GOOD LIVING AS A MANNER OF RESISTANCE IN THE LOS RÍOS COMMUNITY BASED TOURISM PROGRAMME, PANGUIPULLI (SOUTH CHILE)

BEM VIVER COMO FORMA DE RESISTÊNCIA NO PROGRAMA DE TURISMO DE BASE COMUNITARIA LOS RÍOS, PANGUIPULLI (SUL DO CHILE)

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Abstract

The results of an investigation into alternatives to the development approach, with the Andean concept of Good Living (GL) as the protagonist, are presented. The objective of this article is to make a measurement capable of reflecting the different dimensions of human wellbeing from the Los Ríos Community Based Tourism Program, in the south of Chile. Methodologically, descriptive-qualitative research techniques and participant observation were used, plus the application of a matrix of multidimensional indicators of wellbeing parameterized by 17 complementary indicators among the subjective-objective, analyzed through the IRaMuTeQ/R software, mediated by satisfiers. The results allow us to visualize the needs and opportunities, providing elements and discussions that lead us to understand the resilience and territorial resistance of traditional societies and communities as one of the challenges of the 20th century.

Keywords: Good Living. Indicators. Territory. Subjectivity.

Resumo

Apresentam-se resultados de uma investigação sobre alternativas ao enfoque do desenvolvimento, tendo como protagonismo a concepção andina do Bem Viver (BV). O objetivo deste artigo é realizar uma medição capaz de refletir as distintas dimensões do bem-estar humano a partir do Programa de Turismo de Base Comunitária de *Los Ríos*, sul do Chile. Metodologicamente utilizou-se de pesquisa descritiva-qualitativa e observação participante com aplicação de matriz de indicadores multidimensionais de Bem Viver parametrizados por 17 indicadores, complementários entre o subjetivo-objetivo, analisados por meio do *software* IRaMuTeQ/R, mediados por satisfatores. Os resultados permitem visualizar necessidades e oportunidades, contribuindo com elementos e discussões que levam a compreender a resiliência e resistência territorial dos povos e comunidades tradicionais como um dos desafios do século XXl.

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Introduction

In the 1980s, 1990s and 2010s in Latin America, several authors began to question the neoliberal development paradigm. In fact, the 1980s is known as the decade of alternative development. In this context, critical development theories and movements emerge which recognize the existence of a political, ecological, economic, social, cultural, and institutional crisis with a growing increase in problems such as deforestation, inequality-poverty, loss of traditional knowledge, river pollution and pesticide exploitation (ZIAI, 2007). Several discussions emerge in the field of development criticism, such as the theory of alternative styles of development (SUNKEL, 1980); ECLAC social and human development (1981), Human Scale Development of Manfred Max-Neef, Elizalde and Hopenhayn (1986).

In the 1990s and early years of the 21st century, known as the years of alternatives to development, a socio-political project called Good Living / Living Well arises in the Constitution of Monticristi, Ecuador and in the Constitution of Bolivia, resulting in experiential practices of resistance to colonialism in the native communities, which oppose or remain on the margins of the liberal capitalist system, breaking with the anthropocentric logic, in the sense of privileging ecocentrism.

GL results in a principle oriented towards socio-economic and environmental sustainability, based on the rights of nature and humans, resulting in harmony between humans and non-humans. Thus, strategies of production and reproduction of goods based on social and solidarity-based learning grounded in ethics are assumed, overcoming the limits of development, guaranteeing sustainability and social equity (ACOSTA, 2013), as a result of a resistance process. The objective of this article is to conduct a measurement capable of reflecting the different dimensions of human well-being, based on the Los Ríos Community Based Tourism (CBT) Programme, southern Chile. Good Living indicators were used to analyze satisfactory results, allowing to see the real needs of the families involved in the programme.

This article is divided into six parts, in addition to this introduction. In the first sections, a contextualization of the topic of GL as a significant alternative to development is given; in the second, one of the territories of the Los Ríos CBT is approached and presented, where it is possible to observe territorial conflicts and their resistance; in the third part, the methodological proceedings; in the fourth, the results of the application of the matrix of indicators of Good Living are analyzed; and in the fifth, the final considerations of the research, closing with references that supports the state of the art.

Good Living (GL)

From the Latin American perspective, a critique is made to the hegemonic development model of economic growth, through the theory of " Human Scale Development" (MAX-NEEF; ELIZALDE; HOPENHAYN, 1986). Following this line, it is possible to find GL proposals expressed in the constitutions of Ecuador (2008) and Bolivia (2009). In the first case, Good Living or *Sumak Kawsay* (Quechua), in the second, Living Well or *Suma Qamaña* (Aymara). Although emerging as a Latin American political concept, its principles are much older in the cosmology of the native peoples, such as the *Küme Mognen* (Mapuche/Chile), the *nhandereko* in Guaraní (Bolivia and Paraguay), and similar conceptions of the *Kuna* (Panama), the *Achuar* (Ecuadorian Amazon), *Maya* (Guatemala), *Chiapas* (Mexico) and others (ACOSTA, 2015).

It should be noted that the GL concept can be made up of more dimensions than the classic social, economic, and ecological triad. It is acknowledged that these can be integral parts to demand other adjacent perspectives such as political, institutional, spatial, historical, cultural, and other aspects. Even aspects often considered non-scientific, such as spirituality, belonging, motivations and affect, which are respectively in the intra-dimensional relationship of the social and/or inter-dimensional of the socio-ecological, through which human subjectivity and inter-subjectivity intersects (ALCÂNTARA; SAMPAIO, 2019; 2020).

In this context, it is understood that modernity and its colonialities - about to can, to know and to be - started from 1492, when Spain and Portugal invaded America based on a domination of exploitation, defining nature without considering humanity as an integral part of it (QUIJANO, 1997; 2005). This practice transformed and (in)visualized the knowledge and ways of life of the communities, through expropriation, cultural domination, and appropriation of ancestral knowledge (CORREA; MELLA, 2010).

Epistemologically "[...] GL is understood as a paradigm that comprises a common temporal space, in which different ontologies can coexist, in the construction of an interculturality that reveals alternatives to development" (ALCÂNTARA; SAMPAIO, 2017, p. 235). In this sense, three currents of Good Living can be distinguished: (1) indigenist/pachamamist; 2) socialist / statist y; 3) post-developmentalist/environmentalist (HIDALGO-CAPITÁN; ARIAS; AVILA, 2014).

If on the one hand the indigenous and environmentalist trends defend the territory, the socialist current has caused a gap in its content and a misappropriation by the state in the name of GL, justifying the exploitation of natural resources supported by the commodity consensus (SVAMPA, 2013), creating multiple conflicts among indigenous and rural communities in Latin America. In this sense, the GL serves as a political platform based on different social movements that articulate social and ecological demands based on the native people's own principles, to challenge the economic and political foundations of the state in the formulation of development policies (ALCÂNTARA; SAMPAIO, 2017).

Max-Neef (1995), called the "Threshold Hypothesis" the possibility that after a certain point, economic growth does not improve people's quality of life. In other words, *a priori*, issues such as education, health and environmental restoration should be at the forefront of government policy. The role of the state is considered crucial to facilitate the implementation of socially sustainable policies (DEMARIA *et al.*, 2013) that address welfare and social equity through alternative development models such as GL.

In this case, the focus is on eco-socio-economic dimensions that value the preservation of traditions and ways of life disconnected from consumption; more auspicious social relations; generation of employment and income from the perspective of more associative modes of production and distribution; revitalization of the meanings of human virtue and of the state itself, distanced from utilitarian rationalism; and appropriate use of natural resources and local human capacities (ALCÂNTARA; GRIMM, 2017). Accordingly, the guidelines of the GL technique value the subjectivities and intersubjectivities of the life of these communities, which maintain ancestral knowledge and may provide solutions to some of the problems that afflict human welfare.

Traditional perspectives to measuring development, guide merely quantitative-objective and with unidimensional approaches, leaving aside elements inherent to a systemic measurement, linked to the socio-environmental, cultural, political, collective, as proposed by Good Living, which has a subjective-objective, multidimensional and participatory approach related to local development (TORTOSA, 2011).

These approaches have gone through different generations: the first started from the traditional measurement indexes such as *per capita* income, GDP, which indicates that growth is the only form of development. The second, characterized by a combination of economic and social indicators, has an emphasis on quality of life and well-being. In the third, social indices were included: Prosperity Index (PI), Gross National Happiness (GNH), Better Life Index (BLI), Physical Quality of Life Index (PQLI), Social Well Being Index (SWBI), Human Development Index (HDI). Finally, in the fourth generation, the alternatives to development were included (GUDYNAS, 2012), which move through a social, economic, environmental, and political dimension involving important methodological challenges such as GL, whose measurement criteria seek to reflect development objectives where the ethics of what is non-instrumental and non-utilitarian do not prevail, implying an ontology different from the prevailing Eurocentric conception.

Conflict and resistance in the Los Ríos CBT Programme

In Chile, since the period of 1980 (the year of the constitution) the economy has been characterized as neoliberal and extractive, following the logic of colonialism/capitalism (CUADRA MONTOYA, 2015). This type of exploitation has caused social, environmental, and territorial conflicts, resulting in projects related to mining, hydroelectric, industrial, and fishing companies, timber, agricultural production, and water pollution. One of the results is associated with the criminalization of Mapuche protests (DE LA CUADRA, 2013).

Privatizations in the territory caused processes of resilience and resistance on the part of the Mapuche and Chilean peasant communities associated with family farming which, in the case of the Mapuche community, understand their territory as an ancestral domain and cultural and historical heritage that needs to be recovered and revitalized. Thus, tourism became part of the economic activities and was seen as a possibility to sell ecosystem services and to protect the territory through tourism routes, religious and spiritual practices (HASSEN, 2016; PILQUIMÁN, 2017)). To Morales (2015), "[...] the understanding of the Mapuche cosmovision manifests a social and cultural integrity, despite the long and intense period of submission to the pressures of assimilation." (p. 262).

In the Panguipulli area, there have been recent high-intensity conflicts such as those over the Neltume Lake hydroelectric project and the Tranguil mini-power station (Liquiñe); low-intensity conflicts such as the Pantanal Chancafiel (Coñaripe); territorial recovery by the Mapuche community on the shores of Calfaquén Lake; and the construction of an international ski centre (Villarrica National Park). (HAUGHNEY, 2012; CUADRA MONTOYA, 2015; PILQUIM-N 2016, 2017; Martínez NEIRA (DELAMAZA, 2018; TORRES-ALRUIZ, PILQUIMÁN; HENRÍQUEZ-ZÚÑIGA, 2018).

The research territory is located in Panguipulli, Los Ríos region, southern Chile. It has a surface area of 3,292 km², of which 50% still corresponds to native forest known as temperate forests with multiple ecosystems. It has snow-capped mountains formed by five volcanoes along a network of rivers and lakes (Calafquén, Panguipulli, Pirihueico and Neltume) that is part of the Valdivia river basin (SKEWES; HENRÍQUEZ, 2010). The total population is 33,273 inhabitants, of which 10,264 belong to the Mapuche ethnic group. The main economic activities are agriculture, livestock, hunting, forestry, wood cutting, beekeeping and handicrafts (figure 1).

Figure 1: Mapuche territory

Source: Authors' archive

To Pino, Cardyn and GTP (2014), Panguipulli presents unique historical and cultural processes, as well as spiritual ones (they have around 29 ceremonies performed by Machis [3]). In this sense, the territory is "a space that gives life, a place that gives spiritual and physical nourishment to those who inhabit it. ..." (p. 195). The Mapuche cosmovision ignores the man-nature dichotomy, as human beings are recognized as an integral part of nature. For the Mapuche cosmovision everything is related (*iltrofilmogñem*), men and women are part of the universe, strengthening the relationship between humans and non-humans and their habitat is based on collaboration and solidarity.

Currently, the Los Ríos CBT Programme includes initiatives in two of the 12 municipalities that conform the Los Ríos region. The Trawun Programme (figure 2) created in 2013 is one of these initiatives, consisting of a circuit and a Community Based Tourism (CBT) route born from a joint proposal formed by men and women, with the aim of a new territorial development model opposed to the consumer society (FERNANDEZ; HENRÍQUEZ, 2017). In 2014, the PDT Trawun Siete Lagos project was developed, which allows the articulation of initiatives in a tourist route and the development of a brand for its identification.

Figure 2: Trawun Route & Circuit Map

Source: https://www.trawun.cl/mapas/
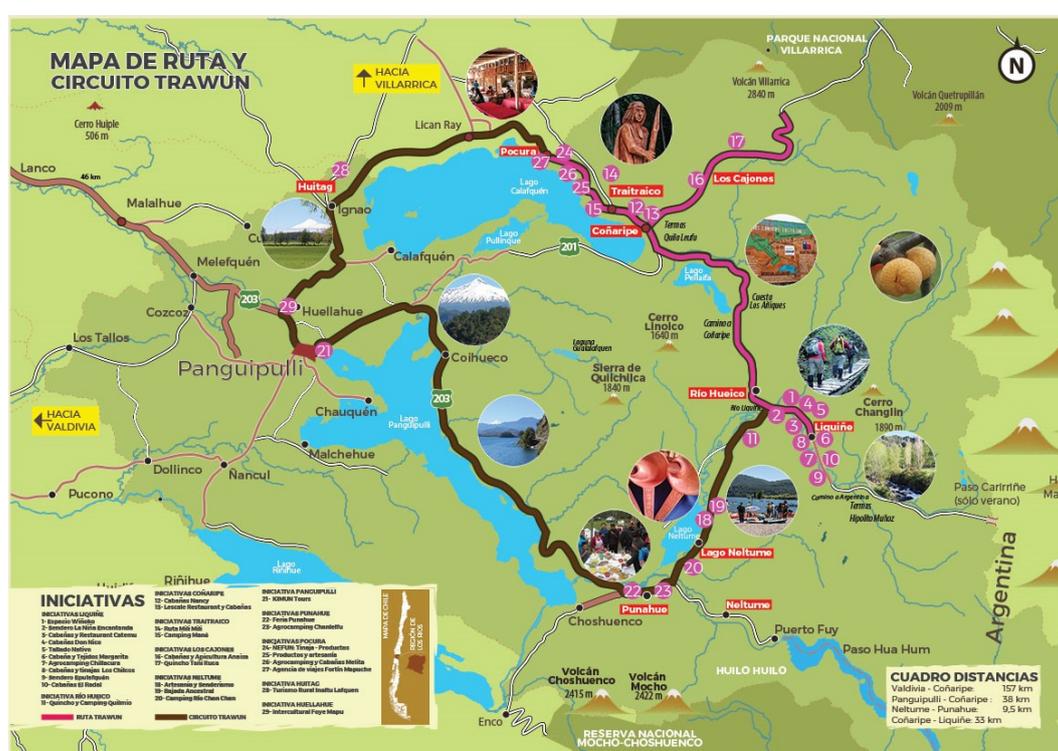
Currently 46 initiatives are part of the Los Ríos CBT "Trawun Route" programme, of which 40 are family initiatives and 6 are collective, belonging to the sectors of Pocura, Traitraico, Los Cajones, Coñaripe, Liquiñe, Lago Neltume, Punahue, Panguipulli and Huitag (CONAF, 2007; GOMEZ, 2018). Activities are offered such as: fairs, local products and agriculture, horseback riding, gastronomy, intercultural experiences, family accommodation, handicrafts, trekking, camping, ancestral navigation, and others, allowing the community to reclaim and maintain their cultural identity, making the socio-environmental conflicts existing in the territory visible to the world. In September 2017 the Cooperative CBT Trawun, Siete Lagos destination, was created as one of the largest in the territory and the first in the CBT modality in Chile (GÓMEZ, 2018). In 2018, the proposed Ecodevelopment Education Zone was consolidated, based on self-certification principles and protocols for CBT.

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[3] Highest spiritual authority, mediator between the natural and supernatural world.

In this context, GL translates the way of life that seeks the common good of the community, highlighting harmony between all elements of existence: family, community, human relationships, land, work, animals, plants, abundance, spirituality, and respect for the legacy of the ancestors. Within this cosmovision, several projects were developed in the region that made it possible to identify the problems and needs of the communities, enabling the search for knowledge and the construction of joint strategies between the community and the researchers.

Methodological proceedings

Methodologically, descriptive qualitative research was used with participant observation plus the application of the Good Living Indicators Matrix (ALCÂNTARA; SAMPAIO, 2019; 2020), based on a proposal for GL diagnosis, planning and evaluation purposes. In a didactic way, an analysis of the influence of each indicator was developed based on the perception of the community in order to assess the intrinsic subjectivity of the social actors in terms of synergistic satisfiers[4] in the satisfaction of their human needs.

The indicators were divided into 3 supra-dimensions and 17 specific dimensions, analyzed in 7 (seven) categories corresponding to personal issues (harmony with oneself) - satisfaction with housing, material resources, food sovereignty, community work, decision making, beliefs, spiritual satisfaction, leisure time, economic and personal; 8 (eight) social issues (harmony with the community) - traditional and formal education, access to information, security, productive factors, social participation, socio-productive arrangements, participation of women and youth, and use of natural medicines; and 2 (two) holistic (harmony with nature) - measuring outcomes related to the environment: sustainability, satisfaction, belonging and cultural identity (ALCÂNTARA; SAMPAIO, 2019; 2020).

Meetings were held with two representative groups: Trawun CBT Cooperative and Marifilo-Eupuñanco *Lof* [5], in the period between August and November 2018, where each of the 17 specific dimensions and their indicators were introduced to 10 representatives, including: The *Lonko*[6], leaders, cooperative leaders, women and young people. Finally, a multidimensional analysis of the texts was carried out using the IRaMuTeQ software with a visual interface anchored in the R software, which allows to analyze and perform a textual interpretation, based on the identification of the context. Variables with satisfactory correlation were selected in categories showing satisfaction or not related to each indicator, where 3 represents the highest level (high satisfaction or satisfied), 2 the intermediate level (medium satisfaction or indifferent) and 1 the lowest (dissatisfied or very dissatisfied) represented in tables and graphs at both ends.

Results and discussions: analysis of Good Living indicators

After applying the matrix and analyzing the data, it is possible to observe the conception of what the community chooses as satisfactory (low and high) from their cosmovision in socio-economic and environmental conservation (analysis in Tables 1, 2 and 3).

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[4] To Max-Neef (2012), synergistic satisfiers fulfil one need, stimulating and helping to satisfy other needs, generating well-being.
[5] Community formed by members of the same family led by *lonko*.
[6] *Lonko:* natural leader or head of a group of families related around a common ancestor. The position represents political, administrative and religious aspects.

Table 1: Matrix of indicators of Good Living: Personal (harmony with oneself)

Supra dimensions	Specific dimensions	Group 1		Group 2	
		Negative Categories	Positive Categories	Negative Categories	Positive Categories
Personal (harmony with oneself)	(1) Housing	- Divisions of the State and Institutions - Resources to build - Access to decent housing - Increasing of Population	- Security in housing -Tranquility - To work for yourself and not for others - Organic Food - The proximity between family members - Food practices (sovereignty and food security)	- Devaluation of the territory - Change of landscape when the land is sold	- Housing as a place to share - Transcendental visit - Valorization of space - Food sovereignty - Maintenance of culture - Sustainable buildings
	(2) Work	- Extractivist work (woodcutting) - Loss of traditional trades - Misappropriation of knowledge - Land regularization - Loss of collective work - Marketing mis represented	- To enjoy the work - Appreciation of the ancestral trade - Gardens - Living in the countryside - Community Rural Tourism as a factor of permanence in the property - Community work	- Tourism affected by seasonality - Discrimination at work - Prohibition to sell products in the city - Lack of job opportunities	- Trafkintu (Trading system) - Tourism as income source - Valorization of the territory
	(3) Decision Make	- Lack of leadership - Lack of communication - Lack of support - False leaderships (improper empowerment) - Division of ideological thinking - Territorial sectorization that does not take into account ancestral importance (Lonko)	- Agreement 169 -Appreciation in the ancestral Lonko	- The State does not recognize the Mapuche social structure and the leadership of the Lonko - Poor representativeness of the Mapuche people	- The Lonko is respected by the Mapuche people - Autonomy at the community and individual level
	(4) Religion and beliefs	- The ideological influence of churches - The non-importance of nature for the Churches	- Rescue of the rituals and Mapuche tradition - Spiritual connection with nature - Spiritual understanding with nature - Rebirth of spirituality - Living with the churches	- Churches in the community	- Revaluation of spirituality - Understanding the indigenous cosmovision
	(5) Leisure and culture	- Distractions like television - Cell phone - Lack of territory - Lack of a Community Museum	- Interaction with the environment - Share ancestry stories - Spiritual Awakening - Music and dance - Time to recreate and do things	- Lack of appreciation of space	-Dialogues in the family -Appreciation of nature
	(6) Material resources	-Expensive certification - Legal requirements in the health sector - Mandatory drinking water in the huts - Purchase of land by foreigners - Chemical Agriculture - Trafkintú (exchange system) institutionalized	- Trafkintú reactivated (exchange of seeds and knowledge) - Mapuche Knowledge - Traditional knowledge in plant cultivation	- There is no funding that allows autonomy - There is no government funding - Capitalist mentality	- Nature offers everything
	(7) Emotions	- Young people affected in the city - Materialism as a synonym for happiness	- Relationship with family and friends - Good personal motivation - Harmony with others - Personal Achievement	- Materialism that comes with capitalism	- Happiness for living in the territory - Tranquility

Source: Based on the Matrix of Well-Living Indicators of Alcântara; Sampaio, 2020.

Table 2: Matrix of indicators of Good Living: Social (harmony with the Community)

Supra dimensions	Specific dimensions	Group 1		Group 2	
		Negative Categories	Positive Categories	Negative Categories	Positive Categories
Social (Harmony with the Community)	(8) Education	- Standardized History Teaching - Materialism - Devaluation of cultural elements - Catholic schools - Education disconnected with the surroundings - Lack of education focused on traditional Mapuche knowledge - Missing a school in the community - Respect for nature is not taught -Misappropriation of Mapuche Knowledge	- The Teaching of the relationship with nature done by the Mapuche people - Native language recovery in the community - Subsidy to traditional knowledge - Training of young people to maintain tradition and traditional knowledge - Intercultural and bilingual education in some schools - Knowledge transmitted from generation to generation	- Do not learn Mapusungun in schools (native language) - A ew speaks the native language - No Mapuche schools and Universities	- Share knowledge - Revalued ancestral knowledge
	(9) Information Technologies and Communication	- Television in the community - Excessive use of technology	- Access to information - Diffusion of local reality - Mapuche reality documentation - The disclosure of conflicts that Mapuche must go through	- With technology there is less dialogue	- Use of technology facilitates tourism
	(10) Productive Factors	- Private water rights -Misappropriation of territory - No respect for laws and treaties - Poor marketing - Non valorization to organic products	- Exchange Trade Shows - Community Based Tourism - Subsistence Production - Sell jams, handicrafts, tourism, gastronomy, etc.	- Extractivism - Craft resellers, third parties involved - Assistencialist intervention - Transgenic Seeds - Mapuche land leases	- Crafts and tourism enabled - Food Sovereignty
	(11) Social Participation	- Lack of space for socialization - Little community social participation - No political participation of Mapuche in politics - Lack of leadership that has group recognition - Hydroelectric plant: minor opposition from residents - Community Division - Lack of empowerment	- Trawun Community Based Tourism Cooperative - Social, economic, ecological, tourist and cultural development - Social and solidarity principle	- Minor community participation	- Trawun Community Based Tourism Cooperative serves to link young people - North-South People's Exchange Network
	(12) Family	- Less collective work among families - Migration processes from the countryside to the city	- Family collective work - Collective works - Solidarity	- Exodus of young people	- The family represents security - The family is a place to learn
	(13) Security	- Racist and Classist Ideology in Chile - Persecution of the armed forces	- No risk of burglary - Peace of mind - Right to land and culture	- Political insecurity in laws - Military and Police Persecution	- Community Safety
	(14) Gender and Youth Relations	- Chauvinist ideological influences after the war - Youth migration	- Women's participation in decision making	- About 65% of Mapuche people living in cities - Young people do not want to return to the territory	- Participation of young people and women in tourism
	(15) Health	- Alcoholism rates - Practices: poor service - It is Mandatory to chlorine the water in the community	- Use of medicinal plants - Intercultural Medicine: Imperial, Makewe, Araucania - Mapuche Hospitals - Machi practices that heal the soul and body	- Mapuche medicine is not respected	- Use of medicinal plants in the community

Source: Based on the Matrix of Well-Living Indicators of Alcântara; Sampaio, 2019, 2020.

Table 3: Matrix of indicators of Good Living: Integral (harmony with nature)

Supra dimensions	Specific dimensions	Group 1		Group 2	
		Negative Categories	Positive Categories	Negative Categories	Positive Categories
Integral (harmony with nature)	(16) Environment	- Concession of Parks to individuals (privates) - Forest industry and its derivations - Privatization of water - Parks Privatization - Tree exploitation for firewood - Lack of sustainability in the park's management	- Composting and recycling practices - Circular Gardens - Use of medicinal plants - Planting medicinal plants - Planting native fruit in backyards	- Deforestation - Lots of trash on rivers and slopes - Natural cycle changes - Water ownership conflicts - Hydroelectric plants	- Consciousness with nature through tourism - Nature Appreciation - Composting - Organic Gardens
	(17) Belonging	- Tourist invasion - Property invasion - Urbanization plans - National Laws - Inappropriate territory patents - Loss of identity with loss of traditional knowledge	- Harmony with nature - Full use of leftovers - Identity preserved - Preservation of culture - Environment related to cultural identity	- Kume Mognen (Good Living) is missing	- Identity strengthened through tourism

Source: Based on the Matrix of Well-Living Indicators of Alcântara; Sampaio, 2019, 2020.

A similarity analysis and its interfaces were then developed using low satisfiers (figures 3 and 4).

Figures 3 and 4: Similarity Analysis - Fruchterman Reingold Presentation, Community and Halo Matching Score - Low Satisfiers
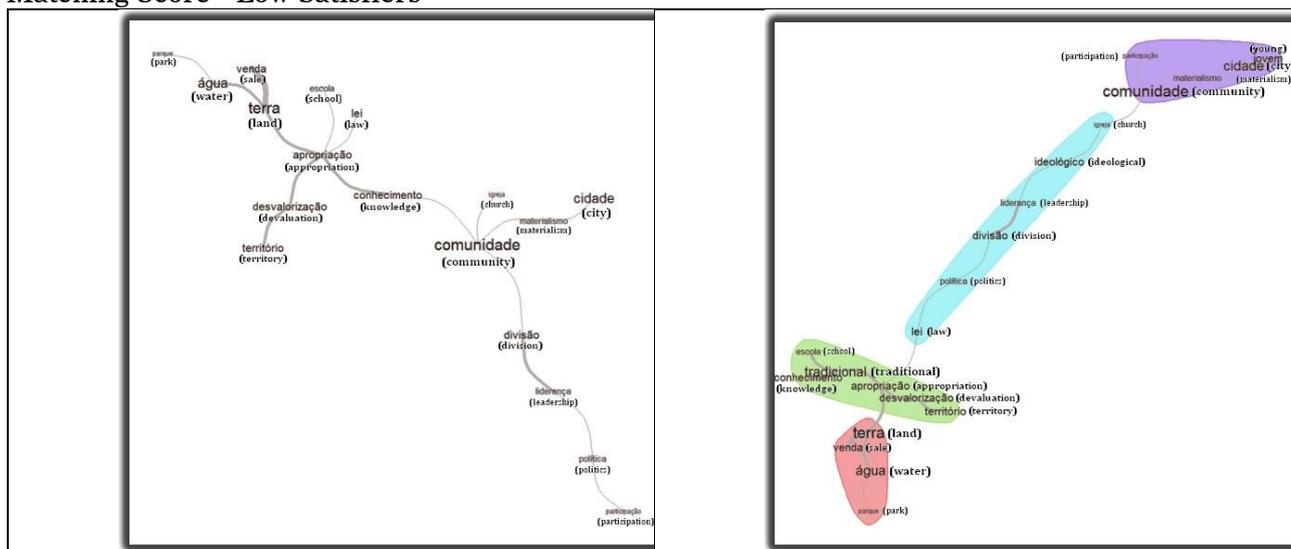
Source: author's elaboration (IRaMuTeQ / R)

The first analysis highlights the main under-satisfiers, related to the indicators of "productive factors", "environment" and "housing", associated with the impacts of land sales and misappropriation, water privatization, hydroelectric plants and land concessions for private parks. These threats are changing the landscape and introducing capitalist habits, such as the use of agrochemicals and transgenic seeds for planting. At the same time, the lack of financing for the purchase of supplies and the requirement for certification in the sale of organic products makes it impossible to market it. Another central point of discussion concerns the low level of community participation in the indicators of "decision-making" and "social participation".

Despite this obstacle, in 2017 the Trawun CBT Cooperative and associations such as the Association of Small Farmers and Artisans of Pocura, the woman's Association "Hands of the Mountain Range of Liquiñe" and others were created, which despite being modest, have been strengthening processes of self-management and empowerment. The *Lonko*'s authority has diminished as a result of the sectorization of ideological thinking. Likewise, the state, in the formulation of public policies related to the territory, does not respect this authority, strengthening

existing conflicts with the community. For the Mapuche youth: "Government representatives should participate more in the discussions".

In the "education" indicator, traditional knowledge is threatened by the ideology of the formal curriculum. According to one of the leaders: "Nature is not taught in school and also, the basis of education is in the children". Young people travel to the nearest town to study in schools that lacks intercultural knowledge. Some members of the community participate in the Intercultural Bilingual Education Programme – MINEDUC (Ministry of Education), as well as in some universities, developing research and teaching activities, which represents a step forward.

The acquisition of skills for the emancipation of thought and quality of life in traditional schools translates into the opportunity to preserve the native *Mapudungun* language. A young woman said: "My mother went to a Catholic school and the nuns wouldn't allow them to speak the language… she didn't want her children to go through the same and she didn't teach us". A mobilization of the community to rescue the language and preserve the traditions can be perceived, and this allows the dynamics of the changes taking place in the community to enable us to return to *Küme Mognen* today. According to a *lonko*: "The traditional language is gradually recovering".

The indicator "religion and beliefs" shows the strong influence of the Catholic and Evangelical churches in the community, prohibiting cultural rituals and threatening ancestral knowledge. The understanding of the Mapuche cosmovision is manifested in social and cultural integrity, reinforced by practices and traditions transmitted from parents to children, but may be threatened by the fragmentation of teachings and rituals. Spirituality is fundamental to Mapuche life. According to one community member: "My territory is linked to the spiritual, political and ancestral *lonko*". The nuclear family had to adapt to environmental, productive, social, and economic changes based on subordination and systemic exclusion over the years. The productive transformation of the territory, salaried work and schooling are factors that have transformed the daily practices of families, previously focused on livestock farming (LLANQUILEO, 2011) and today on tourism activities.

Under the heading "gender relations and youth", the exodus is the result of extraction in the territory, the lack of work and income opportunities and the difficulty in obtaining funds, an issue also raised in the "work" and "material resources" indicators. In the city, young people face social and racial discrimination, which increases the rate of depression and alcoholism. One interviewee stated: "Young people left and came back, because they were dying psychologically in the cities". Subsequently, similarities and their interfaces were analyzed using high satisfiers (Figures 5 and 6).

Figures 5 and 6: Similarity Analysis - Fruchterman Reingold Presentation, Community and Halo Cooccurrence Score - High Satisfiers
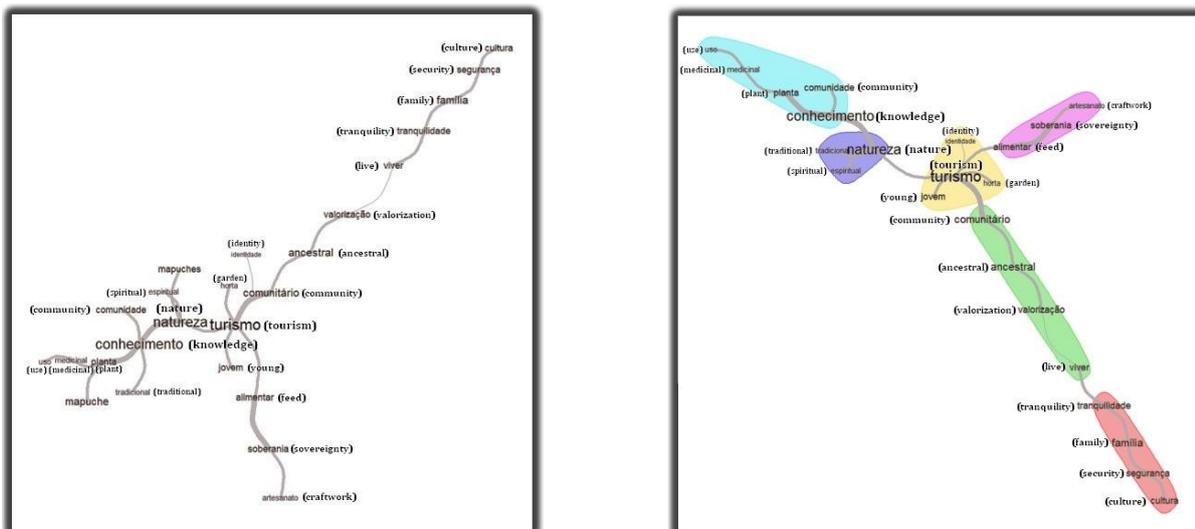
Source: author's elaboration (IRaMuTeQ / R)

Moreover, the high satisfiers, on the indicators "belonging", "family", "free time/culture" and "emotions", demonstrate the importance of knowledge, nature and the appreciation of the territory directly associated with tourism. In the view of a young person: "We have to protect our space for future generations". Besides increasing employment and income, tourism is bringing young people

back to the territory who seek safety and tranquility in the community, associated with quality of life and wellbeing. A young woman said: "The '*Küme Mognen*' is very important for us".

In the indicators "productive factors" and "environment", a return to the practice of subsistence agriculture was noted, through agro-ecological techniques such as composting and organic vegetable gardens, associated with the use of medicinal plants. In terms of "health", there is a hospital that has a service area for the Mapuche community, where the *machi* uses herbs and medicinal plants, preserving and respecting indigenous medicine and tacit knowledge. Some members of the community participate in entities of the political-administrative system, among them CONADI - Mapuche Health Service Programme. Another important issue is the return of the barter system (*trafkintú*), which is fundamental for the conservation of seeds and traditional local products. Faced with the threat of hydroelectric plants and deforestation, the community offers guided tours in parks and lakes, strengthening the process of environmental preservation and resisting peacefully. In this sense, Gudynas (2011, p.231), refers to "a new way of conceiving the relationship with nature in a way that ensures both the well-being of people and the survival of plant and animal species and the ecosystems". According to one of the leaders interviewed, as far as nature is concerned, "its existence or maintenance and regeneration of its life cycles, structure, functions and evolutionary processes are fully respected".

In the indicator "gender relations and young people", the transformations that have occurred are highlighted, because before the Arauco war, women and men had the same rights, but after the war, society became more male chauvinist. In the words of an elderly man: "In the Arauco war there was a transition in the spiritual base, before, it was not linked that one was older than the other, the Spanish influence changed this". These issues have been reversed through the associations and the Cooperative, where women and young people occupy leadership roles. For young people, the choice to return to live in the community is motivated by the possibility of living with the family and nature: "I made the decision to stay in the countryside, I have no money, but I have my garden and peace and quiet, now I am happy". Happiness is perceived to be associated with individual and community well-being.

Concluding remarks

The results of measuring human well-being using well-being indicators reflect territorial, social, ecological, and cultural characteristics. The theoretical proposal is based on a holistic conception consisting of a series of social, economic, political, freedom, environmental and collective rights. In this way, it is understood that the territory, threatened by the entry of extraction activity, demonstrates resilience and resistance to capitalist and productivism processes. In other words, the Mapuche community has a philosophy of life, based on the GL ideal, which prioritizes access to social and economic rights, despite the gap between the actions planned by the government and what the community really needs.

It is perceived that the measurement of GL can contribute to the elaboration of public policies applied to indigenous communities and, at the same time, accept subjectivity in the planning processes, in order to establish connections with the different public and private organizations that intervene in the territory. Through collectivity, solutions can be obtained that do not change practices and traditions, affecting people's satisfaction, respecting their contexts and culture. The cosmovision of the Mapuche people present in the Los Ríos CBT Programme shows a horizon that goes beyond the traditional development paradigm, as it is committed to the concept of poverty and wealth that is not reduced to the accumulation of material goods, but rather to an economy that understands its effects on nature, focused on satisfying collective human needs and decolonizing knowledge.

In the community conception, it is necessary to strengthen the true meaning of *Küme Mognen*, recovering the cultural identity and the feeling of belonging. According to Morales (2015), cultural identity in this case is reinforced "[...] from the delimitation of family and community assets [...] in the economic system based on kinship relations and cooperation [...] in the different forms of oral transmission of knowledge" (p. 262-263). In this sense, Nussbaum (2012) incorporates a collective dimension, combining individual processes with collective opportunities, establishing a link between person and society. By thinking about a new environmental ethic, referring to GL, based on the intrinsic rights and values of nature and the earth, *iltrofilmogñem* in *mapunzungum*.

Despite the indifference to the environmental crisis present in the globalized world and the reflection on the difficulty of establishing more harmonious ways of life between human beings

among themselves and with nature, for the Mapuche people, the ancestral practices that have developed over the centuries represent a sphere for the reproduction of life that implies a relationship with the market that transcends the individual level proposed by neoliberalism.

The identity of the Mapuche people is not static, it is dynamic and is being built from the elements that are evident in the discourses of the community through the vision and practice of managing their environment in a sustainable way, turning the territory into a part of their identity, creating symbols with cultural meanings, through cooperation, whether family or community, from their cosmovision, transmitted orally through the daily exercise of knowledge and practices. In this way, it is hoped that these contributions will "surprise and disturb", as Pedro Cayuqueo (2017) states: to be "[...] one step closer to that old Mapuche libertarian utopia, to build a world where many worlds fit".

Acknowledgements

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