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INDIGENOUS COMMUNITY TOURISM: SOCIOPOLITICAL CHALLENGE AND ECONOMIC OPPORTUNITY FOR MAPUCHE COMMUNITIES IN PRECORDILLERAN ZONES OF SOUTHERN CHILE¹

EL TURISMO COMUNITARIO INDÍGENA: RETO SOCIOPOLÍTICO Y OPORTUNIDAD ECONÓMICA PARA COMUNIDADES MAPUCHE EN ZONAS PRECORDILLERANAS DEL SUR DE CHILE

Marisela Pilquimán Vera²

Antonio Palacios Garcia³

Gustavo Cabrera Campos⁴

Abstract

In Latin America, opposite to hegemonic tourism and extractive production dynamics, community-based tourism has emerged as a development option and strategy for the defense of the indigenous people's territories and cultures. This article uses a methodological approach that combines qualitative, quantitative, and participatory research techniques, such as interviews, questionnaires, participant observation, discussion groups, surveys, and local conversations, to examine these types of experiences managed by Mapuche communities in the precordilleran zones of southern Chile. It characterizes the supply of community-based tourism and identifies current and potential demand, as well as elucidating opportunities and obstacles. The results indicate that for the Mapuche communities this type of tourism promotes alternative small-scale economies based on the use of elements of their cultural heritage. However, they also face problems related to the absence of effective mechanisms for state participation that would allow these communities to take control of their ways of life and economic development in the territories they inhabit, in accordance with their own needs, interests and aspirations.

Keywords: Community tourism; Mapuche; cultural heritage; collective experiences.

Resumen

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² PhD in Geography. Professor, Austral University of Chile, Institute of Tourism. Email: mariselapilquiman@uach.cl

³ PhD in Geography. Associate Professor, Autonomous University of Madrid, Department of Geography. Email: antonio.palacios@uam.es

⁴ Bachelor of Laws, Research assistant, Project FONDECYT: 11170506. Email: gustavo.cabrera.campos@hotmail.com

En Latinoamérica, frente al turismo hegemónico y dinámicas productivas extractivistas surge el turismo de base comunitaria como una opción de desarrollo y estrategia para la defensa de los territorios y culturas pertenecientes a pueblos indígenas. En este artículo mediante un abordaje metodológico que combina técnicas cualitativas, cuantitativas y participativas de investigación, como entrevistas, cuestionarios, observación participante, grupos de discusión, encuestas y conversatorios locales, se examina este tipo de experiencias gestionadas por comunidades mapuche en zonas precordilleranas del sur de Chile. Se caracteriza la oferta de turismo comunitario e identifica la demanda actual y potencial, además de dilucidar oportunidades y obstáculos que confronta. Los resultados indican que para las comunidades mapuche este tipo de turismo promueve economías alternativas de pequeña escala a partir de los usos de elementos de su patrimonio cultural; sin embargo, también se enfrentan a problemas relacionados con la ausencia de mecanismos efectivos de participación estatal que permitan a estas comunidades asumir el control de sus formas de vida y desarrollo económico en los territorios que habitan en conformidad con sus propias necesidades, intereses y aspiraciones.

Palabras claves: Turismo comunitario; mapuche; patrimonio cultural; experiencias colectivas.

Introduction

In Latin America, the reconfiguration of the territory in geographical areas with high landscape value, promoted from homogeneous tourism models inspired by the logic of global capital, has led to processes of dispossession, appropriation and commodification of nature and culture (PALAFOX, 2016; CORIOLIANO, 2006; HIERNAUX, 2002). Examples of this are rural territories recently incorporated into extractive production dynamics, or territories facing expanding tourism development, that has collided with the uses and practices of the human groups that inhabit them (CAÑADA, 2016; PALAFOX, 2016), disrupting social forms, property systems, ways of life, material practices and subjectivities (LÓPEZ; MARÍN, 2010).

This is the case of Latin American indigenous peoples, who have historically been integrated into dominant national states through assimilationist and hegemonic processes in asymmetrical power conditions, ignoring or reducing their right to participate in decision-making that affects their ways of life in the territories they inhabit (DEL POPOLO, 2018; STAVENHAGEN, 1991). As a result, these peoples tend to be relegated to the role of mere recipients and beneficiaries of state assistance and paternalistic policies, an issue that generates a scenario of potential conflict and collides with their social, cultural, political or economic rights (STAVENHAGEN, 1991). In this sense, the reaction of these peoples has moved from collective protest actions, motivated by the growing situations of poverty and social exclusion for economic reasons, social inequality, unemployment and capitalist accumulation, among other factors, to the demand for compliance with the participation mechanisms contemplated in international indigenous regulations, in order to achieve their own visions of well-being in the territories they inhabit (DEL POPOLO, 2018).

This phenomenon introduces into the debate the need to incorporate citizen participation in public policies that directly or indirectly affect local communities (PASTOR-SELLER, 2011a), allowing, moreover, ecological strategies for managing collective affairs (PASTOR-SELLER, 2011b) to the extent that local characteristics, participatory tradition, the associative network or available resources are effectively considered (VARGAS; GUASTA, 2002; IVORRA; GARCÍA, 2008).

In the search for these options, development alternatives have emerged based on the resources offered by the territory itself, combined with processes to promote the local communities' own capacities (MORENO; OCHOA, 2011). Community-based tourism (CBT) emerges from these assumptions, with a growing theoretical and practical development and documented experiences from the beginning of the century in El Salvador, Nicaragua, Costa Rica, Ecuador, Peru, Bolivia, Dominican Republic, Brazil or Chile, among other Latin American countries (LÓPEZ-GUZMÁN; SÁNCHEZ, 2009).

From the local level, CBT is presented as an alternative for groups and communities normally marginalized from the prevailing economic system (RAZETO, 2002). It can be conceptualized as a development strategy in which the community or local population, usually rural, under various forms

of collective organization (communities, cooperatives, assemblies, associations, lof-groups of families, among others), assume a major role in the production of the tourism offer in their territories (COX, 2012; CAÑADA, 2015; CABANILLA, 2018; TIERRA et al., 2018).

CBT is based on the creation of tourism products from the principle of community participation (LÓPEZ-GUZMÁN et al., 2011), understood as the way local population involve to contribute to their own social and economic development and to environmental sustainability, without compromising the capacity for renewal and conservation of the natural environment (PASAGÓMEZ et al., 2015; GRIMM; SAMPAIO, 2011; RUIZ-BALLESTEROS; HERNÁNDEZ, 2010). Furthermore, when led by indigenous groups, it has also become a strategy of resistance to safeguard the territories they inhabit, their livelihoods and culture against capitalist expansion (PILQUIMÁN, 2017; HERNÁNDEZ; RUIZ-BALLESTEROS, 2011).

In Chile, the emergence of CBT can be related to the processes of productive diversification of the rural space and the recognition and strengthening of ethnic identity through non-conventional tourism modalities aimed at mitigating, from the social and economic point of view, the effects caused by the crisis of traditional agriculture (PILQUIMÁN; HENRÍQUEZ, 2017). In this way, there is a growing trend in the country's demand for nature and cultural tourism, both domestic and foreign, as evidenced by the fact that during 2019 more than 521 initiatives managed by indigenous communities have been registered, individually or collectively (CASALS, 2020).

In the case of the Mapuche people⁵ ("people of the land", from *mapu*/land and *che* /people, in mapuzüngun, the language of this people), the possibility of attracting the flow of tourism -and, by this means, not only generating income but, eventually, revaluing their culture- is an important consideration (PILQUIMÁN; SKEWES, 2009). Thus, some Mapuche communities are using community-based tourism as a territorial defense strategy that allows them to revitalize cultural practices, generate economic opportunities and recover or re-signify lands considered by them to be of ancestral origin (PILQUIMÁN, 2017; TORREZ-ALRUIZ et al., 2018). This is happening in a context of pluralization of actors in the rural environment, revitalization of indigenous demands, and an increase in environmental conflicts.

To make this type of experience visible, in this article we examine CBT initiatives located in two rural and lake areas of southern Chile, one located in the commune of Panguipulli, Los Ríos Region, and the other in the commune of Puyehue, Los Lagos Region, two areas that have experienced a different historical evolution with respect to tourism. While Puyehue has become a tourist enclave since the beginning of last century, Panguipulli has recorded a massive growth of tourism since the end of last century. However, in both cases the Mapuche communities, in a recent and incipient way, have empowered themselves of their patrimony and linked to different activities, among them tourism, in areas that present the following common denominators:

Their territories present geographical similarities in terms of landscapes and natural elements that characterize them; there is a Mapuche population that gives them their own imprint manifested in diverse cultural expressions, in spite of being usually invisible in their territories by the dominant national society as a consequence of different historical events (expansion of the Chilean state through occupation and colonization); and in the last decades they have constituted massive tourist poles.

The methodological strategy used to carry out this research is presented below; then the study areas are contextualized to reveal the processes of tourism development in each area and the insertion of indigenous communities. CBT offer is then characterized and its current and potential visitors are identified, as well as the opportunities and obstacles it faces; and finally recommendations are made that can contribute to the strengthening of CBT in territories where other extractive or non-extractive activities are less feasible or desirable by local communities.

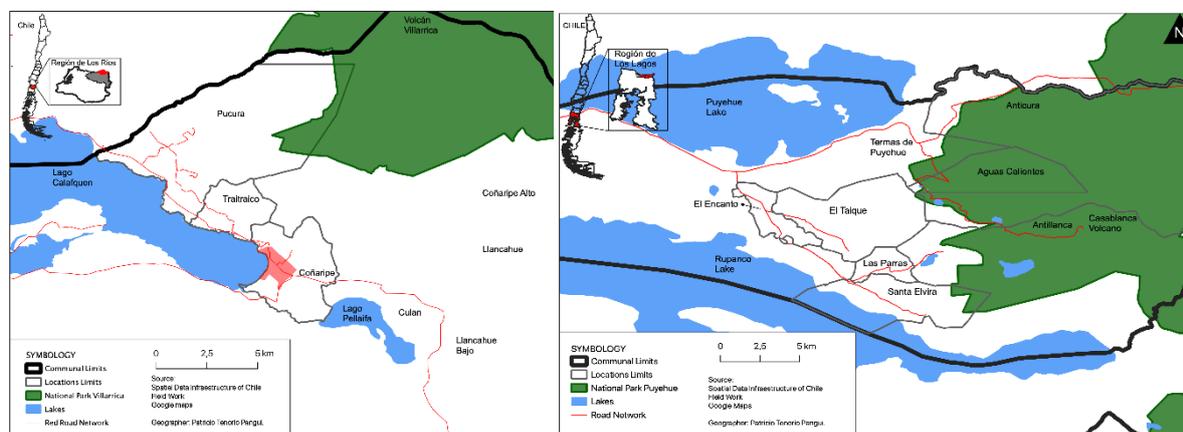
Materials and methods

As previously indicated, with the purpose of examining CBT experiences linked to Mapuche communities, two areas located in the in precordilleran region of southern Chile have been selected

⁵ The Mapuche are one of the nine ethnic groups that the State of Chile recognizes as the descendants of the human groups that have existed in the national territory since pre-Columbian times, who preserve their own ethnic and cultural manifestations. The land is for them the main foundation of their existence and culture. Article 1 Indigenous Law No. 19,253, 1993. In addition, in demographic terms, it is the most numerous ethnic group within the country (National Institute of Statistics, INE, 2017).

as the study areas, which have localities where this type of tourism is practiced. The first area is located in the commune of Panguipulli in the administrative limits of the Los Rios Region (Z1); while the second is in the Los Lagos Region, in the commune of Puyehue (Z2) (Figure 1). According to the National Institute of Statistics (INE, 2017), 2,832 Mapuche people live in Z1, while 734 Mapuche people live in Z2.⁶

Figure 1: Geographical location of the areas selected for the case studies. On the left Panguipulli zone (Z1), Los Rios Region and on the right Puyehue zone (Z2), Los Lagos Region.



Source: Own elaboration

The methodological design combines the qualitative and quantitative approach at an exploratory and descriptive level complemented with participatory research techniques. The empirical study has been carried out in different periods between the years 2018-2020.

First, we proceeded to describe the geographical area where these initiatives are located, recognizing the processes, actors and practices that have influenced the territorial development that tourism has had in both areas, to then identify and characterize the supply of CBT and explore, from the perspective of the host communities, the effects that it generates in the territory they inhabit. With this objective, 25 initiatives have been detected in previous studies and projects, in addition to field work. The data was collected through the application of a questionnaire applied in person to each of the representatives of these initiatives along with in-depth interviews. The information obtained was treated through statistical and content analysis.

Subsequently, the current and potential tourism demand of these initiatives was identified, using the survey as a research technique, defining a study sample from the visitors of the areas studied. For these purposes, through estimates made by public agencies, it was determined that a total of 207,316 people visited the two areas studied. This delimitation has allowed to conform a sample of 655 visitors with a confidence level of 96% and a maximum margin of error accepted of 4%.

The data collection was carried out during the summer season, the period with the highest number of visitors. The sample of visitors has been randomly selected and personally surveyed through a questionnaire structured around socio-demographic, socio-economic and psychosocial variables. These questionnaires were completed by visitors at six gastronomic, handicraft, and local product fairs - three for each study area - that are part of the CBT offerings of rural and indigenous communities. A total of 309 questionnaires were completed in Z1 and 346 in Z2. Descriptive statistical techniques were applied for data analysis.

⁶ According to the 2017 Population and Housing Census, in Zone 1 the total population amounts to 4,561 people, while in Zone 2 it reaches a total of 1,696 people.

Table 1: Sample size

Universe	207.316 (Z1: 84.517; Z2: 122.799)
Maximum acceptable error	4%
% level of confidence	96%
Sample size	655

Source: Elaboration based on data from Ilustre Municipalidad de Panguipulli, 2018 and Corporación Nacional Forestal, CONAF, 2018.

Finally, opportunities and obstacles that this tourism confronts in the territories where it is implanted have been elucidated. From the crossing of the data raised in the previous stages, together with the accomplishment of discussion groups, participation in local conversations and field observation.

Territorial context: from concentration to spatial diversification of tourism in the area of study

The areas of study stand out at the regional, national, and international standards for their great scenic beauty and global ecosystem importance, containers of high biodiversity, which led them to be declared part of the Southern Andes Temperate Rainforest Biosphere Reserve by UNESCO in 2007. In addition to this biodiversity, there are different local cultural manifestations and expressions, especially those represented by the Mapuche population whose presence in this territory precedes the formation of the Chilean nation-state.

These areas have become poles of attraction for tourism in southern Chile and are part of renowned tourist destinations: Panguipulli-Siete Lagos and Osorno-Puyehue respectively. In the case of Z1 tourism is the main activity, and in Z2 it is the second pillar for local economy. In both cases, tourist spaces have been built based on the main attractions of the natural environment such as continental waters, especially represented by lakes and thermal waters associated with residual volcanism, and by snow-capped peaks (Villarrica Volcano which culminates at 2,847 m.a.s.l. in Z1 and Casa Blanca Volcano at 2,240 m.a.s.l. in Z2) in the midst of a landscape of dominant natural to which are added the protected wild areas of the State. In the case of Z1, the Villarrica National Park and in Z2 the Puyehue National Park, among other elements testify their natural monumentality and attractiveness for tourism.

Compared to Z2 the tourist development of Z1 is of a later or more recent nature. The historical configuration of tourism in this zone is influenced, among other reasons, by the different state vision about the development of other economic activities: from the 1930s to approximately 1980, tourism was prioritized in the area of Villarrica-Pucón; while in the area of Panguipulli, the development of lumber activity was privileged.

Towards the decade of the eighties, with the development of the neoliberal model and the transfer of forest property to private hands, economic activities have been diversified and individuals have executed initiatives that reinforce the tourism offer. In the nineties, a spontaneous emergence of accommodation and food services on the northern shore of the Calafquén Lake was registered, together with the provision of a greater thermal infrastructure in nearby towns (Figure 2). While the demand is reflected in the increase of second homes or the increase of population in the summer season of the Coñaripe spa (PILQUIMÁN et al., 2020).

Another background that could help explain this situation is the "lack of legal certainty" about land ownership, since in this area there are ancestral Mapuche communities that have various titles (use, historical and legal) to claim their domain (Ilustre Municipalidad de Panguipulli, Ordinario N° 1. 420, 2019). Also, there are problems of lack of regularization of tenure and irregular subdivision of property that mainly affect indigenous communities, such as 99-year leases, especially on the banks of the Calafquén (Figure 2) and disputes that are currently under judicial litigation.

On the other hand, it should be noted that, currently, local public agents are betting on the development of tourism and its formalization, mainly understood as an economic activity that generates income. This can be seen in the Communal Development Plan (2013-2017) of Panguipulli, to which is added the declaration since 2003 of Zone of National Tourist Interest (ZOIT) as part of the tourist destination "Seven Lakes" which has been promoted since 2000 by the Municipality of Panguipulli.

In the Z2, on the other hand, the qualification of facilities for the exercise of the tourism is noticed after the arrival of German colonists to the indigenous territories at the beginning of the XX century, linked to the exploitation of the therapeutic properties of the thermal waters (PHILIPPI, 1869; DARAPSKY, 1890). Also, through the construction in 1910 of the first hotel installed in the current town of Termas de Puyehue (Figure 3) and the implementation of a river transport system that made up for the lack of land routes in this area (SAEZ, 2013).

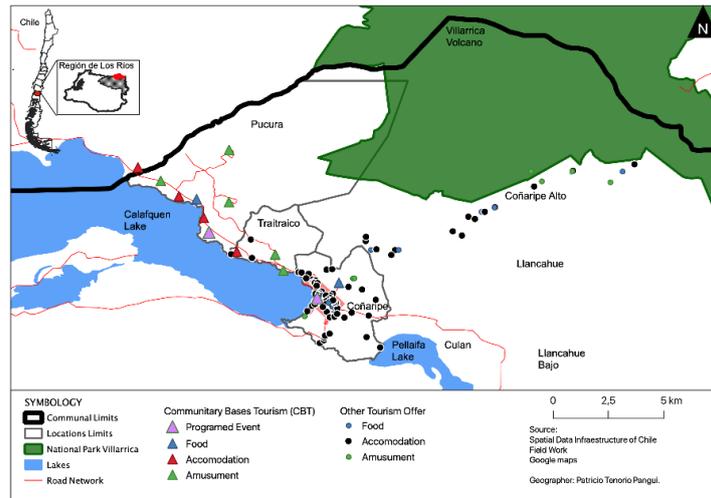
Later, in the 1930s, the State promoted a policy of tourist development through the State Railroads Company of Chile, which added to the transportation of cargo (especially lumber) the transportation of passengers, the construction of hotels and a system of tourist propaganda, with the objective of strengthening the State's presence and national sovereignty (FLORES, 2012; BOOTH, 2008).

Thus, the Gran Hotel Termas de Puyehue (1937-1944) was built in the town that today bears the same name (Figure 3), presented as a high-end tourist complex that offered the visitor everything from thermal healing treatments to sports recreation in modern facilities in the midst of a monumental mountain landscape; in addition, a land access road was established from the train station of the city of Osorno to this place.

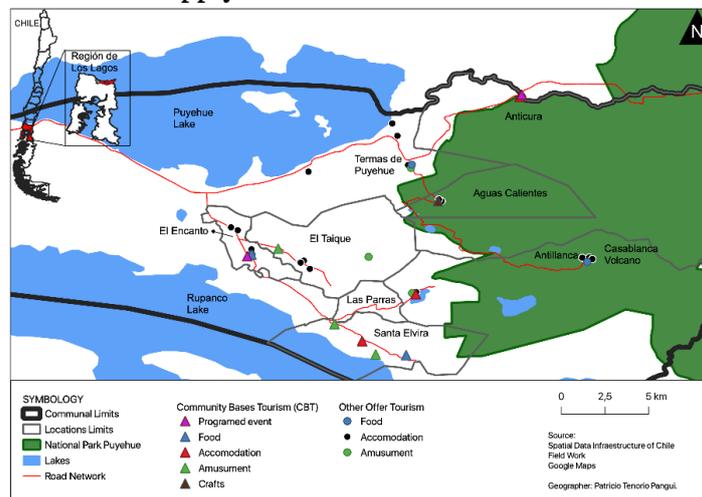
To the tourist attractions and infrastructure of the commune in general and of the area in particular that have contributed to its configuration, the Rupanco Hotel, property of the Chilean colonist Láfilo Jaramillo (1940), the Puyehue National Park (1940), the Antillanca Ski Center (1953), as well as the road network that joins Chile with Argentina through the Puyehue Customs Complex, today Cardinal Samoré, would be added later. Around these facilities and resources, tourist activity has developed in the form of an enclave controlled by large companies in the towns of Termas de Puyehue, Aguas Calientes and Antillanca (Figure 3), isolated from the social and cultural organization of the indigenous communities. Although, as in the previous case, since the nineties, a progressive spatial diversification of tourist activity towards other areas of the commune can be seen.

Thus, in rural and more isolated areas of both zones, inhabited mainly by the Mapuche population, the natural elements of the mountain landscape associated with traditional practices of this population have given rise to the emergence of a tourism offer that takes advantage of the growing interest among visitors, nature, culture and relations with local ethnic groups in accordance with world trends. In this way, some members of the Mapuche communities have been integrated into the local tourism process through CBT, with small initiatives that offer food services, lodging, recreation, programmed events and handicrafts. These activities are intended to complement their subsistence model in the face of the entry of extractive economic projects into their territories, including mass tourism reflected, for example, in the number of visitors to these areas (in the case of Z1, 84, 517 and in the case of Z2, 122,799) and the proliferation of tourism initiatives by Chileans in the case of Z1 or the concentration in large providers in the case of Z2.

This supply of CBT, which has a high prominence of the Mapuche communities, is the one we examine below, to elucidate some of its characteristics, as well as the current and potential tourist demand.

Figure 2: Distribution of tourism supply and identification of CBT initiatives in Z1.

Source: Own elaboration.

Figure 3: Distribution of tourism supply and identification of CBT initiatives in Z2

Source: Own elaboration.

Characteristics of the CBT offer

In general terms, the Mapuche communities in the study areas have been linked to CBT as a complementary activity to the traditional ones (small-scale agriculture and livestock, collection and production of jams and crafts in wool and wood, and the salaried work of some other member of the family group). This link is made through community management tourism practices with low environmental impact based on traditional use and showing tourists their way of life, the landscape characteristics of their territory, and the sale of artisanal products.

Communities visualize in this type of tourism an alternative for the generation of complementary income in the summer season, the conservation and revitalization of their culture, including the landscape, besides constituting a means of diffusion of their positions regarding the multiple problems that they face - political, social, economic and/or cultural -, especially, among those who visit them.

Expressions such as the following illustrate part of their aspirations in relation to their involvement with CBT: "what motivated me to start my enterprise was the defense of the territory so as not to migrate to the city and to stay as a young man in the countryside" (A.C. personal communication, 2019); "I started my enterprise for the theme of land claims, to reaffirm the defense of the land and the empowerment of the territory" (I.C. personal communication, 2019); "we started an enterprise to have a job (G.L. personal communication, 2019).

This link to CBT is materialized in the territory through initiatives that do not present large material investments in comparison to other tourist offers from Chileans and foreigners present in the area (Figures 2 and 3). Its strength is based -as observed- on a particular vision of the world, which connects the community with the territory and that can be appreciated by knowing its daily life:

Forms of work based on their knowledge of the natural environment, strategies they had to develop in order to survive in part of their ancestral territory, their culture and traditional practices that are still managed to preserve despite the erosion experienced because of the processes of assimilation into the majority Chilean society.

According to their vision: "tourism [allows] us to make our heritage, our reality and beliefs known, in addition to sending a message to visitors, about what the essence of being Mapuche is" (M.L. personal communication, 2019); "there is always a visitor who asks, and is made aware of *kimün* (knowledge), our code for living in relation to the land, our experiences, we tell them a little about our ancestors and why we are in this, undertaking" (D.C. personal communication, 2019).

It is important to emphasize that most of the elements of the Mapuche culture are nature grounded. For this reason, this people does not reflect its imprint on the territory with tangible artifacts as in the case of most Western cultures or other native cultures in Latin America (temples, palaces, monuments, etc.). Instead, natural elements associated with traditional practices accumulate values, and are ultimately responsible for enriching the tourism experience in both areas, as detected in their stories when they make their territory and culture known, through their tourism initiatives: "Here we have the *Rukapillan* (volcano), the lake, stories to tell, waterfalls, lava walls, there are plenty of places to visit" (A.C. personal communication, 2019).

A total of 25 initiatives were detected, 13 located in Z1 and another 12 in Z2 (Table 2; Figures 3 and 4), the first of which emerged around 1995, initially supported by public agencies, non-governmental organizations and academic institutions, in addition to those born on their own initiative. They offer services that can be classified as accommodation, represented by cabins and camping sites; food, through the sale of food in small restaurants; recreation through walks and horseback rides on traditional routes; complemented by the sale of handicrafts in wool and wood and various programmed events among which are gastronomic, handicraft and local product fairs that function occasionally or permanently during the summer season and are held in different locations that bring together the communities of the areas.

In the case of Z1, these initiatives are concentrated in the towns of Pucura, Traitraico, Coñaripe and in the case of Z2 in its southern area, specifically in the towns of El Encanto, El Taique, Las Parras, Aguas Calientes and Santa Elvira (Table 2; Figures 2 and 3).

Table 2: TB initiatives of Mapuche communities according to location and type

Zone	Locality	Total	Distribution by type of initiative				
			A1	A2	A3	A4	E
Panguipulli (Z1)	Pucura	8	2	2	1	0	3
	Traitraico	3	0	1	0	0	2
	Coñaripe	2	1	0	1	0	0
	Total Z1	13	3	3	2	0	5
Puyehue (Z2)	Santa Elvira	4	1	1	0	0	2
	Las Parras	2	0	1	0	0	1
	El Encanto	2	1	0	1	0	0
	El Taique	1	0	0	0	0	1
	Aguas Calientes	1	0	0	0	1	0
	Anticura	2	0	1	1	0	0
	Total Z2	12	2	3	2	1	4
Total Area of Study		25		6	4	1	9

Nomenclature: A1: Food; A2: Accommodation; A3: Scheduled events; A4: Handicrafts; E: Leisure.
Source: Own elaboration.

The geographical location, and the road connectivity between different locations, influence the levels of consolidation that CBT currently offers. Z1 is closer to the road route that connects the

urban centers of Licanray-Coñaripe (Figure 2), thus contributing to facilitate the movement of visitors to the initiatives; while Z2 initiatives are located in more remote locations of the Ch-215 route, a road axis that leads from the city of Entrelagos to the Cardenal Samoré international border crossing (Figure 3).

In addition, in Z1 there is a relatively fast public transportation service that runs along the aforementioned axis every day of the year by means of buses and minibuses, with high schedule rotation, especially in the summer season. On the other hand, in Z2 this last aspect is very deficient. There is only daily and frequent collective public transport between the localities of Entrelagos and Aguas Calientes - place that receives the biggest number of visitors because of the concentration of the thermal offer of the zone- while other sectors have a daily departure (Osorno-Aduanas) and even some have only three weekly routes. Besides, in the Z2 many of the initiatives are located in secondary non-asphalted roads that make difficult the displacement of vehicles, a matter that influences in a smaller arrival of tourists toward these places.

With regard to the incorporation of this CBT offer into the formal economy, in Z1 nine of the 13 initiatives studied have at least started activities before the Chilean Internal Revenue Service and a municipal patent; while in Z2 only four of the 12 initiatives have met these requirements; the rest of the initiatives in both zones operate with temporary permits or even without them. Even so, they contribute to boosting the local economy by providing between one and 14 jobs in each initiative during the summer season, mainly occupied by family members or local people.

It should also be noted that these tourism initiatives are especially led by women (86.4%). In this sense, another important impact of the CBT is related to the dynamization and re-signification of the traditional gender roles linked to women - already stated by Catalán (2015) - by transforming the activities of the domestic environment, cooking, weaving and gardening/ *huertiar* (colloquial term related to work in the garden) into products that are marketed as gastronomy and crafts to generate income for the family economy.

Regarding the commercialization, this is done mainly through direct sales and to a lesser extent managed via web pages, reaching a greater development in the initiatives of Panguipulli on Puyehue. As for the promotion channels, they are mainly spread through social networks, although these initiatives are also known in the territory through word of mouth (personal recommendations). It is important to highlight that the representatives of these initiatives also participate or are part of different social, economic and cultural organizations. With respect to tourism, the Trawun Cooperative in Panguipulli and the Association of the Precordillera in Puyehue, which facilitate the relationship with other organizations and dissemination of TBC initiatives, in addition to managing tourism routes in their respective areas, stand out.

TBC visitor characteristics

Visitors say that among the main motivations for visiting these areas are enjoying the beaches and nature, a question associated, in the first instance, to a better appreciation of the natural dimension over the cultural one. This could be a reflection of the tourist imagery built by the dominant national society that has highlighted the natural scenic beauty of the landscapes of southern Chile but has also made invisible the presence of the original population that has contributed to its shaping.

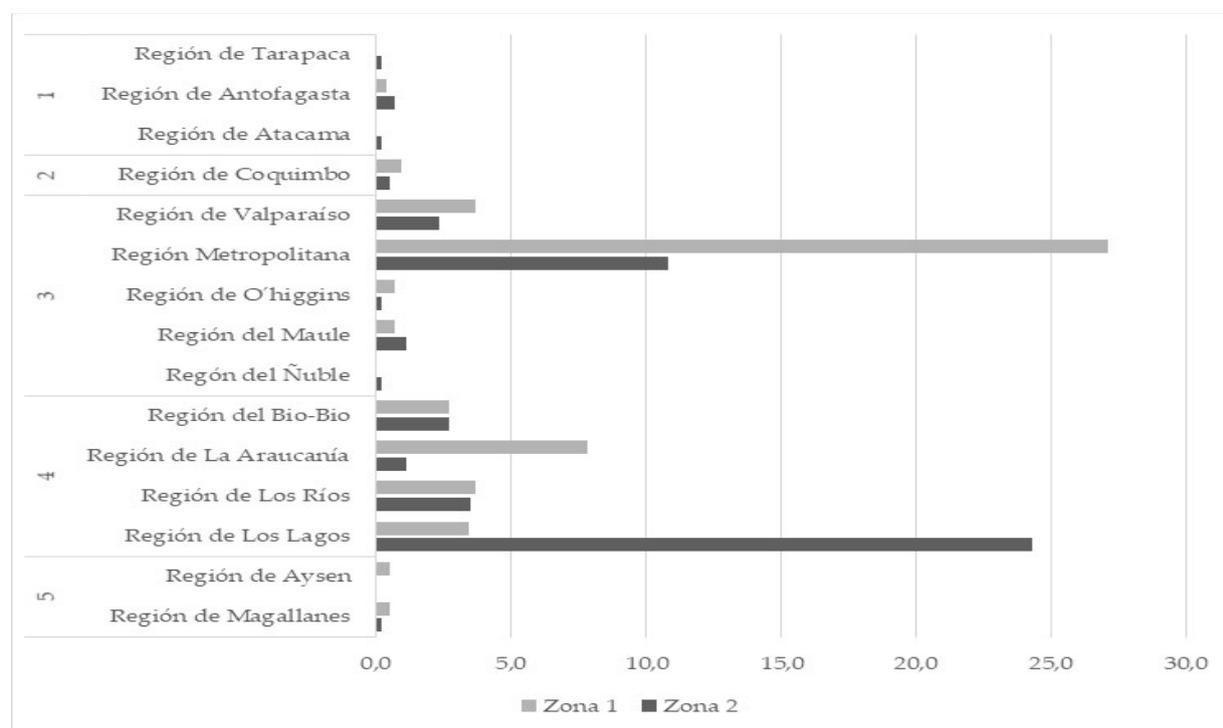
It has been identified in surveys that the continental waters (lakes, rivers, thermal waters, waterfalls) and the natural landscapes stand out among the most valued elements of the territory. However, according to current trends, the Mapuche culture has also become an object of attraction for visitors who come to these areas.

In fact, the majority of visitors surveyed declare their interest in continuing to get to know the cultural initiatives of the Mapuche communities (91.7%). These do not show important differences according to sex, but they do in terms of their ages. In both zones, it is young adults (40.5%) and adults (27.9%) who express the most interest in learning about the culture and tourism initiatives of the Mapuche communities, to which a segment of young people (20.2%) is added, and which stands out more in the case of Z2 (12.3%) than Z1 (7.9%).

94.5% of visitors are of national origin and come mostly from the central zone of Chile (46.8%), especially from the Metropolitan Region, which appears as one of the main emission points for both zones. Also relevant are the flows coming from the southern zone (49.2%), predominantly from the Araucanía Region for Z1 and the Los Lagos Region for Z2, that is, the same region where

the initiatives are located, in addition to visitors from the adjacent regions, such as the Rivers and Biobio (Figure 4).

Figure 4: Place of origin of visitors.



Note: 1. North Zone; 2. Small North 3. Central Zone; 4. Southern Zone; 5. Austral Zone
Source: Own elaboration.

It should be noted that according to the representatives of the initiatives there is also a number of visitors who arrive through various programs implemented by different state agencies, in addition to groups from universities and other educational institutions distributed during the year.

In addition, 77.5% of the visitors maintain a stable occupation, although there is also a percentage of inactive population represented by women dedicated to housework (12.9%), students (6.2%) and retirees (2.6%). The percentage of unemployed people is minimal (0.9%). In relation to the above, the level of monthly income of the employed population that visits these initiatives varies from a minimum of \$325,000 (US\$ 408) to a maximum of \$2,739,000 (US\$ 3,437), concentrating on the range of \$899,000 (US\$ 1,128) and \$1,359,999 (US\$ 1,706). This indicator allows classifying them according to their socioeconomic level in the middle and upper-middle strata of Chilean society. Likewise, it is evident that most of them have visited these areas previously (68.8%).

More than 81.2% of visitors travel by car, 17.2% by bus, and 1.5% use an alternative means of transport (motorcycle or bicycle). The length of stay varies between 1 and 60 days and those visitors who stay overnight prefer cabins (53.4%) and camping (22.5%), over hotels (1.7%), hostels (3.0%) and lodges (0.3%), a service that is not normally provided by the Mapuche communities linked to CBT; while 18.1% stay with friends, family or second homes, especially in Z2 (12.4%) compared to Z1 (5.7%).

Visitors rate the experience lived in these CBT initiatives as positive, with an average of six points, on a scale of one to seven. They propose the promotion of local gastronomy and the enhancement of other intangible components of the Mapuche culture, for example, initiatives that allow people to learn about local myths and legends. Other alternatives suggested are the design of tourist circuits structured by representative elements of the local flora and fauna, associated with stories about their values and attributes from the local cosmovision. In addition, routes for observing certain traces left in the territory as a result of volcanic eruptions associated with a story about how the community has faced this type of natural events. They also suggest outdoor activities such as hiking, horseback riding, and fishing that facilitate getting closer to the knowledge and practices of the Mapuche communities through different types of cultural and recreational routes.

Opportunities and obstacles faced by TBC

From the Mapuche communities, tourism is defined as: "that which is done because they like it and want to do it" (D.T. personal communication, 2019), showing a favorable predisposition to relate to visitors. It is an opportunity to form meeting spaces, to get to know and get to know each other generating instances that favor cultural exchange. It is also considered a source of income and complementary employment to their traditional activities, although without compromising the capacity of conservation of the natural environment or falling into the extreme of spectacularizing their culture to satisfy the expectations of the tourist demand.

Thus, within the framework of broader cultural revitalization processes currently being experienced in these territories, the interest of these communities in strengthening CBT stands out. This through the improvement of the facilities where they interact with visitors and the articulation of networks with other organizations that operate at different scales to disseminate the existence of their initiatives and the territory where they are inserted. Likewise, they aspire to promote the care of the environment, since they understand that only by conserving the characteristics of the natural environment is it possible to develop their traditional activities, in addition to tourism.

On the part of the visitors, the interest in knowing about CBT initiatives as detected in the surveys is appreciated, but at the same time, they identify a series of deficiencies to correct. These vary from aspects related to the tourism initiative itself, the widening of the offer of recreational activities related to nature and culture and the improvement of the tourist equipment, to improving the advertising strategies to spread these initiatives, in different instances, from the local to the international level.

However, despite the interest hosts and visitors show to link up with or participate in CBT initiatives, this faces a series of obstacles that make it difficult to consolidate it in the areas studied. The nature of these threats is diverse. Sometimes they have a technical-legal component (regulation of tourism activity); political (centralism and prevailing neo-liberal positions); or environmental, derived from conflicts over access to natural resources.

For example, there is little formalization of Mapuche tourism providers. In this respect, these communities express their discontent since the legal norms that regulate tourist activity have been conceived in a uniform and hegemonic manner, for undertakings of greater size or capacity, making it difficult for small-scale initiatives such as theirs to comply. In addition, these norms reveal a lack of pertinence, when not considering the particularities of their forms of life, subject that tends to homogenize its culture with the dominant national one. It is not less certain that the panorama is complicated by the existence of powerful private initiatives of tourism of special interests that phagocytize or camouflage the smaller initiatives.

Another obstacle detected that can affect the current and/or future development and even the very viability of tourism initiatives is the one derived from problems or conflicts associated with the use, administration and ownership of the territories. If it is assumed that these initiatives are inserted in territories that have historically corresponded to the Mapuche people, from their point of view, their opinions are not considered when the central authority or individuals decide or discuss the implementation of extractive activities, which limit the traditional uses and mobility of communities in these territories, especially in the absence of effective and relevant state mechanisms of participation.

This is the case of some communities linked to tourist activity in Z1 that see limited access to Pewenantu (Villarrica National Park, Figure 2), an area of high cultural value that is a repository of traditions, values and the worldview of the Mapuche people. For the state administration, this space is part of a protected natural area where human activity and presence is restricted, an issue that affects the Mapuche communities surrounding this protection figure. However, the State itself, in addition to macro investment programs, is promoting tenders to grant concessions for tourist services corresponding to a mountain and ski center in this same area, which potentially collides with the lifestyles and tourism initiatives of the communities.

In Z2, the claims of these communities are directed against the installation of mini hydroelectric plants, pointing out that they affect the course and flow of the rivers and lakes in the area (which also have cultural importance). They also claim that the pipes that carry the water aesthetically affect the landscape. The same happens with the abandoned structures of the aquaculture industry on the shores of Lake Rupanco (Figure 3); communities indicate that, in addition to impeding free circulation to and from the beaches, they visually pollutes the landscape.

Conclusions and proposals

In Latin America, community-based tourism has positioned itself as an alternative for host communities, in terms of improving the quality of life, empowerment, conservation and protection of the natural environment and local culture, as well as a means to protect their territories from the expansion of extractive capitalism.

For the Mapuche communities, CBT has contributed to the generation of complementary income that energizes the local economies and to the strengthening of their culture based on heritage elements that are placed in value by and from the community, favoring processes of empowerment of its members.

However, it is clear that there is no real will from the State to promote the life plans drawn up by these communities. This comes to evidence especially if we consider the lack of active participation of the communities in public or private initiatives that intervene in their space and deteriorate their landscapes. A matter that clashes with international treaties that enshrine their right to decide their own priorities regarding their economic, social and cultural development process. This situation is aggravated by the lack of cultural relevance in existing tourism regulations, which is detrimental to Mapuche initiatives in the areas studied.

For example, health regulations or those related to infrastructure and equipment force them to adapt to homogeneous models, making invisible the Mapuche worldview as expressed in the traditional practices that support their tourism initiatives; an issue that compromises the safeguarding of their culture because it objectifies the meanings, senses and representations according to tourism market trends.

In this sense, if there is already a favorable predisposition towards this type of tourism in Mapuche communities and the visitors interested in practicing it, one must point out the need to permeate the - mainly political - will of the authorities so that they adapt their policies, programs and projects to the singularities and needs that the communities demand. This implies the creation of mechanisms that channel an active, real and effective participation of these communities, in the decision-making process, in order to collaborate in the establishment of action criteria regarding the elaboration, execution, development and evaluation of these matters. For instance, instruments of planning and tourist development of supra-municipal scope should be created that, in addition, would count on financing, to take advantage of the geographic proximity of protected natural spaces that could act as motor or nuclear axis of a model of development of the local sustainable tourist activity. In this way, it would be possible to identify the dimensions and processes that could improve a community proposal for tourism in territories threatened by extractive activities, rich in landscapes and natural resources, where the historical presence of neglected populations claims for a central role.

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