

Saving the planet with green capitalism? Or re-signifying our existence with Mother Earth? The Mapuche-Valdivian case against the wind farm Pililín in the South of Chile

CAROLINA SÁNCHEZ DE JAEGER (UNIVERSITY COLLEGE ROOSEVELT, THE NETHERLANDS)

Abstract

Green capitalism is the force behind the actions that aim to reduce carbon emissions and the effects of climate change in this century. A milestone in this regard was the agreement to contain the rise in global average temperatures signed in the COP21 in Paris in 2015 by 195 member states. Under the framework of this agreement, the Chilean government developed its long-term plan “Energía 2050”, which has led to an explosion of green energy projects, with wind parks leading all other project types in the south of the country. This article examines the impact of “green projects” on indigenous territorial and spiritual practices, looking at the resistance that Mapuche communities and Chilean civil society are posing to the installation of wind turbines in the southern city of Valdivia. This article focuses on the legal mechanisms used by the government to open the doors for green capitalism and the narratives that emerge from the commercialization of environmental crisis. The article’s main argument is that although clean energies seem to have the worldwide consent as the main measures for the transition to a world without oil, their neo-liberal imaginaries pose a serious threat to indigenous peoples’ right to a life in accordance with their cosmology and values; at the same time, these imaginaries trigger a resistance that challenges the utilitarian vision of the environment and the need to protect it with practices that acknowledge other worlds in which nature is a subject of rights.

Keywords: Wind energy, Green Capitalism, Buen Vivir, Mapuche, Environmentalism

Introduction: socio-environmental conflicts as ontological struggles

At a time when the human impact on the climate is becoming undeniable, the intersection of business and environment, presented as the key to humanity’s long-term survival, constitutes the ground for “green capitalism” and the commodification of the environmental crisis. Moreover, together with the advocacy for aiding the planet within the terms of growth, development and the market, this intersection is highlighted as one of the most critical points in the debates of eco-modern politics and neo-extractivism (Lund et.al.; Escobar, “A preliminary conversation”; Escobar, *Sentipensar, Territories of difference* 125; Gudynas 446-447). The increasing number of practices and knowledges that have emerged as alternatives to counteract the effects of global capitalism suggests, however,

that the path to tackle the environmental crisis is a larger disputing field with very diverse voices. This introductory section initiates a dialogue with these voices, approaching them from the idea of pluriversality.

Central to the southern epistemologies is the principle that the comprehension of the world overpasses the universality of thinking and that in order to find solutions to the crisis of our time, we need to shift from universality to the pluriversality of doing and thinking (De Sousa Santos, *Epistemologías del Sur* 208; Leff, *Apuesta por la vida* 12-18). The idea of pluriversality refers to what the Zapatistas in 1996 named as “a world where many worlds fit” (EZLN 151) and points to a situation that De Sousa Santos criticizes as “we are living in an era with modern problems without modern solutions” (qtd. in Escobar, “Sentipensar” 15); pluriversality is then an invitation to dialogue and to search

intercultural answers for modern problems with those practices and knowledge(s) that live in the exteriority of modernity. The reference to the “exteriority” is to the space where knowledges and practices that survived colonialism are now emerging as sites for alternative thinking beyond universality and modernity. Assuming cultural diversity and epistemological diversity as two sides of the same coin is a necessary leap to the pluriversity of knowledges proposed by the Southern epistemologies framework (De Sousa Santos, *Another knowledge is possible* XX).

By placing pluriversity at the center of this article, I aim to shed light on a reading of environmental conflicts as ontological struggles, namely as conflicts that involve different assumptions about what and how to exist in the disputed space and the interrelations of these existences with the local life (Blaser 551). Ontological struggles or conflicts are thus “world-spaces” where different knowledges and ways of existing have an important role in triggering and defining disputes and resistances. World-space is a term that I developed from hours of field work, interviews, dialogues and personal encounters with the Mapuche cosmology; the term refers to the multiplicity of existences, human and non-human and physical and non-physical that exist in this shared space. It is a concept that elucidates an idea of territory as a multi-world space where the myriad of forms of existing and doing determine what exist and coexist in tension, complementarity and reciprocity.

Understanding environmental conflicts in the frame of the southern epistemologies draws too on Marisol de la Cadena’s proposition that Indigenous worlds “do not make themselves through the division between humans and non-humans, nor do they necessarily conceive the different entities in their assemblages” (De la Cadena). This non-division helps us to visualize that environmental conflicts contain sides of cognitive injustices as the “depletion of nature and the impoverishment of communities come together with the devaluation and the disdain of those knowledge(s)/forms of relating to the world that do not belong to western modernity” (Vázquez Melken, “Liberación”). As I will demonstrate later, cognitive injustices are very

much at play when green technologies thought to reproduce the cumulation of wealth arrive at territories that have been preserved for hundreds of years by other moods of relating and being.

A second related concept is “epistemic resistance,” which relates to the use and mobilization of knowledge(s) and forms of knowing to “undermine and change oppressive structures”; epistemic resistance is a “political act” as it addresses the question of hegemonic thinking and the power social relations that it sustains (Medina 3). Ontological and epistemic resistances are embedded in the practices of Indigenous people to sustain their territory and ways of existing in it; a few illustrations of these notions are: the *Buen Vivir* (Küme Mogen for the Mapuche) and the comprehension and the idea of *Sentipensar* (further developed in this introduction).

However, while not all conflicts with Indigenous communities are ontological in nature, the Mapuche resistance in the south of Chile to green capitalism certainly is. The Mapuche struggle has emerged from a long history of territorial disposessions, and with this I am not only referring to territorial space but also to the spiritual, educational and linguistic disposessions that have implied the endless assimilation processes of Indigenous worlds into the imaginary of the Chilean nation (Bengoa 27-51). Epistemic disposessions lead to resistances against the utilitarian objectification of nature and the imposition of an existence centered on the human. Therefore we can start to visualize the Mapuche communities’ opposition to the installation of the wind turbines in this way: the Pililín mountain is a sacred space, home to an outstanding, ancient forest where the non-visible owners of these spaces, namely the spirits and energies, complement the Mapuche community’s existence. Interfering in this space by the hand of mankind is perceived, thus, as a huge transgression of the original instructions of the Mapuche people. In other words, Indigenous internal codes and protocols to protect nature and its beings see in the irruption of these projects “a transgression of the institutions” that sustain their way of being (Flórez Alonso 254). In this context, we should ask: can green energy projects be held accountable for *epistemicides*

and cultural erosion? What would it be the legal ground in human and indigenous rights for such an accountability? This article considers important to explore these questions in order to elucidate the main lines of green capitalism and investigate the role of epistemologies in environmental struggles and conflicts.

The confluence of forces (Valdivian civil society and Mapuche) that are opposed to the construction of the Pililín is also linked to the interrelations and views on the territory and the position of human beings with regard to other beings; consequently, the resistance to the wind energy park is not only straightforwardly the result of an environmental position to the destruction of nature from there that it is an ontological resistance too. Nevertheless, as I explain later, these environmental concerns do play a role in the confluence of these voices for the protection of the Pililín sacred space.

Methodologically, this article develops its argument based on the field work I conducted in the south of Chile and where I did open-interviews, visited communities, talked to Mapuche leaders, academics, and civil society members, and lectured two co-educative seminars at the Catholic University (Temuco) for Chileans and Mapuche people in 2016. As a result, three conceptual tools to approach the Pililín conflict are outlined here.

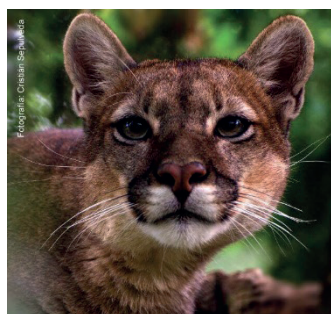
The first tool is the idea of “*sentipensar*,” which is the principle of life in the black communities of Colombia’s Caribbean coast; the *sentipensar* encompasses according to Orlando Fals Borda “the art of living and thinking with the heart and the mind” (qtd. in Escobar, *Sentipensar* 16). [1] It is a transformative practice of social emancipation that, in the context of the Pililín

conflict, merges with alternatives ways of relating to the environment through educational campaigns initiated by the *Movimiento por el Bosque Valdiviano* and the Mapuche communities to raise consciousness by listening to the voices of the Pililín forest and its beings. In these teachings, human rights concepts like dignity are shifted to a relational mood of existence and not centered in the human:

The dignity we must protect...Not only humans exist and have a soul...Also the forest, the rivers, the spring waters, the birds, the medicinal plants, the Earth, the sky, the stars...Everything has life and the dignity of those lives is the balance that we must protect (*Movimiento por el Bosque Antiguo Valdiviano*). [2]

The second conceptual tool is cognitive justice, which encompasses the acknowledgment of the planet’s epistemic pluriversality and where difference is a connector that allows for learning from each other (Vázquez Melken 184; De Sousa Santos, *Another knowledge is possible* xix-li). Following this principle, there is no single global solution or knowledge that can offer humanity a remedy to the environmental crisis so that we can continue consuming the planet as we currently are. Thus, accepting that there are several types of knowledge(s) outside modernity implies that there are equally valid global solutions for the environmental crisis, and that green capitalism and the commercialization of green technologies is but one of them.

The third and final conceptual tool is the binomial coloniality/modernity that points to the exteriority of modernity introduced before. It is in this exteriority where other forms of



Educational campaigns initiated by the Movimiento por el Bosque Valdiviano and the Mapuche communities [3]

relating and preserving the planet exist and enter into dispute when hegemonic ways of thinking and doing irrupt in their relational world-spaces (Blaser 548). Furthermore, the idea of coloniality signals two parallel processes: the “systematic suppression of subordinated cultures and knowledges” (Escobar, *Territories of Difference* 67) through the logic of domination and “exploitation disguised in the language of salvation, progress, modernization, and being good for everyone” (Mignolo 6) and the exteriority of it which is “the space where other forms of being, existing, remembering and dwelling in this world flourish” (Vázquez Melken, *Sentipensar, territorio y diferencia* 3). [4]

1. Green Capitalism: Chile’s green model and the Pililín conflict

The main mechanisms for mitigating global warming have been linked to the market economy through green capitalism. Introduced as a set of global solutions to counteract the effects of global warming, green capitalism brings together the convergence of corporative market forces under an environmental friendly logic that does not question the commodification of nature and gives to sustainability and development a market profit orientation (Luke). In other words, green capitalism is

a development of capitalism ... attempting to incorporate nature with specific new policies and practices. It is made up of a wide range of institutions (governments, corporations, think-tanks, charities, NGOs, international financial institutions) implementing processes to enforce market mechanisms on nature (Corporate Watch 6)

While green energy is part of the immediate solution to cope with the colossal task of saving the planet from an ecological collapse, its link to the market economy and the accumulation of profits does not guarantee that their implementation will affect the patterns of modern consumption; in other words, green capitalism offers solutions to the environmental crisis but it does not tackle the problem of the commodification, waste, and

over-consumption of our natural habitat.

The Chilean framework of green capitalism functions under these parameters in two fields. First, the large plantations of monoculture trees such as pine and eucalyptus, known as “*desiertos verdes*” (Catrileo) are thought to contribute to the mitigation and capture of industrial carbon emissions (Prado). [5] Indeed as trees they do, but because the wood is industrially processed in these plantations to obtain cellulose, the result is the return of the emissions to the atmosphere, worsening the effects of climate change. [6] Moreover, Chile’s main export after copper is cellulose (Barrera Pedraza 6); hence, monocultures enjoy a very important role in the Chilean economy with laws that protect this type of industry, such as the 701 decree that supports and allows for huge subsidies to the expansion of the sector (González). Through this decree, the *desiertos verdes* now occupy large parcels of territory that were previously Mapuche lands covered with native forest. This has had drastic impacts on the supply of water for consumption, agriculture, and the maintenance of native trees and plants (Cordero Rivera 256; González; Plantar Pobreza; Zibechi 109-119). [7] The second field of Chilean green capitalism gears toward huge investments in wind parks. In this context, Chile has opened more than 8,000 hectares for bidding for the installation of wind turbines, mainly in the south. By declaring these areas spots for sustainable development, the government justifies wind farms’ installations as contributing to the progress and development of the regions where these turbines will be installed (Santana Oyarzún 81).

Members of the Mapuche communities, the *Movimiento por el Bosque antiguo valdiviano*, and Chilean environmental activists contend that the government is not concerned with providing the southern population with clean energy and reducing carbon emissions as a priority. Instead, they suggest that the main interest behind the Pililín’ wind park installation is to increase the electricity power needed at the cellulose plants in the region; in addition, they suspect that the resulting invasion by wind parks is also planned to expand the mining sector that is currently limited to the North (Chile’s main economic activity) into the Chile’s southern regions (Cuenca Berger;

Montaña).

In terms of economic resources, the Pililín forest provides a large group of communities with decent income and revenue. Although there have been attempts for monetary compensation, Valdivian's civil organizations and the Mapuche communities that live in the area have mostly rejected it in any form. I approach this refusal with the concept of *sentipensar* (the art of living and thinking with the heart and the mind). Environmentalists and Mapuche communities have long warned that the expansion of green energies in the south of Chile is affecting not only the environment and landscape but also the life of the community (Chilean and Mapuche). The installation of wind turbines is thus perceived as far beyond destroying precious trees and the biodiversity of the south. Wind parks such as the Pililín project, if constructed, will take the territory away from the indigenous people and "will dispossess them from all the interrelations, existences and working dynamics built around the Valdivian" forest (Werkén M.F. Araya Millache). *Sentipensar* in relation to the Pililín's heights translates then into a resistance and defense for the preservation and survival of a world and not strictly as an environmental conflict. This world is based on reciprocities that provide work and well-being to the community because the community cares about its existence.

From both global and local perspectives, it is undeniable that the world needs green energy; however, it is important to make a distinction between green energy and the targets of globalized green capitalism. One could argue that a source that is transparently related to the environmental crisis cannot offer a solution that creates distance from the consumption that has contributed to create the environmental crisis. Loaded with the obsession of development and the firm belief in technological science without rethinking our relationship with Mother Earth, the philosophy of green capitalism still contains the premise that progress cannot be achieved without the accumulation of wealth. As Tom Goldtooth, member of the Indigenous Environmental network, affirmed during the sessions of the Rights of Nature Tribunal, an event that took place in parallel sessions to the COP 21 in Paris,

This tribunal has heard the detailed and moving evidence of the experts and the witnesses on this critical topic of financialization of nature.... Mentioned was the false solution approach of the UN COP21, where the draft mitigation plans are linked to the free market economy by carbon trading, carbon offsets, clean development mechanisms and other market mechanisms that allow polluters to profit while the impacts of climate change and the world of our farmers, our peasants, our forest-dependent communities, and indigenous peoples worsens (Goldtooth)

These words help foretell one possible future for the Pililín wind farm; if it is approved, what it will do is destroy priceless endemic forest that dates back to the last glaciation, it will affect the natural diversity of the area, the local green-friendly economy and tourism. In terms of job creation, the *Movimiento Ciudadano* affirms that it will be minimal in comparison with the profits that the transnational *Acciona* will receive if the project is approved (Reolon). [8] [9]

It is important to highlight that in the Valdivian conflict the problem is not with the principles and primary objectives that a wind energy project pursues. Neither the Mapuche communities nor the *Movimiento por el Bosque Antiguo Valdiviano* for the defense of the coastal forest are against green energy. Indeed, in a letter addressed to the multinational *Acciona* in charge of building this project, this position is emphasized: We understand that wind energy has the potential of being renewable and when it truly is, it represents a huge contribution to the sustainability that we so urgently need as a planet" (*Movimiento por el Bosque Antiguo Valdiviano*). [10]

As I have argued so far, the opposition to the Pililín wind park lies in several grounds, positionalities, and narratives. However, all the voices concur that the space where the wind turbine' park will be installed is far from ideal. Symptomatic in the letter addressed to *Acciona* is the reference to "truly", which indicates that neither the communities nor the Valdivian movement for the protection of the Pililín site trust that *Acciona's* investment pursues the goal of a cleaner world with green energy; in

other words, the placement of the wind park is perceived as capital investment that disrupts the ways of living in the territory, hence it can be grasped as an ontological conflict:

(...) the Pililín wind farm project is incompatible with the biological and cultural value of the area where it is located and in particular with the presence of protected areas and indigenous communities that maintain ancestral uses of the territory, including ceremonial uses (Movimiento por el bosque antiguo Valdividiano). [11]

In the next section, I will cover the main legal mechanism by which the Chilean green capitalism is expanding in the south to show the incompatibility of this model with relational worlds.

2. State practices using legal mechanisms: the Chilean case of green capitalism

The Chilean system contains two sides of the same coin; on the one hand, it invokes the desire to create justice and to stop the ongoing destruction of nature, while, on the other hand, it continues to allow the same colonial mechanisms (coloniality) that have legitimized wasting natural resources in favor of consumption, the destruction of nature, and the irruption of capital in communities and territories that have been considered both ancestrally sacred and beyond the reach of the modernity and progress. This, I argue, is central to our understanding of the Pililín conflict (Lander 4-13; Leff, *La Apuesta por la Vida*)

The two main legal instruments for the approval and disapproval of projects related to the occupation of land in the Chilean law are the SEREMI (Secretaría regional ministerial de Chile) and SEA (SEA: Sistema Nacional de Evaluación Ambiental). [12] [13] Together with the regional minister, the SEREMI has the power to make decision over all projects related to the territory. The SEA's only responsibility, on the other hand, is to gather information from different actors and make recommendations for the approval or disapproval of projects to the SEREMI. In other words, the SEA does not have decision-

making power because neither the regional secretaries nor the regional minister are bound to its recommendations; hence, they can vote in favor of a project that has been disapproved due to its environmental impact if they consider it economically beneficial for the region where it will be placed. It should be noted that some of the interviewees in my field work show distrust of the SEREMI because these instances are political positions and every decision they make is done under the huge pressure of the interests they represent. The same happens with the citizen and indigenous consultation, because these two instruments do not have a binding effect; their opinions and objections are subject to the judgment of the SEREMI, a step that contradicts international treaties like the 169 ILO convention and proceedings that make the indigenous consultation for any project located within an indigenous settlement a prerequisite to decision making. [14]

There are two other problematic aspects with regard to Chilean environmental legislation that are worth mentioning in relation to the Pililín wind farm and Acciona. Until August 2016, there was no legislation regarding the installation of green energy; in other words, there was an *vacuum* that was being used to openly invade southern Chile with hydroelectric plants and wind turbines in the most sacred indigenous places. The only process that existed, and it is still in force, was the system for environmental evaluation of the SEA, which as I outlined previously, does not have any binding power over the decisions made by the SEREMIS.

Likewise, the Ministry of Environment and the Ministry of Energy support the spreading of wind energy because they see them compatible with the green model that Chile has adopted to combat climate change. This translates into laws such as law 20936 by the ministry of energy that establishes as one of its targets the identification of areas for the development of green energy. These areas, known as the *polos de desarrollo*, are considered in Chilean energy legislation as spaces of public interest due to their strategic position. [15] The *polos de desarrollo* are therefore selected in accordance to their potential for the development of green energy, but they are also subjected, at least on

paper, to the distinctive territorial distribution and delimitation plans of each region.

Each Chilean region has one PROT (*Planificación Regional de Ordenamiento Territorial- Regional office for territorial administration*), the organization in charge of territorial planning that functions as part of the regional governance. [16] The PROT of Los Ríos region considers the Valdivian forest, where Pililín mountain is located, as both an area of priority for natural conservation and as an area of potential development, namely as *polo de desarrollo*. This double understanding of the areas for conservation and *polos de desarrollo* poses a foundational contradiction that lies, in my opinion, at the center of the modernity/ coloniality of knowledge; on the one hand, the Chilean environmental legislation protects the areas for natural conservation from being used for industrial purposes of any sort. On the other hand, the energy legislation identifies these areas as places of interest for developing green energy projects. However, none of these laws acknowledge the potential of indigenous spiritual relations and interactions with the territory, nor their pedagogical value for learning alternative forms to combat the deterioration of the planet.

Nevertheless, although the distinction made between the *polos de desarrollo* and the areas of conservation is at best an ambiguous one, for the Chilean green capitalism this ambiguity does not pose any contradiction because, from their perspective, “any project of sustainable energy agrees with the purposes of the conservation of biodiversity” (Reolon). In other words, they reduce the complexity of the environmental global crisis to the singular language of salvation without casting doubt on the practices and sources that have caused it.

However, in those world-spaces that have been historically neglected are now emerging forcefully relational worlds of dwelling in the territory that inform Buen Vivir or Küme Mogen for the Mapuche, the guardians of the Valdivian forest, namely the *geh* (spirits), the *treng-treng* (sacred world-spaces) and the *newen* (energies) which emerge as pedagogical grounds that help the participants understand the educational and eco-spiritual relation between human and non-human life. This exteriority is explored in the

following section.

3. Epistemic resistance in the Pililín: the Küme Mogen Mapuche (Buen Vivir)

The Pililín conflict is the scenario in which several discourses and practices with the interest of preserving the planet’s biological heritage coexist. Unsurprisingly, all these discourses are in constant permeability and conversation with each other. From ethical biocentrism, the perspective that believes “that all life deserves equal moral consideration or has equal moral standing” (DesJardins), or even from anthropocentric views where the defense of the environment remains in human-centered arguments (Guha) to the notion of Buen Vivir – the Küme Mogen Mapuche, all these discourses share the view that “we need to step out of existing institutional and epistemic boundaries if we truly want to envision the worlds and practices capable of bringing about the significant transformation seen as needed” (Escobar, “A preliminary conversation”).

Unlike the two well-documented expressions of the Buen Vivir the Suma Kawsay (Quechua) and the Suma Qamaña (Aymara), enacted constitutionally in Ecuador and Bolivia, the Küme Mogen Mapuche in Chile is still restricted to non-mainstream politics and the territorial vindication of the Mapuche communities. [17] However this situation is slowly starting to change. Until recently, the Küme Mogen (Buen Vivir Mapuche) had remained within the communities as a ruling principle of life but with the adoption of neoliberalism in the last 40 years and the ongoing ravage of the environment that this has triggered, the Küme Mogen has started to go beyond the Mapuche circles as an educational contribution from the Mapuche world that could re-teach Chileans how to *Sentipensar* the territory and connect with its gifts (Rojas Pedemonte). [18]

The Küme Mogen has suddenly appeared in post-dictatorial Chile to cross the frontier of western thinking, in which the country has been imagined, with alternative sources to rethink the model of humanity that has ruled the nation since its inception. The Pililín conflict is a good example of this, because it gradually became a hybrid movement with different voices, perspectives and knowledge(s) that attracted

different people with the call of one machi (ancestral medical authority) to protect the forest. In an interview, machi Paola, remembers the way that the movement started to resonate beyond the Mapuche communities,

... after being sick for a long time, I stood up one day and I resumed my compromise with the ancient woman of the forest, I started to pray every morning to the spirits for indications and ways to stop a problem that was going to cause an unbalance. While everybody embraced wind energy as the best and with the least ecological impact, we run the risk of being stigmatized as people that always opposed everything...we prayed for people and people came, and it was the spiritual factor that determined their arrival... and these people also ended up being suitable ones to offer me guidance...they explained to me terminology and why the (Pililín) wind park was a terrorizing project for the Valdivian forest... (Aroca Cayunao, "Nación Mapuche").

The Küme Mogen represents an endless source of knowledge with different dimensions and it is the constituent paradigm of the Mapuche cosmology. [19] It is a way of being that cannot be understood from a Western matrix of thought. From the fieldwork and the voices, interviews and material written by Mapuche people, it became clear to me that the idea of Küme Mogen, *Buen Vivir*, does not relate to a romantic and conservationist view of the environment. As I said earlier, these postures are present in the Pililín and in many of the other socio-environmental struggles of southern Chile today where the Mapuche communities are involved; however, when we approach the Küme Mogen, it is important to consider some aspects that do not belong to this conception. First, and most significantly, the word "nature" does not exist in the Mapuche conception of a world; nature is a western spatial division. In fact, in the Mapuche cosmology, this concept is replaced by the all-encompassing Mapu (Mother Earth). The Mapu is a being endowed with life in a constant state of pregnancy and flourishing. Second, the human, as we understand it in the west, does not have the

preponderant position above other species: it is one being among many in the world. As a result, the relationship that the Mapuche establishes with all life is reciprocal, because all beings have their own intelligence. The reciprocity between human and non-human life given by the capacity of thinking and feeling is a form of Indigenous knowledge by which two different beings share their culture and are acknowledged with the right to exist (Viveiros de Castro 475).

If we insert these properties of the Mapuche *Buen Vivir* in the Pililín opposition from the communities to the wind park in the Valdivian forest, the situation becomes much more complex. Therefore, we can ask: what are the communities really opposing? Based on the interviews and my field work experiences, I assume that it is their right to exist because without the forest of the Valdivian coast, the interrelations mediated by the Küme Mogen will fade away until they disappear forever. In this way, the equilibrium of the original instructions, inscribed in the Küme Mogen that pray for the inclusion of all beings will break and all life will become sick and ultimately perish (Confederación Mapuche de Neuquén).

Considered as one of the ruling principles of the Mapuche *Buen Vivir*, "the itxofill mogen encompasses the practice of co-existence with all the beings of the mapu" (according to ancestral authority José Quidel). Although we could place the itxofill mogen closer to an idea of biodiversity and sustainability in the western conception, it cannot be translated purely in these terms. The itxofill mogen encompasses a living world that consists of all components of life and whose existence depends on the act of reciprocity, namely giving and receiving: "the wind, rivers, water, sea, the trees, stones, the sun, the clouds, biological and animal life and, among them, humans, are immersed in this circuit of life" (Antona Bustos 163).

The Küme Mogen also implies a process of learning that does not encompass an ideal or a goal; what one seeks is the balance among the different entities, and in order to achieve it, the che (person) needs to do and interact with the rest of the beings to learn it. In other words, its cosmological and spiritual dimension is also embedded in an active praxis with all the other

beings of the Mapu. Among these beings are also the energies and the spirits; therefore, Kūme Mogen cannot be understood as a principle of sustainability as we understand it in the west.

Everything that is taken from the trees, the soils, the sea, the mountains or the rivers has to involve reciprocity and relationality, qualities that requires the permission of the owners of the elements that dwell with the humans in the Wajmapu or ancestral territory (Antona Bustos 149); if ones takes, he-she-it has to give it back to the owner of the space. [20] Only by this is the duty of the che (person) to safeguard the spirits fulfilled. As machi Paola contends,

we need to come to our senses because these sacred spaces are not renewable and one company cannot mitigate the damage of such a space; if you steal the force of a river and you invade and contaminate it, the protector spirit goes away and the river loses its force... (Aroca Cayunao, "Nación Mapuche").

The natural space is a place full of entities called the gneñ (spirits) that have newen (energy), and these entities and energies carry the identity of the place that they inhabit; it is for this reason that there are different spirits (the wind, the water, the fire and the soil) that share a common origin with the Fütxa Newen, which refers to an original and supreme energy, an idea of a supreme God formed by the four elements: air (ülcha), earth (kuze), water (fücha) and fire (weche) (Ñanculef Huaiquinao 46). The mountain Pililín has its own gneñ and newen attached to this particular place. The kürrüf gneñ (spirit of the wind) of Pililín is the owner of all winds that blow in the heights of the mountains and over the sea.

Additionally, the heights of Pililín are part of the sacred places known as Treng-Treng, "places of power for the Mapuche people... they are located in the heights of the mountains, therefore all around the Pililín has a spiritual influence for the Mapuche lafkenche" (Aroca Cayunao 00:34:00). [21]

The Treng-Treng refers to a Mapuche myth that narrates the terrorizing effects of the disequilibrium of two primary elements, namely

water and earth; in the Mapuche oral tradition, these two elements broke their balance in a fight embodied in two antagonistic creatures, the treng-treng vilu and the kai-kai vilu. Kai-Kai vilu makes the water rise because, in its dislike for people, it wants to eliminate them and convert them into creatures of the sea. In response to this, Treng-Treng makes the mountain rise so that the Mapuche can find shelter from the rising waters, but the mountain continues growing until it is too close to the sun and humans again see their life in danger due to the high temperature, drought and the scarcity of food. To redress the balance, Treng-Treng asks them to make a human sacrifice as an offer to Kai-Kai to calm down its anger so that everything comes back to normal. The Mapuche people obey the advice of Treng-Treng, and so life is restored (Díaz 48). Since then, the Mapuche cosmology worships these coastal mountain peaks throughout the Wajmapu (Mapuche land) and considers them sacred, because these very peaks saved the Mapuche from being converted into sea life.

From another temporality and space, modernity and the position of the human as the center of the universe are challenged with other knowledges from the exteriority and this is central in the Pililín conflict where the Mapuche cosmology offers the possibility to rethink green energy and the current environmental crisis with voices that modernity has silenced in its irruption over the whole planet. The Mapuche Buen Vivir and its relational pedagogies through the newen (energies) and the geh (spirits) tell us that there is a reality that goes far beyond from what we see, and that what we see has a lot to do with the angle from which we see it and this implies a dialectical and fragmented gaze of the reality. For the Mapuche, the geh and newen of the spaces are real. It may not be possible with a western mentality to see them, it is possible to see what these entities can do and I have seen it myself: vast territories of preserved forests, clean waters and resources. This is their defense and their reaffirmation in the Mapuche mood of existence that assures that the Mapuche people exist in the Wajmapu. Let's move to the conclusion.

Conclusion: Toward emerging rights from the Buen Vivir.

The Pililín case offers a particular ground for the convergence of environmental voices and the awakening of narratives that challenge the commercialization of global warming and its solutions for diminishing the damage we are inflicting on the planet. It is in these narratives where the rights of nature are possible and necessary to exist.

While green capitalism aims to diminish the effects of global warming, the measures it is taking to implement clean energy projects are destined to mainly assure a way of development based on neo-extractivist activities. The Chilean case illustrates this point clearly and here lies, in my opinion, the contradiction of global green capitalism and its applications at the local level because it transmits the illusion that the transit from oil economies to environment friendly energies will allow us to “continue destroying the environment” in a renewable and sustainable way without rethinking our relationship with the planet.

Unfortunately, there is a trend within Latin American governments to criminalize environmental protests in order to advance economies based on neo-extractivism. In this scenario, and with the creation of the criminal laws, many Mapuche environmental activists and ancestral authorities have been incarcerated. Others have been found dead, like Macarena Valdés in 2016 in rare and unsolved circumstances. Despite this, the Chilean context suggests that environmental awareness and a change in the attitude toward our planet are happening, slowly but surely, at grassroots levels.

Civil society networks for the protection of the territory and hybrid movements like the Valdivian-Mapuche opposition to the Pililín wind park are advancing an environmental education by initiating dialogues and enabling new experiences and epistemic niches. Despite the contradictions that they can cause in a world ruled by the globalized neoliberalism and its extractivist practices, the energies and spirits of the Pililín that the Mapuche vindicate in the defense of this space contain important

transformative pedagogies. In these pedagogies, the forest recovers its own voice and allows for intercultural dialogues with actors that share very different belief systems, and in these actors I am also including all beings in the Pililín forest.

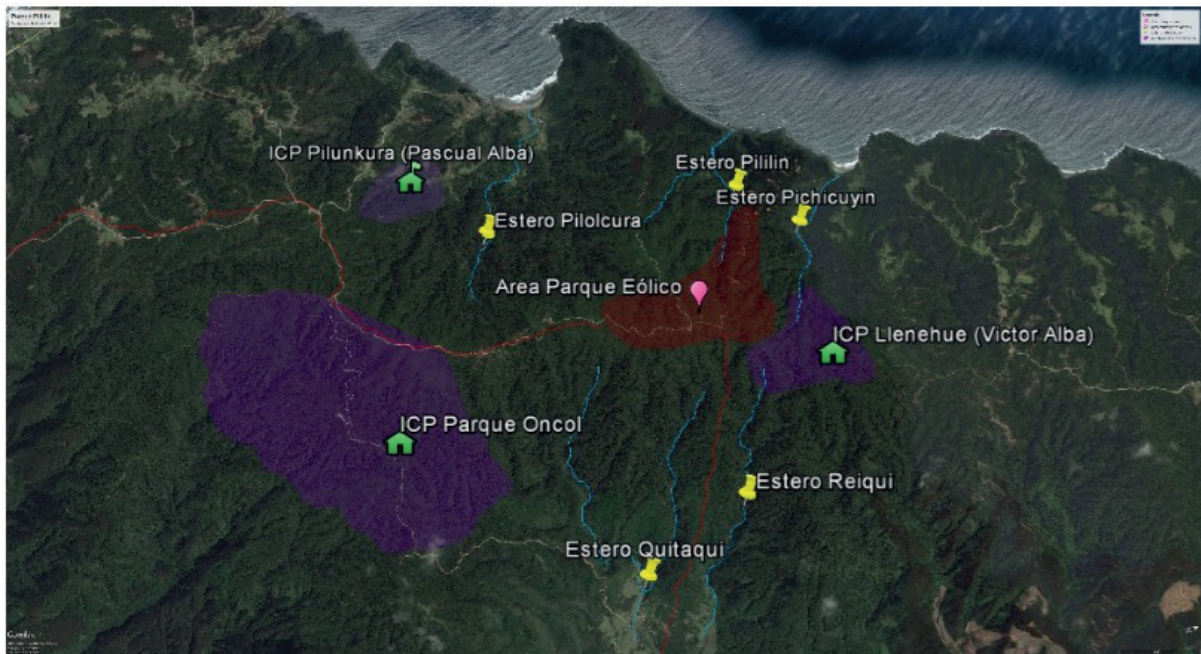
We need environmental laws and education that are “Sentipensantes” namely laws that are thought with the mind and the heart. To acknowledge the Buen Vivir and the *Sentipensar* in all its emerging worldwide manifestations implies a revision of the anthropocentric character in which the environmental crisis is inscribed. The need to rectify by acknowledging that “without cognitive justice there will be no social justice” (Sousa Santos, “Opening up the Canon”) implies then an acknowledgement of those forces that we dismissed as superstitions or cultural manifestations. Unfortunately, the defense of relational worlds still comes from a western matrix that does not acknowledge these alternative models as legitimate. Rethinking the right to life in the UDHR and the DRIPS into the right to exist would provide the legal ground for an accountability of green capitalism in environmental conflicts. [22] Consequently, the acknowledgment and implementation of the right to exist in the *Buen Vivir* of Indigenous worlds will be a step forward into an effective defense against epistemicides and cultural erosion. Only then will the protection of sacred spaces be safeguarded from being accounted as terrorism, as the banner from the spring festival of Valdivia in 2017 states.



Banner from the spring festival of Valdivia in 2017 states. [23]

Appendix [24]

Appendix 1: Areas marked with red are where the wind park is planned to be installed.



Appendix 2: Map that shows, in red, where the wind turbines are planned to be placed.



Endnotes

[1] My translation, original text: ‘Sentipensar con el territorio implica pensar desde el corazón y desde la mente, o co-razonar’.

[2] My translation, see video in: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=HOQYRb-z3T4>

[3] Pictures provided by the Movimiento por el Bosque Antiguo Valdiviano.

[4] My translation: “la colonialidad es por otro lado donde se rememoran, se viven y florecen otras formas de ser, de estar, de recordar y de habitar el mundo”.

[5] An analogy with desert is “green deserts,” the place where nothing other than pine and eucalyptus grow.

[6] For this, see the interview of Claudio Donoso, member of the association AIFBN (association of forest engineers for the protection of the endemic forest) in the documentary *Plantar Pobreza* on youtube, minute: 48:46- 50:03.

[7] Recommended reading for the notion of green deserts and for expanding the notion of green capitalism is the last bulletin N 233 of the “Movimiento mundial por los bosques tropicales”, for this, see http://www.biodiversidadla.org/Principal/Secciones/Documentos/La_lucha_por_la_tierra_los_bosques_y_la_vida_%21no_a_los_monocultivos_industriales_de_arboles%21_Boletin_N_233_del_WRM

[8] For this, see <https://www.bosqueantiguovaldiviano.cl/download/bosque-antiguo-valdiviano-historia-de-un-sobreviviente/>

[9] Also, see the interview in *Comunidad en Expansión*, minute 17 on *Youtube*: http://ioc.gfkadimark.cl/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=3261:obras-del-parque-eolico-pililin-comenzarian-en-junio-de-2017&catid=66:noticias&Itemid=343

[10] My translation; see the original text at “Entendemos que las energías eólicas tiene el potencial de ser renovables y cuando lo son representan un enorme aporte a la sustentabilidad que hoy tanto necesitamos como planeta”.

[11] My translation.

[12] For this, see https://es.wikipedia.org/wiki/Secretar%C3%ADa_regional_ministerial_de_Chile

[13] For this, see <http://sea.gob.cl/sea/que-es-seia>

[14] For this, see the conference of Dr. Nancy Yáñez Fuenzalida in Chiloe, southern Chile: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=tlvfC6gTKjo>

[15] This refers to territorial spots that are adequate or extremely benevolent for the expansion of energy projects. The Pililín wind farm will be located on the Pililín mountain, which has been catalogued as excellent for the production of wind energy.

[16] For this, see Plan Regional de Ordenamiento Territorial (PROT)- Zonificación de Borde Costero (ZBC) y Evaluación Ambiental Estratégica (EAE) in Chilean Environmental

Affairs Ministry: <http://portal.mma.gob.cl/plan-regional-de-ordenamiento-territorial-prot-zonificacion-del-borde-costero-zbc-y-evaluacion-ambiental-estrategica-eae/>

[17] Kvme Mogen/Kvme Felen is the Argentinian side of the Wallmapu or Mapuche land.

[18] Such as the lack of hydric resources in areas that have been traditionally rich in water, the expansion of monocultures and the mining sector in the south, and the imminent deterioration of all ecological systems.

[19] Among which are spirituality, reciprocity, interaction with the energies of the territory, acknowledgement of every form of life as subject, and complementation of polarized energies, to name a few in the Kúme Mogen.

[20] The Wajmapu is the ancestral territory and the tangible space where human and non-human elements coexist. It is important to mention that for the Mapuche cosmology there are several dimensions where life exist. I will not cover these dimensions and their meanings in this article.

[21] Mapuche Lafkenche means people of the sea.

[22] UDHR: Universal Declaration of Human Rights; DRIPS: Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples.

[23] Picture taken by the Agrupación de Fotógrafos Independientes de la región de Los Ríos Chile, AFI. Date 1 October, 2017.

[24] Pictures provided by the Movimiento por la Defensa del Bosque Antiguo Valdiviano.

[25] The author wishes to thank P. Reolon from the movement Bosque Antiguo Valdiviano, Werkén M.F. Araya-Millache (spokesperson) from the Juan Millache community in Freire and the the Agrupación de Fotógrafos Independientes de la región de Los Ríos Chile, AFI, for their valuable contributions to the development of this article.

Works Cited

Antona Bustos, Jesús. *Los derechos humanos de los pueblos indígenas, el Az Mapu y el caso mapuche*. Temuco: Ediciones Univesidad Católica de Temuco, 2014. Print.

Araya Millache, M.F. Personal Interview. 7 Jan 2017.

Aroca Cayunao, Paola. Interview by Sebastian Gajardo. *Sentido Común*. Radio el Conquistador. 22 Mar 2016. Soundcloud. Web. 8 Aug 2017. <<https://soundcloud.com/erdwandler/machi-paola-en-sentido-comun-conquistador-fm-22-marzo-2016>>.

---. “Nación Mapuche. Entrevista a la machi Paola Aroca: No tocarán nuestro bosque ” Interview. *Resumen*. 7 Sept 2017. *Resumen Latinoamericano*. Web. 15 Oct 2017. <<http://www.resumenlatinoamericano.org/2017/09/07/nacion-mapuche-entrevista-a-la-machi-paola-aroca-no-tocaran-nuestro-bosque/>>.

Barrera Pedraza, Daniel. *Exportaciones Chilenas de Celulosa*. Santiago: Ministerio de Agricultura Chile, 2014. ODEPA. Web. 11 Feb 2017. <<https://>

- www.odepa.gob.cl/wp-content/uploads/2014/12/Celulosa2014.pdf >.
- Bengoia, José et al. *Mapuche Procesos, políticas y culturas en el Chile del Bicentenario*. Santiago de Chile: Catalonia, 2012. Print.
- Blaser, Mario. "Ontological Conflicts and Stories of Peoples in Spite of Europe: Toward a Conversion on Political Ontology." *Current Anthropology* 54.5 (2013): 547-568. JSTOR. Web. 1 Jan 2017.
- Bosque Antiguo Valdiviano*. N.p, n.d. Web. 15 Mar 2017. <<http://www.bosqueantiguovaldiviano.cl/informacion/>>.
- Catrileo, Viviana. "La industria y la muerte del bosque nativo en Chile: un modelo para secar al país." Interview. *El Desconcierto*. 23 Sept 2015. <http://www.eldesconcierto.cl/2015/09/23/la-industria-forestal-y-la-muerte-del-bosque-nativo-en-chile-un-modelo-para-secar-al-pais/>. Web. 11 Sept 2017.
- Chavarría, Miguel and Fernando García. "Otra globalización es posible. Diálogo con Boaventura de Sousa Santos ." *Iconos. Revista de Ciencias Sociales* (2004): 100-111. *Sistema de Información científica Redalyc*. Web. 13 Mar 2017.
- Confederación Mapuce de Neuquén, eds. *Propuesta para un Kvme Felen Mapuce*. Neuquén: Gráfica Althabe, 2010. Print.
- Cordero Rivera, A. "Cuando los árboles no dejan ver el bosque: efectos de los monocultivos forestales en la conservación de la biodiversidad." *Acta Biológica Colombiana* 16.2 (2011): 247-268. Web. <<http://www.revistas.unal.edu.co/index.php/actabiol/article/view/19279/26224>>.
- Corporate Watch, eds. *A-Z of Green Capitalism*. London: Freedom Press & Corporate Watch Ltd, 2016. Print.
- Cuenca Berger, Lucio. Personal interview. 1 Feb 2017.
- De la Cadena, Marisol. "Uncommoning Nature." *E-flux journal*. Web. 20 May 2017. <<http://supercommunity.e-flux.com/texts/uncommoning-nature/>>.
- De Sousa Santos, Boaventura. comp. "Opening up the Canon of Knowledge and Recognition of Difference." *Another Knowledge is Possible*. 2nd ed. New York: Verso, 2008. Print.
- . *Una epistemología del Sur*. 1st ed. Buenos Aires: Siglo XXI editores, 2009. Print.
- Decreto Ley 701. Pub. L. 701. Stat. 15 Oct 1974. Print.
- DesJardins, Joseph R. "Biocentrism." *Encyclopedia Britannica*. 20 Feb 2017. Web. 10 July 2017. <<https://www.britannica.com/topic/biocentrism>>.
- Donoso, Sebastian. "Chile y el convenio 169 de la OIT: Reflexiones sobre un desencuentro." *PUC Chile, Vicerrectoría de Comunicaciones y Asuntos Públicos: Temas de la Agenda Pública*. Apr 2008: 3-12. Web. 19 Feb 2017. <<http://politicaspUBLICAS.uc.cl/wp-content/uploads/2015/02/chile-y-el-convenio-169-de-la-oit-reflexiones-sobre-un-desencuentro.pdf>>.
- Díaz, José Fernando. "El mito de Treng- Treng Kai-Kai del pueblo mapuche." *Revista CUHSO* 14.1 (2007): 43-53. Print.
- Ejército Zapatista de Liberación Nacional, EZLN, ed. *Primer encuentro Intercontinental por la humanidad y contra el Neoliberalismo*. Chiapas: Planeta Tierra, 1996. Print.
- Escobar, Arturo. "Degrowth, Postdevelopment, and Transitions: A Preliminary Conversation." *Sustainability Science* 10.3 (2015): 451-462. Web. 2 Jan 2017. <<https://www.degrowth.de/en/catalogue-entry/degrowth-postdevelopment-and-transitions-a-preliminary-conversation/>>.
- . "Sentipensar con la Tierra: Las Luchas Territoriales y la Dimensión Ontológica de las Epistemologías del sur." *Luchas territoriales*. Jan – Apr 2016: 12-32. Web. 29 Sept 2017. <<http://www.aibr.org/antropologia/netesp/numeros/1101/110102.pdf>>.
- . *Sentipensar con la tierra Nuevas lecturas sobre desarrollo, territorio y diferencia*. 1st ed. Medellín: Editorial Artes y Letras S.A.S, 2014. Print.
- . "Tejiendo El Pluriverso." *Congreso Latinoamericano de Etnobiología 2015*. Univesidad del Cauca. 28 Sept 2015. Lecture.
- . *Territories of Difference: Place, Movements, Life, Redes*. North Carolina: Duke University Press, 2008. Kindle file.
- Flórez Alonso, Margarita. "Can we protect traditional knowledge?" *Another Knowledge is Possible*. Ed. Boaventura De Sousa Santos. New York: Verso, 2008. 249-271. Print.
- Gobierno de Chile. *Contribución Nacional Tentativa de Chile (INDC) para el acuerdo climático Paris 2015*. Santiago: Ministerio de Energía, 2015. Web. 22 Feb 2016. <<http://www4.unfccc.int/Submissions/INDC/Published%20Documents/Chile/1/Chile%20INDC%20FINAL.pdf>>.
- Gobierno de Chile Ministerio de Energía. *Política Energética de Chile*. Report. Santiago: Ministerio de Energía, 2014. Print.
- Goldtooth, Tom. "Paris: Financialization of Nature ". Judge's Statement: Tom Goldtooth, Indigenous Environmental Network. Global Alliance for the Rights of Nature. Paris COP 21. 4-5 Dec 2015. Speech.
- González, Marien. "Struggling for land and water: resistances to tree plantations in Southern Chile." *Entitle Blog - A collaborative writing project on Political Ecology*. 19 July 2016. Web. 11 Sept 2017. <<https://entitleblog.org/2016/07/19/struggling-for-land-and-water-resistances-to-tree-plantations-in-southern-chile/>>.
- Gudynas, Eduardo. "Buen Vivir: Today's tomorrow." *Development* 54.4 (2011): 441-447. *Springer Link*. Web. 19 Jan 2016. <<https://link.springer.com/article/10.1057%2Fdev.2011.86>>.

- Guha, Ramachandra. "Radical American Environmentalism and Wilderness Preservation: A Third World Critique, 1999." *The Human Rights Reader*. ed. Micheline R Ishay. 2007. New York: Routledge, 2007. 363-368. Print.
- González, Alberto. "Decreto 701: El millonario bono gubernamental que financió a las grandes forestales." *BioBio Chile*. 26 Jan 2017. Web. 6 Jul 2017. <<http://www.biobiochile.cl/noticias/nacional/chile/2017/01/26/decreto-701-el-millonario-bono-gubernamental-que-financio-a-las-grandes-forestales.shtml>>.
- International Labour Organization. *ILO*. United Nations, 27 June 1989. Web. 27 Feb 2017. <http://www.ilo.org/dyn/normlex/en/f?p=NORMLEXPUB:12100:0::NO:P12100_INSTRUMENT_ID:312314#A35>.
- Lander, Edgardo. "Ciencias Sociales: sabers coloniales y eurocéntricos." *La colonialidad del saber: eurocentrismo y ciencias sociales. Perspectivas latinoamericanas*. Comp. Edgardo Lander. Biblioteca Virtual CLACSO, 2000. 4- 23. Web. 15 Mar 2017. <<http://bibliotecavirtual.clacso.org.ar/clacso/sur-sur/20100708034410/lander.pdf>>.
- Leff, Enrique. *La Apuesta por la Vida. Imaginación Sociológica e Imaginarios Sociales en los Territorios Ambientales del Sur*. México D.F.: Siglo XXI, 2014. Print.
- . "Por la defensa del bosque antiguo valdiviano." Online posting. *mapuexpress*. 12 May 2016. Web. 16 Dec 2016. <<http://www.mapuexpress.org/?p=9107>>.
- Luke, Timothy. "Corporate Social Responsibility: An Uneasy Merger of Sustainability and Development." *Sustainable Development* 21 (2013): 83-95. Print.
- Lund, Jens Friis et al. "Ende Gelände: Exposing the climate hypocrisy of Western European democracies ." *Entitle Blog - A Collaborative Writing Project on Political Ecology*. European Union Marie Curie action FP7, 7 Sept 2017. Web. 8 Sept 2017. <<https://entitleblog.org/2017/09/07/ende-gelände-exposing-the-climate-hypocrisy-of-western-european-democracies/>>.
- Medina, José. *The epistemology of resistance: gender and racial oppression, epistemic injustice, and resistance imaginations*. USA: Oxford University Press, 2011.
- Mignolo, Walter. *The Idea of Latin America*. UK: Blackwell Publishing, 2005. Print.
- . *The Darker Side of Western Modernity*. United States: Duke UP, 2011. Print.
- Montaña, Álvaro. "Instituto de DD.HH. identifica más de 100 conflictos ambientales en el país". Interview by Carlos González Isla. *La Tercera*. 11 Sep 2016 <http://www.latercera.com/noticia/instituto-de-ddhh-identifica-mas-de-100-conflictos-ambientales-en-el-pais/>. Web. 1 Jan 2017.
- Movimiento por el bosque antiguo Valdiviano. *Yo protejo el bosque antiguo valdiviano*. 7 June 2016. Web. 10 Oct 2017. <<https://www.bosqueantiguovaldiviano.cl/carta-publica-a-acciona/>>.
- Ñanculef Huaiquinao, Juan. *Tayíñ Mapuche Kimün Epistemología Mapuche - Sabiduría y conocimientos*. Santiago: Universidad de Chile, 2016. Print.
- Plantar Pobreza, El negocio forestal en Chile- Documental*. Periódico Resumen, 2015. *Youtube*. Web. 9 Sept 2017. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?time_continue=6&v=A42dHCxuJ1w>.
- Prado, José Antonio. "El sector forestal es importante para mitigar el cambio climático". Interview. *CORMA* 9 Dec 2014: N. pag. *CORMA CL*. Web. 21 Feb 2017. <<http://www.corma.cl/corma-al-dia/biobio/el-sector-forestal-es-importante-para-mitigar-el-cambio-climatico>>.
- Quidel, José. Personal interview. 20 Dec 2016.
- Reolon, Patrick. Personal interview. 17 Dec 2016.
- Reolon, Patrick. Personal interview. 19 Dec 2016.
- Rojas Pedemonte, Nicolás. "Küme Mongen: El buen con-vivir mapuche como alternativa al desarrollo humano y sustentable." Paper presented at the Ecología humana para un desarrollo sostenible e integral, Santiago. 4 Oct 2016. Paper presentation.
- Ruiz Manriquez, Rodrigo. *Estudio de Impacto Ambiental*. Santiago : SEA Gobierno de Chile, 2016. Web. 20 Mar 2017. <http://seia.sea.gob.cl/expediente/ficha/fichaPrincipal.php?modo=ficha&id_expediente=2131072207>.
- Santana Oyarzún, Christian. *Energías Renovables en Chile*. Santiago: Chile 2014. Ministerio de Energía Chile. Web. 1 Jan 2017. <http://www.minenergia.cl/archivos_bajar/Estudios/Potencial_ER_en_Chile_AC.pdf>.
- Tamayo Acosta, Juan José and Raúl Fonet- Betancourt, comp. *Interculturalidad diálogo interreligioso y liberación*. Aachen: Verlag Mainz, 2016. Print.
- Vázquez Melken, R. "Colonialidad y Relacionalidad." In M. Borsani, & P. Quintero eds., *Los desafíos decoloniales de nuestros días*. Educo, Editorial de la Universidad Nacional del Comahue, 2014. 173-196. Web. 25 Jan 2017. <<http://narino.info/blog/2015/03/21/los-desafios-decoloniales-de-nuestros-dias-pensar-en-colectivo/>>.
- . *Los desafíos decoloniales de nuestros días: pensar en colectivo*. Neuquén: Editorial de la Universidad del Comahue, 2014. Web. 25 Jan 2017. <<http://www.ceapedi.com.ar/imagenes/biblioteca/libros/332.pdf>: CEAPEDI.>.
- . "Liberación y relacionalidad." *Agenda Latinoamericana* n.d: N. pag. *Koinonia*. Web. 25 Jan 2018. <<http://www.servicioskoinonia.org/agenda/archivo/obra.php?ncodigo=855>>.
- Viveiros de Castro, Eduardo. "Cosmological deixis and Amerindian perspectivism." *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute* 4.3 (1998): 469-488. *JSTOR*. Web. 12 Jan 2016. <<http://www.jstor.org/stable/3034157>>.

Zibechi, Raúl. *Territories in Resistance*. Edinburgh: AK Press, 2012. Print.

Acknowledgements

The author wants to thank for their valuable contributions to the development of this article to: P. Reolon from the movement Bosque Antiguo Valdiviano, Werkén M.F. Araya-Millache (spokesperson) from the Juan Millache community in Freire and the Agrupación de Fotógrafos Independientes de la región de Los Ríos Chile, AFI

Author's Biography

Carolina Sánchez-De Jaegher is an assistant professor of Spanish and Latino-American studies at the University College Roosevelt (Utrecht University) in the Netherlands. She is a PhD candidate in Philosophy of Law at the *Université Catholique* de Louvain in Belgium. She holds a Master of Arts and Philosophy from the University of Helsinki (Finland) and a Master in Pedagogy (Free University of Brussels). She is currently writing her doctoral dissertation in the field of Indigenous epistemologies and the conceptualization of Dignity in legal discourse.