Rethinking the relationship between capitalist extractivism and Indigenous people

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Disclaimer

This document represents part of the author's study programme while at the International Institute of Social Studies. The views stated therein are those of the author and not necessarily those of the Institute.

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List of Acronyms

ISS	Institute of Social Studies
CMPC	Chilean Pulp and Paper Company
CONAF	National Forestry Corporation
CONADI	National Indigenous Development Corporation
CAM	Coordinadora Arauco-Malleco (Coordination Arauco-Malleco)
WAM	Weichán Auka Mapu
RML	Resistencia Mapuche Lafkenche (Mapuche Lafkenche Resistance)
FL	Franja Lafkenche

Abstract

In critical environmental studies, Indigenous peoples are often portrayed as stewards of the land and nature, inherently opposing large-scale capitalist extractivist operations on their territories and mobilizing for the defense of their lands and natural environments. However, how can this dominant perspective account for when Indigenous peoples mobilize to get incorporated into extractivist capitalist corporate operations in their land? To explore this literature gap, I examine the Lleulleu project, a collaborative forestry initiative involving thirteen Mapuche communities and the forestry company CMPC in Chile. I demonstrate that through this incorporation, the boundaries between capitalist extractivism and Indigeneity become blurred. By analyzing the reasons why Indigenous people pursue partnerships with extractive companies, I examine how these projects intertwine historical land reclamations and Indigenous traditional social structures with the expansion of extractive capitalist activities on Indigenous lands. Indigenous peoples are incorporated as small capitalists, with initiatives that increase their wealth accumulation. In this context, resources act as means to obtain class recognition and access to their historical Indigenous claims regarding land and sovereignty. However, it is important to consider power imbalances in this new scenario, where Indigenous people are incorporated, but they are also highly dependent economically and socially on the extractive corporative industry.

Relevance to Development Studies

We are all living in a context of climate change. Global temperature is rising, and the planet is losing its biodiversity. The origins of this crisis have been rooted in the beginnings of large-scale export-oriented agriculture. Plantationocene is the term for this new era, where plantations have affected social and political life, shaped the global economy, and colonized the understanding of productive landscapes. In this scenario, Indigenous people have been recognized as one of the protagonists in creating a counter-hegemonic project against capitalist extractivism. Understanding Indigenous peoples' ontologies and practices as anti-capitalistic, critical environmental and agrarian studies have defined Indigenous peoples as environmental defenders and leaders of new ways to relate to all living beings. However, this research presents that the relationship between Indigenous people and capitalist extractivism is not always oppositional. Capitalist extractivism employs new strategies to connect with Indigenous peoples, satisfying their needs and providing a capitalist alternative to meet their historical (ancestral) claims. With this strategy, Indigenous people are deciding to be incorporated into extractive industries, generating new processes of class differentiation inside Indigenous communities. If we, as critical thinkers, want to create a counter-hegemonic project to surpass the Plantationocene, we must consider the complexities of vulnerable populations, incorporate their views but also their realities, and build together a realistic alternative that incorporates everybody.

Keywords

Indigenous peoples, Capitalist extractivism, Incorporation, Resistance, Mapuche, forestry sector.

Chapter 1: Introduction

1.1 Research context, problem, and research questions

A dominant body of literature in critical environmental and agrarian studies assumes that Indigenous peoples' perspectives on nature and how to nurture it go against the presence of extractivist industries in their territories, such as mining and industrial forestry plantations. The assumption is that Indigenous peoples are stewards of land and nature, who are inherently opposed to extractivist large-scale capitalist operations on their land. It is a well-documented fact that conflicts erupt when capitalists intrude into Indigenous territories. How, then, does this dominant perspective account for when Indigenous peoples mobilize not to oppose but to get incorporated into extractivist capitalist corporate operations in their land? This is the more challenging question and is what this research paper is about.

Few scholars have examined the complex response from Indigenous communities to the expansion of extractive industries in their territories, looking into how Indigenous projects reconfigure the relationship between territory and extraction in a context of long historical struggles for territorial recognition and autonomy (Anthias, 2018, pp. 148-149). These studies focused on cases where Indigenous communities pursue extractive collaborative projects to gain corporate-sponsored Indigenous autonomy (Anthias, 2018) or reduce individual material inequalities among Indigenous people (Tym, 2023). Such studies challenge the notion of Indigenous communities as a homogeneous group with uniform land use interests or ontological understandings.

This research contributes to this discussion among critical scholars by studying a collaborative project between Indigenous people and an extractive corporation within a territory dominated by Indigenous groups that oppose extractive industries operating in their lands. Specifically, this study is focused on answering the following research question:

Why do some Indigenous groups collaborate with extractive corporate operations in their lands while others resist?

This question will be addressed by examining the case of the Lleulleu project, a collaborative forestry initiative that began in 2019 and involves thirteen Mapuche communities and the forestry company Forestal Mininco (CMPC) in Tirúa, Chile. This project consisted of the creation of Indigenous forestry contractor companies that employ Mapuche from the Lleulleu territory in forestry activities, the provision of high-education scholarships, water infrastructure investments, and the reforestation of native plants along the shores of the Lleulleu Lake. In the mid-term, the project considers the creation of an Indigenous Forestry Corporation to formalize the initiative and involve the Mapuche communities in the forestry

company's value chain. In the long term, ownership of Indigenous ancestral lands will be transferred from the forestry company to the Mapuche communities, with a commitment to maintain forestry plantations and economic relationships within its value chain.

This case is based in Chile, a country where the forestry sector plays a significant role in the national economy, especially in regions where the Mapuche ancestral territory is located, covering extensive areas with forestry plantations (INFOR, 2023). The current forestry industry's prominence began with state development projects initiated in the mid-20th century, but were significantly promoted during Augusto Pinochet's dictatorship, increasing the dispossession of the Mapuche (Hale and Millaman, 2018; Schmalz et al., 2022). In response, Mapuche resistance against forestry plantations has intensified (Pairicán and Álvarez, 2011). In this context, the Lleulleu project is in a territory where Mapuche territorial resistance organizations actively oppose forestry activities on their ancestral lands.

With this case, the study aims to answer the following sub-questions:

1. Why do Indigenous people decide to enter into business arrangements with owners of industrial extractivist capital operating on their land?
2. What political dynamics emerge between the Indigenous people who collaborate and the Indigenous people opposed to the extractive industry, the extractive company, and the state?
3. What are the economic and social implications of Indigenous people's incorporation into the industrial forestry sector?
4. How are the boundaries between Indigenous people and extractive capitalism changing due to the inclusion of Indigenous peoples in the value chain of large industrial capital?

By addressing these questions, this research reevaluates the relationship between capitalist extractivists and Indigenous peoples, examining the reasons for Indigenous incorporation within a context of resistance, and the interests of Indigenous people and extractive corporations with these projects.

1.2 Methodology, positionality, and limitations of the study

1.2.1 Methodology

This research studies the case of the Lleulleu project, a collaborative initiative between thirteen Mapuche communities and Forestal Mininco, part of the CMPC group[1]. This case was

[1] From now on, this study presents CMPC as the forestry company.

selected using the extreme-case method proposed by Gerring (2007, Ch. 5). The extreme-case method is based on choosing a case that is paradigmatic or unusual to the common understanding of certain phenomena (Ibid., pp. 101-102). In the context of the Mapuche, several studies have shown their resistance to the expansion of the forestry sector in their ancestral territory (Schmalz et al., 2022; Gonzalez-Hidalgo and Zofragos, 2016; Hale and Millaman, 2018; Montalba-Navarro and Carrasco, 2003). The Lleulleu project responds to an extreme case because it is an initiative of collaboration between Mapuche communities and a forestry company in a territory with a high presence of *Órganos de resistencia territorial* (Territorial resistance organizations). The emergence of a project with this characteristic is an understudied phenomenon in academic research.

For the case analysis, this study engages with Lund's (2014, p. 225) analytical matrix, moving between the specific and the general, and between the concrete and the abstract. In terms of specific and concrete data, this case presents a particular collaborative project between Indigenous peoples and an extractive company, during a specific period of time and in a particular territory. With the data, this study identifies and links general understandings to abstract theories related to Indigenous peoples and Capitalist extractivism. By interweaving these four dimensions, this study looks to increase its external validation beyond the Lleulleu case. This research also follows a reflexive model of science incorporating the case's historical, cultural, and macro context. Following Burawoy's (1998) proposal on the extended case study method, this research links the observations with broader theories, their extra-local setting, and the history of the Indigenous people since the Spanish colonization started.

The case is analyzed using quantitative and qualitative research methods and focuses on four main actors: the thirteen Mapuche communities, the forestry company, the Chilean state, and resistance territorial organizations. Table 1 presents a brief description of each actor.

Table 1: Actors of the analysis, Lleulleu case

Actor	Description
Thirteen Mapuche communities	These Mapuche communities live in the Lleulleu territory and are part of a collaboration project with CMPC. They cover about 2,000 Mapuche inhabitants (Santo Reinao, 2024).
CMPC	The second largest forestry company in Chile. It has over 750,000 employees and operates in around 130 municipalities in 7 regions. It has direct contact (vicinity) with 405 Mapuche communities and 150,000 direct neighbors (CMPC worker 1, 2024).
Órganos de Resistencia territorial (Territorial Resistance Organisations)	Mapuche territorial resistance organizations are groups created to coordinate a national liberation process that sought their auto-determination (Héctor Llaitul in Pauta Libre la Red, 2021b). They use violent and nonviolent resistance mechanisms to recuperate the Mapuche ancestral territory and their political auto-determination. The most influential groups in the Lleulleu territory are Coordinadora Arauco-Malleco (CAM), Weichán Auka Mapu (WAM), and Resistencia Mapuche Lafkenche (RML).
Chilean state	Considers different Chilean public institutions that work for Indigenous development. National Forestry Corporation (CONAF): A private law entity dependent on the Agriculture Ministry, whose main task is to administrate Chile's forestry policy and promote the sector's development. National Plan *Buen Vivir* (Good living): The National Plan 'Good Living' is part of the Ministry of the General Secretariat of the Presidency. It aims to develop an intercultural project for rural development in the regions Biobío, La Araucanía, Los Ríos, and Los Lagos; and reduce the conflict between the Chilean state and Mapuche (MDSF, 2024). National Corporation of Indigenous Development (CONADI): The public institution in charge of the promotion, coordination, and execution of policy action for Indigenous people's development. Also, it is the institution in charge of purchasing and transferring land to Mapuche communities. Other public institutions include local governments, regional governments, and the police and military force.

Source: Author's elaboration.

Four data sources are used in the analysis: interviews, documentation, survey analysis, and archival records. The primary source of evidence is eight semi-structured in-depth interviews with representatives of three of the four main actors. An ethical protocol was created to protect the research participants in preparation for the interviews. Explicit consent was

respectfully asked, providing comprehensive information about my positionality, the research objectives, and how I would manage the data. All data was anonymized except for those informants who explicitly said they wanted to be named in the research. The interviews were collected using the snowball strategy. The informants are:

- Three Mapuche community representatives of the Lleulleu territory and the Lleulleu project:
  (1) Santo Reinao: He is the Mapuche leader of the Lleulleu project and owner of a contracting company that provides services to CMPC.
  (2) Blanca Flores: She is a Mapuche representative of her community and one of the first representatives who started the negotiation process with CMPC.
  (3) Millaray Millahual: She is a Mapuche representative of her community and the person who hosted me and introduced me to the territory.
  These three informants explicitly asked to be named in this research.
- Three workers of Chile's two biggest forestry companies: (2) CMPC and (1) Arauco.
- One worker of the National Forestry Corporation (CONAF).
- One worker of the National Plan 'Buen Vivir' (Good living).

Representatives of the Mapuche territorial resistance organizations were not interviewed for two reasons. First, the time destined for fieldwork was not long enough to make contact and build a relationship of trust with the Mapuche who are part of the Lleulleu project and the Mapuche from the territorial resistance organizations. One group needed to be prioritized. Second, there are more available secondary data sources about territorial resistance organizations than there are for the communities participating in the collaborative project with the forestry company. Therefore, this study analyzes the position of the thirteen Mapuche communities with primary data and the position of the territorial resistance organizations with secondary data. Secondary data includes the analysis of mass media interviews with representatives of territorial resistance organizations and online statements published on local and social media.

The research consisted of three different phases. First, the analysis presents the study's cultural and historical background, detailing Mapuche's cosmovision and describing how colonization and land dispossession affect today's decisions of the Mapuche to incorporate into the forestry industry. Documentary information was used for this analysis, including books, academic papers, and reports of local and national public institutions, forestry companies, and international certifications. Archival records were used to describe the history of the Mapuche communities in the Lleulleu territory, looking into local particularities in their history of colonization and territorial dispossession.

Second, the case study is analyzed to understand why Indigenous people established business arrangements with owners of industrial extractivist capital operating on their lands. This analysis begins by looking at the current material and cultural conditions of the Lleulleu territory, as well as the relationship of the Mapuche living there with non-endemic trees. The

high concentration of territorial resistance groups within the same territory implies that the local material and cultural conditions are necessary but not sufficient to explain their incorporation into a forestry collaborative project. Therefore, the relationships between the thirteen Mapuche communities and the three other main actors of the study are examined. This additional analytical layer allows us to generate a new hypothesis (Gerring, 2007, p. 39), building an explanation from the ground up and looking into cultural, social, and economic reasons behind the current incorporation decision. The data sources are primarily the eight in-depth interviews, secondary data such as mass media interviews and online statements, and quantitative analysis using socioeconomic and demographic national data and conflict data between the State of Chile and the Mapuche using the database created by Cayul et al. (2022).

The third phase contrasts the findings from the previous two phases with existing theory. The results are analyzed by examining their resonance (Lund, 2014, p. 226) with other similar studies presented in Chapter 2. Following Lund's approach, various elements, dynamics, and relationships among the cases are identified. Additionally, the relationship between Indigenous peoples and capitalist extractivism is reevaluated by comparing the findings with the theoretical framework of the study.

1.2.2 Positionality

I recognize my position in this research as a white Chilean woman from the capital city who belongs to the upper class of my country. I have completed a high level of education in Chile, worked for the Chilean state, and now I have the privilege of studying this MA in the Netherlands. I do not identify myself as Mapuche or any other Indigenous community. However, I recognize the historical and political responsibility of the State of Chile in the dispossession of Indigenous lands and the ontological violence experienced by the Mapuche people. I stand firmly against any form of discrimination faced by Indigenous communities. Furthermore, I am aware of the excessive violence that Indigenous communities have experienced at the hands of the Chilean state, along with the modern mechanisms used to maintain control over Indigenous territories.

I am conducting this research because I am interested in continuing to investigate the consequences of extractive industries on rural, Indigenous, and vulnerable communities in my country due to Chile's dependency on the extractive economy. Because I don't want to do extractive research, and I understand that I am an outsider to the Lleulleu territory and the Mapuche struggle, I adapted my methodology to increase the comfortability of my participants and to reduce the power imbalances between them and me (Potts and Brown, 2005). I promised to use my research to expand their voices and positions regarding the project and to translate it to Spanish, so it can be shared with the Mapuche communities.

1.2.3 Scope and limitations

One limitation of this study is that I have few informants to represent the interests of the Indigenous communities that are part of the project, and these three informants count with a representativeness position. This might lead to generalizing a position that can be more diverse, increasing the bias of considering their private interests as communal interests. I could not avoid this generalization due to the difficulties of contacting, being accepted to visit, and gaining the confidence of an Indigenous community, as well as the short time and other resources I had to do fieldwork. Moreover, I stayed at the house of one of my informants. She introduced me to the territory and put me in contact with the other two informants. This situation increased my bias due to the relationship I built with her, her family, her necessities, and her reasons for incorporating the forestry project.

A second limitation is the absence of interviews with members of the territorial resistance organizations. The reasons for this decision are explained in the methodology section. However, this choice has led to a generalization bias because most media and academic papers tend to reduce the representation of all territorial organizations to the CAM's spokesman. Consequently, I mostly used his declarations to describe and analyze the position of the territorial resistance organizations, which made it difficult to address the varying perspectives among the organizations.

Chapter 2: Theoretical framework

An important current in critical social science studies, also considered by policymakers, tends to portray all Indigenous people as environmental defenders, playing an essential role in addressing climate change and resisting the expansion of extractive industries in their territories. This paper questions this perspective on indigeneity, which retains its 'primitive condition' while failing to acknowledge the diverse interests shaped by a history of colonization and cultural syncretism within modern development. Indigenous people can have different land-use interests and responses to extractive industries. This chapter presents the theoretical framework of this study and examines this heterogeneity by presenting international evidence of other ways Indigenous communities interact with extractive industries in their territories.

2.1 Indigenous people's role in addressing climate change and biodiversity loss

The origins and determinants of Climate Change have been under discussion by social and natural scientists. One explanation is structured around the concept of "Anthropocene" introduced by Paul J. Crutzen (2006), a Dutch meteorologist and atmospheric chemist, who suggested that human activity has become a significant geological force, impacting the environment at various scales and, in many ways, outcompeting natural processes (Crutzen, 2006, p. 13). This narrative has dominated natural science (Malm and Hornborg, 2014, p. 63), identifying the Industrial Revolution as the starting point where this human alteration of the planet's ecosystems led to rising global temperatures and an alarming decline in biodiversity (Rockström, 2015, p. 5).

However, the Anthropocene has been criticized by social scientists for not recognizing the historical origins of climate change and the influence of social relations of power to transform the conditions of human existence (Malm and Hornborh, 2014, pp. 62-63). The 'anthropogenic' perspective neglects how the inequitable global processes – such as Afro-American slavery and the exploitation of British labor – created the opportunity for British capitalists to invest in steam technology, starting the Industrial Revolution and changing the destiny of the whole planet (Ibid., pp. 63-64). Following this critique of the Anthropocene, Moore (2017) proposed an alternative historical era: the Capitalocene – the age of capital. The author claims that the ecological crisis originated before the Industrial Revolution, during the period of primitive accumulation[2] (Ibid. p. 603), when the economic structure of

[2] Primitive accumulation is the historical process of divorcing the producer from the means of production, passing from the economic structure of feudal society to the economic structure of capitalist society. In this process, the producers forcibly lose their means of subsistence, becoming free—unattached from the soil—proletariats on the labor market (Marx, 2013, pp. 502-504).

capitalist society emerged along with a new world-praxis: Cheap Nature. Nature and all the non-human (and also humans treated as not-quite-human) are devalued, being treated cheaply, without dignity or respect. In this line, capitalism created an epistemic rift dominating, appropriating, and exploiting nature to serve economic growth and social capitalist development (Ibid., p. 601).

Another perspective in the theorization of the modern era is the Plantationocene. Wolford (2021) debates with the previous Capitalocene, mentioning that capitalism cannot cover all human-nature relations because it is too recent, abstract, and fails to explain alternative modes of production, such as socialism (Ibid., p. 1624). The author develops the concept of Plantationocene by presenting how modern life and European power have been structured around large-scale, export-oriented agriculture based on forced labor in the Americas, Asia, and Africa (Ibid., p. 1622). Since the Age of Discovery in the 15th century, plantations have affected social and political life, shaped the global economy, and colonized the understanding of productive landscapes[3] (Ibid., p. 1622). This perspective introduces the importance of colonial extraction, large-scale agriculture, market economies, and global power structures to understand the modern era and the origins of climate change (Ibid., p. 1632).

In the context of the Anthropocene framework, public and private entities have promoted large conservation projects restricting human access to natural environments to preserve nature's 'pristine' condition, protect biodiversity, and mitigate climate change. These conservation projects respond to contemporary land-grabbing processes for 'green purposes' (Fairhead et al., 2012, p. 238), excluding the people who have historically lived in these territories (Ibid.; Holmes, 2014, p. 547).

This conservationist position overlooks the fact that not all human activity harms the environment (critique of anthropocentric perspective). According to Ellis et al. (2021), humanity has shaped and sustained cultural nature for more than 12,000 years, with people sustainably managing ecosystems throughout history. Indigenous people and traditional cultural societies are the main actors in this process. Today, areas under Indigenous people's management are recognized as one of the planet's most biodiverse areas (Ibid.). The exclusion of Indigenous and traditional local people from contemporary conservation policies has been denounced as a climate injustice (Whyte, 2019) and as a new form of colonial intervention (Dominguez and Luoma, 2020).

Critical policymakers and social scientists have promoted conservation policies that explicitly recognize, embrace, and restore the cultural and societal connections between Indigenous, traditional, and local people with biodiversity (Ellis et al., 2021; Garnett et al., 2018). Indigenous knowledge of biodiversity conservation originates from a complex understanding

[3] Plantations have driven colonial exploration, sustained elite classes, perpetuated a core-periphery dualism both within and among countries, they have organized a highly racialized labor force globally, and have significantly influenced the cultures we consume as well as the cultural norms we adopt and perform (Wolford, 2021., p. 1623).

of their natural environments transmitted through generations, revealing the historical relationships between Indigenous people and nature (Gadgil et al., 1993, p. 151). Indigenous everyday practices depend on the ecological services and resources their environment provides. As such, nurturing biodiversity is a critical component of their development and the maintenance of their traditional practices and ancestral ceremonies. This changes the mainstream mindset of how productive landscapes are understood. Therefore, the inclusion of Indigenous people in conservation policies increases environmental justice for Indigenous peoples in responding to climate change, recognizing their ancestral knowledge, practices, and beliefs (Whyte, 2019, p. 2).

Accordingly, policy initiatives aimed at supporting Indigenous communities have been promoted, including the establishment of community-based resource management systems (Gadgil et al., 1993, p. 151) and the recognition of Indigenous titles over ancestral lands (Dominguez and Luoma, 2020). These measures are designed to enhance conservation and restoration efforts that tackle climate change and biodiversity loss (Ibid.). International and civil organizations advocate the creation of Indigenous and Community Conserved Areas (ICCAs), which are territories managed and protected by Indigenous peoples and local communities (IUCN, 2019). The concept of ICCAs was introduced by the International Union for Conservation of Nature (IUCN) during the IUCN World Conservation Congress in 2008 in Barcelona. According to the ICCA Registry (n.d.), there are 313 ICCA reported across 24 countries and territories, benefiting 321,888 people. These efforts recognize the crucial role Indigenous peoples play in safeguarding the environment and mitigating climate change.

2.2 Indigenous people's role as environmental defenders

Socio-economic inequalities define climate change's origin, but also its impacts. According to Arsel (2023), we are all passengers on the same ship, navigating a world that is increasing in temperature. However, this ship is divided along lines of socio-economic inequality, which defines our vulnerability to the consequences of climate change (Ibid., p. 68). Marginalized and impoverished groups in countries with limited resources to invest in mitigation or adaptation to climate change are the most vulnerable, living in a situation of climate injustice due to their minimal contributions to global emissions. Indigenous people are usually part of this group, being highly affected by the impacts of climate change and, in many cases, suffering the ecological 'bads' (Ibid., p. 70) of the production of extractive industries in their ancestral territories.

The role of Indigenous people as protagonists of these negative experiences is usually studied by examining their fights against the commodification of their environments and the intrusion of capitalism in their societies. Indigenous territories frequently endure the impacts of commodity extraction and pollution, which disrupt the realization of their daily practices and ceremonies, threatening the preservation of their traditional lifestyles (Gerber, 2011; Scheidel et al., 2020). Due to these negative consequences, numerous critical social science

studies have explored how Indigenous peoples resist the expansion of extractive industries in their territories (Orta-Martinez and Finer, 2010; Gerber, 2011; Torres-Salinas et al., 2016; Quiliconi and Vasco, 2023), being characterized as environmental defenders (Scheidel et al., 2020). In this framework, Indigenous fight is not only for the control of their natural environments but also to resist capitalism's intrusion into their physical spaces and social relationships (Arsel, 2023, p. 86).

The concept of 'Environmental defenders' relates to previous debates on environmental justice[4] (Ibid., p. 3). According to Martinez-Alier (2015, pp. 770-771), the mobilization of poor and Indigenous people for environmental justice is a counter-movement, where the people involved in the conflicts are "*promoters and practitioners of more sustainable economies, even when they act motivated by purely local reasons*" (Ibid.). These local movements can be considered part of a global environmental justice movement, as they share similarities between their grievances, claims, and mobilization mechanisms (Ibid., pp. 772-775). In these debates, Indigenous peoples are key actors in the global movement against large corporate operations in their territories, as their cosmovision drives them to protect their land and nature. Additionally, this global movement is understood as an anti-capitalist struggle, without addressing possible class positions in Indigenous peoples (Arsel, 2023, p. 72).

Indigenous people's resistance to extractive industries is also understood as anti-colonial resistance. Decolonial authors such as Anibal Quijano, Enrique Dussel, and Walter Mignolo have argued that colonialism is the base and superstructure of modernity (Alcoff, 2007, p. 83). Current extractive industries in the Global South respond to neo-colonial modes of production that keep the hegemony of the Global North, repeating the exploitation of resources and the Eurocentric hegemony prevailing since colonial periods. In this scenario, scholars such as Cabulcura and Almonacid (2019) have labeled the alternative development projects led by Indigenous people as post-capitalistic, offering a counter-hegemonic strategy of development in the context of climate change.

Critical thinkers and civil and international organizations view Indigenous peoples' traditions and knowledge as promising solutions to address climate change. From this perspective, Indigenous peoples are seen as outsiders to modernity and capitalist relations, acting as leaders in climate change mitigation and defenders of their environment. However, this research challenges the idea of this homogeneous Indigenous response against big capital operations. Indigenous people have lived a history of coloniality and territorial dispossession, affecting their current land interests and cultural expressions. In this sense, not all Indigenous people decide to step out from capital relations or resist extractive projects in their territories.

[4] The term environmental justice was born from a social movement against environmental racism, showing that communities of 'people of color' suffered higher levels of environmental damage than other groups in society (Martinez-Alier, 2015, p. 766).

2.3 Indigenous people's heterogeneous response to capitalist extractivism

Indigenous people are usually presented as a homogeneous group in opposition to modern (extractive) development policies through the recognition of a shared Indigenous ontology. According to Elicura Chihuailaf (1999, p. 44), a Mapuche writer and poet, Indigeneity has been constructed and represented as "pure, clean, and authentic", a 'fossil' that must be preserved in its 'primitive condition' before colonization. This has overlooked the diversity of thoughts, cultural dynamism, material interests, and socio-economic conditions among Indigenous peoples. This research examines these different interests of Indigenous peoples regarding the control of their land and resources by exploring why some groups resist the presence of extractive capitalism in their territories while others choose to collaborate with it.

Social movement theory has studied the interaction between movements and countermovements, identifying that any social movement with potential political significance will generate opposition (Meyer and Staggenborg, 1996, p. 1630). It is overly simplistic to assume that resistance Indigenous organizations advocating for a political project aimed at achieving Indigenous autonomy will face no opposition from their Indigenous communities, especially considering the complex dynamics that they have faced from centuries of colonization, cultural syncretism, and influence of the state's rule of law.

Reviewing academic literature about extractive industry activities and the incorporation of local/Indigenous communities, Arsel et al. (2019) found that a pro-extractive position is usually stronger in extractive zones. They identified that local communities in the Ecuadorian Amazon wanted more oil extraction in their territories because the oil companies' investment in infrastructure and job opportunities created stability in a context of constant deterioration of natural and social environments.

Looking into Ecuadorian Indigenous people, Tym (2023) critiques the anti-extractivist idea of Indigenous peoples' politics as inherently opposed to resource extraction. The author mentions that positioning Indigenous people as protagonists of counter-modern politics relies on "*moralistic conservationism, the romanticization of pre-capitalistic unity with nature… or ontological alter-politics*" (Ibid., p. 716). According to the author, Indigenous people are not inherently against resource extraction (Ibid., p. 723), mentioning that the relationship between traditional Indigenous ontologies and contemporary Indigenous people is unclear (Ibid., p. 724). Using the case study of the Mirador mine in Ecuador, the author concludes that the Indigenous pursuit of extraction is a response to inequalities in land ownership, the distribution of economic output, and electoral contests and contexts (Ibid., p. 731). In this case, Indigenous people were less likely to collaborate when they had access to land or if they could develop an alternative economic activity like ecotourism or conservation (Ibid., pp. 729-730).

Looking at the case of the Guarani people and the hydrocarbon industry in Bolivia, Anthias (2018) shows the tension between Indigenous peoples' desire for inclusion in a hydrocarbon-based national development project and their experiences of dispossession driven by the hydrocarbon industry (Ibid., p. 136). In her analysis, Anthias shows "*how resources act as conduits for deeper postcolonial struggles over territory, sovereignty, and citizenship*", where Indigenous people reframe their territorial projects on a new terrain of 'hydrocarbon citizenship' (Ibid., p. 138). In this case, the Guarani people created alliances with hydrocarbon corporations not for rent-seeking incentives, but to achieve economic autonomy from the Bolivian State and external NGOs through economic gains. This new form of corporate-sponsored Indigenous autonomy led to a contemporary understanding of gas-funded Indigenous development, where the Guarani leaders have understood the hydrocarbon negotiation as a key terrain for achieving recognition, dignity, and autonomy (Ibid., pp. 145-146).

In line with these three studies, this research paper aims to understand why, in the same territory, some rural Indigenous people decide to incorporate into extractive industries while others resist. For this analysis, incorporation is understood following the theoretical proposition of Adverse Incorporation and Social Exclusion (AISE) by Hickey and Du Toit (2013). Social exclusion responds to the processes of marginalization and deprivation of some individuals or groups due to inadequate or obsolete economic or social systems (Ibid., p. 2). In this study, social exclusion helps to understand poverty in Indigenous communities by contextualizing it with social systems and structures and looking at the importance of history and politics (Ibid., pp. 2-3). Adverse incorporation occurs when a community facing high vulnerability chooses to engage with the state, market, or civil society to secure short-term income, but this decision can threaten their long-term well-being (Ibid., p. 4). These relations are driven by power inequalities, drawing explicit attention to the terms of inclusion, which are usually created to keep people poor over time.

This approach emphasizes the relational aspects of poverty, analyzing the relationship between structure and agency. In this study, incorporation is conceived as a Mapuche active decision to collaborate with industrial forestry companies, understanding Mapuche's agency in their land use decisions. Nevertheless, this agency must be understood within the context of their history of colonization and land dispossession since the 17th century and the influence of external actors on defining their individual and communal development projects. External factors can influence Mapuche's decisions about incorporation through collaborative strategies, such as forestry companies' multiculturalism policies and state development projects. Internal factors that may influence this decision include material needs and the lack of recognition or legitimacy of territorial resistance organizations. Additionally, this study will address the impact of these decisions inside and/or between communities.

Chapter 3: The making of the Mapuche and territory

This chapter explores Mapuche's cosmovision and the history of land dispossession caused by a colonization process that began with the arrival of the Spanish in Mapuche territory and continued with the colonization by the Chilean state. Understanding the cultural and historical background is essential to comprehend the context behind the decision to collaborate with the forestry company. The first section briefly overviews key concepts in Mapuche cosmovision, which are essential for understanding their relationship with land, nature, and traditional social organization. Then, an overview of the Mapuche history is presented, looking into the history of the Mapuche before and after Chile's independence.

3.1 Mapuche cosmovision: key concepts for the study

This section presents some elements of the Mapuche cosmovision that are essential to this study, using different books in which Mapuche authors present their cosmovision to 'Winkas' (non-Mapuche), along with the societal structure of the Mapuche. Looking at Mapuche's cultural background facilitates our understanding of their traditional perspectives regarding environmental protection, and the different positions regarding cultivating tree plantations in their ancestral territories.

Mapuche means 'people of the land' in their language Mapuzungun (the language of the land), and their ancestral territory is the 'WallMapu' (set of surrounding lands). The Mapuche cosmovision understands people as beings integrated into their natural living environments (Ñanculef, 2020, p. 9). The first Mapuche spirit was brought into 'Nag Mapu' (the land where we habit) from 'El Azul del Oriente' (the east Blue) (Chihuailaf, 1999, p. 32). Humans are "*sprouts of Mother Earth, in an equal relationship with the rest of her components"* (Ibid., p. 34). Every flower, plant, insect, and animal has a function. There are no hierarchical relationships in Nag Mapu (Ibid., p. 40).

In the Mapuche cosmovision, life is a confluence of four elements: water, air, sun, and land. These elements are alive and are represented by four spiritual entities: 'Kuze' (old woman/land), 'Fücha' (old man/water), 'Ülcha' (young woman/air), and 'Weche' (young man/sun). All are eternal and live in the cosmic dimension of the 'Wenu Mapu' (the land of above), the place of the positive energy (Ñanculef, 2020, pp. 14-16). These 'Newen' (energies) are always present in nature, converging in the territory to generate life (Ibid., p. 16).

The negative energy originates from the 'Minche Mapu' (the land of below). This energy is not inherently negative; rather, it serves as a complement of positive energy, both of which are essential for achieving energy equilibrium in Nag Mapu (Ibid., p. 25). Accordingly, life in Nag Mapu requires a balance between these positive and negative energies belonging to the land (Chihuailaf, 1999, p. 34). Epistemologically, the Mapuche interact with both energies

according to the Az-Mapu, which encompasses their ethical principles for living in harmony with their environment and nature (Ñanculef, 2020, p. 24). Since they believe that everything is alive, the Mapuche approach with respect to all that exists.

The Mapuche social structure is based on a societal unit known as 'Lof' (family land). Each Lof is a space where family habits and relations are developed between the physical, cultural, social, mythical, and religious worlds, through sharing histories and ceremonies (Foersteger, 2008). Each Lof is independent in their social, economic, and cultural decisions. Between different Lofs, a horizontal relationship exists despite differences in interests and everyday activities. This means there is no leader of all the Mapuche; each Lof had their authority (Poblete, 2019).

In Mapuche structures, the territory also plays a key role in shaping their political, social, and cultural expressions (Calbulcura and Almonacid, 2019, p. 410). Mapuche groups have several distinct territorial identities, such as the Pikunche (people of the north), Huilliche (people of the south), Pehuenche (people of the pehuén), Lafkenche (people of the sea), Nagche (people of the plains), and Huenteche (people of the valleys). This study focuses on the Mapuche Lafkenche people, whose traditions and cultural characteristics are connected to the sea, including their food, occupations, myths, and religious practices (Bengoa, 2000, p. 123). In particular, the research concentrates on the Lleulleu Lof, which today is represented by various Mapuche communities living near Lleulleu Lake in the Arauco province of Chile.

3.2 The Spanish–Mapuche relationship before Chile's independence.

The Mapuche are known as the Indigenous people capable of stopping the colonization process driven by the Spanish. The Mapuche won their independence from the Spanish in the Arauco War (1550-1641), showing their military superiority (Bengoa, 2000, p. 32). During the war and the following pacification process, their territory was reduced to Chile's present central-south regions, using the Biobio River as a natural border (Ibid., p. 33).

The Arauco province was highly populated by Mapuche, with an established and numerous sedentary population (Ibid., p. 19). After the arrival of the Spanish, the Arauco province was transformed into the principal scenario for the war between the Mapuche Lafkenche and the Spanish. This situation forced many Mapuche to migrate to southern and inland regions. As a result, they were pacified more quickly than other groups (Ibid., p. 123), establishing parliaments to facilitate the dialogue and negotiation between both groups.

Historical records of the Spanish-Mapuche parliaments indicate a continuous interethnic exchange between the Spanish and Mapuche during the colonial period (Comunidad Lorenzo Lepín Millahual et al., 2022). Representatives of both groups negotiated peace alliances that allowed them to coexist autonomously. The earliest record of Mapuche representatives

from the Lleulleu territory participating in a parliament dates to 1605. These parliaments served as spaces for direct negotiation, where various treaties related to commerce, transit rules, and religious matters were defined. Regarding the latter, the influence of the Company of Jesus was evident in the region, marked by the construction of churches and temples. This exchange process changed the traditional practices of the Mapuche, incorporating different elements of the Spanish culture into their ceremonies and daily activities (Ibid.).

In the second half of the 18th century, the Mapuche society started to change into a new form, driven by centuries of confrontations with Spanish colonizers, exchanging technology and information, being evangelized by Jesuits, and adopting new military techniques and resources (Bengoa, 2000, p. 44; Comunidad Lorenzo Lepín Millahual et al., 2022). Also, they found themselves in a permanent contradiction between traditional cattle activity and commerce, and between traditional and new forms of social organization (Bengoa, 2000, p. 44.). As they began to accumulate wealth, certain caciques (leaders) gained more influence, forming alliances that consolidated their political power (Ibid.). This created a process of social differentiation within the Mapuche, creating a division between the Mapuche who concentrated wealth and those who were against the interethnic relationships (Comunidad Lorenzo Lepín Millahual et al., 2022).

3.3 The Mapuche after Chile's independence

When Chile started its independence process, the internal division within the Mapuche in the Arauco province – between those who allied with the Spanish and those who supported the independence efforts - debilitated their political and military force.

The decline of the Mapuche military strength facilitated the colonization efforts led by the Chilean state and its citizens. Following independence, a spontaneous colonization process emerged as many 'colonos' (colonizers) arrived in Concepción[5], purchasing land and displacing the Mapuche from their territories (Bengoa, 2000, p. 147). In the 1850s, the Chilean state enacted legal measures to integrate Mapuche territories under its jurisdiction and rule of law (Millamán et al., 2016, p. 89). A law enacted in 1866 changed the designation of 'Indigenous territory' to 'Colonization territory' (Ibid., p. 91), thereby legalizing the entry of both international and national 'colonos' into Mapuche lands and establishing the legal framework through which the Chilean state could appropriate these territories (Comunidad Lorenzo Lepín Millahual et al., 2022). As a result, the Mapuche began to require legal proof of their land ownership, creating institutional barriers to accessing their ancestral territories. Some land was allocated to them under through titles known as 'Títulos de Merced' (Merced titles) (Ibid.). A military occupation further enforced this legal and institutional process of appropriating Mapuche lands.

[5] Concepción is the capital city of the Biobio region.

This historical colonization process is known as the 'Occupation of Araucania' (or 'Pacification of Araucanía' by mainstream authors). One of the reasons why the Chilean state decided to colonize Mapuche territory was to convert it to farmland in the context of rising global grain prices (Holmes, 2014, p. 554; Hale and Millaman, 2018, p. 310). The Mapuche territory was reduced to 5%, transforming them into impoverished people (Ibid.) This process of land dispossession involved ontological violence, as the state forced the Mapuche to adopt Western practices "*while suppressing, denigrating, and criminalizing Mapuche lifeways and worldviews*" (Hale and Millaman, 2018, p. 307).

In 1876, Francisco Javier Ovalle, a coal businessman, acquired the ancestral territory of the Mapuche families in the Lleulleu Lof. He established a farm known as 'Hacienda Tranaquepe', which was a large latifundio that stretched from the Lleulleu Lake to the Pacific Ocean (Millamán et al., 2016, p. 92). As a consequence, the Mapuche families were dispossessed of their ancestral lands and were relegated to the "*worst lands next to the Lleulleu Lake, in minority surfaces"* (Comunidad Lorenzo Lepín Millahual et al., 2022; translated from Spanish by the author). Some Mapuche of the Lleulleu territory became landless wage workers on the farmlands, while others continued using the farmland known as El Choque for their agricultural and transit activities (Ibid.).

In 1883, Francisco Javier Ovalle transferred the Hacienda to the Ebensperger family, who expelled all remaining Mapuche from the territory. At this point, the Mapuche lost all access to the oldest and most fertile lands (Millamán et al., 2016, pp. 94-96). Consequently, the Mapuche families stopped raising livestock and agricultural activities in the Lleulleu territory, becoming subsistence farmers. This land dispossession process started a new phase of resistance characterized by cultural subsistence. The Mapuche communities became shelters for the families who, after 400 years of struggle, recognized the need to prioritize cultural aspects they could control. It was no longer about ancestral territories or military action, but about the protection and care of their people (Comunidad Lorenzo Lepín Millahual et al., 2022).

From 1950, state development plans in central-southern Chile shifted their focus from agriculture to industrial forestry production (Hale and Millaman, 2018, p. 310). This change was initiated due to the erosion and deforestation from agricultural activities, which led to the implementation of forestry policies to reforest the land. The government established new state-owned cellulose factories and paper mills to support the forestry sector, viewing this industry as a means to overcome rural poverty and address land inequality by providing stable employment opportunities for impoverished peasants (Klubock, 2014, cited by González-Hidalgo and Zografos, 2016, p. 65). The next chapter explores the expansion of this industry within the ancestral territories of the Mapuche in the Arauco province, examining the social and economic impacts and the emergence of Mapuche territorial resistance organizations.

Chapter 4: The rise of industry forestry and resistance to it

This chapter examines the implementation of policies aimed at promoting the forestry sector within Mapuche territory and the emergence of territorial resistance organizations against forestry plantations on Mapuche lands. The expansion of the forestry industry has become one of the most recent causes of dispossession in Mapuche history, significantly impacting the material conditions of the Mapuche families living in the Lleulleu territory.

This chapter is organized into three sections. The first section discusses the growth of the forestry sector as part of a national development plan and its implications for the Lleulleu territory. The second section highlights the emergence of territorial resistance organizations opposing the forestry industry, which seek to reclaim Mapuche ancestral territories for their political self-determination. The third section focuses on the Mapuche who have chosen to be incorporated into the forestry sector, presenting the Lleulleu project.

4.1 The expansion of the forestry sector in the Lleulleu territory

The mid-20th-century forestry development plans from the state considered Indigenous people, subsidizing the plantation of introduced species on their territories. By forming cooperatives, the Mapuche started cultivating radiata pine and eucalyptus on their land, receiving economic support from the state (Hale and Millaman, 2018, p. 310). This marked the initial involvement of Mapuche in non-industrial forestry activities.

Furthermore, during the same period, the governments of Eduardo Frei Montalba (1964-70) and Salvador Allende (1970-73) initiated land restitution initiatives that returned land to farmers and certain Mapuche communities (Holmes, 2014, p. 554). In the Lleulleu territory, the 'Tranaquepe project' began, which involved expropriating part of the Hacienda Tranaquepe. However, tenants were prioritized over Mapuche families, overlooking Indigenous territorial demands (Millamán et al., 2016, pp. 96-97). Through protests and land reclamation actions, the Mapuche were able to incorporate their demands in the land reform process, but the transfer of the land titles was never completed (Comunidad Lorenzo Lepín Millahual et al., 2022).

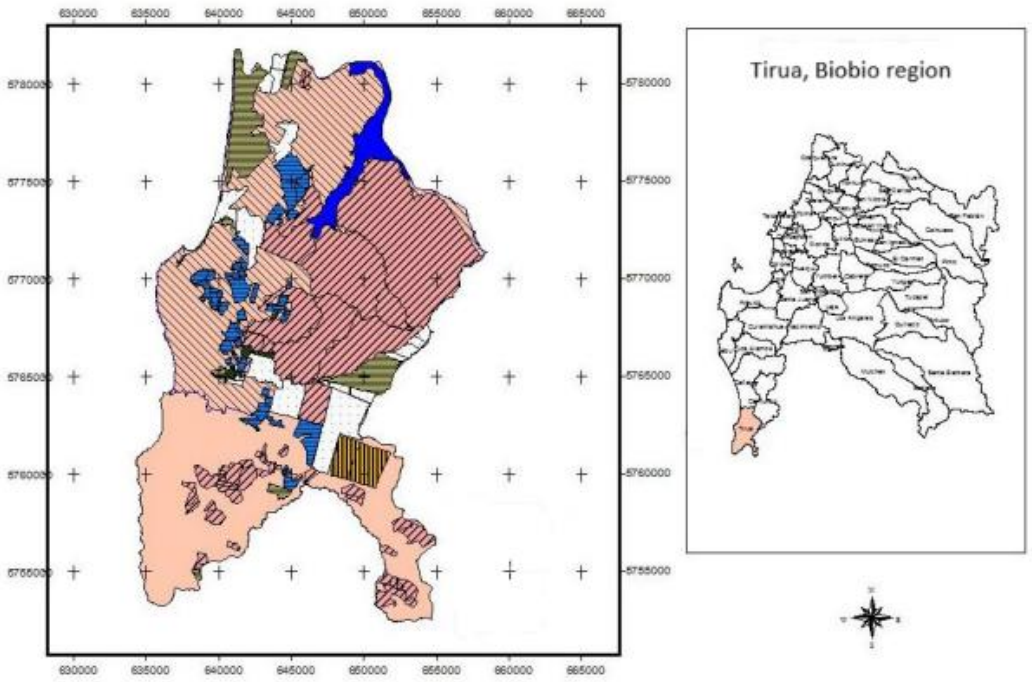
Following the military coup in 1973, the conditions for the Mapuche deteriorated considerably. The military dictatorship of Augusto Pinochet impacted the Mapuche community through multiple mechanisms. First, the military forces weakened the Mapuche political organization, killing and imprisoning Mapuche leaders and any opposition to the military regime (Hale and Millaman, 2018, p. 310). Second, the agrarian counter-reform restored land

to previous owners, dismantling communal land titles and converting them into private individual property rights (Holmes, 2014, pp. 554-555; Torres et al., 2015; Hale and Millaman, 2018, p. 310). Third, the neoliberal system installed during the dictatorship involved the liberalization of land and water markets, along with the privatization of public industries (Budds, 2013, cited by González-Hidalgo and Zografos, 2016, p. 65), which further restricted the Mapuche's access to commons.

In contrast, the private forestry industry benefited from these liberal reforms and several state subsidies, drastically increasing its economic participation (Schmalz et al., 2022, p. 369). For instance, Decree-Law No.701 was implemented in 1974, subsidizing 75% of the planting costs of pine and eucalyptus (Schmalz et al., 2022, p. 370; González-Hidalgo and Zografos, 2016, p. 65). This fiscal contribution made the forestry sector highly profitable, converting it into Chile's third most important export sector by the 1980s (Klubock, 2014, cited by Schmalz et al., 2022, p. 370). Currently, the forestry sector is an important economic sector for the national Chilean economy and the regions where the activity is located. In 2022, forestry represented 6.8% of the total national exports and 1.6% of the national GDP. In the Biobio region, this sector produced 13.8% of the regional GDP (INFOR, 2023, pp. 3-9).

In the Lleulleu territory, large portions of land were sold from the Land Reform Corporation (CORA) to forestry companies. 'Hacienda Tranaquepe' was divided into smaller farms, such as 'El Canelo', 'La Huella', and 'El Choque'. Today, those farms are assets of forestry companies Forestal Volterra and Forestal Mininco (CMPC) (Millamán et al., 2016, p. 98). Considering these forestry companies' control over the old haciendas, some Mapuche began working in forestry plantations. Moreover, the expansion of the forestry sector in the territory was further fueled by intentional fires that transformed the land aptitude of native forests into soils for forestry activity (Comunidad Lorenzo Lepín Millahual et al., 2022). This negatively affected the Mapuche's access to their natural environments, causing them to be surrounded by tree plantations. According to the National Agricultural Census 2007, 48% of the Tirúa municipality area is for forest use (Fuenzalida and Arce, 2020, p. 195). Figure 1 presents the property of the forestry companies in Tirúa municipality. It is possible to observe that the Mapuche communities share the shores of the Lleulleu Lake with Forestal Mininco (CMPC), a company that owns an extensive portion of land adjacent to the lake.

Figure 1: Forestry and private property, Tirúa 2016



Legend: Lleulleu Lake, Lleulleu Mapuche communities, Forestal Mininco, Volterra, Bosques Arauco S.A, Bosques Cautín, Forestal Tierra Chilena, privates, Tirúa municipality.

Note: The author translated the legend from Spanish.

Source: Millamán et al., 2016, p. 98.

Existing evidence shows that the forestry sector has reduced local welfare in Mapuche and non-Mapuche communities. From an economic perspective, Hofflinger et al. (2020) found that the expansion of large-scale forestry plantations increased poverty in Mapuche and non-Mapuche communities and inequality levels among Mapuche. From a social perspective, forestry companies cannot incorporate all rural people as wage laborers, provoking an increase in migration of landless people to urban areas, mainly displacing highly educated Mapuche from their territories (Kröger, 2012, p. 950; Hale and Millaman Reinao, 2018, p. 311). From an ecological perspective, evidence has shown that industrial forestry activity has negative environmental impacts when it substitutes native forests (Gerber, 2011). Despite forestry policies being promoted to avoid deforestation and recover eroded land, it has been demonstrated that the expansion of forestry plantations is associated with the deforestation of native forests and decreasing access to water resources, affecting daily activities and cultural practices of local communities, including the Mapuche (Aylwin et al., 2013; Hofflinger et al., 2020), threatening the extinction of their traditional lifestyles (Schmidt and Rose, 2017).

The history of Mapuche's land dispossession can be understood by the concept of 'accumulation by dispossession' by David Harvey (2017), constructed from the historical process of primitive accumulation by Marx (explained in Chapter 2). This process examines how specific capital sectors appropriate accumulated wealth through different mechanisms of dispossession. One way of understanding accumulation by dispossession is through the 'encloses of the commons', the extensive wave of commodification of nature, cultural forms, histories, intellectual creativity, and other common goods and services that have been privatized for capital accumulation (Harvey, 2017, p. 75). These processes of dispossession have provoked class struggles and resistance from those who have suffered dispossession. In the Mapuche case, they have been victims of national land-grabbing processes, and their environments have been commodified to pursue national development.

4.2 The rise of Mapuche territorial resistance organizations

This section presents the Mapuche resistance against the fast expansion of forestry plantations within their territory and the emergence of territorial resistance organizations to unify local resistance efforts in a bigger Indigenous project. This project is focused on the reconstitution of political, ideological, and cultural elements of the Mapuche, with the ultimate goal of recreating the autonomous Mapuche nation (Héctor Llaitul[6] in Pauta Libre La Red, 2021b).

The Mapuche mobilization for the restitution of the original Lof Mapu in the Lleulleu territory continued during the military dictatorship, despite being violently repressed (Comunidad Lorenzo Lepín Millahual et al., 2022). After 1990, when Chile recovered its democracy, Patricio Aylwin (Chilean ex-president) enacted a new Indigenous Law to reduce the conflicts between the Chilean state and Indigenous people. This new law included the creation of the National Corporation for Indigenous Development (CONADI), a public entity responsible for Indigenous land transfers. As a result of this new legal framework, many Mapuche chose to create an Indigenous community under this institutional structure. The representatives of these communities did not necessarily correspond to the Lof's traditional societal hierarchies. Because of this institutional process, new fragmentations and social representatives emerged in the Mapuche communities

On the other hand, in 1997, the politicization of the Mapuche intensified after the burning of three forestry trucks in Lumaco, La Araucania. This event changed the political landscape for the Mapuche, increasing the support for their territorial defense. In 1998, the Coordinadora Arauco Malleco (CAM) was established as the first Mapuche territorial resistance organization. This organization was created to coordinate local resistance actions in a bigger fight (Hector Llaitul cited by Pairicán and Álvarez, 2011, p. 72) and to coordinate a Mapuche national liberation process that sought their auto-determination (Héctor Llaitul in Pauta

[6] Héctor Llaitul is the CAM spokesman.

Libre La Red, 2021b). Since then, new organized resistance groups have emerged, each differing in their resistance methods but united by the ideology of self-determination (Héctor Llaitul in Pauta Libre La Red, 2021b). Three groups operate in Tirúa: Coordinadora Arauco-Malleco (CAM), Resistencia Mapuche Lafkenche (RML), and Weichan Auka Mapu (WAM). In academic research, numerous studies have evidenced their claims against (neo)colonial dispossession, supporting their position for ancestral land restitution and political self-determination (Gerber, 2011; Schmalz et al., 2022; Gonzalez-Hidalgo and Zografos, 2017; Hale and Millaman, 2018; Holmes, 2014).

Nevertheless, not all Mapuche living in rural areas are part of these resistance movements, and not all Mapuche from the Lleulleu territory agree with the objectives of the resistance or methods employed.

4.3 Incorporation into the forestry sector: The Lleulleu project

This section details the collaborative project between the thirteen Mapuche communities and CMPC, looking at their different initiatives. In 2018, representatives of five Mapuche communities from the Lleulleu Lake went to CMPC's offices to reclaim their ancestral land, the farmland El Choque (part of the Hacienda Tranaquepe). From that visit, a negotiation process started between CMPC and the Mapuche representatives, a process that was internally discussed by communal assemblies. After a few meetings and the incorporation of new Mapuche communities into the negotiations, they reached an agreement consisting of:

- Reforestation with native trees on the shore of the farm El Choque. The purpose is to reduce the contamination produced by forestry activity in the Lleulleu Lake and increase the area of native forest in the territory.
- The creation of 19 native plant nurseries, the primary source of native plants for reforestation. The plant nurseries employ more than 150 Mapuche, where 95% are women.
- The creation of more than 400 job positions in the forestry sector, including training. Because the forestry company externalizes contractions, the project includes the service providers who are also Mapuche from the territory.
- More than 300 scholarships for higher education, with support in studies to reduce dropout.
- Investment in water infrastructure: construction of new deep wells.

Also, the Mapuche communities have negotiated the following plans:

- Creation of an Indigenous pallet company.
- Creation of an Indigenous forestry corporation to legalize the project.
- Land restitution of the farm El Choque to the thirteen Mapuche communities. This initiative considers the Indigenous land restitution of about 15,000 has (Santo

Reinao, 2024). However, the land transfer comes with specific conditions: around 70% of the farm must be maintained as tree plantations, 15% for agriculture, and 15% for native trees. The wood and agricultural products produced in these areas will be sold to CMPC.

Utilizing the Lleulleu project as a case study, this research aims to understand why the Mapuche of these thirteen communities are not part of the resisting activities and decided to establish this cooperative project with CMPC. The study's analysis is presented in the following chapter.

Chapter 5: Conditions and the political processes for the incorporation of Mapuche communities into industrial forestry capitalist business

This chapter analyzes the material, social, cultural, and historical conditions and the political processes that led the thirteen Mapuche communities to decide to be incorporated into the industrial forestry capitalist business. The chapter is divided into four sections. The first section examines the material and cultural conditions of the thirteen Mapuche communities before the Lleulleu project started, looking at local socio-economic indicators, the presence of forestry plantations in their territories, and the cultural syncretism with the Chilean culture. These elements help to understand their decision but are insufficient to explain why they decided to be incorporated into the forestry sector. To go deeper into the analysis, the following sections examine the relationship between the thirteen Mapuche communities and the other three main actors: the forestry company, the territorial resistance organizations, and the public institutions. These analyses allow us to build an explanation for this decision and to look at the economic and social consequences of the project within the thirteen Mapuche communities and with the rest of the actors.

5.1 Material and cultural conditions explaining this collaborative forestry project

This section outlines the material and cultural conditions of the Lleulleu territory that were necessary for the Mapuche communities to decide to negotiate with CMPC and create the Lleulleu project.

5.1.1 Material needs: characterization of Tirúa municipality.

One of the most important reasons for creating the collaborative Lleulleu project was the material needs the Mapuche communities faced. According to representatives of the Mapuche communities involved in the Lleulleu project, the inhabitants of these communities experienced high levels of economic vulnerability before the project started. This vulnerability was driven by high unemployment rates, low-income levels, and limited access to public services.

Table 2 presents the socioeconomic characterization of Tirúa Municipality based on multiple national surveys. It is possible to observe that the socioeconomic context of the Lleulleu project is indeed a rural area marked by a high concentration of Indigenous people and impoverished households. According to the population projection from the 2017 National Census, Tirúa's population in 2024 is 11,105, and 61.3% live in rural areas. This

percentage is higher than the regional and national levels, where 10.9% and 11.3% of the population live in rural areas, respectively. Moreover, in 2017, 69.8% of the Tirúa population considered themselves Mapuche, higher than the regional and national rates (10.2% and 9.9%, respectively).

Regarding its socioeconomic composition, poverty is more prevalent in Tirúa than at the regional and national levels. According to the National Socioeconomic Characterization Survey, the poverty rates in Tirúa were 26.1% in 2017 and 20.1% in 2022, while in the Biobío region were 12.2% and 7.5%, respectively, and at the national level were 8.5% and 6.5%, respectively. It can be seen that across all geographical scales, the poverty rate decreased between 2017 and 2022. Still, in relative terms, the poverty in the Biobio region and at a national level declined more than in Tirúa (-38.5% vs -23.5% and -23% respectively).

In terms of multidimensional poverty, which includes five dimensions - education, health, employment and social security, housing and built environment, and networks and social cohesion – poverty is also higher in Tirúa than at regional and national levels. In particular, the multidimensional poverty rate in Tirúa was 34.9% in 2017 and 34.1% in 2022. In the Biobío region, multidimensional poverty was at 17.2% in 2017 and 14.1% in 2022, whereas at the national scale, multidimensional poverty rates were at 20.3% and 16.9%, respectively. Although the multidimensional poverty rate decreased between 2017 and 2022 at the local, regional, and national levels, in relative terms, the regional rate of multidimensional poverty decreased more (-18%) than Tirúa (-2.3%) and Chile (-16.7%).

Table 2: Characterization of Tirúa municipality, compared to Biobío region and National level.

Indicators	Year	Tirúa	Biobío region	National
Population	2024	11,105	1,686,225	20,086,377
People living in rural areas	2024	61.3%	10.9%	11.3%
Mapuche inhabitants	2017	69.8%	10.2%	9.9%
Poverty rate	2017	26.1%	12.2%	8.5%
	2022	20.1%	7.5%	6.5%
Multidimensional poverty rate	2017	34.9%	17.2%	20.3%
	2022	34.1%	14.1%	16.9%

Source: The population and people living in rural areas in 2024 are projections from the 2017 National Census done by the National Statistics Institute of Chile. The percentage of Mapuche inhabitants in 2017 is from the 2017 National Census. Poverty and multidimensional poverty rates are results from the National Socioeconomic Characterization Survey of 2017 and 2022.

These indicators are necessary but not sufficient to explain why rural Mapuche pursue their incorporation into the forestry sector. Many Indigenous peoples face high levels of poverty due to histories of colonization and territorial dispossession. In the case of the Mapuche, not all Indigenous people living in Tirúa participate in the project, and many face similar (if not worse) material conditions than the people of these thirteen communities. Therefore, it is important to consider other local factors, such as the existence of forestry plantations in their territories.

5.1.2 Entrenchment of forestry plantations with Mapuche's territory, economic aspirations, and cultural practices

The Mapuche communities of the Lleulleu project considered collaborating on a forestry project because of the entrenchment of forestry plantations within their lands, their economic aspirations, and cultural practices. As explained in Chapter 4, forestry plantations widely spread in the area more than half a century ago. The state promoted forestry activity aiming to reforest and improve the quality of life of non-Mapuche and Mapuche farmers by giving them the means to develop an economic activity out of their land. As a result, these communities inherited ancestral land where their ancestors planted non-endemic tree species for subsistence (see Figure 2) (Millaray Millahual, 2024). Due to the high costs of transforming their land aptitude to non-forestry uses and the longstanding forestry activity already initiated by their predecessors, the Mapuche representatives of the Lleulleu project consider forestry plantations an inherited investment that can improve their current economic position.

Figure 2: Eucalyptus at the side of the road in the Mapuche territory, Lleulleu Lake

Source: Author's photograph, 2024.

When asked about the possibility of using the land for an alternative productive purpose, representatives of the communities mentioned the high costs associated with removing non-endemic trees and clearing the land, a price the community cannot afford (Millaray Millahual, 2024). For example, eucalyptus trees must be removed directly from the root, as cutting them only leads to the regrowth of new branches (see Figure 3). The communities lack both the equipment and the capital to perform such extensive work across large areas of land. In cases of institutional land transfers, the state does not cover these expenses either. When the state, through CONADI, purchases land for a Mapuche community, it does not provide the means for clearing or producing anything on that land (Millaray, Blanca, and Santo, 2024). Faced with these economic barriers, some Mapuche have opted to burn the land to clear it. Blanca Flores argued against this practice, mentioning that it burns the native trees growing among the non-endemic tree plantations. Additionally, representatives justify the maintenance and development of forestry plantations in their territories as a way of extracting profits from this 'investment' already present in their land. For instance, Santo Reinao emphasized that Mapuche have not always opposed the plantation of foreign tree plantations in their territories using the example of their ancestors who planted eucalyptus in the area with subsidies obtained during Salvador Allende's government.

Figure 3: Growth of eucalyptus after being cut

Source: Author's photograph, 2024.

Beyond this socioeconomic vision of plantations as investments, these communities have further developed their eucalyptus plantations because they no longer consider

eucalyptus as a foreign element in their cultural and daily practices. For example, eucalyptus has been used for medicinal and ceremonial purposes. Millaray highlighted its use during the COVID-19 pandemic, when the eucalyptus tree was used as a house protector to stop the spread of the sickness, and its leaves were used to reduce its symptoms. This incorporation of eucalyptus into Mapuche culture responds to a broader process of historical cultural syncretism. Since the arrival of the Spanish into their territories, the Mapuche have adopted exogenous elements into their culture (Arauco worker, 2024; see Chapter 3). The following section analyzes this process in depth, examining how the identity of the Mapuche in the Lleulleu territory is a construction between Mapuche and Chilean culture.

5.1.3 Heterogeneity and cultural mixture

The dominant perspective in critical social and agrarian studies of Indigenous peoples as stewards of nature stems from the intrinsic link between their cosmovisions and nature. As discussed in the previous chapter, the traditional Mapuche cosmovision is no exception. Furthermore, Mapuche resistance groups ontologically base their actions on this ancestral way of understanding the world, rejecting extractivist industries in Mapuche's ancestral territories. However, the cosmovision of the Mapuche is dynamic and nuanced, as it has experienced processes of cultural syncretism, colonization, and adaptation to urban lifestyles. This heterogeneity in beliefs, cultural practices, and political stances among Mapuche is a key factor in understanding the integration of some communities into extractivist activities.

Since the arrival of the Spanish in their territory, the Mapuche have been exposed to cultural exchange. For centuries, they lived as an independent nation during the Spanish colony, exchanging products and cultural practices with their neighbors (See Chapter 3). The Chilean colonization accelerated this cultural syncretism through territorial dispossession, the invisibilization of Indigenous worldviews and knowledge (Calbucura and Almonacid, 2019, p. 406), and the migration of many Mapuche to urban areas. Today, the Mapuche in the Lleulleu territory live in a multicultural situation, where they all identify themselves as Mapuche but also as Chileans and some as Catholics or Christians.

The adoption of Catholicism among the Mapuche began with the evangelization efforts of the Society of Jesus, which arrived in the Lleulleu territory at the beginning of the colonial period. The Jesuits have maintained a presence in the region with a mission established in Tirúa in 2000 (Castro, 2010). They have provided resources and training for Indigenous entrepreneurs and have integrated traditional Mapuche elements into Catholic figures and ceremonies (See Figure 4). This syncretism in Catholic religious practices is complemented by celebrating traditional Mapuche ceremonies or events, such as the Nguillatún and We Tripantu. This religious syncretism exemplifies this heterogeneity and multiculturalism.

Figure 4: Representation of Virgin Mary and Jesus Christ with traditional Mapuche clothing

Source: Castro, 2010

This heterogeneity is also observable in their diverse political positions. While some Mapuche representatives explicitly reject affiliations with national parties, identifying solely as 'Mapuchistas'[7] (Héctor Llaitul in Pauta Libre La Red, 2021b), others participate in Chilean institutional politics. This diversity is further illustrated by the results of the 2024 municipal elections. In Tirúa, José Linco, an independent candidate who aligned with the previous mayor, Alberto Mallibur – known for his opposition to forestry activities in the area – won with 42.99% of the votes. He was followed by Pedro Marileo, also an independent candidate but one supported by evangelic and right-wing political groups, who obtained 38.36% of the votes. The Mapuche Neftali Nahuelqueo, candidate of the national extreme right-wing party, received 18.65% of the votes. In total, right-wing and extreme-right candidates accounted for 57.01% of the votes (Meganoticias, 2024). These political parties hold a clear stance against resistance organizations, criminalizing their resistance actions.

The Mapuche representatives of the Lleulleu project that were interviewed are fully aware of these existing political differences and tensions within their community. They also recognize the political implications of their decision to collaborate with a forestry company and are willing to assume those implications. In order to initiate the negotiations with the

[7] Follows the Mapuche philosophy and traditions, outside the Chilean state institutionality.

forestry company, they needed to set aside their political opposition to it and focus on the communal economic and social benefits of collaboration with the forestry company (Santo Reinao, 2024). As part of their political discourse, they view the Lleulleu project as a means to extract economic benefits after enduring the process of dispossession at the hands of the forestry sector (Millaray Millahual, 2024). To better understand the economic and political interests behind the collaboration, the next section explores the relationship between the thirteen communities and CMPC.

5.2 The Mapuche communities and CMPC

CMPC is the second largest forestry company in Chile, that owns around 20,000 hectares of land in Tirúa municipality (CMPC worker 1, 2024). CMPC worker 1 recognized that before the Lleulleu project began in 2019, the forestry company had lost its presence and control over its farms in Tirúa due to conflicts with territorial resistance organizations. Although it owned the plantations, it had no presence in the territory or relationships with the Mapuche communities living nearby. However, he remembered that, before the wave of conflicts started during the previous decade, the company employed Mapuche in the Lleulleu area. They stopped this working relationship after the conflicts began. This termination of business relationships meant the end of all ties with the Mapuche communities of Tirúa, which, according to the interviewee, increased the vulnerability of this area.

"*After we left, then there was no longer a relationship, and these communities remained inserted in a climate of violence. Forestry work was over. The state in the Arauco province is practically nonexistent; the territory was completely abandoned. This has been the breeding ground for all that happened and currently happens in the area*" (CMPC worker 1, 2024).

Driven by this increased vulnerability, Mapuche representatives from five of the thirteen communities of the Lleulleu territory went to talk with CMPC in 2018. According to the two CMPC workers, the company has an 'open door' policy, being open to talk to any Mapuche community with whom it has a direct relationship. To reduce conflicts and disagreements with Mapuche communities, CMPC follows the Nansen Center's strategies for conflict resolution, which suggests finding meeting points between the different actors to start dialog processes (CMPC worker 1, 2024; Nansen Fredssenter, n.d.). In this case, to minimize the probability that the Mapuche communities adopt a recriminatory stance against them, the company initiated the negotiation process by defining a "meeting point" or common ground they shared with the Mapuche communities: the environmental protection of the Lleulleu Lake (CMPC worker 1, 2024). Therefore, according to CMPC worker 1, the negotiation that eventually led to the Lleulleu project started from an environmental interest from both parties.

The Mapuche representatives interviewed also mentioned this commitment to the conservation of the lake and its natural environment. They highlighted the relevance of the lake's

natural environment to their communities' daily practices and cosmovision (Millaray Millahual, 2024). Through the reforestation of the lake's shore with native trees, the Mapuche communities are avoiding its contamination with waste of pines and eucalyptus (Ibid.) (See Figure 5). With this conservation initiative, the Mapuche representatives defend their productive decision to keep tree plantations in the territory, indicating their ongoing commitment to reforestation which maintains the lake's health better than before the project started.

Figure 5: Lleulleu Lake, farmland El Choque, and the reforestation initiative

Note: This picture shows the farmland El Choque. Forestry plantations can be seen on the surface. Also, the lakeshore shows the reforested area with native trees.

Source: Author's photograph, 2024.

The trees used for the reforestation initiative are grown in 19 plant nurseries distributed among the thirteen Mapuche communities (See Figure 6). Each plant nursery has more than 2000 native trees and hires seven workers (Millaray Millahual, 2024), 95% of whom are women (CMPC, 2021). The Blanca Flores mentioned how the women representatives were concerned about the lack of employment opportunities for the Mapuche women of the territory. Due to this concern, the women's representatives asked to include job positions focused on women in the Lleulleu project, prioritizing hiring women with higher needs, such as single mothers or caregivers (Ibid.). To this day, more than 130 women are employed in plant nurseries (CMPC, 2021), meaning a significant increase in their access to economic resources.

Figure 6: Plant nursery, Lleulleu project

Source: Author's photograph, 2024.

The third agreement of the Lleulleu project is the company's provision of higher education scholarships and educational support to the younger Mapuche generations. The scholarship consists of monthly support of 200.000 CLP (around 200 euros) for each student and extracurricular lessons to avoid dropouts. This scholarship is higher than the Indigenous scholarship offered by the Chilean state, which is 54.550 CLP (around 54.5 euros) (Chile Atiende, 2024). More than 300 young people have benefited from the scholarship, mainly used to pay the living costs of migrating to an urban area to study (Santo Reinao, 2024). For Blanca, the scholarship is the most important agreement in the project, allowing her kids to access higher education. For the Santo Reinao, this scholarship is the opportunity to professionalize the inhabitants of the thirteen communities. He dreams that the first Mapuche Chilean president will come from one of these communities. The company has also invested in water infrastructure, enhancing the community's access to water resources. Through these initiatives, the company has established its presence in the area, providing social services and filling the absence of the state or other alternative development projects. In this case,

the company is not only a source of employment but a provider of social services, which increases the dependency of these communities on it.

The Lleulleu project is a verbal agreement respecting the Mapuche tradition, where the oral is more significant than the written (Millaray Millahual, 2024). The Mapuche representatives of the Lleulleu project highlighted their satisfaction with the negotiation process and how the company has fulfilled all the agreements. Nevertheless, CMPC is interested in institutionalizing the project by creating an Indigenous Forestry Corporation (CMPC Worker 1, 2024). The corporation would integrate the Mapuche societal structure into its business model. The corporation's directory will be established using the Mapuche societal organization, based on a representative council democratically elected by the Mapuche inhabitants of the communities (Ibid.). With this corporation, the company seeks to expand this project to new spaces of capital accumulation by creating new forestry business projects.

With the establishment of the Indigenous Forestry Corporation, CMPC is exploring a new coexistence model between the company and Indigenous communities by integrating them into the forestry value chain (CMPC worker 1, 2024). The forestry company is a direct neighbor of 405 Mapuche communities (Ibid.). Currently, CMPC's Social Plan includes a policy to engage with Indigenous communities, addressing the local needs of each territory based on a transactional relationship (Ibid.). According to CMPC worker 2, the company has implemented the 'good vicinity' program since 2000 to build a collaborative relationship with local communities. This program focuses on six key areas: entrepreneurship and productive coexistence, cultural integration, education, sustainable cities, water access, and forests and ecosystem services. Due to this initiative, CMPC has built positive relationships with most Mapuche communities by developing projects to meet local needs (Ibid.). In the Lleulleu territory, the Mapuche representatives declined the offers related to the good vicinity plan, looking for a project that includes their ancestral land restitution.

The Indigenous demand generated a change from a transactional relationship to one that includes Indigenous ancestral land reclaims and its incorporation into the company's value chain. This new company-Indigenous co-existence model includes the Mapuche not only at the extraction level, but also in value-added forestry industries. Additionally, CMPC is in favor of transferring land ownership if it continues to receive wood supplies from the Mapuche communities (CMPC worker 1, 2024). The Mapuche representatives talked enthusiastically about the possibility of creating a value-added company and recovering the ownership of the farmland El Choque. I identified three sources of this excitement. First, land restitution is part of their Indigenous reclamation. The communities will receive more than 15,000 hectares of land if the land transfer is successful (Santo Reinao, 2024). Second, the representatives seek to improve their economic status and accumulate wealth by keeping the forestry plantations in the farmland El Choque and expanding their trade networks to international markets. Third, the company acknowledges the Mapuche communities' ability to create and manage a more complex industry. The Mapuche have been stigmatized as lazy and alcoholics by the Chilean people. With this project, the Mapuche representatives aim to

reject this stigma, demonstrating their ability to operate a value-added forestry company (Millaray Millahual, 2024).

CMPC has three main objectives for the Lleulleu project. First, the company aims to improve its national and local image (CMPC worker 1, 2024). The forestry sector in Chile has a poor reputation among certain segments of the population, primarily due to its rapid expansion, which was significantly supported by state subsidies during Augusto Pinochet's dictatorship. This negative perception is also linked to the negative ecological impact of the forestry industry, the increasing number of conflicts with Indigenous and local communities, and its involvement in one of the largest collusion cases in Chilean history (FNE, 2017). Through the Lleulleu project, CMPC seeks to enhance its reputation and increase its social capital. Second, this project has enabled the company to regain its presence in Tirúa and contribute to local stability (Ibid.). Third, increasing the company's involvement in the territory is essential for its long-term survival. CMPC is committed to being a catalyst for local development strategies in the regions where it operates because it enables them to sustain their economic activities in the territories for longer periods of time (Ibid.).

> *"If we, as a company, have 100 years, and we want to survive 100 years more, we must take responsibility for the realities of the territories where we operate. We need to be a driving force for change in the development trajectory of these territories."* (CMPC worker 1, 2024).

The economic and social dependency of these communities on the forestry industry, combined with its incorporation into the forestry value chain, increases the company's power and ability to extract rents from Indigenous territories. Also, capitalist extractivism permeates Indigenous structures, allowed by these communities, who decided to get incorporated into this industry using their Indigenous bargaining power. This decision is criticized by the territorial resistance organizations present in the territory. The following section presents their position and relationship with the thirteen Mapuche communities.

5.3 The Mapuche communities and the Mapuche territorial resistance organizations

> *"Our project is not well seen by some Mapuche of the territory who are more radicalized. We have another vision of what type of development we want and how we want it to be."* (Santo Reinao, 2024).

This section examines the main reasons why the Mapuche of the thirteen communities are not resisting the presence of extractive activities in their territories, following the lead of the territorial resistance organizations. To understand these reasons, the interests, positions, and actions of territorial resistance organizations and the representatives of the Lleulleu project are analyzed.

The Mapuche in the Lleulleu territory have a longstanding history of employing resistance strategies to assert their territorial claims, even before the emergence of the Mapuche

territorial resistance organization within their lands (see Chapter 4). The emergence of the CAM in 1998 marked the articulation of different Mapuche communities to recover their ancestral territory and rebuild the Mapuche nation, autonomous from the Chilean state and capitalist circuits of capital (Héctor Llaitul in Pauta Libre la Red, 2021b). Since its beginnings, CAM has actively supported resistance activities within the Lleulleu territory, emphasizing a combative stance towards the process of land recuperation (CAM, 2005). Regardless of the existence of territorial resistance organizations, the Mapuche of the Lleulleu area successfully avoided the installation of fish farming and mining companies, as well as large-scale tourism projects around the Lleulleu Lake, through various resistance actions (José Huenchunao in Sala de Prensa, 2022; Santo Reinao, 2024). Due to Mapuche protection, the Lleulleu Lake is the purest (least contaminated) lake in Chile (Lara, 2017).

Concerning the restitution of farmland El Choque, territorial resistance organizations have employed different resistance activities to recuperate it. Nevertheless, due to its extensive size and CMPC's protection of forestry plantations, resistance organizations have stated that they lack the resources to simultaneously occupy all the farmland (CAM member in Nuke Mapu, 2018).

When examining the political stance of the Mapuche territorial resistance organization on including Mapuche in the forestry sector, leaders have expressed their dissatisfaction primarily with forestry companies. According to Héctor Llaitul (in Pauta Libre la Red, 2021c), one of the founders and current spokesperson for the CAM, forestry companies continue to uphold the hegemony of capitalist production in Mapuche territories by implementing good neighbor plans and incorporating ethnic elements into their business initiatives. This situation is further reinforced by state development projects encouraging collaboration between Mapuche communities and the forestry sector (Ibid.).

Additionally, this incorporation is driven by an institutional framework that fails to adequately address all demands for land reclamation from the Mapuche. According to Llaitul (in Pauta Libre la Red, 2021b), CONADI does not have the resources to purchase all the land claimed by Mapuche families. This institutional limitation heightens the vulnerability of the Mapuche, positioning incorporation as a potential solution to enhance their access to land and essential resources. In the Lleulleu case, the thirteen Mapuche communities recognized that CONADI could not acquire the farmland known as El Choque (Blanca Flores, 2024). Consequently, their approach to reclaiming this territory involved initiating direct negotiations with the company. The restitution of the El Choque farmland to these thirteen Mapuche communities is a crucial agreement in the Lleulleu project, which also involves maintaining at least 70% of the existing forestry plantations (Santo Reinao, 2024).

Nevertheless, the territorial resistance organizations do not recognize this land transfer as a territorial claim. For Hector Llaitul (in Pauta Libre la Red, 2021c), land claims should negatively impact the capitalist interest of forestry companies for their land, stopping the reproduction of capital in their ancestral territories. Territorial control seeks the eviction of

capital power, reinstalling Mapuche's presence to ensure their culture and biodiversity. The cultivation of tree plantations goes against Mapuche's traditional activities and cosmovision due to its negative effect on land and water resources (Ibid.). According to Llaitul (in Pauta Libre la Red, 2021b), the Mapuche forestry workers in Tirúa feel ashamed for working in this industry. This feeling arises because they understand the role of forestry companies in their history of territorial dispossession and loss of native nature.

"*When I look at the people who work for the forestry companies, because I live in a community where a big part of the people works for the forestry sector* [In Tirúa]*, they lower their heads when I look at them. I don't see them very happy; I see them ashamed*" (Héctor Llaitul in Pauta Libre la Red, 2021b).

For the representatives of the Lleulleu project, their Indigenous struggle is the restitution of their ancestral territory and the autonomy to decide how to use the land. They did not mention any interest in building a Mapuche nation autonomous from the Chilean state. The alternative (autonomous) development project proposed by resistance groups is neither legitimate nor viable for them. According to Santo Reinao, the Mapuche territorial resistance organizations do not defend the economic and land interests of the Mapuche living in the Lleulleu territory. He argues that the leaders of these groups cannot truly represent them, as they were not born in the Lleulleu territory. Héctor Llaitul has his address in Tirúa but was born in Osorno[8]. Like Llaitul, many other CAM, WAM, and RML members were born outside the Lleulleu territory. The historical and traditional social organization of the Mapuche, centered around the concept of Lof, continues to exist today. Mapuche families are deeply connected to their ancestral territory, and each community focuses on reclaiming their specific historical lands. Consequently, the Mapuche representatives who were born in the Lleulleu area do not recognize these groups led by "foreigners" as legitimate leaders in their territory:

> *"Ideologically, the CAM wants to liberate the Lleulleu territory, and we believe that no organization that is not from the territory can liberate a movement that is ours."* (Santo Reinao, 2024).

Additionally, for the Lleulleu project representatives, the acts of resistance labeled as illegal by the Chilean state are also illegitimate. They perceive their actions as further reinforcing the struggles of the low and middle classes rather than as direct attacks on capital owners. Since forestry companies outsource logistic services and have their plantations insured, low and middle-class truck owners or workers are the main affected when trucks or land are attacked.

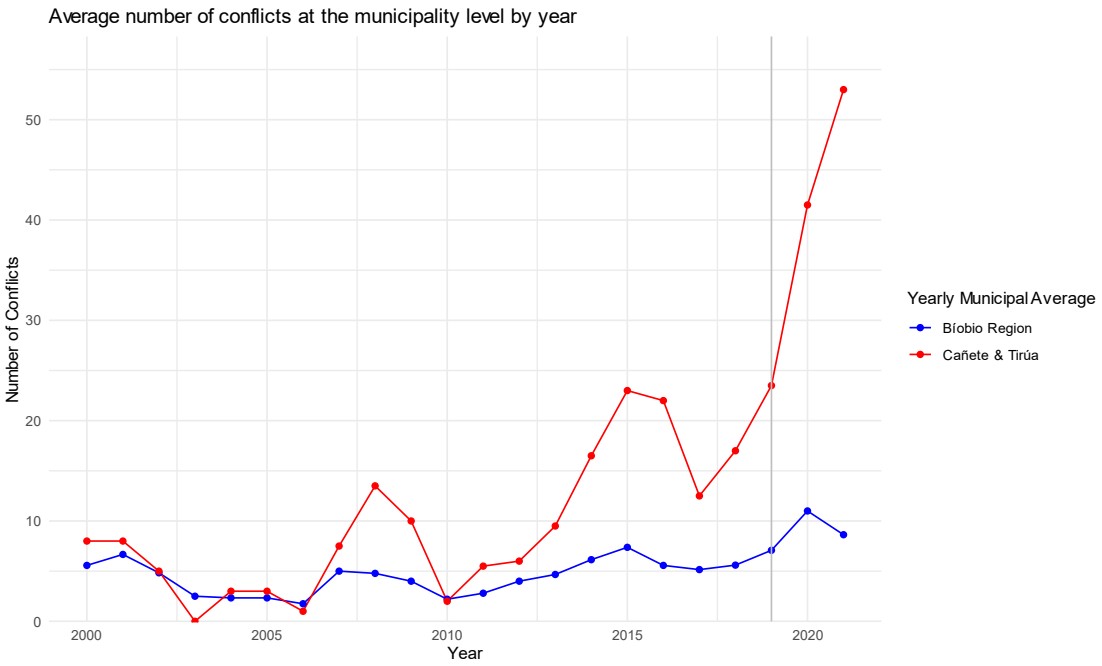
> *"It was not the moment to keep fighting against workers as poor as us. Because when a truck is burnt or a plantation is attacked, no capital owner is affected. I haven't seen any capital owner shot… So, I believe that the fight was wrongly targeted. It was not against the forestry company; it was against the common people who worked for the forestry company"* (Santo Reinao, 2024)

[8] A southern city in Los Lagos, Chile.

Regarding these forms of resistance, the Mapuche territorial resistance organizations argue that these are valid ways to achieve their goals. What is defined as wood theft by the Chilean state is defined as wood recuperation by these organizations, a valid resistance method to them for the reclamation of land (Héctor Llaitul in Pauta Libre la Red, 2021a). Another resistance method is the use of violence. According to Llaitul, CAM uses violence as a defense and resistance mechanism only when it is necessary or when their people are oppressed or persecuted by state agents. This is different from other resistance organizations, such as WAM and RML, which use violence as a valid resistance mechanism. However, he highlights that the conflict against state agents mainly arises when the territorial resistance groups affect big capital owners, and the state force is used to protect the interests of forestry companies (Ibid.).

These resistance acts relate to increased conflicts between the territorial resistance organizations and the Chilean state in the area, having negative economic and social repercussions. When analyzing the MACEDA dataset (Cayul et al. 2022) with information about the self-determination conflict between the Chilean state and Mapuche, it is possible to define Tirúa and Cañete municipalities as a hotspot of the 'self-determination conflict,' as it is one of the epicenters of Mapuche land reclamations and resistance activities. This dataset defines Indigenous conflict as "a set of actions occurring in the context of the conflict at a given place and time. Actions may be both violent and non-violent". Figure 7 presents the yearly average number of conflicts calculated at the municipal level in Tirúa and Cañete on one side and the remaining municipalities of the Biobío region on the other between 2000 and 2021. It is possible to observe how the yearly average number of conflicts in the Tirúa and Cañete has increased since 2010, rising more significantly since 2017, one year before the conversation between the Mapuche communities and CMPC started.

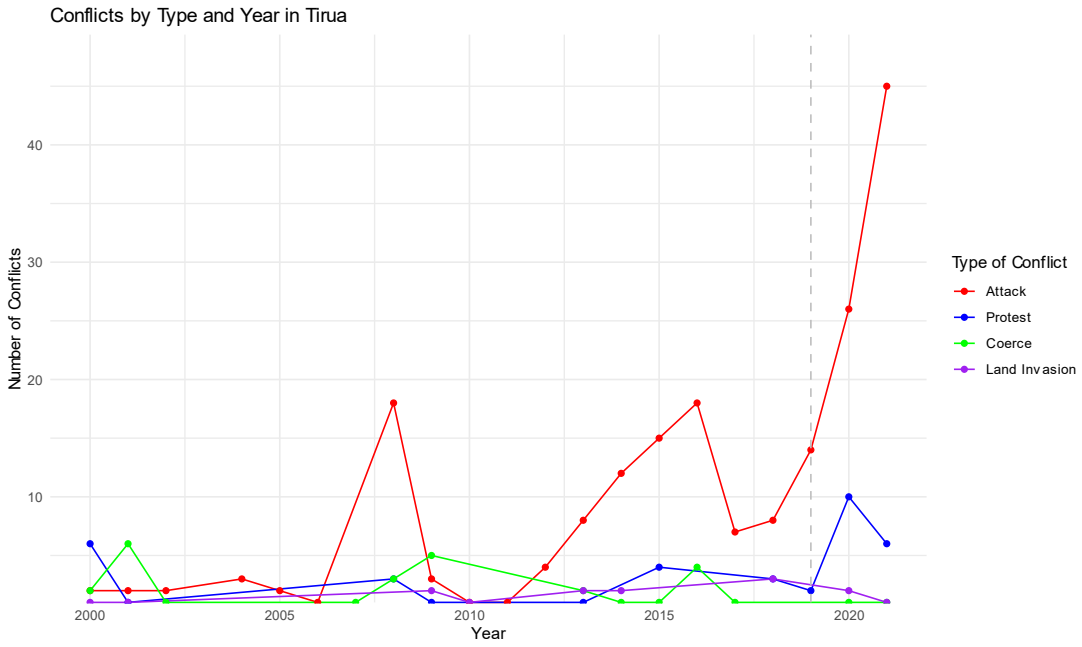
Figure 7: Average number of conflicts at the municipality level by year, Cañete - Tirúa municipalities and Biobio region, 2000 – 2021



Source: Author's elaboration with data published by Cayul et al., 2022

With this database, it is possible to distinguish conflicts between four categories: (1) attack, an event in which a group intends to damage other groups; (2) protest, a public expression of dissent towards some idea or action related to the conflict; (3) state coercion, the use of state repression or the law against the Mapuche movement; and (4) land invasion, the seizing or occupation of land by members of the Indigenous movement (Cayul et al., 2016, pp. 5-6). Figure 8 presents the number of conflicts by category in the municipality of Tirúa between 2000 and 2021. The figure shows that in Tirúa, the majority of the conflicts are attacks.

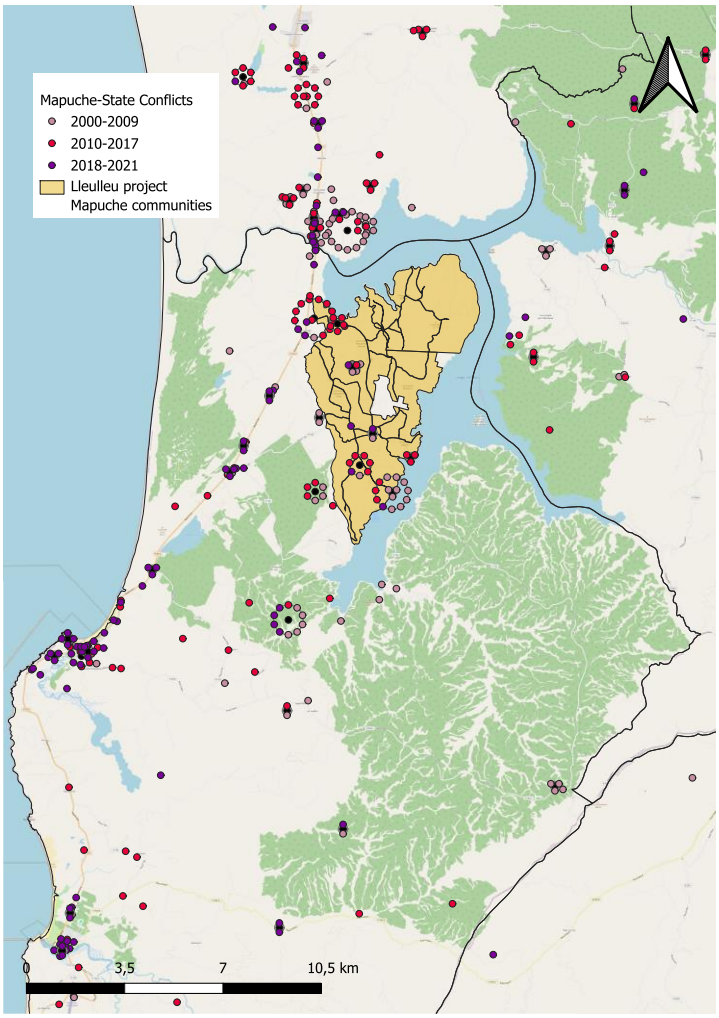
Figure 8: Number of conflicts in Tirúa municipality by type, 2000 – 2021



Source: Author's elaboration with data published by Cayul et al., 2022

Map 1 represents the geographical distribution of the conflicts registered and georeferenced during three periods: 2000-2009, 2010-2017, and 2018-2021. The map shows that the large number of attacks that occur in Tirúa happen mainly inside the land of the thirteen communities of the Lleulleu project and in the surrounding area, particularly in the town of Tirúa and on the road that connects it with these thirteen communities.

Map 1: Map of the conflict between Mapuche and the Chilean state or the forestry sector, 2000 to 2021



Note: Not all conflicts shown in Graph 2 are present in the map, only those that count with georeferenced information.

Source: Author's elaboration with conflict data published by Cayul et al., 2022 and the georeferenced information of the Merced Titles published by CONADI.

The increased number of conflicts in the territory has produced a drop in tourism, one of the Mapuche's primary sources of income (Santo Reinao, 2024). According to Tim (2024), the Ecuadorian Indigenous peoples who could develop an alternative economic activity like ecotourism were less likely to form a collaborative relationship with the extractive industry. In the Lleulleu case, many Mapuche from the territory used to have tourism-related economic activities. However, driven by the increased number of conflicts and the installation of irregular tolls on the road to finance resistance activities, tourism dropped in the area, as well as Mapuche's job positions and income levels (Santo Reinao, 2024).

In this scenario of higher economic vulnerability because of the increased resistance activities, the territorial resistance organizations did not create an alternative development project that improved Mapuche's welfare. According to the three Mapuche project representatives, the money collected by resistance activities was not equitably distributed among the Mapuche communities, especially among those who did not participate in the territorial resistance organizations. This increased their economic vulnerability due to the lack of job opportunities and lack of support from organizations.

In addition, the Chilean state has criminalized the realization of Indigenous resistance activities through the enforcement of the State Internal Security Law, the Antiterrorist Law, and the anti-Illegal Occupation Law (21633) in the territory, increasing the probability for Mapuche of being arrested. Millaray highlights her fear of her children being detained in the future, which motivated her to find an alternative development project for them. This feeling is shared by the three representatives, who fear their younger generations being sanctioned by these laws if they join the territorial resistance organizations.

To sum up, the representatives of the thirteen Mapuche communities decided not to follow the Mapuche project of the territorial resistance organizations and be part of the Lleulleu project for five key reasons. First, the Mapuche representatives do not share the resistance interest in building an autonomous Mapuche nation independent from the Chilean state. In this line, they accept the Chilean state's rule of law and development project, expanding their communities' economic activities to increase their welfare. They aim to reclaim the land where their ancestors lived without any pro-independence ambitions. Second, they reject the representativeness of the territorial resistance organizations as leaders of their territorial claims, as they consider them outsiders of the Lleulleu territory. Third, they consider resistance attacks on forestry services as not legitimate because they believe these acts further reinforce low and middle-class struggle. Fourth, they fear legal retaliations and imprisonment for participating in these territorial resistance organizations. Finally, the resistance activities and conflicts had impoverished the people of their communities without the territorial resistance organizations proposing any development projects as an alternative.

These antagonist visions of how Mapuche should interact with forestry companies have led to a situation of violence. The Mapuche working with forestry companies have been labeled as 'Yanaconas', meaning traitors in Quechua, by territorial resistance organizations and opponents of the Lleulleu project. They have faced threats and experienced acts of violence. Santo Reinao, as the project leader and owner of a forestry contracting company, has been a primary target of accusations and intimidations (Kizugünewun, 2022; Werkén Noticias, 2020). These intimidations culminated in 2021 in a violent attack when Santo Reinao was shot while driving on an election day, an election in which he was a candidate. This attack is part of a series of threats and assaults against Mapuche forestry workers and leaders of the Lleulleu project. To date, two Mapuche of the thirteen communities have been killed because of these confrontations.

Nevertheless, the Mapuche leaders of the Lleulleu project reject being labeled as traitors. Blanca Flores objects to this stigma by putting forward her commitment to the well-being of her people:

"*And that's how they always treated us, like yanaconas, like sellouts, but why? For wanting the well-being of our people? I think they were wrong… Before, there was poverty here, but not now. After the project started, four to five years after the project started, everything has changed.*" (Ibid., 2024)

Today, according to the three Mapuche representatives interviewed, people living in their communities have a better quality of life due to increased consumption, infrastructure investments, and better access to education and health. They believe that the rise in their people's material well-being outweighs the social stigma of being labeled traitors and they take pride in this decision, which has been discussed in community assemblies and approved by more than half of the Mapuche inhabitants of the communities.

The following section presents the relationship between the thirteen Mapuche communities and public institutions to help readers understand the institutional framework related to the Lleulleu project.

5.4 The Mapuche communities and the Chilean state

This section discusses the present relationship between the thirteen Mapuche communities and the Chilean state, characterized by the territory's abandonment over the past decade and the weakening of Indigenous development institutions. This state absence has impacted the Mapuche's choices today, leading many to seek incorporation into the forestry sector due to the limited local development alternatives available.

All interviewed agreed in the precedent that the Chilean state abandoned the Tirúa municipality because of the conflict with territorial resistance organizations. Driven by the lack of rule of law, public workers were not going to the territory to ensure their safety (CONAF worker, 2024). This translated into a lack of public support for developing local economic projects. Those Mapuche, that was not part of the territorial resistance organization, stayed isolated and abandoned during those years, increasing their economic and social vulnerability (Mapuche representatives and CMPC worker, 2024).

From an institutional point of view, the state representatives recognize the state's incapacity to meet local needs. This incapacity arises from weak institutions with limited legislative capacities to generate structural changes (CONAF worker, 2024). Also, due to a limited public budget, social policies no longer focused on addressing local needs. According to the CONAF worker, CONAF's Indigenous-focalized programs ended in 2010. Today, Indigenous communities are recognized as farmers, and their rural development programs are integrated across all rural territories. Many of these rural development programs are focalized and, in some cases, being Indigenous provides an additional advantage in the selection process. However, social programs designed according to Indigenous cosmovision and ancestral

practices were discontinued due to a strategic shift towards a broader understanding of rural development and insufficient public resources (Ibid.). Regarding the promotion of agricultural production, the state's policies are primarily based on financial credit. However, the Mapuche representatives criticize these policies, mentioning that they are designed for rich farmers with the income necessary to secure high credit (Ibid.). These policies fail to consider the low-income levels of poor farmers and impoverished Indigenous communities, who are unable to access such credit. This weak state presence has reduced the local Indigenous development opportunities for the inhabitants of the Lleulleu territory.

In addition, the Millaray criticizes the role of local governments, mentioning that they have not taken responsibility for creating development projects in the territories outside Tirúa center. For her, the Tirúa municipality has abandoned Tirúa North and Tirúa South. This lack of state support has influenced the Mapuche communities' decision to start the negotiation with CMPC. They looked for an alternative to get economic development into their territory.

Tirúa municipality reacted against the Lleulleu project from its beginning. Adolfo Millabur[9] opposed the project, driven by its political position against the forestry plantations in Tirúa. Blanca remembered that Millabur told her to leave the project. However, he did not offer an alternative solution for their employment needs.

"*I had a meeting with the municipality, and Adolfo Millabur told me "Blanca quit the project", he said, "Bad things will come". And I told him "Give me 420 job positions and we quit the project". And he replied to me "where do you want me to get that?*" (Ibid., 2024)

In the last few years, the national state has focused on enhancing Mapuche's security by increasing its military and police presence in the territory and starting a dialogue process to design local development plans. According to the Buen Vivir worker (2024), the first years of the implementation of the plan consisted of increasing local security, focusing on strengthening police and military presence in the territory; the creation of a diagnostic of the territory, which involves raising local needs; and starting a dialogue with community representatives to collaborate on local development plans.

The Mapuche representatives of the Lleulleu project are interested in incorporating the state in the agreement. The state has had historical responsibility for Mapuche land dispossession since colonization and the sale of the Mapuche territory to private forestry companies during the military dictatorship. Nevertheless, the Mapuche representatives accuse the current left-wing government of not receiving them because they are considered traitors of the Mapuche resistance cause:

> *"We went to La Moneda to wait for him [President Gabriel Boric], but he didn't want to receive us… I think he still saying that we are traitors, or we sold out"* (Santo Reinao, 2024).

[9] Adolfo Millabur is the former major of Tirúa, between 1996-2021.

According to two institutional representatives from CONAF and the National Plan 'Buen Vivir', the state does not oppose the relationship between the Mapuche community and the forestry company. The Lleulleu project is viewed as a partnership between two private entities. In this sense, it can be concluded that the actual relationship between the state and the territory is through increasing its rule of law and implementing this new Indigenous development plan.

Chapter 6: Conclusions and implications, rethinking the relationship between capitalist extractivism and Indigenous peoples

This research is rooted in critical environmental and agrarian studies, where an important current has positioned (or even essentialized) Indigenous peoples as environmental defenders opposed to the expansion of extractivist big capital operations in their ancestral territories. Indigenous peoples are recognized as stewards of land and nature who, guided by their Indigenous ontologies and knowledges, seek to protect their environments and eliminate extractive capitalist practices from their territories. However, this perspective does not account for when Indigenous people willingly pursue business partnerships with extractivist capitalist operations in their land. Different experiences in Latin America (Tym, 2023; Anthias, 2018) have demonstrated that Indigenous peoples have chosen to collaborate with extractive capitalist industries, engaging in Indigenous territorial extractive projects that extend beyond merely serving as wage laborers. In this research, I demonstrate that through collaboration, the boundaries between extractivist capitalism and Indigeneity become blurred, as these projects intertwine historical land reclamations and Indigenous traditional structures with the expansion of corporate capitalist projects on Indigenous lands. I demonstrate that what was traditionally viewed as two opposing or paradoxical positions in environmental critical studies are now interwoven. Capitalist extractivism establishes conditions for addressing some aspects of Indigenous historical reclamations while ensuring its long-term survival.

This research addresses the case of the Lleulleu project, a collaborative forestry initiative that involves thirteen Mapuche communities and CMPC in Arauco province, Chile. By analyzing the relationships between these Mapuche communities and the three other main actors, this paper examines why Indigenous groups resist while others collaborate with extractive corporate operations on their lands.

This research found that Indigenous people pursued their incorporation into the extractive forestry industry for various interrelated factors. The Mapuche communities faced significant material needs due to a history of colonization and land dispossession. This vulnerability has risen in the last decade because of the increased conflict between the Chilean state, forestry services, and territorial resistance organizations. The limited economic opportunities in their territory, along with the abandonment of the Chilean state and a decline in tourism, increased their material needs. Within this shared context of vulnerability, the territorial resistance organizations have not provided an alternative development project for those Mapuche of the territory who did not participate in their resistance activities. This lack of livelihood alternatives led to a delegitimization of the territorial resistance organizations'

representatives and their Mapuche nation project. This result expands on Tym's (2023) findings, which indicate that Indigenous peoples are more willing to collaborate with extractive corporations when they lack alternative economic opportunities, by identifying that rural Indigenous people can undermine a resistance development project if it fails to meet their material needs.

Additionally, for these communities, forestry activity represented a viable alternative due to the presence of exotic trees on their land. The high costs of repurposing the land use of their territory and the fact that these exotic trees were planted by their ancestors made them consider the forestry plantations as an investment, reducing the chances of exploring alternative economic activities in their territories and culturally justified their decision to keep these introduced trees. This result goes against Tym's (2023) findings, which say Indigenous people with land access were less likely to collaborate with extractive industries. Driven by the nature of this industry, tree plantations can be practiced in small – low-quality portions of lands, and most of these trees are already planted in Indigenous territories. In this sense, land access does not affect their response to incorporation. Instead, the practice of extractive activities in Indigenous territories increases their chances of collaboration, especially when they have been practiced for generations.

Furthermore, extractive industries have integrated Indigenous cultural elements into their business models. In this case, CMPC utilized the reforestation of the Lleulleu Lake shores to initiate a dialogue with Indigenous communities which culminated in the Lleulleu project. The Mapuche communities defend their project, highlighting the importance of the cultivation and reforestation of native trees for their cosmovision and for the lake's conservation. Moreover, CMPC agreed to transfer the ownership of a Mapuche ancestral land to the Mapuche communities, with the condition of establishing an Indigenous Forestry Corporation to manage the plantations. The company is interested in integrating the Indigenous Forestry Corporation into the forestry value chain, while the Mapuche communities aim to expand their market to international levels to accumulate wealth and overcome the social stigma that portrays the Mapuche as lazy. Anthias (2018) reflects on how resources act as conduits for deeper postcolonial struggles over territory, sovereignty, and citizenship. In line with her analysis, the incorporation of Indigenous people into the extractive industry's value chain acts as a mechanism for the Indigenous to be recognized as 'valuable' citizens under the scope of post-colonial societies, as well as introducing a new mechanism to satisfy historical Indigenous claims and obtain the land ownership of their ancestral territories. These historical, economic, social, and cultural factors have interacted closely, creating the context in which these Mapuche communities chose to pursue and negotiate a collaborative project with CMPC.

The involvement of Indigenous people and the company's motivations for integrating them into the forestry value chain allow us to rethink the relationship between Indigenous peoples, their lands, and resource extraction. Indigenous representatives are incorporated into the extractive business in positions of power, being both Indigenous and small

capitalists. Initially, Indigenous demands were focused on escaping poverty. Still, they have shifted towards the accumulation of wealth, being influenced by capitalist interests and using Indigeneity as a mechanism to gain bargaining power to fulfill their land demands, accumulate profit, and increase their economic opportunities. This finding supports Arsel's (2023) recommendation to incorporate class-based analysis into the study of environmental politics. Indigenous people's interests need to be theorized beyond their position of resistance, to understand the consequences of neoliberal conservation and capitalist extractivism in Indigenous social differentiation (Ibid., p. 76).

This process of social differentiation is not the only social implication of this project. In the short-run, the project has increased the division among Mapuche, intensifying conflicts between territorial resistance organizations and the thirteen Mapuche communities. However, this is a 'cost' that they are willing to assume. The Mapuche representatives are happy with how the company has accomplished the different initiatives during these five years. They have increased their community income level, reactivating the local economy. They are hopeful about their future in the project, where they want to improve their economic, social, and political position. Additionally, the State has reduced its participation primarily to providing a 'secure environment', increasing the police and military presence in the area.

However, although Indigenous communities improve their material conditions and gain power from capital, their Indigenous demands remain subordinated to big extractive corporations. Indigenous economic and social dependence on big corporations increases due to the company's provision of social services and the incorporation of Indigenous people into its extractive value chain. This raises questions about the concept of 'corporate-sponsored autonomy' discussed by Anthias (2018) and the term adverse incorporation presented in Chapter 2. Can we truly consider this as autonomy if future Indigenous businesses remain subordinate to a specific extractive corporation that is also partly responsible for their land dispossession? However, since this project is recent, I am not capable of examining the long-term consequences of this project for Indigenous communities. I leave it as an open question for future research.

Additionally, the extractive company ensures its long-term survival by providing public services for the local communities and integrating Indigenous people into the industry value chain. Its purpose is not related to increasing commonwealth or environmental justice for Indigenous peoples but rather to be an important factor in local development to ensure local stability and to keep its production/extraction in the long run. This result aligns with Arsel's (2023, p. 77) reflection on how capitalism survives climate change by adapting and converting the environmental crisis into a new accumulation strategy. By the creation of this new structure of land ownership, extractive companies fed off existing demands of territorial sovereignty, creating new win-win solutions (Ibid., p. 76). This raises an important ethical question about the social and cultural consequences of allowing extractive companies to address ancestral Indigenous claims.

In conclusion, the incorporation of Indigenous peoples into the extractive value chain gives them a position of relative power that goes beyond being wage workers. This class status revalues their position as Indigenous in post-colonial societies. In this context, resources act as means to obtain class recognition and access to their historical Indigenous claims regarding land and sovereignty. However, it is important to consider power imbalances in this new scenario, where Indigenous people are incorporated, but they are also highly dependent economically and socially on the extractive corporative industry. The extractive corporation gains the local legitimation of the industry and the capacity to press control over the Indigenous people, essential for its long-term survival.

It is important for critical scholars to consider Indigeneity beyond the puristic and simplistic view based on pre-colonization conditions. Placing the responsibility for proposing a counter-hegemonic project that addresses the ecological crisis – primarly caused and worsened by an elite class in the Global North - on groups of people who often live in conditions of high material needs and who have endured colonization and dispossession for centuries, can be unfair. By doing this, we are depriving the agency of Indigenous people, dehumanizing them for a greater cause. Today, Indigenous people, like anyone else, have aspirations for material accumulation. I disagree with Tym's (2023) critique that the relationship between traditional Indigenous ontologies and contemporary Indigenous lives is unclear. I saw how these communities demonstrated a special concern for the lake's security and expressed enthusiasm for increasing the number of native trees in their territories. They emphasized the importance of the lake and trees for their traditional ceremonies, medicinal practices, and daily activities. As an outsider, I will not speak about how Indigenous people live their cosmovision. However, it is essential to understand how capitalism integrates and adapts to Indigenous needs to prevail over time. If we want to create a counter-hegemonic project, we need to consider the complexity of vulnerable populations, incorporate their views but also their realities, and build together a realistic alternative that incorporates everybody.

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Interviews

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Arauco worker. (2024). Face-to-face interview. 20 August 2024. Chile.

CMPC worker 1. (2024). Online interview. 28 August 2024. Chile.

CMPC worker 2. (2024). Face-to-face interview. 20 August 2024. Chile.

CONAF worker. (2024). Online interview. 27 August 2024. Chile.

Plan Buen Vivir worker. (2024). Online interview. 16 September 2024. Netherlands.

Appendices

Appendix 1: ISS Research Ethics Review Form for RP Research Carried out by MA students

Aim:
This Form aims to help you identify research ethics issues which may come up in the design and delivery of your Research Paper (RP). It builds on the session on Research Ethics session in course 3105 and subsequent discussions with your peers and RP supervisor/reader. We hope the form encourages you to reflect on the ethics issues which may arise.

The process:
The Ethics Review process consists of answering questions in the following two checklists: B1-Low-sensitivity and B2-High-sensitivity. Depending on the answer to these questions you might need to fill section **C-Statement of Research Ethics** too.

The background document "ISS Research Ethics Guidelines for MA Students" provides advice and detailed information on how to complete this form.

Step 1 - Fill checklists B1 and B2
Step 2 - After answering checklists B1 and B2, the process proceeds as follows:

- **If you answer 'yes' to one or more low-sensitivity questions (checklist B1):** please discuss the issues raised with your supervisor and include an overview of the risks, and actions you can take to mitigate them, in the final design of your RP. You can refer to the ISS Research Ethics Guidelines for MA Students for help with this.
- **If you answer 'yes' to one or more high-sensitivity questions (checklist B2)**, please complete section 'C' of the form below describing the risks you have identified and how you plan to mitigate against them. Discuss the material with your supervisor, in most cases the supervisor will provide approval for you to go ahead with your research and attach this form to the RP design when you upload it in canvas. If, after consultation with your supervisor, it is felt that additional reflection is needed, please submit this form (sections B1, B2, and C) to the Research Ethics Committee (REC) for review as follows:

When submitting your form to the REC, please send the following to researchethics@iss.nl:
1) the completed checklists B1 and B2 (or equivalent if dealing with an external ethics requirement)
2) the completed form C 'Statement of Research Ethics'
3) a copy of the RP design

4) any accompanying documentation, for example, consent forms, Data Management Plans (DMP), ethics clearances from other institutions.

Your application will be reviewed by a reviewer who is not part of your supervisory team. The REC aims to respond to ethics approval requests within a period of 15 working days.

Step 3 - Integrating the Ethics Review process into the RP:

- This Ethics Review Form (checklists B1 and B2) needs to be added as an annex in your RP Design document to be uploaded in the Canvas page for course 3105 and to be presented in May.
- If, as a result of completing sections B1 and B2 of this Review Form you also need to complete section C, add section C 'Statement of Research Ethics' and Section D 'Approval from Research Ethics Committee' (if available) as an annex to your final RP design to be to be uploaded in the Canvas page for course 3105 in July.

Project details, Checklists, and Approval Status

A) Project/ Proposal details

1. Project/Proposal Title	Incorporation or a fight for resistance? The impact of forestry policies on the social relationships of the Mapuche community
2. Name of MA student (applicant)	Maria Gracia Evans Mardones
3. Email address of MA student	702439me@eur.nl
4. Name of Supervisor	Jun Borras
5. Email address of Supervisor	borras@iss.nl
6. Country/countries where research will take place	Chile
7. Short description of the proposed research and the context in which it is carried out: In Chile, Mapuche's history of dispossession is marked by the role of the Chilean state and forestry industries within processes of land grabbing and ontological violence. Indigenous resistance groups have risen to mobilize and act against the expansion of 'development' projects and forestry activity, claiming auto-determination. Driven by an increase in violent and non-violent conflicts between the Mapuche community, the state, and forestry companies, the latter has started a process of multiculturalism, inviting Mapuche's neighbors to participate in forestry production. This has been supported by state development programs, with the promotion of neoliberal modes of production. As a result, 26% of the Mapuche community has collaborative	

or commercial relationships with forestry companies. This has increased capital accumulation, but also conflicts among rural Mapuche. Using the political economy framework, I want to understand why part of the Mapuche community has decided to be incorporated into the forestry industry and how neoliberal development programs are increasing the division among Mapuche.

The context of this research is based on a conflictual situation between rural Mapuche communities, industrial forestry companies, and public authorities, and the search for capital accumulation .

B) Research checklist

The following checklist acts as a guide to help you think through what areas of research ethics you may need to address. For explanations and guidance please refer to the background document 'ISS Research Ethics Guidelines for MA students'. Please complete both sections (B1 and B2)

Please tick the appropriate box	**YES**	**NO**
B1: LOW SENSITIVITY		
1. Does the research involve the collection and or processing of (primary or secondary) personal data (including personal data in the public domain)?		**X**
2. Does the research involve participants from whom voluntary informed consent needs to be sought?	**X**	
3. Will financial or material incentives (other than reasonable expenses and compensation for time) be offered to participants?		**X**
4. Will the research require the cooperation of a gatekeeper for access to the groups, communities or individuals to be recruited (e.g., administrator for a private Facebook group, manager of an institution, or government official)?		**X**
5. Does the research include benefit-sharing measures for research which takes place with people who could be considered vulnerable? – please revise the background document (Guidelines) for more information.		**X**

If you have ticked 'yes' to any of the above boxes (1-5), please discuss with your supervisor and include more information in your RP design describing the issue raised and how you propose to deal with it during your research.

Please tick the appropriate box	**YES**	**NO**
B2: HIGH SENSITIVITY		
6. Does the research involve the collection or processing of sensitive (primary or secondary) personal data? (e.g. regarding racial or ethnic origin, political opinions, religious or philosophical beliefs, trade union membership, biometric data, data related to health or a person's sex life or sexual orientation)	**X**	
7. Does the research involve participants for whom voluntary and informed consent may require special attention or who can be considered 'vulnerable'? (e.g., children (under 18), people with learning disabilities, undocumented migrants, patients, prisoners)?		**X**
8. Will it be necessary for participants to take part in the research without their knowledge and consent (covert observation of people in non-public places)?		**X**
9. Will the research be conducted in healthcare institutions, in healthcare settings, or will it involve the recruitment or study of patients or healthcare personnel?		**X**
10. Could the research induce psychological stress or anxiety or cause harm or negative consequences for research participants, researchers, or persons and institutions connected to them?	**X**	
11. Could the situation in one or several of the countries where research is carried out put the researcher, individuals taking part in the research, or individuals connected to the researcher, at risk? Presence of an infectious disease such as COVID-19 is considered a risk – please provide information as outlined in the background document (Guidelines).		**X**
12. Does the research require ethical approval or research permission from a local institution or body?		**X**

If you have ticked 'Yes' to one of the above (5-11), please complete section 'C' below describing how you propose to mitigate the risks you have identified. After discussion with your supervisor, please submit the form to the Research Ethics Committee. In addition, if you have ticked 'Yes' to a question on any kind of personal data, please also complete the privacy questionnaire.

YOU ONLY NEED TO COMPLETE THIS SECTION IF YOU HAVE ANSWERED YES TO ONE OF THE QUESTIONS IN SECTION B2 ABOVE (Questions 5-11)

C) Statement of Research Ethics

Using the background document 'ISS Research Ethics Guidelines for MA students', please address how you are going to deal with the ethics concern identified, including prevention measures to avoid them from manifesting, mitigation strategies to reduce their impact, and preparedness and contingency planning if the risks manifest.

Please number each point to correspond with the relevant checklist question above. Expand this section as needed and add any additional documentation which might not be included in your RP design, such as consent forms.

[TO BE COMPLETED BY MA STUDENT AND DISCUSSED WITH THE SUPERVISOR. IF THE SUPERVISOR FINDS IT NECESSARY TO SEEK FURTHER REVIEW, THE STUDENT MUST SUBMIT THE FORM TO THE RESEARCH ETHICS COMMITTEE]
For primary data resources, I will respectfully ask for explicit consent from all participants. I will provide comprehensive information about why I am collecting the data, the research objectives, and how I will manage the data. All data will be anonymized, ensuring privacy and confidentiality. Also, the data collected will not be uploaded to any cloud, it will only be stored in my computer, which has an antivirus installed. A situation of psychological stress or anxiety will be avoided from the design of the questionnaire. Also, all questions will be optional. But, if a distress situation arises in an interview, it will be suspended.

D) Approval from Research Ethics Committee

*To be completed by the Research Ethics Committee only if

Approved by Research Ethics Committee:_____ Date:_____

Additional comments for consideration from Research Ethics Committee:

Appendix 2: Questionnaires interviews

Arauco worker and CMPC worker 2:

- When did the company begin to establish collaborative economic relationships with Mapuche communities?
- What are the strategies that the company has implemented to establish forestry projects with a Mapuche community?
- Who is usually the interlocutor of the Mapuche communities to define investment decisions within the communities?
- Has the generation of economic relationships with Mapuche communities generated new investment or growth opportunities for the company? (Both direct and indirect)
- What are the company's future strategies for its relationship with Mapuche people who live in rural areas?

CMPC worker 1:

- From the communities I understood that they were the ones who approached the company to demand the restitution of the farmland El Choque, starting a negotiation process that reached the agreement that exists today. Could you tell me the company's version of how the negotiation process went?
- What were the company's interests in negotiating and accepting the terms that exist today with the communities?
- Are there interests on the part of the company to continue generating this type of project in other communities in which they have a high influence? Is it economically feasible?
- What is the company's position in making up for the lack of employment, social services, and opportunities for access to higher education in the neighboring communities? Is there any criticism of the institutions, local and regional governments, and state entities?
- Has this type of agreement with indigenous communities increased business options or facilitated access to new markets for companies?
- Is the company seeking to intervene in the polarization that has been generated in the area due to this project? How has this been done?

CONAF:

- What initiatives are being promoted in the forestry area in the Mapuche Lafkenche areas?
- Are there job creation programs focused on Mapuche Lafkenche communities?

- Are there intercultural programs or native forest restoration programs focused on Mapuche Lafkenche communities?
- Does CONAF seek to influence those communities that have direct collaborative relationships with forestry companies?
- What do you think are the challenges of CONAF's policy regarding communities that have direct relationships with forestry companies?
- What are the indigenous development strategies in the forestry area in the medium and long term in the region?

Plan 'Good Living':

- How do you seek to reactivate communication between the State and the communities that live in the province of Arauco, specifically in the communes of Tirúa and Cañete?
- What are the initiatives or projects that the plan presents to reduce the violence present in the province of Arauco? Specifically for the communes of Tirúa and Cañete.
- What are the intercultural initiatives present in the province of Arauco? Specifically for the communes of Tirúa and Cañete.
- What is the position of the plan regarding the collaborative project between the communities of Lleulleu and CMPC?
- Are you working together with other public entities to increase jobs and provide social services to the Mapuche people who live in the communes of Tirúa and Cañete?
- How have the institutional projects presented by the Plan Buen Vivir progressed? For example, the creation of the Ministry of Indigenous Affairs and the increase in the budget for CONADI.

Mapuche:

- What is the history of your Lof before the occupation of the Araucanía and the reduction process?
- What is the history of your Lof after the occupation of the Araucanía and the reduction process?
- When did forestry activity begin in your area? What has been its impact?
- When did the Lof begin to have relations with the forestry company?
- How much does the Lof depend economically on the forestry sector?
- Are there other actors that have influenced this relationship? For example, the State, NGOs, CONAF, or foundations.
- What is your opinion on the forestry activity present in your Lof?

- What are the social and economic impacts of having this activity in your Lof? (within your Lof and with other Lofs)
- What other activities are carried out to promote Mapuche culture in your Lof?