

PERMEABILITY OF THE INDIGENOUS

SPACE. DISCOURSES OF MAPUCHE LANDOWNERS ON URBAN EXPANSION IN PERIURBANIAN TEMUCO, ARAUCANÍA-CHILE¹

PERMEABILIDAD DEL ESPACIO INDÍGENA. DISCURSOS DE PROPIETARIOS MAPUCHE SOBRE
LA EXPANSIÓN URBANA EN EL PERIURBANO DE TEMUCO, ARAUCANÍA-CHILE

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Las ciudades se caracterizan por ejercer una constante presión sobre el suelo periurbano rural. Las lógicas bajo las cuales opera el mercado inmobiliario y distintos otros agentes sumado a la flexibilidad de los instrumentos de planificación urbana que regulan el territorio, hace de los entornos urbanos espacios en permanente cambio. Temuco, una de las ciudades intermedias más importantes de Chile en cuanto al número de población, se ha desarrollado a partir de estas mismas lógicas. Sin embargo, y a diferencia de otras ciudades chilenas, la presencia de Áreas de Protección de Territorio Indígena (APTI), asociadas a comunidades mapuche, establece barreras legales que impiden el crecimiento convencional de la ciudad. De igual forma, es posible observar cómo en las últimas décadas, estas tierras han sido permeables a distintos usos, fuera de las dimensiones que supuestamente protege la ley. El presente trabajo explora los discursos de propietarios mapuche de suelo periurbano respecto a los cambios que estas áreas han experimentado en el último tiempo producto de la expansión de la ciudad. Para ello, se realizaron 20 entrevistas a propietarios mapuche de zonas periurbanas aledañas a Labranza, área urbana de Temuco, las cuales fueron analizadas bajo los parámetros de la Teoría Fundamentada. Entre los resultados obtenidos, destacan las estrategias de presión sobre este suelo provenientes de distintos agentes privados, la pérdida de sentido ancestral de la tierra por parte de algunas comunidades mapuche, que terminan vendiendo bajo distintos resquicios legales y la resistencia a la intromisión externa que aún persiste en mucho de ellos. Esto último evidencia que las estrategias de resistencia mapuche no sólo existen en territorios afectados por la intervención forestal, sino también en aquellos espacios que son tensionados por el rápido crecimiento de las ciudades.

Palabras clave: extensión al medio rural, población indígena, planificación urbana, suburbios, urbanización.

Cities are characterized by exerting constant pressure on peri-urban rural land. The logics under which the real estate market and other different agents operate, together with the flexibility of urban planning instruments that regulate the territory, means urban space environments are permanently changing. Temuco, one of the most important intermediate cities in Chile in terms of population numbers, operates under the same logics. However, unlike other Chilean cities, the presence of Indigenous Territory Protection Areas (APTI) associated with Mapuche communities, establishes legal barriers that impede the conventional growth of the city. Likewise, it is possible to see how in recent decades these lands have been permeable to different uses, outside the dimensions supposedly protected by law. This work explores the discourses of Mapuche peri-urban landowners regarding the changes that these areas have recently undergone as a result of the city's expansion. To do this, 20 interviews were conducted with Mapuche landowners from peri-urban areas around Labranza, an urban area of Temuco, which were analyzed under the parameters of the Grounded Theory. Among the results obtained, the following stand out: pressure strategies on this land from different private agents, the loss of ancestral sense of the land by some Mapuche communities that end up selling under different legal loopholes, and the resistance to external interference that still persists in many of them. The latter shows that there are Mapuche resistance strategies not only in territories affected by forestry intervention, but also in those spaces under stress from the rapid growth of cities.

Keywords: extension to rural areas; indigenous population; urban planning; suburbs; urbanization

I. INTRODUCTION

The actions of resistance by the Mapuche people go back to the foundational acts of Spanish settlements that took place in 1552 within the *Wallmapu/Araucania*. In this way, the Spanish conquistador become the first player who had to contend with the indigenous communities, who, on facing the impossibility of dominating the Araucanian territory, saw the obligation to converse and seal some good neighborly treaties (Pinto, 2003). After three centuries, the Chilean state becomes the second player the Mapuche people establish resistance again, which failed by the end of the 19th century, with the resulting displacement of a large part of these communities to the Andean foothills, far from the spaces of ancestral significance. Currently, the forms of invasion of the Mapuche territory seem to be more subtle, without the imposition of physical force that characterized these two previous agents. However, an incursion into these indigenous territories is still made by new players, reason why the indigenous communities have had to adapt different resistance strategies.

The forms of resistance that the Mapuche communities exercise today are related, among other aspects, to the urban expansion into legally protected indigenous land. In this context, the city of Temuco (Chile) has been historically circumscribed in a territory surrounded by State protected Mapuche lands, which form a “suicide belt⁵”, term which not only is used metaphorically to account for the pockets of poverty and vulnerability there are during the first half of the 20th century (Foerster & Montecino, 1988), but also as a geographical restriction for the future urban development of the city.

The existence of this protected peri-urban area is related to the actions of the Chilean State over Mapuche land. The territorial unification process begun by the State in the second half of the 19th century involved the mobilization of the army to the south, reason why the Mapuche communities present in the Araucania, just like with the Spanish, set up armed resistance in defense of their territory (Viera, 2015). Once the Mapuche were defeated, the State claims the land as their own, to then auction it to private parties or to hand it over to foreign immigrants who began the colonization process (Henríquez, 2013) and exploited its fertile lands, transforming this area into Chile's granary and, later, into one of the icons of the forestry industry (Escalona, 2020).

One of the instruments that contributed to this was the law passed on December 4th 1866, which ordered demarcating the lands belonging to the Mapuche and granted land ownership titles over rural sites (Almonacid, 2009; Chihuilaf, 2014). The latter were located outside the limits of the cities that emerged in the Araucania, which in general tended to be inhabited by Chilean, German, Swiss and French colonists (Ferrando, 2012).

Although the law that granted the land ownership titles had the intention of repairing damages caused by the State incursion into the Araucania, in the same way the Mapuche owners were victims of countless fraudulent land sales, undue charges for debts, and other scams that diminished their control over the lands handed over (Pinto, 2003; López, Valenzuela & Carrasco, 2017). With the goal of rectifying these problems, and from a parliament⁶ held in Nueva Imperial in 1993, President Patricio Aylwin recognizes the importance of recovering the ancestral lands, for which he creates CONADI (National Corporation for Indigenous Development), which has among its functions, the purchase and repartition of lands to Mapuche communities (López et al, 2017). Thus, starting from article 13 of the Indigenous Law 19,253, it is declared that these lands may not be transferred, embargoed, encumbered, or acquired by order, except between communities or persons of the same ethnicity.

Despite this, and beyond this important characteristic in terms of the possession of the surrounding land, currently it is possible to see that this protected territory is increasingly more permeable to urbanization. There are two reasons for this: on one hand, the growing interest for natural amenity which, alongside this, is accompanied by a change of direction associated to the decline of urban life in subjective terms that many inhabitants of the cities experience, a phenomenon known as counter-urbanization; and, on the other hand, the lack of regulatory connection of the land in these areas. Regarding the latter, it is possible to confirm an uncoupling between the plans that regulate the city, while the Communal Regulatory Plan of Temuco (PRCT in Spanish), valid since 2010, is only in charge of the zoning of the different uses within the city, the indigenous law N°19,253 regulates the use of indigenous lands on the periphery of the urban area called, Indigenous Territory Protection Areas (APTI in Spanish) and identified in article 15 of the ordinance of the Plan (Rojo, Alvarado, Olea & Salazar, 2020).

⁵ In 1946, the Austral Newspaper used this term to account for the problems that these areas represented for the urban development of Temuco

⁶ The parliaments are meetings which the Mapuche first held with the Spanish and then with the Chilean State to resolve conflicts between both parties.

Considering the foregoing, the games for the control of this territory have different angles. Among those, the intention by the political system to change the current prohibition of sale of these lands⁷, which opens up the possibility that some indigenous communities become interested in negotiating their lands within the land market. As a result of these interests, the future consequences about the functional metropolitan area of Temuco will be significant regarding compacting and densifying the urban sprawl (Rojo et al., 2020).

This work explores and describes the discourses of the Mapuche landowners of peri-urban Temuco regarding the changes this land has had, with the purpose of understanding the pressure processes these territories have experienced from different private and institutional players related to the real-estate market and urban planning. In this sense, Mapuche communities are understood as those groups who inhabit the APTI located around the city.

II. THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

An important part of the works referring to the growth of the city over rural land have been addressed starting from the notion of counter-urbanization, that is the process where the population has moved to the country, physically deconcentrating the territories (Mitchell, 2004). The debate around this phenomenon tends to take the place of the motives that led to closing this residential movement, among which the enjoyment of natural spaces is the most mentioned. For this reason, counter-urbanization is also called migration for amenity, which places emphasis on the population movements linked to the perception that people have with respect to that their quality of life will be better in places away from the city (Hidalgo, Borsdorf & Plaza, 2009; Janoschka, 2013; Vergara, Sánchez & Zunino, 2019). Regardless of the specific name, what is true is that this displacement phenomena and creation of new nodes of human settlements is socially transforming rural areas, the native population cohabiting in this way with different types of neo-rural inhabitants, the latter, with varied interests (Méndez, 2014).

The city of Temuco does not escape this counter-urbanization phenomenon. On one hand, and as a result of the intensification of financial capital on the cities (Harvey, 2014; Méndez, 2018), aspect under which capital is accumulated in the current global economy (Engels, [1873] 2006; Smith, 2012), there is a growing interest of the real-estate market to urbanize peri-urban areas destined to high-income groups (Rojo, Jara & Frick, 2019; Marchant, Frick & Vergara, 2016; Vergara, 2019). On the other hand, the spatial tastes of amenity that these areas offer, that end

up making the idea of a "little house in the country" widespread, determine that many people are thinking about moving to these areas (Rojo, 2019).

However, the counter-urbanization processes in Temuco linked, both to the financial capital, and to the particular actions of different social classes as a result of the taste for natural amenity, are faced with the presence of restrictions for conventional urban expansion. The reason, the peri-urban area linked to the indigenous land ownership titles (Figure 1), that introduce a series of limitations for displacement (seasonal, second-home) or migration (definitive, associated to the supply of the real-estate market) towards the peri-urban area of the city.

In global terms, the constant expansion of urban plans and policies over indigenous spaces have provoked a series of tensions. Among these, the symbolic game of inclusion and exclusion that many of the inhabitants of these areas in Latin America, reason why they must constantly think about their ethnicity and their own notions of community (Herrera, 2018), the administration and management issues of these lands as a result of the absence of land ownership deeds and planning policies in countries like Australia (Wilson et al., 2018) or the partial power that traditional authorities exercise in these areas due to their dominant role that governmental institutions of some African countries have in their administration (Brandful, Osei & Asuama, 2020) stand out.

One cause, that allows explaining the pressures of the counter-urbanization phenomenon on indigenous territories are the traditional urban policies that have historically been in place in the cities, which have been characterized on setting land uses and ordinance categories that end up breaking down any glimpse of organization of the indigenous territory. In this sense, the presence of the cities evokes the political domination and the transfer of a cultural model that western society installed in different parts of the world (Soja, 1996).

In the Chilean case, the foundation of the cities on the old Araucanian frontier justified a series of colonial actions (De Ramón, 1992) that ended up promoting a dominant common sense, where the Mapuche people and their life away from the 'crowd of the cities was seen as 'primitive or savage' (De Ovalle, 1646). This negative construction of the other or epistemic violence (Spivak, 1998) is based on the attempt to dominate in the name of a cultural supremacy (Bhabha, 2002). Said actions of colonial distinction have remained in place until today, being reflected in the urban land production which Mapuche communities located around the cities experience. Among the aspects that characterize this spatial production, the denial of the indigenous trait of the land, territory and territoriality of the communities that inhabit in their surroundings results in a

⁷ An important part of the 2019 indigenous consultation process was focused on ownership deeds and the possibility of Mapuche communities of leasing or selling them.

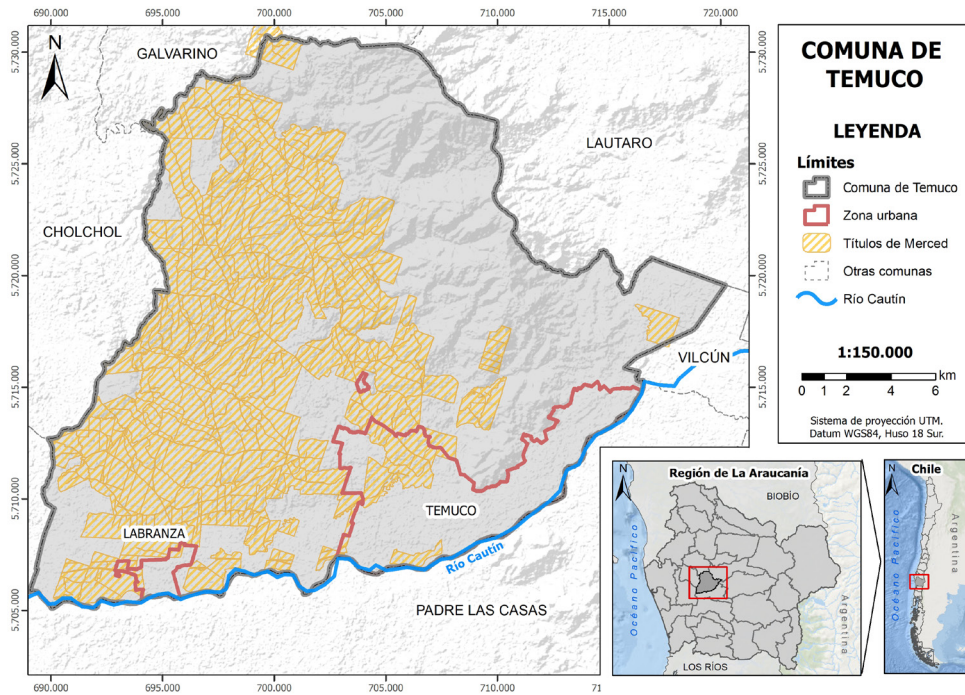


Figure 1. Land ownership deeds in the commune of Temuco. Source: Own preparation based on information from CONADI (2018). Cartographic design, Camila Salinas

core aspect, reason why, just like what happened at the end of the 19th century, urban progress denies the difference and the existence of other forms of inhabiting in the territory, formed from the historicity of the Mapuche people (Lincofi, 2015; Mansilla & Imilan, 2020).

Despite the relevance of the issue, there are no works that address in depth, the pressure of different interests on the indigenous peri-urban territory of Temuco. What is known about this city talks about the unequal presence of social groups in the space (Garín, Salvo & Bravo, 2009; Vergara, 2019), the disputes for the right to the city and housing half way through the last century (Vergara, Gola & Huiliñir, 2015), or the recent urban growth processes (Marchant et al., 2016; Rojo et al., 2019). Although there are some papers that present the potential of conflict that the urban expansion pressures on indigenous land represent (Quiñones & Gálvaez, 2015; Rojo et al., 2019; Mansilla & Imilan, 2020), these do not go deep into the particular angles that these critical nodes represent for the future.

III. METHODOLOGY

To respond to the goal of the work, the decision was made to focus the search for Mapuche landowners in peri-urban areas around Labranza, an area uncoupled from the consolidated

urban space of Temuco, that emerges as a response to the lack of developable land in the city for the poorest sectors during the 1990s (Figure 1).

The strategy of the theoretical sampling based on Grounded Theory was set out (Strauss & Corbin, 2002) for the final selection of 20 Mapuche landowners, all of which had different land ownership titles and indigenous communities (Table 1). The criteria this selection complied with was the following: a) that the landowners were close to residential areas, for which three search macrozones were defined (Figure 2); b) that the landowner had a current ownership of the property (deed possession) or was in an inheritance process; and c) that the land was not uncultivated.

Semi-structured interviews were applied to all these landowners in July 2019. These contained questions related to socio-spatial dimensions, like the cultural attachment to the land, the current use of the property, the perceptions about the progress of the city and the role of the land for the future development of their communities.

The interviews were processed using the ATLAS ti.8 software and analyzed following the guidelines of constant comparison, principle that the Grounded Theory sets out to

Macrozonas	N° and name deed holders	Legal representative N° and name of the indigenous community	N° interviewed
MZ North	262-Ignacio Elgueta	88-Ignacio Elgueta	1
		2102-Ignacio Elgueta 2	1
	347-Jose Cheuquean	1505-Jose cheuquian	1
		2115-Jose cheuquian 2	1
	258-Nahuelgüen	1656-Nahuelgüen	2
346-Antonio Colines	1613-Antonio coline	2	
MZ West	347-Jose Cheuquean	1505-Jose cheuquian	1
		2115-Jose cheuquian 2	1
	258-Nahuelgüen	1656-Nahuelgüen	3
	422-Antonio Huaiquilaf	1943-Antonio Huaiquilaf	2
MZ East	360-Juan Huaiquinao	960-Juan Huaiquinao	2
	259-Hueche Huenulaf	1694-Hueche Huenulaf	1
	362-Antonio Huala	1775-Antonio Huala	2
TOTAL	8	11	20

Table 1. General description of the indigenous communities considered in the study and number of interviews made. Source: Own preparation.

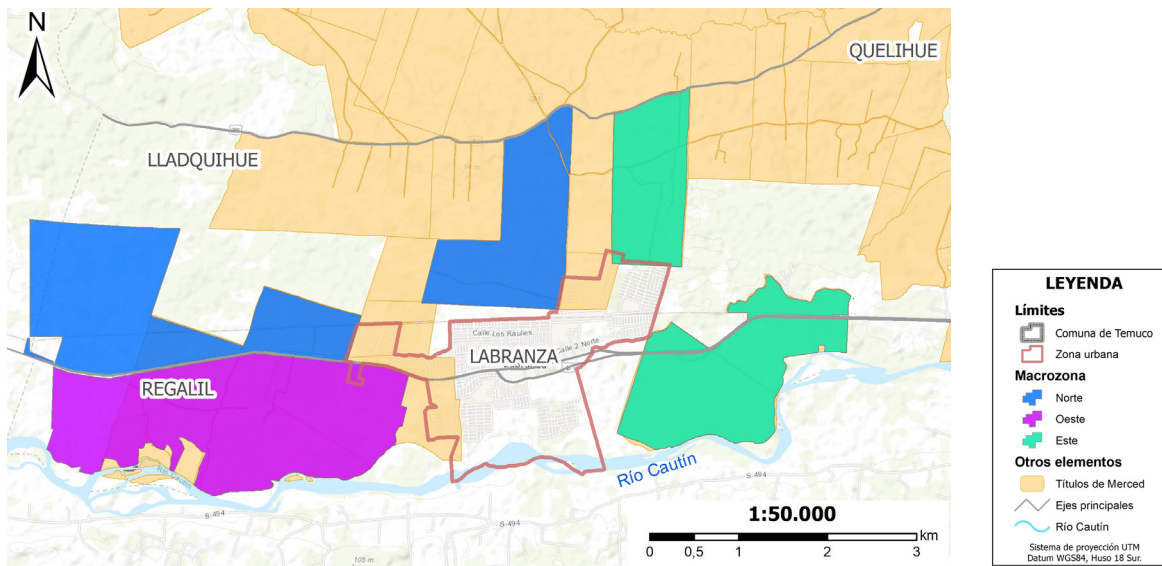


Figure 2. Macrozonas around Labranza considered in the search and selection of interviewees. Source: Own preparation based on CONADI (2020).

explore and discover latent patterns in the social discourse (Strauss & Corbin, 2002). The result of this strategy was the creation of three central categories: daily life under pressure; permeability of private agents and the end of Mapuche territoriality; and the resistance and projections of fighting for the land.

The qualitative information provided by the interviews was complemented with the preparation of maps, which allowed spatially expressing the macrozones of Labranza that are currently being permeated by financial capital. Its digitalization and processing were done using Geographic Information Systems (ArcGis 10.5), using sources obtained from CONADI and from the territory of inquiry itself (in respect to the current uses of the land).

IV. RESULTS

Just as Alonso de Ovalle (1646) already mentioned in his descriptions, the experience of the space for the Mapuche people is characterized by a close relationship with (and within) nature. However, this type of relationship with the space was not favorable for the operation of the *Wallmapu/Araucania's* exploitation. Its common use was not the most suitable to accumulate capital or to install a production cycle (Escalona & Barton, 2020; Escalona, 2020). Bearing these elements in mind, the analysis of the current discourses, accounts for the change in daily life that has occurred throughout regional history, but that has intensified in those 'border' spaces between the city and the Mapuche communities. The manifestation of permeability of the indigenous land regarding the progress of the city is expressed in the diversification of industrial activities and the intensification of the real-estate market in Labranza and its surroundings. As a result of this, social connectivity issues and replacements in the land uses traditionally present in the area can be generated (Gacic, 2018; Elorza, 2019).

Daily life under pressure

A first central category acknowledged in the landowners' discourse is related with the pressure that Mapuche communities permanently experience, from the different agents who want to use their land. It is known that the pressure the city exercises on peri-urban land generates a series of conflicts, among which the disputes on residential and agricultural use (Ávila, 2009; Hidalgo et al., 2009), the constant pressure of real-estate activity to broaden the horizon of action of financial capital on rural land (Jiménez, Hidalgo, Campesino & Alvarado, 2019), or the history and inertia of rural operation itself, that marks important distinctions with the forms of operating in the city (Haller, 2017), stand out.

In the context of the peri-urban area of Temuco, the lack of urban land in the city's consolidated areas means that the real-estate market mobilizes a series of activities on indigenous territory. Among these, the Mapuche landowners acknowledge, first of all, an association between the local government that plans and manages land use in the peri-urban area, and the real-estate companies that seek to extend the offer of dwellings in these areas. This occurs, according to the discourse of these landowners, disregarding protection regulations that govern indigenous peoples in Chile.

"They want it all, today the real-estate companies have the municipality's approval. Because the regulatory plan is being applied on the community, the consultations that apply under agreement 169 have not been made (...) they have passed decrees and thousands of things. But we have no idea about what they're doing" (Women, 50 years, west zone).

However, this deliberate action by municipal authorities and the real-estate market would have a pressure aspect, applied directly on the Mapuche territory, to which those companies that have been installed in recent years in the sector is added. These pressures upset the daily lives of the Mapuche community, ending up affecting the quality of life of the people who live there.

"That was legally a tip, but the owner earned more money leaving Temuco's trash, which is why he started to dump everything here, all the contamination. We had to make a report and they stopped. But today it will be transformed into real-estate" (Woman, 50, west zone).

"They can't invade or affect our way of life. For example, up there, there is a company called San Pablo, and at first glance it seems harmless, but there are families living behind that company, and this guy, sometimes, at 5 in the morning, starts up a truck and wakes everybody up, so there's already acoustic contamination" (Man, 57, east zone).

The pressures of the real-estate and industrial sector present in the area, are also expressed through the consequences that their actions have had on the territory. Among these, the appearance of a series of neighborhoods inhabited by middle- and lower-class sectors, built by the property companies, many of them planned on the basis of the subsidiary housing policy in Chile.

"I love the countryside and I defend it. I look after my native trees, removing exotic ones. The neighborhoods barge into the community, because they think all of this belongs to them. They go out whenever they want to hunt, walk, fish" (Women, 42, north area).

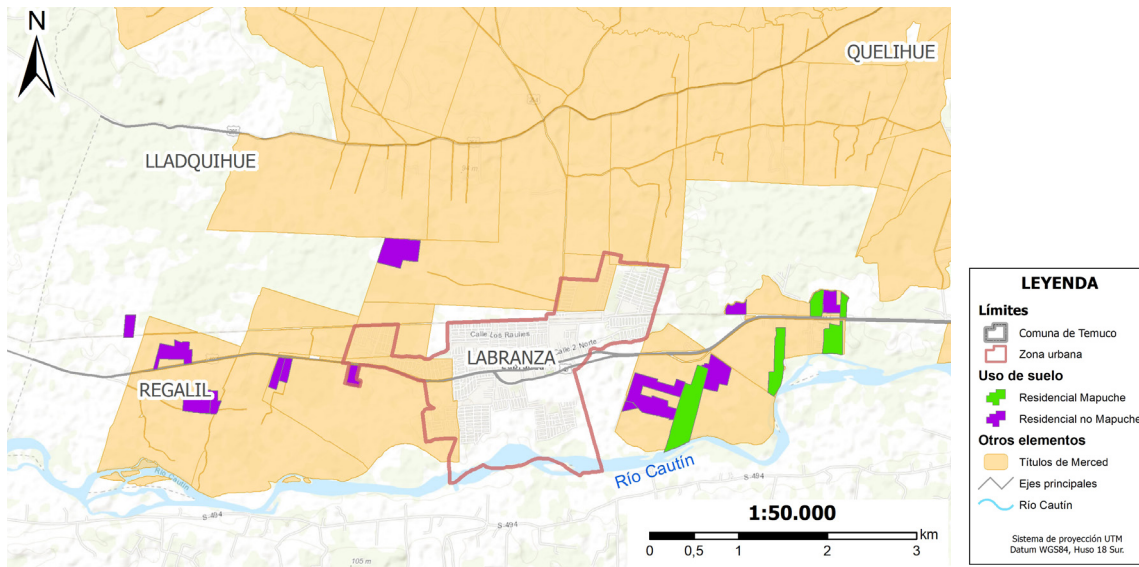


Figure 3. Land uses associated to Mapuche areas around Labranza. Source: Own preparation.

"I know that some (Mapuche) communities have been affected, because now they have the neighborhood very close to them" (Woman, 24, west area).

It is possible to recognize a permanent pressure of the city and its progress towards Mapuche peri-urban areas. The Mapuche landowners recognize that this way of operating is not just from the private sector, that would provide coherent reasons regarding the possibility of maximizing capital from the land, but is also supported by a certain passivity from the public institutionality represented by the municipality, which would even leave certain ambiguities when planning the projection of the city in its surroundings. These actions have supplanted the Mapuche way of life, which is characterized by their living in *lofs*⁸, from where they manage their subsistence through collection, growing and bartering practices.

Permeability of private agents and end of the Mapuche territoriality

An important part of the Mapuche territory projected by law, currently experiences forms of residential irruption due to the lack of urban land in the consolidated space of the city or due to its rise in value precisely because of the lack of development land. This is not just related to the increased presence of projects associated to the real-estate market, but also due to people interested in suburban life, in a counter-

urbanization process that affects the areas close to the city. This is reflected in the construction of condominiums with irregular lots of 50 or 60 houses each, and the inclusion of the Mapuche rural territory as an urban zone within the Communal Regulatory Plan of Temuco, which ends up establishing that given peri-urban areas can project different uses looking to the future, among them, those related with amenity (Figure 3).

As a result of the many pressures that Mapuche communities experience, many landowners have started selling, finding loopholes to sidetrack the prohibition that the law characterizes these areas under. It is for this reason that the second central category accounts for the sense provided by the discourses analyzed, to the crossroads that those who finally end up letting go of their lands face. Among the "legal adjustments" for land sale, the exchange for other land (not necessarily in the peri-urban areas of the city), the lotting of these acquired lands, the permanent resale over time, the organization of the new Mapuche communities, and finally, the demand of regularization of said land by the local government, stand out.

"It was like these trades, people sold and bought a piece farther away, it was like they exchanged for more land than they had and then that person would buy the lot and divide it into smaller lots. Then they started selling,

⁸ In Mapuche communities, the *lofs* correspond to family units where the 'lonco' is the chief or head of the family.

so the people since there was never a deed, later organized as a neighborhood, and then they started to regulate them" (Man, 40, east area).

"Here they are more houses than permitted, there are 3, 4 houses together (...) so we want to regularize that, but we want the municipality to do it, not us, because that has a cost and we're not going to pay it, because we have paid on being rural in this space, we're like in the middle" (Man, 55, east area).

On the other hand, the change of the spirit of the indigenous law is not just mobilizing the exchange and sale of lands to non-indigenous people, but also within the Mapuche communities themselves. This is how the fact that the Communal Regulatory Plan contemplated as urban, the protected Mapuche land. This is visualized by some landowners as a positive aspect. And facing this reality, they also ask to be treated for all purposes as urban Mapuche communities.

"We are being left as urban and that's because for 10 years now we are... because we don't want to stop being urban, but we want to be treated as urban, but we live as rural. So, what we want (...) is that we don't have any house regularized, because we do not exist in the municipality and if we want to apply for any housing improvements, we can't" (Man, 55, east area).

This shows that for some landowners, the city's spreading onto protected indigenous land opens up alternatives so that the Mapuche communities can take advantage of the supposed benefits of urbanity, among them, those related with getting their own home and the regularization of existing ones. And this does not just imply the projection of high-density residential areas, associated to the extension of the urban sprawl, but also the consolidation of second homes related with summer houses.

Resistance and projections of the fight for land

Regardless of the fact that many Mapuche communities have offered their lands within the conventional land market, what is true is that there are also many landowners who state resistance as an important central category when it comes to structuring discourses regarding the expansion of the city. Although they do not put into perspective the high value their lands have due to the urban growth of Temuco, and the temptation that this means in the context of the Mapuche people with a series of material needs, they express that the resistance within the Mapuche communities of the sector is still strong.

"The idea is being able to resist this, for me, personally, it is a resistance. We cannot say that the money's not attractive, because if they say to me "madame, we'll give you 100 million per hectare", you think about it, because I do need

the money. I know that many have sold for needs sake, but I also know that the sale of Mapuche land is bread for today, and hunger for tomorrow" (Woman, 52, west area).

"I think that with Labranza there's nothing else to do, I think they'll keep selling houses, but there are indigenous communities that are quite strong in their requests. I think there's going to be deadlock there." (Woman, 47, west area).

Among the strategies that some Mapuche communities use to resist the power of expansion, mainly from the real-estate market, those related with the legal counsel they receive from organizations that fighting for the rights of this people, stand out, as does the projection of stigma that has followed them over recent decades. Regarding this last strategy, the discourses of Mapuche landowners highlight that the daily trait given to the Mapuche as "terrorists" is used as a means of persuasion when it comes to wanting to impede the work of real-estate companies on indigenous land.

"So, in the end, on not being heard over and over and over again, we had no other choice than to pressure the company ourselves. We stopped the works and since there's a stigma about burning the trucks, the people came up with something and filled plastic drums with water, so that they thought it was fuel and by fear began to negotiate with the manager, the lawyer and some other people" (Woman, 27, north area).

"Because they build a stadium that with could be done with the indigenous law, but they forgot that they couldn't intervene in the normal life of the neighbors, and they impeded the free movement of everyone" (Man, 55, east area).

It must be highlighted that this central category, present in the discourse of the Mapuche landowners, is articulated from a relevant aspect to build resistance strategies to the intrusion of the real-estate market: the defense of the territory as an identity axis of the Mapuche people.

"We don't want to sell in the future to any property developer, nor sell to any outlander (...) Thus, as well as the menokos spaces, those you saw, there are the few that are left (...) in fact the one that's left should be called Menoko de Huetrolhue, because it's in Huetrolhue, it's part of our culture to meet the Menoko, if it dries out, it would lose its identity (...) in fact, the people of the neighborhoods see that as countryside, but not as community (Woman, 27, north area).

In this sense, the loss of Mapuche land implies that an important part of the spirituality of these indigenous communities is diluted forever, breaking with it, the ancestral practices connected to the land and what it gives them. An example of

this is the *Menoko*, which represents a sacred site for the Mapuche people due to the diversity of medicinal species and, therefore, to the value it has for the good health of the community.

V. CONCLUSIONS

The suicide belt that the peri-urban area of the city was once baptized as, continues being a space sought after and acquired by agents outside Mapuche communities. And regardless of the safeguards that the State tried to establish for the defense of the Araucanian indigenous land, there are currently a series of strategies that have facilitated occupation of these areas, extending with this, spaces susceptible to being included in the land market operating in Temuco.

The discourses of Mapuche landowners of the city's peri-urban areas acknowledge that the permeability of their territory is not only due to the constant pressure the real-estate market exercises for the expansion of the city, or to the displacement of people who intend on experiencing country life, evidencing with it a constantly growing counter-urbanization process inside the commune. Rather, said permeability would be mainly linked to a central dimension: the flexibility in the instruments that regulate and safeguard the ownership of indigenous land.

With this information, the role that the flexibilization of the urban planning instruments plays, following the discourse of the Mapuche landowners, represents perhaps one of the key operational aspects to understand many of the changes that indigenous land has experienced. In this sense, the expulsion tactics of the communities on the edges of the city are no longer related to the use of violent coercion, but rather with the establishing of certain illegal actions which are complemented by regulatory loopholes that allow lax interpretations of the current protection regulations that govern over these areas. Under this assumption, it would be the State itself, represented in the local government of Temuco, that is facilitating the conditions so that indigenous land ceases to exist. In this sense, the regulatory plan becomes a useful planning instrument to access an important part of the indigenous land that surrounds this city.

Despite the pressures exercised on Mapuche areas, facilitated by the active action of the State regarding territorial planning criteria, resistance still persists in indigenous communities, emulating with this, the countless struggles they have had to face over their history to safeguard their lands. The relevance of this central category described in the work is that it shows a type of resistance dynamic that is seen in another type of Mapuche territory, different to the one the literature has commonly focused on, which is fundamentally related with the defense strategies of the Mapuche people in rural areas occupied by forestry companies (Marimán, Valenzuela & Cortés, 205; Pinera, 2014). In this way, peri-urban Temuco has also positioned itself as a new space of resistance. One must not forget that where there is hegemony,

there are emerging counter-hegemonic forces, with other narratives and claims.

Considering the results, it can be understood that the protective role of indigenous territory assumed by the State over the last century has vanished in practice when it is seen that the land regulations operate in different directions and on different scales, leaving gray areas for a future introduction of agents from outside Mapuche communities. And this situation becomes even more complex when initiatives that look to modify Indigenous Law 19.253 are discussed in aspects referring to territorial protection and control. The latter is related to the interrupted indigenous consultation process of 2019, which although it is a mechanism demanded by Agreement 169 where the Chilean state commits to directly asking the indigenous community about the legislative and administrative measures that could affect them, the fact that many of the issues proposed are related with land ownership, ends up consolidating the idea of an indigenous peri-urban area that is permeable to new controllers in a not so distant future.

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