



Article

Resilience and Community-Based Tourism: Mapuche Experiences in Pre-Cordilleran Areas (Puyehue and Panguipulli) of Southern Chile

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Abstract: Local responses to global problems: this is the premise used in this work to approach the studies of community-based tourism (CBT) in Latin America. Resilience is a fertile concept to analytically delve into the emergency conditions of this form of tourism organization. The socio-ecological and situated narratives of resilience are enriched and used in this work to examine experiences of CBT in mapuche communities in the south of Chile. This was done through the systematization of relevant data available from the execution of participatory action research projects developed since 2013 in the communes of Panguipulli and Puyehue. This data was categorized and processed according to the variables identified for the proposed analyzes. It was found that the socio-ecological narrative is useful, but insufficient. The relevance of the situated narrative seems to be more effective to engage in dialogues and joint work with mapuche communities.

Keywords: resilience; community-based tourism; mapuche communities

1. Introduction

The reconfiguration of the territory as a result of the penetration of large capitals can lead to processes of the dispossession, reappropriation and commodification of nature, generating changes in the logic of the articulation of the territories where they are usually implemented (Coriolano 2006). Examples can be found within the mass tourism industry, where the tourist megaprojects tend to exacerbate current conflicts between the intervening parties (Cordero 2000; Hiernaux 2002). Such conflicts are based on the existence of different views and interpretations about what development and well-being are, historical patterns of the use of tourism resources, differential access to power and control structures, levels of participation in environmental planning and management processes for tourism and the emergence of local resistance (Cañada 2016; Palafox Muñoz 2016). However, research in this area is rather incipient (Mostafanezhad et al. 2016).

In contrast to this massive tourism, community-based tourism (CBT) initiatives have emerged in recent years in Latin America, especially in rural areas mostly inhabited by indigenous peoples. Distinctive elements of CBT are local protagonism, based on ownership and the control of tourism activity; commitment to social, environmental and cultural sustainability; and social and economic development orientation of the community, fostering a very particular experience for the visitor, based

on the notion of authenticity (Solís Carrión 2007; Grimm and Sampaio 2011; Guzmán-López et al. 2011; Cox 2012; Sampaio and Zamigan 2012; Ruiz-Ballesteros 2017).

Resilience is a useful concept to analytically delve into the emergency conditions of CBT organization and in its possibilities of sustainability and impact on social and environmental sustainability (Ruiz-Ballesteros 2017). Whether it is used as a descriptive notion, or as an epistemic object of diffuse boundaries (Brand and Jax 2007), various narratives about the concept have been developed. These have been nourished by multiple disciplinary origins and methodological approaches (Powell et al. 2014; Brown 2016). This paper uses socio-ecological resilience and situated resilience narratives (Berkes et al. 2003; Cote and Nightingale 2012; Tschakert and Tuana 2013) in order to reflect on the scope and limitations of CBT organized by indigenous communities.

According to Berkes et al. (2003), Folke (2003), and Berkes and Seixas (2005), to assess socio-ecological resilience, it is necessary to consider the following aspects:

1. Learning to live with change and uncertainty, taking advantage of change and crisis and turning them into opportunity for development;
2. Nurturing diversity for reorganization and renewal, emphasizing the importance of diversity for resilience, not only as insurance for uncertainty and surprise, but also for the provision of the bundle of components and their history that makes development and innovation following disturbance and crisis possible components intrinsic to social–ecological memory;
3. Creating opportunity for self-organization and increasing social capital;
4. Combining different kinds of knowledge, incorporating systems of local knowledge into management and external decision-making authorities.

The characterization of each of these aspects is a flexible task, strongly influenced by the socio-ecological system studied and the perspectives of analysis used (Binder et al. 2013). In the case of the CBT, a proposal for analysis for the town of Agua Blanca (Ecuador) is presented by Ruiz-Ballesteros (2011). This perspective is followed in this work. It comprises understanding CBT as a form of social organization that allows collective management of natural commons, promoting local economic development and the sustainability of the socio-ecological system. Relevant notions in this conception of the CBT would be social capital, governance, socio-environmental sustainability, natural commons, empowerment and local development (Ruiz-Ballesteros and Gual 2012; Ruiz-Ballesteros 2017).

Despite the contribution of a socio-ecological narrative, there is an important debate about the theoretical grounding application of the resilience framework to social systems and the need to reframe the concept of resilience (Leach 2008; Davidson 2010; Cote and Nightingale 2012). It is recognized that, in addition to the analysis of networks and relationships, the frames of senses, imaginaries and different actors' discourses must be included, (Leach 2008). Likewise, the managerialism and institutional analysis that characterized early resilience approaches must be rethought, considering aspects related to power/knowledge relations and culture. Those aspects are found in normative horizons and have not been incorporated into resilience studies either. It is necessary to take into account the subjective identities and affective relationships that underlie the decision-making processes, mediated by gender, class and ethnicity (Cote and Nightingale 2012; Tschakert and Tuana 2013).

This reframing is particularly important in the study of resilience in indigenous communities whose strategies of renewal and resistance against the background of the changing role and function of the nation-state must be examined from a historical and cultural perspective. It includes the tripartite relationship between nature, society and religiosity behind the system of knowledge they produce and their ways of intervening nature, according to their political and territorial claims (Stewart-Harawira 2018). Then, deeper epistemological and ontological issues must be addressed (Cote and Nightingale 2012).

Situated resilience, on the other hand, is proposed as an alternative analytical framework from political ecology and critical geography, which allows an epistemological adjustment in the conceptualization of relations between society, culture and nature. It shifts institutional analysis towards the examination of processes and relationships that support such institutional structures

(Tschakert and Tuana 2013; Cote and Nightingale 2012). This approach uses notions such as ‘ethics of place making’ and ‘relational ontology’, and in that sense it relates to other proposed notions of resilience, such as experiential resilience (Brown 2016), intersubjective and epistemic resilience (Powell et al. 2014), or indigenous resilience (Stewart-Harawira 2018). For the purpose of this work, postulates by decolonial literature and critical studies on globalization and multiculturalism are linked to the narrative of situated resilience.

This paper poses the challenge of complementing the notions of ‘ethics of place making’ and ‘relational ontology’ with that of ‘re-existence’ (Porto Gonçalves 2004). We understand ‘re-existence’ as the material and semiotic devices that indigenous communities create and develop to invent life on a daily basis and thus to be able to confront the reality established by the hegemonic project that, from the colony to the present day, has undermined, silenced and negatively visualized its existence (Albán Achinte 2013). It is postulated to consider this notion as a way to manage the resistance–resilience tension proposed by some authors (Marín-Herrera and Henríquez 2015; Brown 2016; Stewart-Harawira 2018), and “... to search in the depths of cultures for key organizational forms, production, food, rituals and aesthetics that dignify life and re-invent it to keep being transformed” (Albán Achinte 2013, p. 455). From a situated perspective, it is proposed to conceive CBT as a social action of re-existence, which seeks to improve present and future relationships between peoples and territories, nourished by a relational ontology and an ethics of place making.

In order to understand the normative horizons that different human communities trace as desirable in their decision-making processes, the recursive relationship between knowledge, agency and context as mediated by power, culture and history must be considered (Cote and Nightingale 2012). For this reason, to evaluate situated resilience, we propose initially the following two axes of analysis:

1. Conflicts and social mobilization around socio-environmental, identity, territorial, and/or autonomy claims, which allow an understanding of socio-historical and political dimensions of relational ontology;
2. Exploring aspects associated with the conception of the common, the community, territory, or communalities, which are manifested in their life projects, and from which normative horizons are established, as well as their own ethical sense of place making.

It is recognized that resilience narratives also generate ‘governance narratives’ which affects national and global political agendas (Powell et al. 2014). Likewise, CBT implies a process of reflection of local societies that can lead to their ‘empowerment’ through the claim and self-management of their territories and natural commons. This translates, according to Ruiz-Ballesteros and Hernández-Ramírez (2010), into the claim of a place in the state and in the market, which turns the tourism initiative into a “political tactic” that merits an analysis of all its complexity. Although that objective is debatable (because belonging to the State and the legitimacy granted to it is a point of conflict; (Martínez Neira 2008)), the recognition that CBT initiatives can be conceived as a tactical component—of a political tactic—means that it is relevant in the understanding of resilience. This debate must be well contextualized in order not to reduce the wealth of indigenous mobilization and its community projects.

The purpose of this article is to explore the role of the mapuche CBT in the maintenance and empowerment of the resilience of mapuche¹ communities located in what was part of their ancestral territory in Chile (communes of Panguipulli-Los Ríos Region and Puyehue-Los Lagos Region), Chile. This is done based on two approaches: the socio-ecological and the situated one. For the first case,

¹ Mapuche people are one of the original peoples that have inhabited part of the territories of what is now the state of Chile (Bengoa (1985), since pre-columbian times. The meaning of mapuche defines a reciprocal link between *mapu*, understood as an outer space (cosmos), earthly space (earth, water, subsoil), and *che* (person). The mapuche relationship is expressed, among other aspects, in the belonging of human lives to a certain territory (*tuwün*) (Nahuelpan (2013)). They are currently the majority indigenous society nationwide. In demographic terms, they represent 79.8% of the 2,185,792 people considered to belong to an indigenous or native town (Instituto Nacional de Estadística (2017)).

categories of analysis offered in the literature are used (Berkes et al. 2003; Folke 2003; Berkes and Seixas 2005), while in the second case, two categories are proposed in this paper. Advances are made in understanding the nature of the political action that these indigenous communities of mapuche subscribeto CBT (Pilquimán Vera 2014, 2016, 2017, 2018), in order to strengthen dialogue and future joint work.

2. Material and Methods

2.1. Systematization of Experiences

This is a qualitative study. Primary data was obtained from five action-participatory research projects (carried out between 2013 and 2017 by The Transdisciplinary Center of Environmental Studies and Sustainable Human Development (CEAM), in the Austral University of Chile (UACH) and the Center for Studies of Regional Development and Public Policies (CEDER) in Los Lagos University (ULA))². These projects used different social research techniques, such as interviews with key actors, the application of questionnaires, conducting a focus group and workshops, among others. These results were analyzed in this article. Additionally, to build the corpus of conflicts identified in the field, we obtained secondary data from several sources (documents and institutional databases, digital press, audiovisual material, scientific articles, pre and postgraduate theses, among others). Data systematization was carried out considering key aspects of tourism initiatives, cooperatives and associations, and conflicts (see the factors and variables used in the analysis in Tables A1 and A2).

The data collection process was limited to the precordilleran areas of both communes, considering the heterogeneity of the information obtained in the projects mentioned. For the purposes of this study, the census district³ has been used as a geographical unit that groups the localities characterized by (1) being part of the mapuche ancestral territory; (2) being subject to agricultural, livestock and forestry exploitation by large industrial complexes, as well as a growing real estate development associated with mass tourism; (3) being part of diverse conflicts due to the tense historical relationship of the Chilean state with the mapuche people, and now with the transnational capital; and (4) from the demographic and ethnographic point of view, the population of mapuche origin linked to the CBT predominates.

This article includes the study of 25 community-based tourism initiatives (Table 1) organized by mapuche communities classified into categories such as accommodation, feeding, scheduled events, and crafts and recreation, developed around the main attractions of the study area (lakes, national parks, volcanoes) in the districts of Coñaripe (10) and Neltume (3) (Figure 1a); Entre Lagos Districts (3); Antillanca (1) and Rupanco Lake (8) (Figure 1b). These zones present in addition different scenarios of conflict (described below): three of low intensity (Coñaripe District); two of high intensity (Neltume District) (Figure 1a); and two of latent intensity, one in the Antillanca District and another in the Rupanco Lake (Figure 1b).

² Projects: (1) Node of Solidarity Economy and Community Tourism (2013–2015), CEAM-UACH, Corporation for the Promotion of Production (CORFO), Panguipulli Municipality; (2) Dissemination and technology transfer Trawun Sietelagos 2014–2015, CEAM-UACH, CORFO, Panguipulli Municipality (Community Tourism Route TRAWUN); (3) Differentiating tourist routes. Self-certification and commercialization of community-based tourism in the Los Ríos Region. TRAWUN 2.0. (2016–2018). Innovation Funds for Competitiveness (FIC), Regional Government of Los Ríos, CEAM-UACH; (4) R1216. Tourist activation of cultural heritage, 2016–2017. Center for Studies of Regional Development and Public Policies (CEDER), Los Lagos University, Chile (ULA); (5) Tourism Development Plan for the Puyehue Commune 2015. Regional Government of Los Lagos, Municipality of Puyehue, CEDER-ULA.

³ A Census District is the geographical unit that subdivides a commune with census purposes.

Table 1. Study sample.

Zone	District	Locality	Number of Initiatives/Locality	Type of Initiative				
				A1	A2	A3	A4	E
Panguipulli (Z1)	Coñaripe	Pucura	6	2	1	1	0	2
		Traitraico	3	1	0	0	0	2
		Coñaripe	1	0	1	0	0	0
	Neltume	Neltume Lake	3	0	0	1	1	1
	Total Z1		13	3	2	2	1	5
Puyehue (Z2)	Entre Lagos	El Encanto Bay	3	0	2	0	1	0
	Antillanca	Aguas Calientes	1	0	0	0	1	0
		Las Parras	1	0	0	0	0	1
	Rupanco Lake	Santa Elvira	4	1	1	0	0	2
		Taique	1	0	0	0	0	1
		El Encanto	2	0	1	0	0	1
	Total Z2		12	1	4	0	2	5
	Total		25	4	6	2	3	10
%		100	16	24	8	12	40	

Source: Own elaboration, based on the projects carried out in the study area (2013–2017). Notes: A1: food; A2: accommodation; A3: programmed events; A4: crafts; E: amusement.

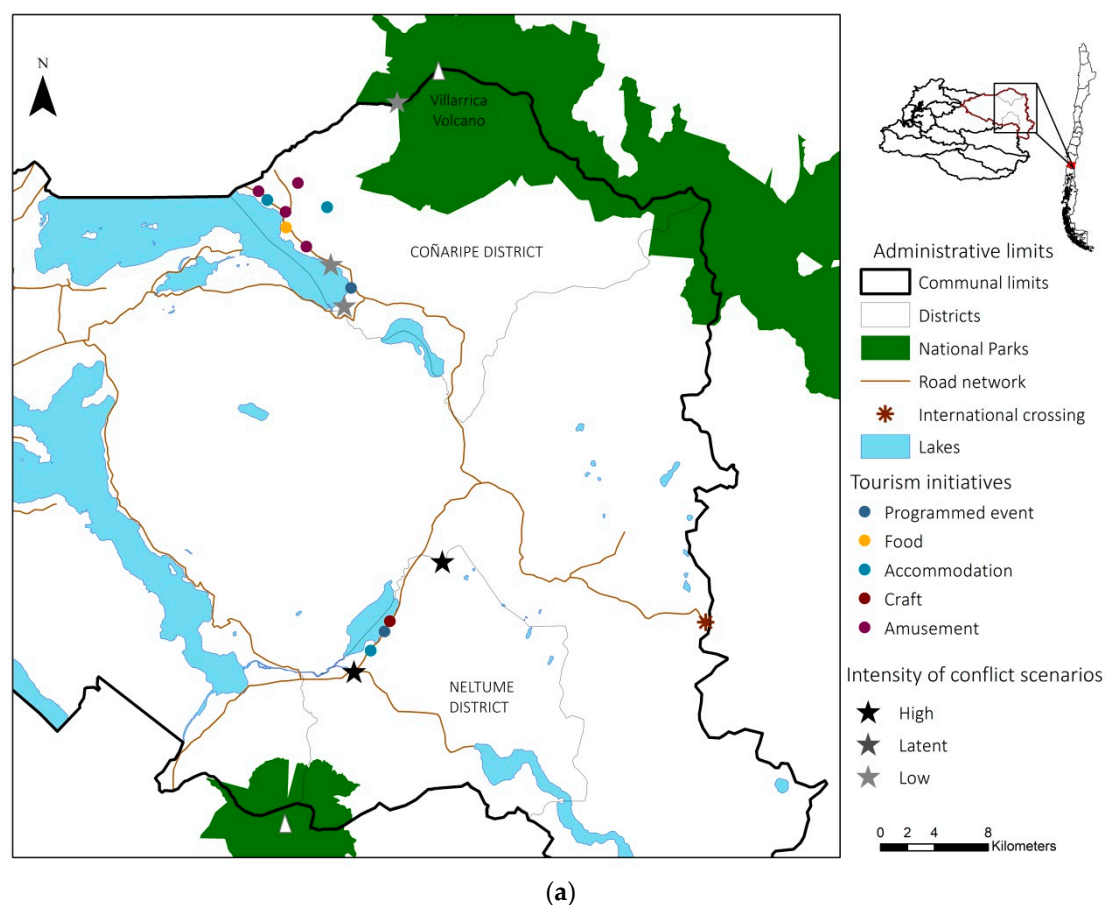


Figure 1. Cont.

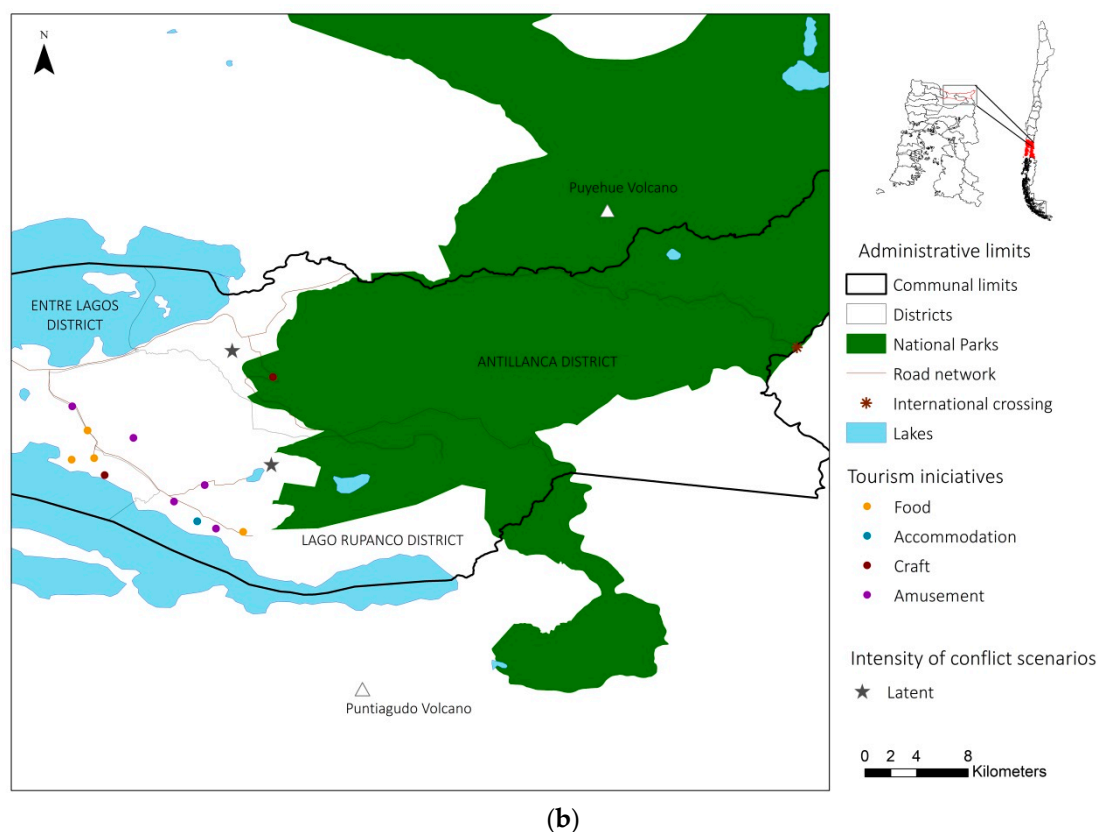


Figure 1. Tourism initiatives organized by mapuche communities and identified scenarios of conflict (a) Zone 1, Panguipulli (Los Ríos Region); (b) Zone 2, Puyehue (Los Lagos Region).

2.2. Local Context

Administratively, Zone 1 belongs to the Panguipulli commune, within the limits of Los Ríos Region, while Zone 2 is under the administration of Los Lagos Region, in the commune of Puyehue (Figure 1). Both are located in the Andean foothills of southern Chile, a place of great scenic beauty and global ecosystem importance, due to its high biodiversity, presence of hot springs, volcanoes, lagoons and forests. This natural area has been protected by the creation of the Southern Andes Biosphere of temperate rainforests Reserve Cores of southern Chile, declared by UNESCO in 2007. Likewise, it has been the territory of settlement of mapuche communities since centuries.

These areas have not been unconnected to the recent decades' Chilean tourist development. They have turned into poles of attraction for mass tourism, due to the existence of continental waters suitable for bathing and a landscape that fits the contemporary taste (Pilquimán Vera 2017). Also, it should be noted that they correspond to environmentally vulnerable zones that present diverse conflicts generated by the ownership of the land and the extractive activity associated with hydroelectric investment and the real estate business (Pilquimán Vera 2016). Additional risks are added by various sources of pollution, such as lake bodies' eutrophication processes, registered as a result of productive activities and changes in land use (Amsteins 2015). Likewise, risks are presented by laharcic and volcanic flows (Bertín and Flores 2010; Lara et al. 2012).

Another relevant aspect is the presence of a significant number of the mapuche population⁴. In the case of Panguipulli, the mapuche population is linked to the old reductions that count or have

⁴ Percentage of the population declared as belonging to the mapuche ethnic group in Panguipulli: 21.72% (year 1992); 30.74% (year 2002); 43.07% (year 2017). Percentage population declared as belonging to the Mapuche ethnic group in Puyehue: 6.7% (year 1992); 11.0% (year 2002); 33.12% (year 2017) (Instituto Nacional de Estadística 2002, 2017).

counted on Titles of Mercy⁵. These areas were constituted in spaces of isolation, subsistence and refuge for the mapuche population (Bengoa 1996), according to the progress of colonization and capitalist expansion. However, since the 1970s, after the counter-reform of the military dictatorship, they have been threatened by the implementation of the neoliberal development model (Toledo Llancaqueo 2006; Tricot 2009). This model has contributed to a process of atomization and invisibilization of indigenous property and its homologation to the dominant society property.

The population that lives in these territories is related to agricultural and forestry activities along with work within construction and retail trade. From the mapuche population, different traditional productive practices are integrated, such as the edible use of the forest and the elaboration of handicrafts. Wool and wood are used to produce handicrafts and are destined in some cases for family consumption and in others to their commercialization in summer, when the arrival of visitors and owners of second homes increases substantially (Pilquimán Vera 2017).

3. Results

In order to assess the socio-ecological and situated resilience promoted by the CBT initiatives in the foothills of Panguipulli and Puyehue, the following key aspects—associated to factors pointed out in the introduction for each case—have been studied.

3.1. Socio-Ecological Resilience

Four factors were evaluated to assess socio-ecological resilience, following the descriptive and analytical logic proposed by Ruiz-Ballesteros (2011):

1 Learning to live with change and uncertainty

The mapuche community shows skills for individual and collective action to face socio-environmental contingencies related to the way tourism is conceived and organized. These communities consider tourism as an action strategy to deal with pernicious socio-environmental effects derived from neoliberal policies of the Chilean state and within the framework of a portfolio of livelihood activities that allow them to mitigate rural world problems (Pilquimán Vera 2016). Thus, the development of tourism aims to revitalize the communities' culture, promoting their own visions of well-being in the inhabit territories (Pilquimán Vera 2017). In this sense, participation in tourist activity is rather recent (fewer than 15 years), and it has been integrated into their ways of life to complement the development of community projects.

Variation in demand and seasonal changes determine tourism (Ruiz-Ballesteros 2011; Ruiz-Ballesteros and Gual 2012). Management then involves learning to deal with tourism's intrinsic variations. Tourist demand, mostly national (more than 90%), is concentrated in summer-time (January and February) for the studied territories. The contribution of tourism to the family budget is high in this period, while in the rest of the year it is low (69% and 33% case Panguipulli, Pacheco 2017), with an average income per major season higher in Panguipulli (2.18300–18.93200 USD) than in Puyehue (247.00–3.93200 USD). Therefore, tourism is combined with subsistence activities such as family farming and poultry, livestock, bovine, pig production, wool, wood and, to a lesser extent, the provision of services, extraction of firewood and commercial activities. These activities in turn provide inputs to develop different tourism products, which give the initiatives a level of dependence on external inputs from medium to low. This fact strengthens their management skills.

The levels of consolidation of each tourism initiative are still dissimilar and under development. This is observed in the levels of formalization. In Panguipulli, 5 of the 13 studied initiatives comply

⁵ A land of community property granted by the Chilean state to an indigenous reduction. The Mercy Titles were granted to the mapuche once the Chilean state concluded the process of military occupation of the Araucanía. These titles were delivered by virtue of the Law of 4 December 1866, by the Radicating Commission of Indigenous People, in the provinces of Bio Bio, Arauco, Malleco, Cautín, Valdivia and Osorno. This process started in 1884 and ended in 1929.

with the government regulations for the tourism sector in Chile. In contrast, in Puyehue, only 1 of the 12 initiatives has complied with the regulations (initiation of activities before the Internal Revenue Service, Municipal Patent, Resolution Sanitary and Registration of SERNATUR). The use of different marketing channels is also observed (direct sales, social networks, offer of tourist packages in proprietary communication platforms, campaigns of tourist programs), with a greater scope in the Panguipulli initiatives than in Puyehue. Tourism has promoted community organization, articulating community actors, government authorities, universities and social organizations, while strengthening individual initiatives and tourism infrastructure.

2 Nurturing diversity for reorganization and renewal

As happens elsewhere in Latin America (Solís Carrión, 2007; Coca, 2012; Cox, 2012; Bohórquez et al. 2015; Sampaio 2005), tourism experience is understood as a way of revaluing memory, promoting alternative political spaces of experimentation to show cultural aspects, social demands and identity claims associated with the community way of life (Palomino-Schalscha 2015; Pilquimán Vera and Henríquez 2017). In the analyzed cases, it is also a way to be present and to build sovereignty in their recovered spaces, as expressed in reported stories: “I made tortillas [bread] for the tourists and, besides selling in my stove, I told people about my town, I told them about the ceremonies, about the struggles for the land, the waters and our sacred spaces” (IM, 2013, cited in (Pilquimán Vera 2016)).

According to Tricot (2009, p. 6), mapuche memory is fundamentally oral: a collective narrative handed down from generation to generation in the form of a conjunction of cosmo-historical, historical and cultural elements that reproduce past, values, symbology, norms, lands, territory and shared social practices. More than a simple narrative, mapuche memory is made of concrete social practices that materialize in specific socio-cultural contexts.

In relation to both territories' social practices, no substantial differences were found. In general, social practices are oriented to the revitalization of cultural heritage through the elaboration of typical foods, sustainable collection and manufacture of food products derived from hazelnuts, the use of traditional cooking techniques, mapuche history storytelling, intercultural experiences in *rukas* (houses), picking *ñocha* (vegetable fiber to make baskets), crafts showing mapuche identity, interpretation trails through native forests and rivers, ancestral navigation, use of ancestral knowledge for medicinal and craft purposes—in textiles and wood—and the promotion of spaces for knowledge dialogues about territory.

Environmental management practices related to family farming are promoted in both areas, such as the rescue and use of native seeds (through *trafkitun* bartering and exchange of seeds), harvesting of forest fruits, production of organic fertilizer, non-use of agrochemicals, crop rotation, the reforestation of native forest and the separation of solid waste. Mapuche communities also encourage the recreational use of water through sustainable activities such as kayaking and sailing, among others, as well as wood harvesting practices for the production of handicrafts.

3 Creating opportunity for self-organization

CBT promotes forms of community self-organization that strengthen the ‘social capital’ of the communities in which these initiatives are promoted (Ruiz-Ballesteros and Hernández-Ramírez 2010; Ruiz-Ballesteros and Gual 2012). This facilitates access to resources, the creation of conflict management mechanisms, as well as multi-level governance. The levels of participation, networks and self-management of each tourism initiative were characterized following this investigation.

Twenty-four social organizations were identified (9 in Panguipulli and 15 in Puyehue). They can be classified into four functional organizational types: indigenous communities, indigenous associations, cooperatives, and economic and social associations. The representatives of the different tourism initiatives, actively participate in these social organizations (in more than five), with different objectives (economic, political, etc.) Equally, they are linked with local, regional, national and university

governmental authorities (Figure 2). Two of the most important organizations are described in this work: the TRAWUN cooperative of Panguipulli, and the Social, Cultural, Environmental Association of Tourist Entrepreneurs of Puyehue.

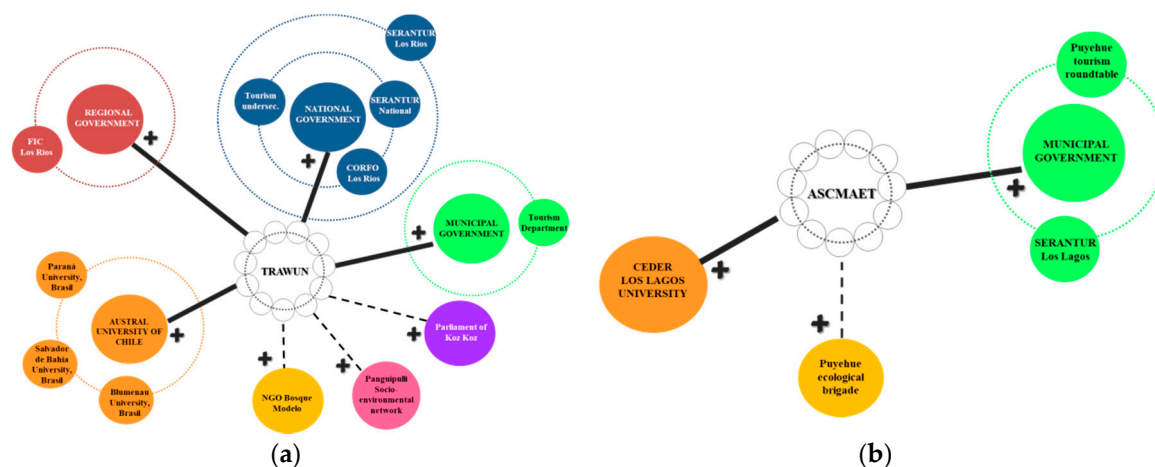


Figure 2. Community organizations networks evaluated: (a) TRAWUN cooperative, Panguipulli (b) Social, Cultural, Environmental Association of tourism entrepreneurs (ASCMAET), Puyehue. As nodes, different levels of articulation are distinguished with the entities assigned to the municipal, regional and national governments, universities, NGOs and other grassroots organizations. The forms of the articulation are represented by links. Thick and continuous links stand for more or less sustained relationships that enable achieving specific objectives. When identified as positive by the organization, they are represented by a plus sign. The opposite is represented by a weak, discontinuous and/or minus sign as shown in the figure. The cooperative TRAWUN is linked to more organizations and government or university institutions than ASCMAET, which has resulted, for example, as indicated in the text in various achievements, in self-certification.

The TRAWUN cooperative emerged in 2017, based on previous projects carried out in the Panguipulli district that promoted the creation of the Trawun Route and Circuit in 2014. This route currently integrates 47 tourism initiatives that generate 172 jobs for local residents in summer-time. Specifically, in the Panguipulli area, there are 12 tourism initiatives that are part of this cooperative located in Coñaripe and Neltume (Figure 1a). As different members of the organizations said in the interviews, this cooperative is perceived by its members as a real development alternative for the community. It has a high youth participation (54% of the participants are under 28 years of age). Working is valued as an element that enhances tourism in its territory through the generation of networks with academic sectors, public institutions and non-governmental organizations (Figure 2a). Finally, most of the members of the initiatives conceive tourism as an activity that can promote socio-political objectives associated with the defense of the territory. Thus, it is linked to larger indigenous organizations such as the Koz Koz Parliament⁶. This has resulted in organizational strengthening, which has consolidated TRAWUN as a political actor with negotiation capacity in the current conflicts in the area (described below) and a presence in government institutions. This is a consequence of the partnerships generated by TRAWUN to get economic resources and the multilevel governance instances it promotes (Pacheco 2017).

The Social, Cultural, Environmental Association of Tourist Entrepreneurs of Puyehue was established in 2014 as a space for articulation and promotion of tourism at the community level to generate additional income, revalue culture and help in caring for the environment. From

⁶ The Parliament of Koz Koz is a socio-political organization whose objective is the territorial defense and the refounding of the mapuche nation.

a social perspective, this organization is also a meeting place for members and a center of decision-making debate.

This ASCMAET gathers 19 tourism initiatives located in the towns of Entre Lagos, Antillanca and Rupanco Lake (Figure 1b), 11 of which are managed by people, families and/or mapuche communities. It is also part of the public–private tourism table of Puyehue. As different members of the organizations said in the interviews, the relationship with the authorities of the Municipality is valued as positive. However, this organization does not have the support of other public institutions to strengthen tourism as in the case of TRAWUN in Zone 1 (Figure 2a). The link with the CEDER, University of Los Lagos has allowed the realization of studies to show the incipient supply of tourism in this area as well as some latent environmental conflicts. The Puyehue Tourism Development Plan and other specific studies have identified a set of actions to strengthen these initiatives.

Despite the informal nature of this activity, CBT has generated economic dynamism at local levels, from the perspective of its associates. An important part of these initiatives does not comply with the current sectoral regulations of Chile. However, the activity generated by these initiatives at a local level contributes to the creation of 49 jobs during summer-time. This applies either for members of families or management communities or local residents in an area strongly affected by the crisis of traditional agriculture and more recently by hydroelectric investment, the aquaculture industry, the real estate business and volcanic eruptions.

4 Combining different kinds of knowledge

To account for how the CBT promotes instances to combine local knowledge with technical knowledge, and to generate participatory management and environmental monitoring capacities, the design of the self-certification process of the tourism initiatives that are part of the TRAWUN cooperative is referred to here.

In Chile, the tourist quality requires compliance with the Tourism Quality Certification System created by the Tourism Law No. 20.423 of 2010, which, among other requirements, claims to belong to the National Tourist Classification Registry. Once certified, tourism initiatives can aim for the Seal of Tourism Quality, granted by the National Tourism Service (SERNATUR). This entity supervises the system. The system, in practice, generates entry barriers to micro-enterprises sacrificing their own distinctive features that characterize the tourism developed by indigenous peoples and local communities (Pilquiman Vera and Skewes 2009; Guerra Schleef and Comi 2016).

In this scenario, self-certification is presented as an alternative. It is defined as a relevant tourism quality management process, with cultural identity aligned with the different international regulations and policies for the development of indigenous and rural communities. Through a mechanism led by the communities, there is direct participation in the process of planning and developing the quality of their products and tourist destinations. Communities collect their needs through the creation of regulatory instruments managed and prepared by the tourist destination residents themselves (Guerra Schleef and Comi 2016).

It is understood, then, as a local code of conduct and a voluntary regulation instrument based on the actions of the various initiatives that make up the Trawun Community Tourism Route. After participating in “Self-Certification Workshops” and “CBT Experiences Meetings”, where collective learning processes are promoted, participants of the cooperative generate an ethical protocol for the CBT initiatives that make up the route. That would connect the mapuche ways of life with the defense of the territory, the conservation of heritage, and its value creation through CBT.

A seal of quality (Seal of Quality and Self-Certification SECLA-TRAWUN) which certifies the integration of good, productive tourism and complementary practices (Pacheco 2017) is awarded to the initiatives after a peer evaluation conducted by a territorial Ethics Commission that oversees compliance with this protocol.

However, it is still required “... that all subjects involved in the universe of tourism know and acknowledge the existence and value of these instruments, which includes both the host communities and

the visitors, and very particularly the public and private organizations” (Guerra Schlee and Comi 2016, p. 101)

3.2. *Situated Resilience*

In order to understand how CBT promotes situated resilience, two factors have been evaluated:

1 Conflicts, social mobilization and relational ontology

The post-dictatorship period in Chile (1990 and later) has been characterized by a neoliberal extractivism that marks the continuation of colonial dispossession (Nahuelpan 2012; Cuadra Montoya 2014). At the same time, there has been an unprecedented level of social and territorial conflict, associated with opposition to industrial mining projects, resistance to the installation of power plants, demands from local communities for the provision of public services, as well as access to decision-making in government investments (Delamaza et al. 2017). As a result of this, there is evidence of greater politicization at the local level, although it has not necessarily been translated into structural social changes (Valenzuela et al. 2016; Delamaza et al. 2017).

In the case of the relationship between mapuches, the Chilean state and the private sector, a permanent scenario of conflicts and mobilizations has deepened. Such relations have their roots in the colonial and republican projects of the Chilean State of the “Pacification of the Araucanía” (1860–1883); also, in the policies for the communities’ division or “System of Reductions” (1979 onwards; Bengoa 1999; Pinto 2000; Cuadra Montoya 2014; Samaniego and Ruiz 2015). Currently, this hostile relationship has different sources: historical debt, territorial dispossession for colonization purposes, agricultural, timber and fishing production at industrial level and the criminalization of mapuche protest (De La Cuadra 2013).

These scenarios are characterized by a diversity of actors, repertoires, levels of incidence (local, transnational), and structuring processes (socio-environmental, socio-territorial). Mobilizations for land and forest claims by indigenous communities, socio-environmental conflicts with the formation of inter-ethnic coalitions for the fight against extractive megaprojects and even transnational collective actions with different results have been reported (Carruthers and Rodríguez 2009; Martínez Neira and Delamaza 2018). The study of this type of scenario of conflict and mobilization allows us to understand the relationships (cultural, social and political) that give context to territories where CBT initiatives organized by mapuche communities emerge, as well as the nature of the political action they subscribed.

Thirteen socio-territorial conflicts have been registered since 2005 in the Los Ríos and Los Lagos regions, with environmental pressure as one of the main causes (Delamaza et al. 2017). Seven conflicting scenarios with a socio-environmental nature are identified in the Puyehue and Panguipulli territories (*sensu* Svampa 2013). They are associated with the following commodities: land, electricity, water, biological resources, tourism services, domestic municipal waste and ecosystem services.

Different conflict scenarios are distinguished, according to the classification of the Environmental Justice Atlas⁷. For instance, the case of the installation of the mini hydroelectric plants Chanleufu and Palmar Correntoso⁸ in the Puyehue National Park (Figure 1b) can be classified as a latent conflict. Mapuche communities adjoining the protected natural space have expressed the will to initiate collective actions in case the terms of the negotiations with the transnational companies involved are disrespected.

Two recent high-intensity conflicts are reported in the Panguipulli area: the Lago Neltume case and the small Tranguil case in Liquiñe (Haughney 2012; Cuadra Montoya 2015; Martínez Neira and Delamaza 2018; <https://ejatlas.org>). Three cases are classified as low intensity conflicts: the filling of

⁷ <https://ejatlas.org/>

⁸ See <http://www.derechoalagua.cl/mapa-de-conflictos/codigo-de-aguas-y-traffic-de-influencias-invaden-el-parque-nacional-puyehue/>

the Chancafiel wetland (Coñaripe, Panguipulli), the territorial recovery by the mapuche communities of the shores of Lake Calfaquén case (Trairaico, Panguipulli) and the construction of an international ski center in the Villarrica National Park (Villarrica, Panguipulli) (Pilquimán Vera 2014, 2016, 2017; Marín-Herrera and Henríquez 2015).

In the case of the Villarrica National Park, grant concessions are expected for the installation of a mountain and ski center on the slopes of the Villarrica volcano, as well as the implementation of land access roads (Portillo and Vera 2018; personal communication M. Pilquimán, 24 August 2018). This type of action tends to generate significant resistance from the mapuche communities because it favors the increase of visitors and the concentration of large-scale recreational properties, which compete with the mapuche population which participates in the sector with CBT initiatives, due to the occupation and use of their territories (Pilquimán Vera 2016).

Some of the socioeconomic impacts already detected as a result of the creation of the Villarrica National Park in 1940 are the invisibility of the ancestral property of the communities of the area, as well as the hindering of their traditional uses and practices in a space where mapuche communities have historically developed economic practices and local modes of production; for example, summer practices (picking pine nuts and grazing), installation of “rukas” required for summer holidays, passage of comuneros, religious and spiritual practices carried out around volcanoes, such as Ruka Pillán (Villarrica). Likewise, their access to natural commons is limited (e.g., access to plants for diverse uses) creating a green market to sell ecosystem services instead. On the other hand, some communities propose co-management of the park, with the purpose of recovering ancestral territories and traditional practices of their local economies (Marín-Herrera 2015; Marín-Herrera and Henríquez 2015; Pilquimán Vera 2017).

It is important to highlight the elements of the ethno-political discourse that emerge in these contexts and that are rescued by many of the members of the Mapuche communities, who are developing CBT initiatives as political actions. Notions such as cultural resistance, territory, worldview, spirituality, collective heritage, the mapuche people-nation, collective rights, autonomy and territorial sovereignty, and collective memory, among others, are present in such discourses. Thus, CBT can be thought as part of the repertoire of a symbolic strategy of the mapuche movement itself. In their own words:

“ ... The initiative of this [tourist] project began in order to show the territory and what was done here ... It was also a topic ... the ... the one of the hydroelectric power plants ... that came to invade the place, the territory ... by a company called ENDESA. Well ... and there is the community fighting so that this project is not done because we consider it deterioration to the tourism projects that we have in mind in the future and what is being worked on so far ... ”. (N.C. 2013, interview with M.P.)

It is thus possible to advance in the understanding of the political meaning of the reported associations and cooperatives. Certainly from a socio-ecological perspective, CBT strengthens the ‘social capital’ of these communities. However, what is the purpose of this strengthening? Under which contextual conditions it is strengthened, and for whom is it important?

From a political ecological perspective, the conflicting scenarios offer elements to approach at least one dimension of the relational ontology⁹ of the mapuche people, in their territories and with the ‘other’ non-mapuche. Thus, CBT could be understood as a political action of positive

⁹ Places and people are co-constituted. The relationships that exist between places and people are determined by historical contexts, biological interconnections, social institutions, ecological dynamics, and diverse interests. From relational ontology, the ontological condition of relationality is recognized as the precondition for interrelationality (see more in Tschakert and Tuana 2013). Thus, community resilience, in addition to recognizing factors associated with socio-ecological memory, must observe those aspects that pre-condition the interrelations of the current mapuche communities with non-mapuche communities. One of these aspects refers to the different conflict scenarios that these communities have suffered from the colonial era to the present.

and socially productive resistance to the current liberal multiculturalism of the Chilean state (*sensu* Díaz Polanco 2006) and as an identity affirmation (mapuchity) and otherness questioning (chilenity), of equality and difference (González Gálvez 2016), which adds to the process of mapuche re-existence as proposed by authors (Marín-Herrera and Henríquez 2015). Not considering these elements, even in their historical dimension, detracts from the understanding of how CBT strengthens the resilience of these communities in the territories they inhabit and the limitations these initiatives may have, beyond the claim for a place in the state and in the market as proposed by authors (Ruiz-Ballesteros and Hernández-Ramírez 2010).

2 The common, territories, community life project

Since 2006, the ‘Lonko Mapu Association’—made up of five mapuche communities near the Puyehue National Park—has built and managed a huillihue mapuche handicraft sales center: ‘La Ruka’. It is a space loaned by the National Forestry Corporation (CONAF). The CONAF is an entity in charge of the administration of national parks in Chile. Located in the larger infrastructure of the Termas de Puyehue Hotel, the Termas de Puyehue Tourist Complex and the Antillanca Ski Center (Plan de Desarrollo Turístico PLADETUR), this initiative sells locally produced wool and wood crafts. Firstly, it fulfills a cultural objective since rukas are traditional dwellings whose design and architecture are made according to cosmogonic and functional criteria. Secondly, it follows territorial criteria since the initiative has been located in an ancestral territory of the community.

The mapuche world is a conjunction of material and immaterial elements that produce a sense of community articulated to specific spaces such as territories. Therein are the mapuche cosmovision, the blood community or *Küpan*, the territorial identity or *Tuwün*, ancestral traditions, language and social scaffolding coexists (Tricot 2009). In their project of life, *Küme Mongen* (good living, *buen vivir*), a collective lifestyle is promoted to procure the common good in a balanced and harmonic relation between all the elements of existence: the family, the community, human relations, the land, work, animals and plants, abundance, spirituality and respect for the teachings of the ancestors (Pino Piderit et al. 2014). *Küme Mongen* is proposed to improve the quality of life in economic, cultural and spiritual terms (Pilquimán Vera 2016). It is based on a model of society where *Itrofillmongen* (all life without exception) represents the whole system of life in balance (Viera 2013). These dimensions of the mapuche world connect the community with the territory, from an ethic, to make the place. This is reflected in the CBT initiatives here reported and in the paths of interpretation or intercultural experiences.

At the base of all indigenous mobilization, the cultural dimension is weighted as much or more heavily than the political or the social dimensions, since its symbolic aspects allow the reinforcement of the mapuche identity (Martínez Neira 2008, 2009). The mapuche Huilliche Handicraft Sales Center “La Ruka” strengthens communality while reconnecting the social memory to the territory. It contributes and recreates the mapuche world, in an ethic to create the place of the mapuche community life project, *Küme Mongen*.

4. Conclusions

Through a socio-ecological and situated analysis, this work shows ways of assessing the role of CBT for the maintenance and strengthening of the community resilience of the mapuche in the studied localities. In both cases, CBT rises not only as a socio-productive engine diversifier of income sources, but also as a strategy of cultural revitalization and active resistance in defense of the territory and identity. It takes place within the context of a long-standing conflict between the mapuche people, the state and private companies. This shows that communities have been flexible in facing changes, developing coping skills to deal with external shocks (understood as the processes of territorial dispossession, colonization, extractive and neoliberal policies).

From a socio-ecological perspective, for example, Panguipulli tourism initiatives have a social capital greater than that of Puyehue. This is linked to a greater presence of articulated social

organizations and therefore accumulated collective experience, as well as to the fact of the greater tourist development led by governmental entities and academic attention which this commune has received. This translates into higher levels of profitability, economic security and consolidation of CBT. Regarding practices that impact the CBT (social/cultural and environmental) associated with socio-ecological memory, there are no substantial differences among Panguipulli and Puyehue.

The situated approach allows the historical, political and cultural understanding of these initiatives in context. For example, CBT seems to offer concrete economic anchor frames that drive the plot for collective actions of mapuche communities. Strikingly, in Panguipulli, where the active conflict scenarios are greater, CBT initiatives are more consolidated. In contrast, in Puyehue, where conflicting scenarios are in a latent state as a product of negotiations between actors, CBT is less consolidated. To assess possible relationships between conflict scenarios and CBT, this emergency deserves another kind of analysis beyond this work. However, this is a line which opens when considering the situated approach. Likewise, a relational perspective of CBT makes it possible to approach the place these mapuche communities have created concerning the territories they inhabit, and the ethical perspective from which they are linked, which gives other meanings to the development of CBT.

As some authors suggest, the examination of the sociocultural issues that mediate the social relations of power, as well as the relational space in which the CBT initiatives are contextualized, is fundamental to deepening the analysis of indigenous resilience. Thus, in addition to the strengthening of social and cultural capital and the learning evidenced in the formation of cooperatives or associations for tourism management, or the significant progress in self-certification processes, CBT is part of the historical context of struggle and resistance, the processes of territorial dispossession, changes in the ways of life, and the identity destruction that persist in the policies of the multicultural neoliberalism of the current Chilean government. For this reason, it is proposed here that although the socio-ecological narrative is useful, it is not sufficient to increase our understanding of the meanings CBT has as a political action, for the mapuche people and world. The relevance of the situated narrative could be more effective to engage in dialogues and joint work with mapuche communities.

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Appendix A

Table A1. Variables considered. Socioecological resilience.

Factor	Variable
Learning to live with change and uncertainty	Tourist demand (nationality; number of tourists; months of highest demand) Profitability Economic security (diversification productivity; level of formalization of the initiatives; distribution of services tourist in the year; marketing channels; level of dependence on external inputs I)
Nurturing diversity for reorganization and renewal	Type of traditional practices (social, cultural, environmental)
Creating opportunity for self-organization	Level of participation (number and types of organizations, tourists and the community in which they participate; forms of participation; individual and community benefits) Networks (actors; links; objectives; aims; context in which the links occur; duration and effect relationships; achievements and results obtained; benefits reported to the organization community)
Combining different kinds of knowledge	Instances to combine local knowledge with technical knowledge, and to generate participatory management and environmental monitoring capacities

Table A2. Structural variables considered to build the corpus of conflicts. Situated resilience.

Structural Variables	Key Aspects
Source of conflict	Category; type of conflict
Projects details and actors	Commodity; level of investment; financial institution; company; environmental justice organisations and other supporters; relevant government actors
The conflict and mobilization	Start date; end date; intensity; reaction stage; description; groups mobilizing; environmental justice organizations; forms of mobilization; environmental impacts; health impacts; socio-economic impacts
Outcomes	Project status; pathways for conflict outcome/response; development of alternatives

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