How sovereignty claims and "negative" emotions influence the process of subject-making: Evidence from a case of conflict over tree plantations in Southern Chile

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ABSTRACT

Conflicts over tree plantations in the global South challenge the image of sustainability and efficiency that some states and forestry companies construct for themselves and forestry extractivism. Research on the power dynamics of tree plantations has up to now focused on conflictive interactions between states, private capital and local populations, overlooking the role of more subtle power dynamics. To expand those analyses, we focus on the role of subjectivities in conflicts, and examine how state, capital and local populations interact in the process of subject formation. We analyse the historical and contemporary development of forestry extractivism in Southern Chile, specifically in and around indigenous Mapuche territories. Our analysis shows that commercial forestry advances via securing land control through disciplinary interventions whose aim is to create subjects that can help secure capital accumulation and extractivism. Nevertheless, individuals and communities get in the way of this project as they mobilise sovereignty claims that permit them to exercise control over the process of their own subject-formation. Importantly, our analysis highlights the emotional dimension of the process of formation of political subjects, especially via the expression of "negative" emotions such as anger and sorrow, which we find to be crucial resources that help indigenous Mapuche communities to maintain resistance. We conclude that side by side with capital accumulation and subjectivity-formation processes, political ecologists should consider more the emotional experiences that facilitate or hinder everyday environmental struggles.

1. Introduction

Walking between large extensions of pine and eucalyptus plantations in Southern Chile, one cannot but be overwhelmed by the apparent success of the forestry extractivist project. Today, tree plantations cover almost three million hectares in Central and Southern Chile (CONAF, 2011), guaranteeing an efficient production of forest raw materials at high growth rates to supply national and international markets (Cossalter and Pye-smith, 2003). How-ever, the more vulnerable face of this model reveals itself every summer, when thousands of fires affect forestry company plots. Fire, like other socio-ecological constraints (water availability, soil fertility, etc.) endangers the order and efficiency upon which forestry extraction rests. But, less visibly, fires also imply that the neighbours of corporate plots – that is, rural, semi-rural, peasant and indigenous communities surrounded by extensive, capital productive and flammable tree plantations – become key actors in managing the efficiency-vulnerability equilibrium of tree plantations.

Power dynamics related to tree plantations have been studied as conflicts between states, private capital and local populations. Smallholders tend to play a leading role in those conflicts that result from plantations' large-scale land occupation, which implies power concentration, displacements and adverse impacts on local livelihoods (Carrere and Lohmann, 1996; Gerber, 2011). While

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some analysts acknowledge the broad repertoire of practices of resistance, depending on the political and socio-cultural contexts where those struggles take place (Peluso, 1992; Scott, 1985), conflicts around tree plantations are usually defined as "*physical mobilisations coming from neighbouring populations and targeted at the perceived negative effects of the plantation*" (Gerber, 2011: 166, our emphasis). The emphasis on the "physical" is consistent with a prevailing tendency in political ecology to study how ecological distribution conflicts develop in public arenas (Martínez-Alier, 2002) overlooking what happens in "subjective spheres". Such focus misses how resistance is experienced on a day-to-day basis conjointly in bodies, minds and emotions, and how oppositional reactions blur with consent and negotiation tactics, thus providing a "fairly standard script" about "how people actually respond, change their behaviors, or alter the landscape" (Robbins, 2012: 208–210).

Subjectivation, or subject-making processes, can take place in the course of tree plantation conflicts. Lots of ink has been spilled to discuss whether subjects exist as separate entities and the limits of their capacity to have agency (Foucault, 1979; Butler, 1997; Allen, 2002; Mahoney and Yngvesson, 1992). Here, we do not delve into depth on that issue but take as a starting point that processes to form subjects, specifically individual citizens with a compliant relationship to authority do exist. We use a fairly basic notion of subjectivation or subject-making as the political process of forming (or constructing) individual and collective subjectivities. By political, we mean processes in which diverse mechanisms of power and authority (e.g. agenda-setting, governmentality, violence, etc.) and how responses to those mechanisms operate. Focussing on how exactly subject-making develops is important for understanding not only how people are continuously formed by and brought into relations of power (Foucault, 1979; Lemke, 2001), but also how they reflect, act and embody resistance (Butler, 1997; Rancière, 1992). Contributions in Geoforum have explored this gap by analysing how subjectivities and emotions are arenas of socio-ecological struggles together with "physical" landscapes (Nightingale, 2011a; Singh, 2013; Sultana, 2011), especially through the lens of feminist political ecology (Elmhirst, 2011). However, the study of environmental subjects in the context of conflict – especially conflicts related to forestry extractivism – instead of conservation governance (Agrawal, 2005; Singh, 2013), is still underdeveloped.

In this paper, we use fire as an entry point to examine the way in which private forestry companies and the state frame their relationships with people who live at the margins of tree plantations in Southern Chile. Focusing on fire prevention technologies, we examine how these try to establish discipline through transforming locals into "good neighbours" in order to ensure land control, minimise conflict and protect the capital accumulation process that occurs through forestry extraction. We also look at how individuals and communities get in the way of this project and in doing so engage with processes of political subjectivation, and the relevance of "negative" emotions in this process.

In political ecology, forests have been analysed separately as either stages for conflict or as settings where processes of subject-formation take place, as we explain in Section 2; this disconnection between those two literatures is the conceptual motivation for our paper. Section 3 describes our methods and case study site. Sections 4 and 5 identify the key strategies used by state and private companies in Chile for "accumulating through disciplining", and we use fire control as an example to illustrate how those strategies operate. Sections 6 and 7 analyse local reactions to this project. Section 8 discusses our findings, and concludes, with reference to forestry conflicts, subjectivity and emotional geographies literatures.

2. Into the woods: land control, conflict and subjectivities

Tree plantations are forests designed by humans for the sake of profitability and efficiency maximisation, monocultures for the production of raw materials at high growth rates, organised to supply wood, charcoal, logs and pulp to markets (Carrere and Lohmann, 1996; Pryor, 1982). Property concentration is a key institution of power in relation to tree plantations (Gerber and Veuthey, 2010), since it facilitates the dispossession of local populations and the realisation of a capitalist-oriented economic potential of resources via credits, subsidies, industrialisation and proletarianisation of labour (Bull et al., 2006). As happens with many forestry projects (Scott, 1985; Vandergeest and Peluso, 2006), knowledge, values and discourses are also crucial in ensuring and protecting tree plantation projects: "green washing" of forestry activities like the Forest Stewardship Council (Bloomfield, 2012) and the criminalisation and violence towards protest against forestry (Gerber, 2011) have been reported as land control mechanisms used to establish and expand monoculture forestry activities.

The operation of those power mechanisms transforms suburban, peasant and indigenous communities' territories into industrial, extractivist landscapes (Bridge and McManus, 2000). Processes of land control also occur via subject-formation, whereby institutions of state and capital and NGOs deploy disciplinary systems through de-centralised forest governance (Agrawal, 2005), property enclosure (Malhi, 2011), or by defining what knowledge and behaviour is appropriate for environmental conservation (Bryant, 2002). Control of land and subjectivities takes place when technologies of state or market power transform into "technologies of the self" (Lemke, 2001). One such technology is "individual responsabilisation" through which subjects themselves incorporate and assume the individual responsibility of implementing disciplinary mechanisms (Foucault, 1979; Agrawal, 2005; Coaffee, 2013) by internalising hegemonic logics through acting and thinking as forest stewards, peaceful indigenous subjects or by abandoning customary forms of organising livelihoods that hinder commercialised forestry. The focus on individual responsibility empties the political and power relationships of forest governance, shifting attention from broader processes of dispossession to concrete individuals or groups as responsible for causing environmental degradation (González-Hidalgo et al., 2014). For example, Du Monceau (2008) shows how tree plantations in Chile transform subjects by creating an "extractive mentality", which is adopted by some peasant and indigenous communities who become small land holding forestry entrepreneurs.

Nevertheless, disciplinary tactics are not always successful: conflict emerges when locals refuse to accept what is expected from them and express disapproval to elite, state or colonial policies, cultures and ideologies over their livelihoods (Scott, 1985; Peluso, 1992). In his review of tree plantation conflicts, Gerber (2011) explains how those conflicts are expressed by means of lawsuits and demonstrations, side-by-side with "weapons of the weak" (Scott, 1985) which can include arson attacks, stealing company property, material damages and blockades to the industrial forestry activity. However, when considering subject formation, this rupture (Rancière, 2001) or counter-conduct[1] (Cadman, 2010) is not automatic, spontaneous or easy. It demands that local communities go through a process of both political de-subjectivation of the imposed social order, and re-subjectivation in order to resist the others' "givenness of place" both in terms of identity and spatial relations (Dikeç, 2012). This process of political subjectivation can take place through collective processes of expression of dissent and the "reconfiguration of the field of experience" (Rancière,

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[1] In Foucauldian terms.

1999), through forms of democratic organisation, collective debates, artistic performance and other creative expressions (Leonardi, 2013; Velicu and Kaika, 2015; Valli, 2015). Still, confronting well-established power relationships head-on is not easy: consent, complicity and negotiation are also part of the conflict situation (Scott, 1985). This is why in our case study we consider also non-confrontational local engagements with corporate forestry projects and their relation to subject-formation.

In this paper we mobilise an emotional political ecology (Sultana, 2015) in order to better understand environmental conflicts, putting emotional geographies in conversation with power issues. Emotional geographies understand "emotion experientially and conceptually in terms of its socio-spatial mediation and articulation rather than as entirely interiorised subjective mental states" (Davidson et al., 2005: 3). We thus understand emotions as embodied experiences that imply individual and collective ways of thinking, engagements, expressions and relationships among humans and their environments, which subsequently inform political ecological relationships among people, their environments and conflicts. Without entering into the debate on emotions and affects in geography (Pile, 2010), in this paper we understand emotions as ways of being sensitive to the expressions, moods, climates and non representational ways (Thrift, 2008) in which humans perform their feelings and build their relationships to social-ecological landscapes.

Recently, some scholars (Sultana, 2011; Singh, 2013) have considered the role of affect, emotions and embodiment in the shaping of subjectivities in water conflicts and forest conservation governance. Others have shown how locals' relationships and attachment to places of struggle and their embodiment of conflicts via emotions are crucial for the discourse, emergence, sustainability and cohesion of social movements (Bosco, 2010, Dallman et al., 2013; Satterfield, 2002). Concerning forests, some have emphasised how this takes place via an intersubjective communication among humans and their (biophysical) environment, where cooperation and conflicts express relationships of friendship and parenthood with fauna and flora (Ingold, 2000; Kohn, 2007), embodied caring practices (Singh, 2013) and relationships framed by sacredness (Tebtebba Foundation, 2011).

Trees and forests are usually portrayed as carriers of aesthetic appreciation, identities, spirituality and feelings of social belonging (Buijs and Lawrence, 2013), which are considered triggers for discourse and action (Milton, 2002). While the relevance that such "positive" emotions regarding nature have for subjects and movements defending forests and commons has been registered in political ecology (Shiva, 1993; Nightingale, 2011b; Singh, 2013), "negative" emotions have been largely overlooked. Anger, grief and disgust have been considered as promoters for action in the case of losing loved forests, but not as grounded ways of relating to tree plantations. We consider such relating in a concrete case of conflict over tree plantations in Southern Chile, where we (inter alia) draw evidence from political and spiritual Mapuche gatherings for understanding the relevance of "negative" emotions for the process of subject-making.

3. Methods

We conducted an in-depth case study (Yin, 2003) in Arauco, Chile, the southernmost province of the Biobío Region, covering the coastal plain south of the Biobío River, the eastern slope of the Nahuelbuta Mountain Range down to the Pacific Ocean (Fig. 1), and areas in the western side of the mountains (eastern side of Biobío Region and in the North of Araucanía Region).[2] This

area was selected for its high concentration of tree plantations, mainly owned by the companies Arauco and Mininco-CMPC. Individual landowners (both Chilean and indigenous Mapuche[3]) also participate in the plantation economy. Scattered indigenous communities resist tree plantations and have land conflicts with the forestry companies; the area is characterised as "critical" by state forestry authorities due to the high surface burned and number of fires.

Fieldwork developed in two phases: first, scoping visits in June and September 2013 were followed by longer periods of direct observation and interviews between January-September 2014. We conducted 43 semi-structured, in-depth interviews, with a purposive sample of local and national representatives of state and private forestry institutions (in the area and the cities of Santiago, Concepción and Temuco), peasant[4] and indigenous communities. Local interviewees involved people living adjacent to company-owned tree plantations. Interviewees were selected through snowball sampling, with the help of key informants. Fieldwork also included two experiences of direct observation: first, three days of direct observation of the educational and community relationships programme that *Working on Fire* (WoF), an enterprise subcontracted by Arauco Co., develops in the area to promote fire prevention; second, several instances of participation in the daily political arrangements of Mapuche communities in the area, as well as their livelihood activities, political meetings and rituals.

Given the significant conflict between state, forestry companies, and indigenous communities in certain areas, our research was – unsurprisingly – viewed with suspicion, which in some cases complicated access to both companies (which did not facilitate financial data we asked for or rejected conceding interviews) and communities. Primary data were complemented with analysis of national and regional news, reports, policies and documents related to the area and the forestry industry.

3.1. Overview of the conflict

In Arauco, tree plantations cover 315.331 ha, 58% of the province's surface. Forestation rate of Arauco's communes[5] vary between the massively planted commune of Curanilahue (82% of its surface) and the more farmland type of landscape of Cañete (42%) (INE, 2007). The expansion of the forestry frontier in the last decades has had profound impacts upon peasant and rural economies: in 2002, 34% of Arauco's population lived in rural areas, 30% less than forty years ago (INE, 2002). As regards plantation species, *Pinus radiata* (63%) predominate over *Eucalyptus globulus* (33%) and *Eucalyptus nitens* plantations (3%) (INFOR, 2009). Except for two protected areas (*Monumento Nacional Contulmo* and *Nahuelbuta Park*) native forests are essentially shrubs appearing in between or in the margins of tree plantations, which are either property of the companies or small plots that mix exotic and native forests.

Arauco is one of the areas in Southern Chile where indigenous land rights are in dispute, precisely where *Pinus* and *Eucalyptus* grow. The expansion and establishment of forestry in the region has been possible thanks to state subsidies to big private companies, which now concentrate property and control most phases of the commodity chain. Conflict is, first, about property. Indigenous Mapuche reclaim that the lands where tree plantations now stand are part of their ancestral territory, maintained by means of several battles and truces until the independence of Chile from the Spanish

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[2] In the paper we refer to our case study area as Arauco.

[3] Although Mapuche are considered Chilean in terms of citizenship since 1819, our distinction here is in terms of identity.

[4] We use the term "peasant" to refer to people embedded in a peasant economy, to take into account the blurry manner in which rural labour was organised in 20th century Southern Chile among tenant farmers, resident and day estate labourers, squatters, settlers, indigenous reductions, share croppers, etc. (Klubock, 2014).

[5] Communes are the smallest administrative unit in Chile, roughly equal to British municipalities.
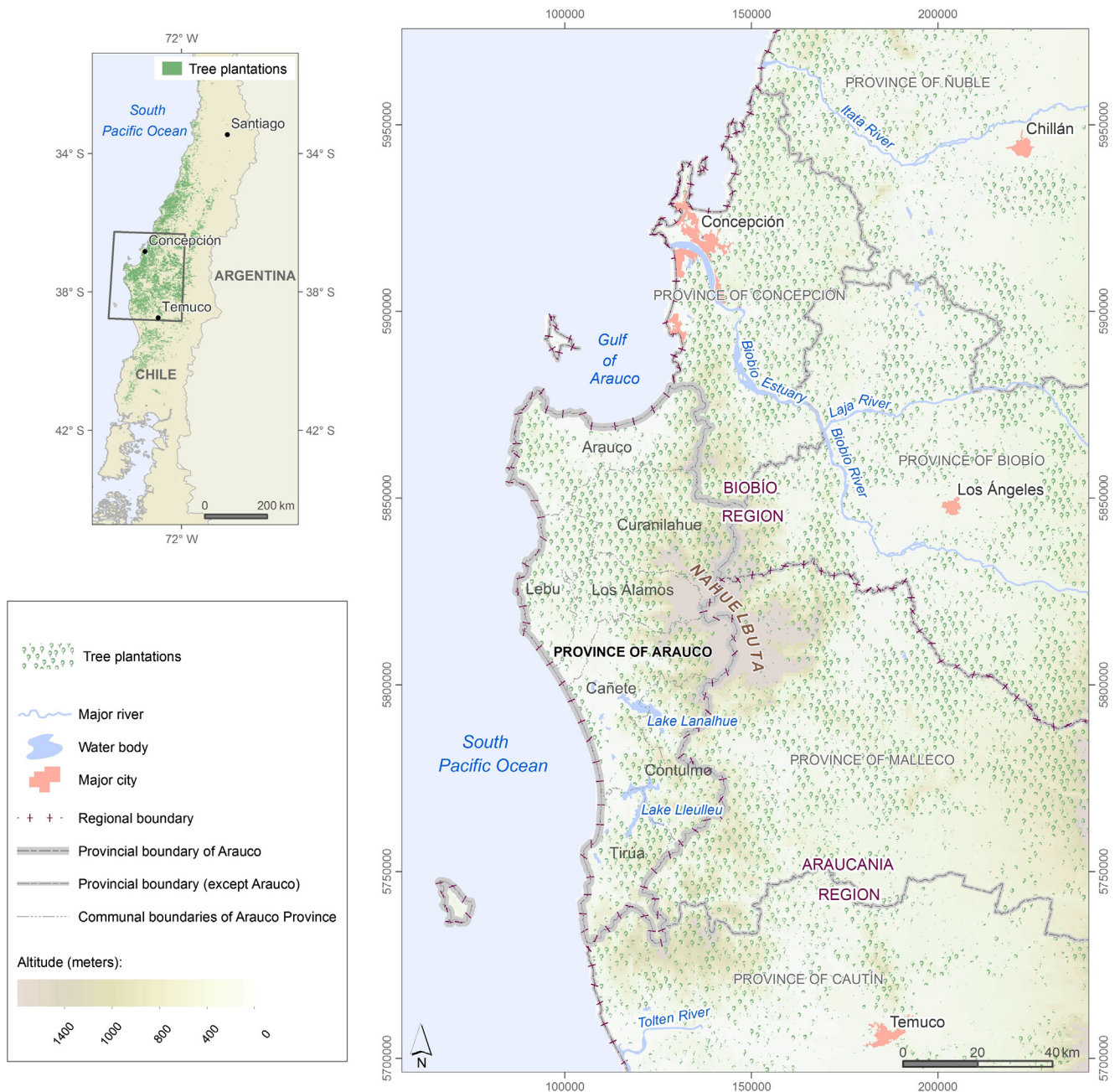
Fig. 1. Situation map: own elaboration with cartographic data from GADM and CONAF. GRS WGS84, Datum WGS84. Main map: own elaboration with cartographic data of BCN, CGIAR-CSI, Digital Chart of the World, CONAF and GADM repositories. SRS: UTM 19S, Datum WGS84. Elaborated by M. Borròs, with support of P. Pliscoff.

Crown. Indigenous and non-indigenous peasants also denounce having been forced to sell their properties in the last 40 years when the expansion of tree plantations became massive. Secondly, conflict is about the long lasting impacts of tree plantations on local populations' daily livelihoods: blocking access to land, reducing availability of water, pollution, forced migration and lack of work opportunities. Impacts are framed also in terms of economic inequality since, while tree plantations belong to the richest families in Chile,[6] Arauco is one of the poorest provinces in the country in terms of GDP per capita (Ministerio de Desarrollo Social, 2011). Enterprises argue that they have obtained lands legally under Chi-

lean laws, that they develop an economically and environmentally sustainable activity, and claim to have good relationships with most communities.

Conflict around tree plantations is part of what is internationally known as "the Mapuche conflict", which involves disputes with forestry companies and big landowners over resources such as land and forests and access rights to the sea and rivers (Skewes and Guerra, 2004), all of them crucial elements of the Mapuche conception of "the territory". Mapuche means "the people of the land" (Mapu = land, che = people) – in coastal areas indigenous Mapuche communities are also Lafkenche, "the people of the sea" (Lafken = sea). Mapuche claims also seek to recover their native language, health and spirituality (Bengoa, 2012). Although in the last 30 years, the Chilean state, via its National Corporation for Indigenous Development (CONADI), has transferred

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[6] See Forbes list for the World's billionaires. http://www.forbes.com/profile/roberto-angelini-rossi/; http://www.forbes.com/profile/eliodoro-matte/ [Accessed 15.05.2015]

more than 160,000 ha of land to Mapuche individuals and communities,[7] conflict continues.

The conflict has entered a more violent phase since the 1990s, when the burning of companies' trucks and plots began and state repression scaled up.[8] The Arauco-Malleco Coordination (CAM[9]), a loosely-structured Mapuche anti-capitalist group supporting communities "in resistance", whose practices are based on direct action pursuing effective territorial control, has apparently accepted to have conducted fire attacks to plantations and forestry infrastructures.[10] For CAM and communities in resistance, land is not the same as territory. The current strategy of land acquisitions through CONADI is criticised for being conducted through the market and for safeguarding capitalist investment, since "usurper farmers or forestry companies, after having profited from years of Mapuche lands, are compensated with millions by the State so that they can continue to invest" (Llaitul, 2014). Mapuche activists or supporters have been accused under Chile's antiterrorist law and now 29 of them are in jail,[11] charged with crimes such as robbery, carrying weapons and, in some cases, setting fires. In 2013, for the first time a Mapuche shaman (*Wentxumachi)* was imprisoned after being convicted of starting a fire that killed a couple of landowners in Araucanía. Also, 12 people from Mapuche communities have died in post-dictatorship confrontations with the State. Most condemning court decisions are based on testimonies of "protected witnesses", which is denounced as fraudulent and has been recognised as such by the Inter-American Court of Human Rights.[12]

4. Histories of dispossession: state-building, capital accumulation and forestry in Arauco

Before Spanish colonisation (1598–1810), scattered indigenous communities of Mapuche (called *Araucanos* by the Spanish) lived in the temperate forests of Southern Chile and Argentina, where they cleared forest for establishing settlements. Their subsistence economy was based on hunter-gathering, which guaranteed the presence of extensive forest and high biodiversity (Camus, 2006). The maintenance of dense and wild vegetation facilitated indigenous struggle in their long and violent confrontation against the Spanish Empire.[13] During the 17th century, Mapuche resistance prevented Spanish colonisation of the territory, and the Mapuche formally established their autonomy with the treaty of Quillín in 1641, setting the colonisers' southernmost frontier at the river Biobío. The establishment of the frontier implied important transformations. First, the Mapuche adopted Spanish crops and livestock transforming their economy into a production-oriented one based on livestock, salt and textiles to be traded with the colony (Pinto, 2003). Second, the accumulation of wealth that resulted from that process was accompanied by an accumulation of political power too, since Mapuche organisation and representation became more centralised (Bengoa, 1996).

Those frontier relationships broke down when the state of Chile declared its independence from Spain (1810) and Mapuche were made Chilean citizens (1819): the frontier began to slowly disintegrate through land acquisitions by Chilean and, afterwards, German colonisers. The Pacification of Araucanía in Chile (1860–1881) and the Conquest of the Desert in Argentina (1878–1885) involved violent state strategies for land control, including setting fire to Mapuche houses and lands, ending up with the incorporation of 5,000,000 ha of land to the state of Chile and the reduction of Mapuche territories to 5% of their territory, with about 4 ha per clan member (Mella, 2007). This violent expansion of the Chilean frontier through military action was motivated by the growth of international trade in wheat, in which central Chile enjoyed an early success (Clapp, 1998), together with the consideration of indigenous populations as an inferior race (Pinto, 2003) and that Mapuche peasant economies lagged in productivity. Fire was not only a tool for the expansion of the frontier, but was also used to make available rich soils with a high amount of organic matter to be cultivated with wheat for exports (Otero, 2006). Mapuche livelihood strategies abruptly changed again due to their confinement: extensive grazing and slash-and-burn agriculture was replaced with permanent cultivation. The need for firewood and productive land led to overgrazing, erosion and destruction of native forests, transforming Mapuche into impoverished peasants (Clapp, 1998).

Chile was a granary for global markets until the Great Depression when wheat cultivation stopped being profitable. In 1931, the government decreed the first Forest Law, which conceded 30-year tax exemptions to landowners who devoted land to tree plantations. The promotion of tree plantations was inspired by the "conservationist" work of Federico Albert, a German forestry engineer contracted by the state in 1911, whose "national crusade against erosion" (Camus, 2006) saw tree-planting as a "win-win-win" solution for the area: planting trees could prevent soil erosion, reduce the extraction of native forests, and foster a prosperous industry. Promising trials took place, precisely in Arauco, with good response from pine seeds imported from California by the recently created namesake forestry company, Arauco Co. The Chilean state banked on international market demand for timber and cellulose and Arauco was an ideal area to transform for forestry extractivism: availability of dispossessed land (Mapuche reservations concentrated in the Southern edge of the province) and dispossess-able land (large agricultural *haciendas* worked by tenant farmers), together with biophysical characteristics (e.g. rainfall) that enabled a fast growth rate and shorter species rotation (Clapp, 1995). Between 1964 and 1973, the state established new sawmill cellulose factories and paper mills (which were to be privatised afterwards). The perspective of this emergent industry infused Southern Chile with economic hope based in forestry extractivism. Even the most revolutionary times with Allende's Popular Unity government (1970–73), represented continuities in establishing the reigning forestry ideology. Providing peasants stable labour by participating in the forestry sector was seen as a solution to southern rural poverty and land inequality (Klubock, 2014).

The consolidation of a neoliberal programme under the military regime of Pinochet (1973–90) was constituted through reforms for liberalisation of land and water markets and "modernisation" of industries (Budds, 2013). This concerned also the incipient forestry sector, which especially through Decree 701 of 1974, began to subsidise 75% of planting costs (Bull et al., 2006). Eighty per cent of subsidy payments went to Chile's three largest forest companies, which shifted to private capital markets. Moreover, many of the lands that were redistributed among peasants during agrarian reform (1962–1973) were returned to their previous landowners (Torres et al., 2015), which in many cases sold them to forestry enterprises. Twenty years later, a modification of Decree 701 (Law 19.561, 1998) motivated also individual landowners to join

[7] Since 1993, CONADI has invested more than US$ 400 million in its programmes for determination of indigenous lands (INDH, 2014).

[8] In areas with conflicts over corporate tree plantations, state investments reflect high expenses for maintaining national police forces (García-Huidobro, 2015).

[9] In Spanish, *Coordinadora de Comunidades en Conflicto Arauco-Malleco* (Arauco-Malleco Coordinator of communities in conflict), usually known as *Coordinadora Arauco-Malleco*. Malleco is one of the two provinces of Araucanía, next to Arauco.

[10] See http://www.weftun.org/ [Accessed 15.05.2015]

[11] Considered as political prisoners by CAM.

[12] See http://www.corteidh.or.cr/docs/casos/articulos/seriec_279_ing.pdf [Accessed 15.05.2015]

[13] Reported in *La Araucana*, a first-person testimony of the intense beginning of the war of Arauco, published between 1574 and 1589, by Alonso de Ercilla. Cited in Camus (2006).

as suppliers of raw material to the industry. Smallholders stopped being considered obstacles for forestry expansion and begun to receive subsidies for planting trees. Today, the active political interventions of the last 40 years have achieved to slightly diversify the huge dependency of Chile's economy on its traditional commodities (copper and nitrates) and forestry contributes 3.1% to national GDP. In 2014, forestry export earnings were above US $6 billion, five times over 1992 earnings (INFOR, 2014) and plantations expanded along 3,000,000 ha, with property highly concentrated in big estates (Torres et al., 2015).

Although peasant tree-farming in the late 1980s brought some economic relief for certain rural households and Mapuche communities (Clapp, 1998), local communities have denounced the long lasting impacts of forestry expansion on their livelihoods. Forestry workers have also denounced precarious labour conditions and obstacles to unionising established during the dictatorship and still maintained in numerous sectors.

Forestry companies Arauco and Mininco-CMPC own extensive areas of tree plantations in our area of study. They also control all phases of the commodity chain (from plantation to pulp or saw mill processing) and have assets in several Latin American countries. There are also new multinational companies in the area, such as Volterra (Japanese capital) as well as smaller local forestry companies. Other tree plantations belong to peasant and indigenous small-tenants who either use wood for themselves or sell timber to intermediaries to process it in the industrial centres of the bigger companies. Like other parts of Southern Chile, Mapuche have risen in protest since the 1990s in Arauco. Most self-defined as "in resistance" Mapuche communities squat land as a form of direct and quiet action for achieving effective territorial control. Through recovering land, communities organise themselves collectively or according to household and plant potatoes, wheat and peas on a small scale, recuperate their extensive livestock practices and decide to what extent they want to depend on tree farming. Direct action is combined with claims for the restitution of ancestral lands via Convention number 169 of UN's International Labour Organisation, and with negotiating with the state and forestry companies so that the former buys land from private owners.

During the summer, security control increases dramatically in Arauco since the province is characterised as critical by state forestry institutions due to the large area burned and high number of fires. A high presence of *carabineros* (the national police force) is common, especially near corporate plots close to the harvest period, since locals (and especially Mapuche) are accused of either illegally harvesting or setting them on fire. A total of 1690 people have being accused of setting fires in Arauco between 2003 and 2014, while the state has formally identified and pressed charges on only ten of them.[14]

5. Accumulating through disciplining: the case of fire control

The massive areas dedicated to tree plantations one sees today in Southern Chile are the contemporary expression of a long history of successes and failures for land control by diverse groups. The history of the forestry sector is closely connected to the history of fire control technologies. As explained before, fire was a useful tool to establish land control during the expansion of the national and agrarian frontier in Southern Chile. More recently, fire has also been useful for the expansion of the forestry frontier as many of the existing plots were cleared thanks to fire (Echeverria et al., 2006; confirmed by elder peasants interviewed). However, once tree plantations were in place, fire had to be stopped again, i.e. reversing the fire regime became essential.

Nowadays, companies offering fire-control and fire-fighting services are strategic partners of forestry companies, and thus part of the capital accumulation forestry project. The fire management budgets of private companies and the state forestry corporation (*Corporación de Fomento Forestal,* CONAF) are similar (about US $20 million annually), although forestry companies manage a quarter of the surface that CONAF does. In the national accounts of the forestry sector (2005–2013), fire fighting tends to be the second economic activity in terms of sales, after forestry exploitation and the first in number of workers (Table 1). For example, FAASA, the main company in technology provision (airplanes and helicopters) to private companies and CONAF, has declared a 50% increase in profits between 2003 and 2010. Notably, most of the labour that fire fighting demands is temporary, which involves precarious subcontracting and security conditions (Forestry trade-union representative, CTF Chile).

Extinguishing fires is the principal fire control strategy, e.g. ahead of prevention, as it ensures efficiency in the sense of low surface burnt and reaction time. Companies guarantee being in location where a fire begins in 10 min (Head of the Patrimony Protection of Arauco Co.). This explains the low annual surface area of forestry company plots affected despite the high number of fires (CONAF, 2015).

However, aerial fire fighting costs are extremely high and during the summer companies are overwhelmed by simultaneous fires. Companies are thus increasingly incorporating a prevention strategy to protect their assets. This strategy is based on the understanding that fires occur as a consequence of individual misconducts, therefore individual motivations must be investigated and changed (Responsible of fire-prevention education campaigns, CONAF). While CONAF has always used this leitmotiv in fire prevention campaigns and activities addressed to the general public, companies have only recently started establishing close relationships with surrounding communities as part of their prevention activities. Arauco Co.'s fire prevention budget, for example, has quadrupled in the last ten years although it is still only approximately 1% of the total fire budget (Head of the Patrimony Protection of Arauco Co. and Head of WoF).

In areas with high fire occurrence, corporate disciplinary mechanisms for the sake of fire prevention are based on three interrelated strategies of individual responsibilisation: visibility, education and intervention. Those strategies are realised by some of the following practices:

1) Distribution of door-to-door propaganda material and short talks with locals guarantees the company's visibility. Advertising can spread values such as (individual) responsibility, work and collaboration through fire prevention. Fig. 2 shows one such example from an advertising campaign: a coypu (CONAF's image for fire prevention, named *Forestín*, inspired in US Forest mascot Smokey Bear, CONAF, 2013) and an owl (CORMA's image, named *Silvestre*, which paradoxically means "wild") hug a pine tree. The characters request collaboration for the protection of their habitat, a continuous pine mass, asking locals close to plantations to call and warn the company or fire-fighters when they see a fire in the area. In this way they clearly express the kind of subject they desire: the friendly collaborator, the "good neighbour".

2) Educational campaigns in schools and local associations through recreational activities aim to explain and instil, especially in children, values about nature, the benefits of the forestry industry and impacts of tree plantation fires. Arauco Co. calls this programme Forest Guardians as kids swear "before God, homeland and flag" to be forest guardians. Children are to be educated not only as future

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[14] Information via Law 20.285, Law of Transparency, Fiscalía Región del Biobío.

Table 1
National economic information for the forestry sector in 2013. Own elaboration. Source: *Servicio de Impuestos Internos*, Chile.

Forestry, wood extraction and other services related	Number of companies	Sales (billion US$)	Number of informed dependant workers	Net income of informed dependant workers (billion US$)
Forestry exploitation	1285	985,646	13,979	31,550
Services for the control of forest fires	806	232,031	31,516	44,362
Re-forestation services	393	105,496	5481	4440
Cutting wood services	834	32,298	2862	1813
Exploitation of tree nurseries	115	10,367	658	840
Non-timber forest products recollection	111	5373	649	435
Other activities related to forestry	754	85,180	11,636	11,060

Fig. 2. CONAF and CORMA (association of plantation owners, with high participation of the main companies) propaganda material. The text reads: "Help us! It depends on you to prevent forest fires". Source: CORMA.

obedient generations but also as vehicles of spreading values to their families

"After the workshop, kids will arrive at their houses and tell their families how the enterprise does things fine, and how they had a good time. Their parents are those adults that are now against us…We also do workshops for adults and elders, and so, we close the circle. We reach all generational groups that are close to the plantation's activity".

[(Worker at WoF, develops workshops with local communities)]

The whole community is targeted by those educational campaigns, since workshops are usually accompanied by activities for the broader public with no direct forest-related content, such as hairdressing or medical services, organisation of football tournaments for youngsters, and excursions for elders. Satisfaction of such community requirements helps to set "a relationship of belonging between locals and the company" (worker at WoF).

3) Direct intervention of companies in local communities can take place in areas with high occurrence of intentional fires. Intervention aims to transform locals' relationship with the plantation and the company, since "…. when there is a good relationship with the companies, communities protect the forest…." (National Head for Forest Fires at CONAF).

Intervention involves enterprises acting as mediators in local conflicts which can spark plantation fires, or as service (e.g. pave local paths) providers and providers of economic opportunities (employment, access to wood leftovers after harvests, etc.). Good relationships can take place by means of co-optation, as the Head of WoF put it:

"In an area with lots of fires every year…we decided to hire someone from the community, as a watchman, with a motorcycle. Fires went down by a factor of 20…either we are successfully involving communities or hiring the arsonists, I don't know, but the point is that it works".

All those mechanisms serve forestry enterprises to present themselves as "good neighbours", "differently to all the errors we committed in the past", as a young Arauco Co. forestry engineer told us referring to the violent land grabbing practices explained in Section 4. In return, companies expect that local communities also act as good neighbours.

Relationships between companies and Mapuche self-declared "in-resistance" communities can involve such strategies of consent, but establishment of discipline through coercive strategies is also remarkable. Some communities denounce that after fires in Mapuche territory, they are repressed, criminalised and raided. For example after a fire in 2012 in Carahue, a province of Araucanía close to Arauco Province, where seven firemen died during the extinction tasks at Mininco-CMPC Co. assets, one Mapuche community leader told us:

"The Minister of Interior appealed to the Antiterrorist law pointing directly to us, as responsible for initiating the fire, without any willingness to know what really happened...like in other cases when they came into our space, breaking the fences, the plots, the houses".

Politicians and national media create a popular scapegoat image of Mapuche by presenting them as the sole culprits of fires (López and Nitrihual, 2013). Fire-control is not only a way to realise a slow disciplinary system of transformation of the self but also serves to violently punish those suspicious of getting in the way of the capital accumulation project.

In brief, the Chilean state offloads part of the responsibility of facilitating the success of the extractivist sector to individuals via criminalisation, but also indirectly through the educational and "good neighbour" forestry enterprise programmes. While some locals are pointed out as "radical", "terrorist" or "anti-development", others give some hope: they can be transformed into "more developed, healthy, ...using democratic ways of protest" (National Head for Forest Fires at CONAF). However, this disciplinary process of subject formation is not always successful.

6. Local reactions and struggles for sovereignty: attempts to affect land control

In contrast to fire risk perceptions research (e.g. Collins, 2012), we found that locals perceive themselves so worse-off due to forestry intrusion in their daily lives that they see fire risk as accidental whereas forestry impacts as constant.

"When the Arauco Co. fire-prevention expert came here saying «protect the plantations from fires because forest is life», I told him «before we had water streams that we used for irrigation, for bathing...Water is life, land is life...But if you are drying the rivers and polluting the air, what life are you talking about? »".
[(Neighbourhood leader)]

Locals are not immune to forestry companies' disciplinary strategies to minimise conflict but fires open up pathways for bargaining. Locals can perform different roles, such as the "victim" observed in small rural-fishing settlements on Arauco Gulf, where people lost their planted plots due to a fire that begun in Arauco Co. estates in January 2014. Residents were frustrated by the loss of income after eight years of waiting for trees to grow and demanded compensations:

"We have lost years of investment...we want them [Arauco Co.] to help us replant, to buy new hoses...they are a big company and have the resources to help us".
[(neighbourhood leader)]

After the fire, locals did not reconsider at all if their main source of economic income was exposed to a vulnerable activity, but on the contrary, asked for company help to replant as soon as possible. In the eastern slopes of Nahuelbuta mountains, we met locals performing a more active negotiation. Locals implicitly assured the WoF fire-prevention expert they would "behave well" (not set fires) if they received what they wanted:

"I think that they [Arauco Co.] wait till people misbehave, to appear around here. Only then they say, «let's help them, because otherwise they will continue to harm us»".
[(neighbourhood committee member)]

Demands were varied: ensure that locals enjoy equal access to timber, access to forestry jobs, and financial support for local activities such as a football field or paving a road. Those demands were

justified as legitimate given the impacts and risks to which locals are exposed to from forestry activity and the huge inequality between their and forestry companies' incomes.

Also, some Mapuche communities collectively cut and harvest tree plantations illegally as a strategy for territorial recovery while using timber for household consumption or selling it in the black market. Some Mapuche supporters see this as problematic, since

"although Mapuche act as the legitimate owners of the territory, they go into the capitalist circuit of extractivism".
[(local Mapuche supporter)]

But this form of land control is effective: what the companies and the state call "timber robbery" (Neira and Guerrero, 2014) has discouraged expanding forestry extractivism in the area, and obliged companies to move further south. Fire attacks to plantations and forestry infrastructures seem to be effective too: CONAF and companies' interviewees complained that, in certain areas, extinction patrols would not enter to check fires since helicopters and other infrastructure have been attacked and burnt.

In any case, most interviewees built their own narratives on why fires happen. These illustrate that they do not totally internalise state and private entrepreneurial discourses that point the finger to individual culprits. Ecological characteristics of tree plantations, such as high propagation probability, the high water consumption and flammability of pines and eucalyptus are arguments locals give for explaining the seasonal existence of fires[15]:

"they [forestry companies] planted all around here...and so close to our houses...so everything dries up and sets on fire so quickly!"
[(Mapuche community leader)]

Fire occurrence is also explained economically: some locals explain fires as organised self-attacks from companies, which enable them to get rid of pines affected by the plague of *Sirex noctilio*, collect insurance money, and to blame and expel communities.

"the pines had a kind of bug, that was drying them from inside...we said that in several occasions. It has not been proved, but we think that the fire was convenient for the company, because that way they can have a perfect business"
[(Mapuche community leader)]

Recently, landowners, forestry companies, fire-fighters and state policemen have been found to have initiated fires (Cayuqueo, 2006), thus inverting the widespread accusation of Mapuche communities as arsonists. On the ground, some inhabitants reproduce politician and national media's discourses and accuse Mapuche for all fires, but others show empathy to the feeling of impotence that power inequality causes:

"Nowadays several people say «I cannot stand this anymore, I set it all on fire and it is done!». And it is understandable, because it is the helplessness, the anger of not having enough money to pay lawyers to beat the companies and the state...because the state puts its trust more to entrepreneurs rather than the people that live and suffer on the land"..
[(Mapuche upholding a land conflict with Volterra Co.)]

Through those narratives locals develop feelings of distrust towards forestry enterprises, and avoid falling into the "good neighbour" role that enterprises and the state have in stock for

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[15] Some of those arguments are also scientifically supported (e.g. see Peña- Fernández and Valenzuela-Palma, 2008).

them. This attitude of un-discipline is strongly influenced by emotions that reveal themselves at gatherings of self-denominated "in-resistance" Mapuche communities.

7. Ritual, emotions and politics

The ethnographic material collected for this study was drawn from participation in political and spiritual Mapuche gatherings. Those gatherings were organised in the context of conflicts concerning communities that pursued land recuperation, or as territorial meetings to discuss challenges faced by communities. Communities (*lof*), families or individuals of the area self-organise to travel up to 150 km, since attendance is understood as a way of supporting and showing willingness to discuss with others. Ceremonies happen around a *rewe*, a kind of altar with a branch of *Drimys winteri* (a native tree sacred for Mapuche, now absent in the area) and a dark purple flag with an eight-pointed white star, also known as Leftraru's flag, a 16th century Mapuche hero of the battle of Arauco against the Spanish conqueror Pedro de Valdivia. Around this altar of ecological resistance, attendants engage in various acts of mutuality and exchange, which involve symbols and ecological-political-sacred figures. They do this via praying, dancing and playing music, using their drums, bells and trumpets. Music also accompanies visits to disputed territories, such as water springs, old cemeteries and other Mapuche sacred places. Forestry companies characterise those sites as "places of cultural significance" in their programmes of building relationships with the communities, and walking towards them involves going through a green blanket of tree plantations (Fig. 3).

The monotonous rows of fruitless[16] trees of mono-cropped species offers no motivation to stop and interact with nature. On the contrary, the walk is always interrupted when someone identifies native flora at the side of the path, revealing moments of direct interaction among participants and with nature, mixing enjoyment, knowledge and subsistence as forms of intersubjective communication (Milton, 2002; Ingold, 2000). In contrast to pine and eucalyptus trees, which only provide timber and cellulose, native species offer a variety of non-timber products: attendants can stop to pick up mushrooms (*Cyttaria sp; Clavaria coralloides*) and fruits from trees (*Aristotelia chilensis*), bushes (*Ugni molinae*) and herbaceous species (*Gunnera chilensis*), and joyfully share among them cooking recipes and medicinal uses (see Tacón, 2004). Domestic species that persist raise memories and feelings of nostalgia, which are related to politically-relevant information about the history of land occupation:

"Look, here is an apple tree…Who knows why the forestry enterprises did not cut it down! This means there was a house here, a family lived here before all this was planted….
I remember coming here, to swim in the river. It was so nice to see the wheat and the animals around…."
[(old Chilean settlers dispossessed during the dictatorship's agrarian counter-reform)]

While walking, those memories of the past combine with present-day, intimate emotions that allow the visualisation of socio-spatial transformations and motivate action:

"When I was an adult, I came back to the place where I had grown up, and there I could not contain my emotions…I could not believe that I could see in real images the memories I kept as a child. I felt sorrow, anger, nostalgia and joy, even some parts of our house were still there! […] Since then, we started with more passion. I think that's what makes one to act because sometimes we think it's a waste of time, but from there on I got

Fig. 3. Members of a Mapuche *trawun* (parliament) in Arauco visit the areas in dispute. Source: Mapuche community organising the gathering. Distributed with permission.

involved, in order to come back here…and recuperate our crops and our ranch".[17]
[(Chilean settler dispossessed during the dictatorship's counter-reform)]

Those emotive memories and connections to the land combine with Mapuche cultural beliefs. According to Mapuche world-views, in areas densely planted, spirits are disappearing from the land due to the expansion of tree plantations and the reduction of water. During the gatherings, the presence of traditional authorities (*Machi* or *Wentxumachi*, female or male shaman; *Longko*, community leader) was acknowledged by several attendants as "an emotional injection to continue with the struggle" (Mapuche community leader), given their knowledge and their political commitment. Crucially, and beyond mobilising the support of those leading figures (spirits or indigenous authorities), gatherings are important for empowering those who are usually not entitled to power:

"While forestry enterprises have the support of the state, we are here together to support ourselves".
[(Mapuche community leader welcoming attendants to the gathering)]

Before and after the ceremonies group talks took place, which enabled attendants to follow up and exchange strategies over the general situation of the territory. Attendants reported on current difficulties of the territories they came from in relation to long lasting conflicts about land property, or new projects (wind farms, tree plantations, hydroelectric power plants, etc.), the health of community members, and the risks they are facing, such as being evicted, court trials and lack of water. This exchange of information serves to

"learn from each other, and understand better what is happening [because] we need to retain dignity, as those people [forestry companies] think they can buy us entirely".
[(Mapuche attending a gathering)]

In such a context, dignity is usually referred to as resisting the ways in which forestry extractivism, including the new trend of "good neighbour" techniques, tries to make them part of its project. For others, it means re-appropriating the Mapuche identity of "the people of the land" and thus the control or capacity to

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[16] We mean trees with no fruits for human alimentary or medicinal use.

[17] These quotes refer to a concrete case of organised resistance in Arauco where a Mapuche community and the peasant settlers dispossessed during the agrarian Counter Reform work together to recuperate their lands.

decide for themselves on essential aspects of their lives, such as land and water, language or religion, as other indigenous peoples do in Latin America (Porto-Gonalves and Leff, 2015). Several seek the root of the difficulty to achieve self-determination by recalling their memories of dispossession, and express in emotional terms how embodying that past is what motivates them to act politically:

"(…) our parents and grandparents have been tortured and humiliated, we live and have lived in such precarious conditions…it's not easy to forget that. [...] Now, we want to remove the power that state and enterprises have upon us".

[(Mapuche attending a gathering)]

However, and although the experiences shared through "negative" emotions of anger and sorrow revealed the difficulties and problems faced by the communities, there was always space for conviviality and plans for political success. After participants expressed their problems and sufferings, they also shared their strategies for pursuing autonomous control over lands and handle everyday confrontations with enterprises and the state: demands to CONADI, organising demonstrations or meetings, exercising the right to walk across plots in search for leftovers from tree harvest, look for medicines or visit culturally significant places, illegal collective wood harvesting, trials to substitute pines and eucalyptus for native and crop species. After each intervention, all joined in an emotional acclamation (or "*afafán*") while shaking branches of *Drimys winteri* and shouting "*Marichiweu!*", meaning "By tenfold we will win!", thus giving political consistency to the interventions.

All those aspects of the gatherings, the performance around the *rewe*, the interactive walks into spaces of dispute and the formal and informal talks taking place in the context of ceremonies, allow participants to listen to each other and listen to others' stories, as well as feed collective emotions of anger, sorrow and pain, which provide an emotional leverage for building their un-disciplined subjectivity. Their relational experiences in between plantations, expressing one's and listening to others' stories and narratives helps communities to maintain and reinforce their sense of distrust to projects such as the "good neighbour" that threaten their sovereignty. After these gatherings, individuals and communities go back to their houses having more *newen*, a word that conveys a broad concept of strength, energy or power and which is related to Mapuche beliefs in animate and inanimate spirits (Di Giminiani, 2013). Importantly, *newen* also feeds into collective action, as participants use the word informally ("Have a lot of newen, lamuen!" meaning "Be strong, brother or sister") to give courage to comrades and thus support them maintain daily resistance in their efforts to control land and be themselves the shapers of their own subjectivities.

8. Conclusions: sovereignty, political subjectivation and emotions in environmental conflicts

The previous four sections illustrated how Chilean forestry extractivism relies on a succession of struggles to control land. We have explained how the current land control configuration occurs through and is the result of the imposition of ecological discipline with regards to tree plantations (e.g. through fire control), as well as different strategies with which locals react to it, such as dependence, negotiation and resistance. We have shown different ways in which actors try to get in the way of the forestry project by struggling to retain the capacity to take decisions about their own lives, and ways in which collective practices (e.g. rituals) release emotions that serve as resources for that project. We find that there are two main implications of this as concerns the relevant literature. First, that emotions contribute to the

transformation of tree plantation conflicts into conflicts over sovereignty. Connecting to their emotions allows locals to react against imposed land control and subject-making projects but also pursue strategies to gain or maintain control over how to manage the territory and their own subjectivity-formation process. Second, our case study highlights the fundamental need to pay attention to the role of emotions when analysing processes of political subjectivation in environmental conflict studies. We emphasise the need to acknowledge the role of so-called "negative" emotions such as sorrow and anger, as relevant expressions that help to disrupt and rupture imperatives and mandates of land control.

Our case supports Peluso and Lund's (2011) idea that contemporary land control seeks to establish itself by means of diverse strategies, both subtle and violent. Informality, environmental education and co-optation play important roles when subject-making is a crucial strategy as evidenced in the educational and communitarian work that companies develop in our case. In a context where forestry extractivism dominates most local decisions and locals "used to permit companies to trample on us" (interview with elder peasant), locals' attitude to project their voice (even if it is to ask for help or negotiate) represents a governance rupture. Struggles for sovereignty express in diverse ways: struggles to maintain the ability to remain in the territory (Williams-Eynon, 2013), by claiming the right to a secure income (e.g. near Arauco Gulf), through forcing decisions about the use of resources for community leisure (e.g. near Nahuelbuta Mountains), or by exercising land control through Mapuche self-organising. Local reactions go beyond simple distinctions between extractivist, resistance and environmentalist subjectivities. In Arauco, subjectivities are strongly influenced by the quest for sovereignty, in the sense that communities seek to recover the right to decide up to what point they will depend on extractivism (e.g. by setting up their own mini-plantations), resist forestry institutional power in the territories (e.g. via active protest), or perform environmentalist practices and hold environmentalist discourses. The choice of strategy depends on the extent to which they can improve community ability to decide about their own lives. All strategies – no matter if classified as dependent, negotiating or resisting, successful or not – aim at gaining spaces of self-government, affecting the current concentration of land control, and performing sovereignty over the territory and their lives. That is, they comprise struggles to practice "the right of working peoples to have effective access to, use of, and control over land and the benefits of its use and occupation, where land is understood as resource, territory, and landscape" (Borras and Franco, 2012: 1).

Our case shows that sovereignty goes beyond water, land and territory: while companies and the state pursue a "good neighbourhood" strategy through forging certain values about nature via education or co-optation, some locals react by struggling and trying to be sovereign in the process of their own subject-making, reclaiming the right to think, feel, act and relate to the territory in their own ways. This call for sovereignty is expressed through sharing counter-hegemononic stories, memories, land titles and emotions, permeating and constituting thus the daily life of those who reclaim lands, territory and *different* developments in Arauco. When locals build their own explanations on the causality of fires, establish the terms or reject negotiations with state and private institutions and maintain indigenous language, rituals and autonomous political organisation they exercise a sort of biopower from below (Hardt, 1999; Singh, 2013). This enables them to move beyond their allocated places of "good neighbours" protecting the pine, and break with subjection tendencies of the type "we used to permit companies to trample upon us" through attitudes like "we no longer accept the companies' painkillers" (interview with a suburban settler). That said, and regardless of its critical importance, the success of such "biopower from below" to uproot

the oppressive character of asymmetrical power relations and unequal natural resource control distribution in the area is currently limited.

Sovereign subjectivities are shaped not only by beliefs, but also by everyday experiences (Agrawal, 2005) such as interactive walks around the plantations and the ritual uses of the plantation space, which shape collective beliefs about land and sovereignty. Beyond the land and capital concentration, and inequality implications of tree plantations, the ecological characteristics and landscape effect of monocultures also influence the way in which the relation among subjectivities and trees takes place (or not). They contribute to the formation of a collective subjectivity (Singh, 2013), albeit through diverse actions, such as representation in institutionalised politics, or the establishment of a horizontal "traditional" organisation of managing resources (Marimán, 2012). This reveals an "ecological basis" to resistance: tree plantations of exotic species are seen as threatening local water availability and "lessen life" rather than support the "forests as life" narrative promoted by corporate forestry. Their continuity and material need of water, the ease with which they burn, their lack of fruits for medicinal or food uses also frame and shape local political response.

Side-by-side with material resources, our case shows that emotions comprise strategic dimensions of subject-making in plantation conflicts. Through fire prevention strategies, state and forestry companies seek to force hegemonic discourses framed as value-neutral as a means of projecting "scientific" and hence common sense approaches to resource management in order to facilitate corporate land control. Other strategies try to instil fear to locals of being found guilty of misconduct (e.g. if they overlook their fire prevention tasks) or even being accused as terrorists (e.g. if accused to have set the plantation on fire). But self-denominated "in resistance" Mapuche communities struggle in their own ways to build their own subjectivities. Also for them, corporate tree plantations have an emotional load but different to the one that state and companies promote. Repetitive timber and cellulose trees offer scant opportunities to frame relationships of love or care towards them. And, if there is no room for an emotional experience with those trees, Milton (2002) would say, it is quite impossible that they are transformed into "forest guardians". On the contrary, while truckloads bursting with harvested logs pass around constantly, reflection on the inequalities in terms of land, money and power come easily to their minds. Daily water shortages due to the thirsty needs of tree monocultures (González-Hidalgo, 2015) and surviving memories of the land frame local narratives, thoughts and emotions towards the same land where now tree monocultures grow.

Mapuche political resistance is intimately connected to the territory: their walks and gatherings enable them to recall the ecology of their ancestral and working landscapes (as also other indigenous peoples do – see: Dallman et al., 2013). In that sense, similarly to how Ingold (2000) describes how hunting and gathering are ways of perceiving the environment, we describe how "being in resistance" constitutes locals' way of perceiving their territory. These perceptions are updated daily through human and non-human interactions, memories and emotions, and constitute the emotional geographies of tree plantation resistance. Beneath the monocultures, there is an emotional landscape full of fruits, memories and beliefs that are invisible if "you are not from the land"; through walking and gatherings in those spaces, communities "in resistance" perform a sort of intersubjective communication that helps them actualise and renovate their critical subjectivities.

Meetings, ceremonies and walks in the territory help maintain cultural identity, but also help release emotions that allow building and shaping discourse and action of political resistance. Finding remains of non timber-yielding species and dancing and playing music around *Drimys winteri,* enable the sharing and expression of satisfaction, happiness or love towards the forest that offers and receives food, medicinal and sacred resources. As in many other indigenous and "environmentalism of the poor" movements (Shiva, 1993), the performative and collective expressions of love to land and native forests shape the resistance movement to tree extractivism in Southern Chile. But, it is the combination of positive and negative emotions that helps organise discourse and action (Jasper, 2012). Emotional geographies of anger and sorrow have a powerful role in shaping discourse, gaining support and maintaining a resistant subjectivity. Talks facilitate the expression of worries, nostalgias, sorrows, pains and fears associated to their daily interaction with the landscape that surrounds them, their memories and their daily confrontations with forestry extractivism. The sharing of mutual emotional experiences of resistance is important not only for the sustaining of the movement in a context of spatial dispersion (Bosco, 2006), but also because it feeds the process of political subjectivation of Mapuche communities. Emotions help Mapuche rupture the order of legitimacy and domination (Rancière, 2001) of "good neighbourhood" schemes and open new spaces, where space, or territory is not only a "way of political thinking" (Dikeç, 2012) but also a way of political feeling in physical, emotional and spiritual terms. Therefore, although emotions such as anger and sorrow tend to be labeled as "negative" due to the feeling of distress they give rise to, our study finds out that if we focus on the work they do, and particularly on the *political* work they do, the characterisation of those emotions as "negative" may be well off the mark. So-called "negative" emotions may prove to be resources for resisting land and water dispossession, as well as subjectivation.

Political ecology research on environmental conflicts could benefit by considering the influence of quests for sovereignty in all relevant dimensions and scales, such as the ones we bring in. We show how studying actual responses to forestry corporate strategies of land control brings to light the emotional and personal dimension of both subject-formation and political subjectivation, and in particular the role of so-called "negative" emotions. Emotions such as anger, sorrow and grief can be important resources in the process of political subjectivation, since their expression can empower projects of resistance and sovereignty. In the context of environmental conflicts, such emotions need to be acknowledged and studied not only with relation to impacts or suffering (Sultana, 2011) but also as motivations that empower both symbolically and through helping organise resistance to environmentally-destructive practices.

Acknowledgements

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