Comanagement	14	75	15	75
	Control	3	25	15	75
	Defense	17	75	15	75
	Equilibrium	0	0	6	25
	Spirituality	6	50	34	100
	Peweñentu	0	0	78	100
	Saferguard	4	50	12	75
	Wallmapu	0	0	4	50
Economic vision	Compensation	5	50	0	0
	Buying	30	75	0	0
	Concession	11	50	3	1
	Enterprises	53	100	4	75
	Profit	11	25	0	0
	Inversions	11	25	0	0
	Business	12	75	0	0
	Pay	20	100	0	0
	Proyect	30	100	0	0
	Tourism	32	75	5	75

Source: the authors

Thus, for G1, the CoM will foster the conservation of the park and the tourism and economic development of its areas. For G2 and G3, interest in the park's indigenous governance, whether as a transitional or more immediate goal, highlights the need to rebuild the political, material, and identity foundations of Mapuche society. In this context, CoM seems to be perceived by G2 and G3 as a way to realign with the state and the colonial legacy in Chilean society, which continues to systematically exclude Indigenous Peoples (Tricot, 2008).

A Park That Does Not Generate Benefits for Mapuche Communities

The interviewees discussed the benefits and costs associated with PA management and protection expenses. Some individuals in G1 and G2 expressed interest in the economic advantages of the CoM, with G1 emphasizing the income that could be derived from Mapuche tourism as part of the CoM (through economic autonomy).

Meanwhile, G2 highlighted that development should not promote the commercialization of nature. Two interviewees argued that safeguarding the territory and its biodiversity (via the PA) from extractivist encroachments could be considered a benefit. However, another interviewee stated that they did not see any advantages from the existence of the park and its management:

> "…The fact that they [the state] have the administration… is not beneficial at all for the Mapuche, whatever you call it" [Anonymous, Group 2, Interview with first author, 2021].

It is noteworthy that, although there is consensus that the park and its management do not provide direct benefits, such as income from admission ticket sales to the park, the CoM could generate benefits for G1, while the other two groups without political autonomy perceive no benefits.

On the other hand, responses also referred to the principles or values used to make normative statements about fair sharing. To better understand some leaders'positions regarding the benefits of the VNP, one should examine the idea of 'safeguarding' rather than 'conserving'. According to Antona Bustos (2012),

> "…for Mapuche people conservation of natural spaces is linked to the protection of life in its broadest sense, since these spaces are home to vital identities (*Ngen*) that are in charge of the protective forces of life (*Newen*) and remedies (*Lawen*) that allow healing illnesses, repairing transgressions and restoring balance and social relations" (Antona Bustos, 2012, p. 447, our translation).

The Mapuche perspective on the environment contrasts with that of Western environmentalists. Morales (2002) notes that it is pragmatic, controlled, and primarily relational. One of the relational principles associated with 'safeguarding' is 'respect' (*Ekuwün*, *Yamuwün*) among human beings, territories, and non-human beings. Respect was emphasized by the 20 people interviewed (Table 4). For the Mapuche, respect, balance, reciprocity, harmony, the heteronomous nature of humanity, and its dependence on other life forms serve as the pillars of *Küme mongen*, according to the *Az Mapu*, which is an ethical/normative framework guiding behaviors as well as social and territorial relations. The concept of law is linked to obligations toward the group and related entities. Within the *Kimün* or Mapuche knowledge, respect is a complex value crucial to the conduct codes of both ancient and contemporary society (Antona Bustos, 2012; Melin Pehuen et al., 2016). Mass tourism development within the park or surrounding areas, promoted by the state, is viewed as disrespectful. It represents a form of conservation lacking respect that does not yield benefits.

The proposal to improve or expand the infrastructure of the ski center on Villarrica volcano (Rukapillán) to boost tourism in the region is, for many, deeply disrespectful to the territory and its identity. They express concerns about the environmental costs associated with the increasing real estate development linked to mass tourism surrounding *Peweñentu* (Skewes, 2019). Nearby Mapuche communities have been developing community-based tourism projects that are environmentally sustainable, aligned with their cultural values, and have the potential to enhance community resilience (Torres-Alruiz et al., 2018). Although these activities contribute to economic diversification, many view them as a political strategy for cultural revitalization and territorial protection (Pilquimán, 2017). However, the individuals interviewed who work in this sector did not mention such income as a benefit.

These results complement the data reported by Thondhlanaa et al. (2016) concerning the AmaMpondo people in the Silaka Reserve, South Africa. They suggest that the material benefits from tourism companies related to infrastructure development, job creation, and income generation are less significant than the symbolic and historical dimensions of traditional territories. These dimensions connect to Indigenous ownership, which must be accounted for in CoM frameworks that aim for environmental equity.

The Struggle for Decolonization

In addition to the previously mentioned costs, some interviewees in G2 and G3 questioned state de/re-territorialization, which has led to evictions. Deterritorialization has facilitated geostrategic control and the colonization of an economic enclave. It also implies taking control of its material base, delimitation, territorial ordering, and regulating access through acts of domination. This has negatively impacted the quality of life for Mapuche inhabitants in several respects (Marimán, 2006; Nahuelpán and Antimil Caniupán, 2019; Antileo et al., 2015). One example is the political aspect of territoriality. Morales (2002) points out that this is manifested through control over Mapuche mobility. Beyond controlling resources and goods, travel can strengthen familial and friendship relationships, exchange information and opinions, establish agreements, and create new social ties. As the *longko* (clan chief) Cristian Antümilla-Pangikul said, up to his great-grandparents, there was a relationship of *Mongen* (of life) in what is now called the VNP. There was a 'seasonal social system,' where people from different areas gathered on trips that could last a day or even weeks. The social system "…was cut off by the intervention of third parties, of settlers and also later by the state, which generated a whole process of appropriation of a space [the PNV] that for us is considered ancestral and millenary…" [CAP, Interview with Torres-Alruiz, 2024].

Regarding the effective re-territorialization of the park during Augusto Pinochet's dictatorship, some people reference the violence and expulsion from the territory. They recall the loss of ancestral lands and access to communal property, resources necessary for sustaining life, social, familial, and political disarticulation, as well as the inability to pass down knowledge about the territory across generations. A *Kimche* interviewee stated that the violence and evictions frightened away the *Ngen* from those areas. He resents this as a profound lack of respect for cultural identity within Chilean society, which cannot be repaired with money. In this context, it is important to emphasize that, as some authors have argued (Antona Bustos, 2012), the Mapuche view their existence within a network of material and immaterial relations governed by *Az Mapu* norms. An imbalance in one aspect can lead to illness or scarcity in another. The cosmic and social order is based on relationships of reciprocity, respect, harmony, and balance among *Newen*. Transgressing the *Itrofillmogen* implies moral and spiritual chaos, violating both individual and collective rights both physically and symbolically.

Some question the imposition of monoculturalism linked to the PA's name and the fortress-like model of its management. This is evident in the PA's Management Plan, which has minimized the integration of Mapuche knowledge in identifying culturally significant sites because of its technocratic nature. In practical terms, this refers solely to geographic coordinates within the park's various zones. Alternatively, some leaders advocate for their knowledge system in park management by gathering information about the park's biodiversity and conducting inventory, classification, and zoning according to their *kimün* in preparation for a potential future Mapuche Management Plan for the PA. Additionally, they engage in daily practices of resistance concerning the park, including renaming the park, using traditional roads and access routes not regulated by the CONAF, developing traditional practices within the park, and maintaining methods for collecting plant species not overseen by the authority. This can be viewed as a means to reproduce and revitalize their way of life and understanding of their territories, as Nahuelpán & Antimil Caniupán (2019) point out in other contexts.

Lastly, some interviewees emphasized the need for state compensation or addressing the historical debt incurred with the Mapuche people during the establishment of the PA. In this context, it involves restoring conservation territory, providing political acknowledgment that allows for self-governance, and implementing necessary financial measures for capacity building. Thus, Indigenous governance of this area serves as an act of recognition and reparation for the colonial injustices faced by the Mapuche people since the Occupation of Araucanía (1860–1883).

We believe that demands for autonomy within the conservation context contribute to the debate over the limits of colonial recognition in Chile (Nahuelpán et al., 2021; 2022). Multicultural and neoliberal recognition policies emphasize cultural differences without granting genuine political agency to Indigenous peoples. These policies have served as a mechanism to create highly useful subjectivities governing these communities in extractive contexts without disrupting the historical and ongoing structures of power, oppression, and racism in Chilean society (Nahuelpán et al., 2021; 2022). Therefore, they do not promote the autonomy necessary to rebuild *Wallmapu* with self-determination, which is why they have faced opposition from the Mapuche movement in recent decades (Cárdenas Llancamán, 2019). This is how one interviewee put it:

> "…Because what does it mean to manage? Does it mean opening the barrier and cleaning the place? That is not what we are for. I think that is enough. We are not in servitude. We are people who have the right to inhabit our territories freely. Moreover, this space offers us the possibility of revisiting and inhabiting it, perhaps together, but not as servants of the power groups that operate from the state." [Anonymous, Group 3, Interview with Torres-Alruiz, 2024].

From our perspective, reflecting on colonial recognition (Nahuelpán et al., 2021; 2022) widens the discussion of cultural recognition, false recognition, and its implications for EJ.

Conclusion

To clarify the various senses of justice held by Mapuche leaders and activists concerned with the conservation and governance of Villarrica National Park, we analyzed their practices and discourses on environmental justice. We inquired about their stance on a potential co-management (CoM) arrangement for the VNP and their understanding of equitable park management. Three key positions regarding CoM emerged, illustrating two distinct territorial representations of the national park and highlighting intracommunal multiterritoriality. Although these territorialities differ in how they inhabit and advocate for the land, they also converge in some respects, as evidenced by their sense of environmental justice. The evolving senses of justice prioritize political recognition and participation over material benefits. Some groups view participation in park management as a pathway to economic autonomy, while others focus on the internal discussions it could foster and the potential for political autonomy and self-governance. This perspective moves beyond the cultural recognition previously granted,

shaping their views on the State's role in possible co-management. The political nature of participation is evident among these leaders and activists. Although there is some interest in material benefits, most interviewees referenced immaterial benefits linked to the relational values that guide their approach to land protection and their understanding of defending *Peweñentu* or Villarrica National Park. Furthermore, most leaders emphasize the costs of territorialization and the historical and ongoing impacts on their ways of life and identity.

This intracommunal multiterritoriality poses challenges to inclusive conservation. The most significant limitations affecting a just CoM model are external rather than internal to the Mapuche. The first external factor is legitimacy. A CoM may be regarded as legitimate based on the specific decision-making procedure, the power of decision-making participants, or the outcomes of those decisions (Sandström et al., 2013). However, it implies that power relations operate with a sense of rightful authority. Our results indicate that, regardless of whether its character is transitional or permanent, the VNP's CoM lacks legitimacy in the eyes of the people we interviewed. All groups question the potential procedures; G2 and G3 challenge the power of decision-making and its outcomes. The main critiques focus on policies regarding cultural and political recognition and the mechanisms of inclusion within institutional structures, which often require assimilation rather than integration. This suggests the continuation of colonial assimilation policies inherited from the PA's process of re-territorialization and the fortress model, which remains in effect.

The second external factor that may limit a negotiation for a just CoM relates to current Chilean conservation policies shaped by pro-market logic as well as neoliberal multicultural recognition and assimilation policies. There is a tendency to essentialize Indigenous peoples, nationalizing their culture and history as part of the PA territoriality, while neglecting the issues of land redistribution, their demands for political recognition, and the historically tense situation in the territories. According to Grey and Kuokkanen (2019), it is the right and practice of self-determination that allows Indigenous peoples to remain distinct, practicing their own laws, customs, and land tenure systems through their institutions and traditions. An equally significant normative aspect of Indigenous self-determination is participation on their terms in broader social and political structures, such as state institutions.

This debate has been ongoing among Mapuche organizations for several years. Various groups have established co-management agreements with state authorities. As Torres-Alruiz & Gómez Liendo (2024) point out, the members of Groups 2 and 3 have made progress in bottom-up reterritorialization processes of the park. Some individuals and organizations from these groups have undertaken local, national, and international initiatives to promote the park's indigenous governance. From September 9 to 11, 2024, the First International Congress on Indigenous Conservation Territories was held in Curarrehue, led by the Futa Mawiza Project. The goal was to share experiences and lessons on indigenous conservation initiatives while identifying collective actions. It aimed to strengthen alliances for advocacy in developing regulations and properly implementing the Servicio de Biodiversidad y Áreas Protegidas (SBAP) Service Law (21.600) and the new Global Biodiversity Framework in Chile. Some leaders expressed that their objective was long-term progress toward indigenous governance, which did not exclude co-management in specific park areas. Considering our findings, this initiative aligns with the sense of environmental justice that G2 and G3 members expressed. It promotes autonomy and self-governance for conserving the territory and could provide an opportunity to clarify and articulate a standard Mapuche view of CoM. Whether the state will support this process under its international commitments remains to be seen. Undoubtedly, this scenario is exciting for inclusive conservation in Chile.

Acknowledgements María Daniela Torres-Alruiz wishes to thank the Mapuche leaders who participated in this study and shared their experiences and testimonies. The second author wishes to thank to the Global Challenges Research Fund of the UKRI (UK Research and Innovation), which supported Iokiñe Rodriguez's time to work in on this manuscript through the INDIS (Indigenous Interaction for Sustainable Development) Project (No. INDIS I206041).

Author Contributions Conceptualization: MDTA.
Methodology: MDTA.
Formal analysis and investigation: MDTA.
Writing - original draft preparation: MDTA.
Writing - review and editing: MDTA & IR.
Funding acquisition: MDTA.
Publication fee: IR.
Supervision: IR.

Funding This work was supported by the National Agency for Research and Development, the Ministry of Science, Technology, Knowledge and Innovation of the Republic of Chile, under Ma. Daniela Torres Alruiz Doctoral Grant ANID-PFCHA/National Doctorate/2018–21180045.

Data Availability No datasets were generated or analysed during the current study.

Declarations

Ethics Not applicable.

Disclosure Statement The authors reported no potential conflict of interest.

Competing interests The authors declare no competing interests.

References

Adewumi, I. B., Funck, C., Nguyen, V. H., & Usui, R. (2019). A cross-national comparative study on collaborative management of national parks. *Parks, 25*(1), 69–82. https://doi.org/10.2305/IUCN.CH.2019.PARKS-25-1IBA.en

Ameghino, N. (2021). Un modelo para (des)armar: El co-manejo del Parque Nacional Lanín en Neuquén. *Publicar en Antropología y Ciencias Sociales, 31*(XXXI), 18–36.

Antileo, E. et al. (2015). *Awükan ka kuxankan zugu wajmapu mew. Violencias coloniales en Wajmapu* (p. 331). Ediciones Comunidad de Historia Mapuche.

Antona Bustos, J. (2012). *Etnografía de los derechos humanos. Etnoconcepciones en los pueblos indígenas de América: el caso Mapuche*. [Doctoral Dissertation. Universidad Complutense de Madrid]. https://eprints.ucm.es/id/eprint/15107/. Accessed Dec 2023.

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 mapunche en torno al *Fütapillan*. In C. Alister, X. Cuadra, D. Julián-Vejar, B. Pantel, & C. Ponce (Eds.), *Cuestionamientos al modelo extractivista neoliberal desde el Sur. Capitalismo, territorios y resistencias* (pp. 435–458). Ariadna Ediciones. https://books.openedition.org/ariadnaediciones/11775. Accessed Dec 2023.

Aravena, J. C., Vela-Ruiz, G., Torres, J., Huenucoy, C., & Tonko, J. C. (2018). Parque Nacional Bernardo O'higgins/Territorio Kawésqar waes: Conservación y gestión en un territorio ancestral. *Magallania, 46*(1), 49–63.

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* (p. 135). Observatorio Ciudadano, Consorcio TICCA, IWGIA.

Aylwin, J., Arce, L., Guerra, F., Núñez, D., Álvarez, R., Mansilla, P., Alday, D., Caro, L., Chiguay, C., & Huenucoy, C. (2021). Conservación y Pueblos indígenas en la Patagonia chilena. In J. C. Castilla, J. J. Armesto, & M. J. Martínez-Harms (Eds.), *Conservación en la Patagonia chilena: Evaluación del conocimiento, oportunidades y desafíos* (pp. 495–531). Ediciones Universidad Católica.

Aylwin, J. & Cuadra, X. (2011). *Los desafíos de la conservación en los territorios indígenas en Chile* (p. 128). Centro internacional de investigaciones para el Desarrollo.

Aylwin, J. (2008). *¿De quién es el Parque Nacional Villarrica?* La Nación, December 8th. http://www.lanacion.cl/prontus_noticias_v2/site/artic/20081206/pags/20081206213705.html. Accessed Jul 2022.

Brockington, D., Duffy, R., & Igoe, J. (2008). *Nature unbound: Conservation, capitalism and the future of protected areas* (p. 249). EarthScan Press.

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

Corporación Nacional Forestal (CONAF). (2013). *Plan de Manejo, Parque Nacional Villarrica, Segunda Edición*. Ministerio de Agricultura. Gobierno de Chile.

Coulter, R. T. (2015). The situation of the indigenous people of rapa nui and international law: Reflections on indigenous peoples and the ethics of remediation. *Santa Clara J. Int'l L., 13*, 293–305. Available at: http://digitalcommons.law.scu.edu/scujil/vol13/iss1/12

Dawson, N., Carvalho, W. D., 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, 00*, 1–17. 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

Ferrero, B. (2013). La conservación de la naturaleza como arena de acción política: Dos conlictos en la provincia de misiones. *Publicar En Antropología y Ciencias Sociales XI, 15*, 33–54.

Grey, S., & Kuokkanen, R. (2019). Indigenous governance of cultural heritage: Searching for alternatives to Co-management. *International Journal of Heritage Studies, 26*(10), 919–941. https://doi.org/10.1080/13527258.2019.1703202/

Haesbaert, R. (2016). De la multiterritorialidad a los nuevos muros: Paradojas contemporáneas de la desterritorialización. *Locale, 1*, 119–134.

Haesbaert, R. (2011). *El mito de la desterritorialización. Del "fin de los territorios" a la multiterritorialidad*. Siglo XXI Editores.

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

Horowitz, L. S. (2008). It's up to the clan to protect: Cultural heritage and the micropolitical ecology of conservation in New Caledonia. *The Social Science Journal, 4*, 258–278. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.soscij.2008.03.005/

Horowitz, L. S. (2012). Power, Profit, Protest: Grassroots Resistance to Industry in the Global North. *Capitalism Nature Socialism, 23*(3), 20–34. https://doi.org/10.1080/10455752.2012.702868

Huaiquimilla-Guerrero, K., Moscote-Guerra, J., Ramírez-Rivera, S., Duhalde-Correa, L. A., Peralta-Scholz, M. J., Orellana S., F., Santana, V., Barrera S., A., Squeo, F. A. & Gaymer, C.F. (2022). Dispossession and governance: The invisible role of indigenous peoples in protected natural areas in Chile, SSRN. https://ssrn.com/abstract=4168588 or https://doi.org/10.2139/ssrn.4168588

Instituto Nacional de Estadística. (2017). Segunda entrega de resultados definitivos Censo 2017. Available online: http://resultados.censo2017.cl/

Little, P. C. (2012). Environmental justice discomfort and disconnect in IBM's tainted birthplace: A micropolitical ecology perspective. *Capitalism Nature Socialism, 23*(3), 92–109. https://doi.org/10.1080/10455752.2012.701654

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.

Marín, M., & Henríquez-Zúñiga, C. (2015). Turismo de base comunitaria frente a conflictos etno-políticos y socio-ambientales en comunidades Mapuche al sur de Chile. In A. Pinol Bazzi (Ed.), *Democracia versus Neoliberalismo. 25 años de neoliberalismo en Chile* (pp. 304–323). 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* (p. 199). Routledge.

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

Maturana, N. V. (2019). *El Parque Nacional Villarrica como un imaginario: análisis de una tensión entre comunidades Mapuche y la administración del área silvestre protegida* [Master Thesis, Universidad Academia de Humanismo Cristiano]. http://bibliotecadigital.academia.cl/xmlui/handle/123456789/5072. Accessed Jul 2021.

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*. (p. 134) Territorio Mapuche: Rojo Diseño Editorial.

Morales, U. R. (Comp.). (2002). *Territorialidades Mapuche en el siglo XX* (p. 403). Editorial Escaparate.

Nahuelpán, H. (2016). Micropolíticas Mapuche contra el despojo en el Chile neoliberal. La disputa por el lafkenmapu (territorio costero) en Mehuín. *Izquierdas, 30*, 89–123.

Nahuelpán, H., & 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

Nahuelpán, H., Martínez, E., Alvaro Hofflinger, A., & Millalén, P. (2021). In Wallmapu, colonialism and capitalism realign. *NACLA Report on the Americas, 53*(3), 296–303. https://doi.org/10.1080/10714839.2021.1961469/

Nahuelpán, H., Hofflinger, A., Martínez, E., & Millalen, P. (2022). Colonial recognition and militarized accumulation in Mapuche territory. *NACLA Report on the Americas, 54*(4), 438–444. https://doi.org/10.1080/10714839.2022.2145130/

Nahuelpán Moreno, H. J. (2012). Formación colonial del Estado y desposesión en Ngulumapu. In *Ta Iñ Fijke Xipa Rakizuameluwün. Historia, Colonialismo y Resistencia desde el país Mapuche*. Nahuelpán Moreno et al. (pp. 119–152). Ediciones Comunidad de Historia Mapuche.

Ndzifon, K. J., Bhusal, P., Aryal, A., Coronel Fernandez, M. V. B., Owusu, R., Chaudhary, A., & Nielsen, W. (2019). What (De) motivates forest users' participation in co-management? Evidence from Nepal. *Forests, 10*, 512. https://doi.org/10.3390/f10060512

Neumann, R. P. (2015). Nature conservation. In T. Perreault, G. Bridge, & J. McCarthy (Eds.), *The routledge handbook of political ecology* (pp. 391–405). Routledge.

Ojeda, D. (2012). Green pretexts: Ecotourism, neoliberal conservation and land grabbing in Tayrona National Natural Park. Colombia. *the Journal of Peasant Studies, 39*(2), 357–375. https://doi.org/10.1080/03066150.2012.658777

Oltremari, J. V., & Jackson, R. G. (2006). Conflicts, perceptions, and expectations of indigenous communities associated with natural areas in Chile. *Natural Areas Journal, 26*(2), 215–220. https://doi.org/10.3375/0885-8608(2006)26[215:CPAEOI]2.0.CO;2

Organización de las Naciones Unidas para la Agricultura y la Alimentación (FAO). (2008). *Pueblos Indígenas y Áreas Protegidas en América Latina. Programa FAO/OAPN*. Fortalecimiento del Manejo Sostenible de los Recursos Naturales en las Áreas Protegidas de América Latina.

Pairicán, F. (2022). *La vía política Mapuche. Apuntes para un Estado plurinacional* (p. 109). Editorial Paidós.

Pilquimán, V. M. (2017). Turismo comunitario en territorios conflictivos. El caso de las comunidades indígenas Mapuche en la región de los Ríos en Chile. *Geopolítica(s) Revista de Estudios Sobre Espacio y Poder, 8*(1), 11–28. https://doi.org/10.5209/GEOP.49479

Pilquiman Vera, M., Merino Espeso, A., & Cabrera Campos, G. (2020). Paisaje patrimonial y turismo en la zona precordillerana de Panguipulli, sur de Chile. *Investigaciones Turísticas, 20*, 262–283. https://doi.org/10.14198/INTURI2020.20.12

Premauer, J.M. & Berkes, F. (2015). A pluralistic approach to protected area governance: Indigenous peoples and Makuira National Park, Colombia. *Ethnobiology and Conservation, 4*(4). https://doi.org/10.15451/ec2015-5-4.4-1-16

Rauch González, M., Catalán Martina, E., Aguilar Bascur, G., Valenzuela Vergara, I., Maldonado Osorio, S., & Martínez Palma, P. (2018). Gestión intercultural para la conservación en áreas silvestres protegidas del estado: Aprendizajes y desafíos. *Revista Austral de Ciencias Sociales, 35*, 183–204. https://doi.org/10.4206/rev.austral.cienc.soc.2018.n35-11

Raymond, C. M., Cebrián-Piqueras, M. A., Andersson, E., Andrade, R., Arroyo Schnell, A., Battioni Romanelli, B., Filyushkina, A., Goodson, D. J., Horcea-Milcu, A., Johnson, D. N., Keller, R., Kuiper, J. J., Lo, V., López-Rodríguez, M. D., March, H., Metzger, M., Oteros-Rozas, E., Salcido, E., Sellberg. M.,…, & Wiedermann, M. M. (2022). Inclusive conservation and the post-2020 Global Biodiversity framework: Tensions and prospects. *One Earth 5*, 252-264. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.oneear.2022.02.008

Robins, P. (2012). *Political ecology* (2nd ed., p. 288). Wiley Blackwell.

Rodríguez, I., & Inturias, M. L. (2018). Conflict transformation in Indigenous peoples' territories: Doing environmental justice with a 'decolonial turn.' *Development Studies Research, 5*(1), 90–105. https://doi.org/10.1080/21665095.2018.1486220

Rodríguez, I., Inturias, M. L., Robledo, J., Sarti, C., Borel, R., & 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.

Rodríguez, I., Sarti Castañeda, C. & Aguilar Castro, V. (Eds.). (2015). *Transformación de conlictos socio-ambientales e interculturalidad: Explorando las Interconexiones*. Talleres gráficos. Mérida: Universidad de los Andes de Venezuela.

Romero-Toledo, H., Castro, F., & 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. 299–330). Tirant lo Blanch Editorial.

Ruest, C. (2017). *Documentando la visión Mapuche sobre la gobernanza del Parque Nacional Villarrica*. Informe No publicado.

Sack, R. (1986). *Human territoriality: Its theory and history*. Cambridge University Press.

Sandström, A., Crona, B., & Bo, Ö. (2013). Legitimacy in co-management: The impact of preexisting structures, social networks and governance strategies. *Environmental Policy and Governance, 24*, 60–76. https://doi.org/10.1002/eet.1633/

Santos Prado, D., Simao Seixas, C., & Trimble, M. (2022). Catalytic and structural factors behind advancements of co-management in protected areas: Contributions for its evaluation. *Journal of Environmental Management, 311*, 114825. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jenvman.2022.114825/

Schlosberg, D. (2004). Reconceiving environmental justice: Global movements and political theories. *Environmental Politics, 13*, 517–540.

Sepúlveda, B. & Guyot, S. (2016). Escaping the border, debordering the nature: protected areas, participatory management, and environmental security in Northern Patagonia (i.e. Chile and Argentina). *Globalizations*. https://doi.org/10.1080/14747731.2015.1133045/

Sikor, T., Martin, A., Fisher, J., & He, J. (2014). Toward an empirical analysis of justice in ecosystem governance. *Conservation Letters, 7*(6), 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* (p. 268). Ocho libros editores.

Tacón, A., Tecklin, D. R., Farías, A., Peña, M. P., García, M. (2021). Áreas terrestres protegidas por el Estado en la Patagonia chilena: caracterización, evolución histórica y estado de gestión. In J. Juan Carlos Castilla, J. Armesto, & M. J. Martínez-Harms, M.J. (Eds.). *Conservación en la Patagonia chilena: evaluación del conocimiento, oportunidades y desafíos* (pp. 129–166). Ediciones Universidad Católica. 600 p.

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., Pilquimán V, M. J., & Henríquez-Zúñiga, C. (2018). Resilience and Community-Based Tourism: Mapuche Experiences in Pre-Cordilleran Areas (Puyehue and Panguipulli) of Southern Chile. *Social Sciences, 7*, 249. https://doi.org/10.3390/socsci7120249

Torres-Alruiz, M. D., & Gómez Liendo, M. J. (2024). Just conservation? Knowing Mapuche perspectives on environmental justice at Villarrica National Park, Chile. *Journal of Political Ecology*, 32. https://doi.org/10.2458/jpe.5728. Accessed Jan 2024.

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. https://www.researchgate.net/profile/Maria-Torres-Alruiz-2

Trentini, F. (2012). Ecología política y conservación: el caso del "comanejo" del Parque Nacional Nahuel Huapi y el pueblo Mapuche. *Revista Pilquén, 15*, 84–94.

Trentini, F. (2016). Procesos de construcción de la diferencia cultural en el co-manejo del Parque Nacional Nahuel Huapi. *Revista de Estudios Sociales, 55*. http://journals.openedition.org/revestudsoc/9615. Accessed on Jul 2021.

Tricot, T. (2008). Identidad y política en el nuevo movimiento Mapuche. *Historia Actual on Line, 15*, 29–50.

van Dijk, T. A. (2008). *Discourse and context. A sociocognitive approach* (p 67). Cambridge University Press.

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

Villalba P. S. M. (2016). En defensa del territorio: movilización Mapuche en áreas naturales protegidas. *Cuadernos Deusto de Derechos Humanos 84* (p. 117). Publicaciones dela Universidad de Deusto.

Wade Young, F. (2020). Unsettling the boundaries of Latin America: Rapa Nui and the refusal of Chilean settler colonialism. *Settler Colonial Studies*, https://doi.org/10.1080/2201473X.2020.1823751

Zafra-Calvo, N., Pascual, U., Brockington, D., Coolsaet, B., Cortes Vazquez, 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

Zorondo-Rodríguez, F., Díaz, M., Simonetti-Grez, G., & Simonetti, J. A. (2019). Why would new protected areas be accepted or rejected by the public?: Lessons from an ex-ante evaluation of the new Patagonia Park Network in Chile. *Land Use Policy, 89*. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.landusepol.2019.104248