MAPUCHE COMMUNICATION AND SELF-REPRESENTATION: INDIGENOUS EXPRESSIONS OF IDENTITY VIA NEW MEDIA

By

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ABSTRACT

The purpose of this study was to examine how the Mapuche incorporate the Internet into their indigenous worldview, and how they use it as a tool of self-representation and identity construction. The Mapuche are one among many indigenous peoples who have turned to the Internet and other new media to disseminate their cultural identity. Generally, this movement is accompanied by claims to the right of self-determination and demands for the restoration of traditional territory. At best, state responses to these claims are begrudging land concessions and at worst, flat denial. In such cases, the Internet allows indigenous peoples an uncensored voice in which they can express who they understand themselves to be, regardless of the identity foisted upon them by external perspectives. In addition to an examination of Mapuche worldview and communication patterns, the concepts of 'national identity' and 'indigeneity' are also explored, as they relate to the activities of current Mapuche activism and revitalization projects.

This research used a triangulated approach in order to arrive at a comprehensive understanding of the circumstances surrounding this media use. The three legs of my research design include 1) archival research at the Instituto de Estudios Indígenas, UFRO in Temuco, Chile, as well as the Memorial and Historical Society Libraries in Madison, WI; 2) in-depth interviews with Mapuche leaders, journalists, and media consumers; and 3) a content analysis of *Azkintuwe*, a prominent Mapuche online newspaper. My epistemology was rooted in Indigenous Knowledge, which means that by using decolonizing methodologies I prioritized Mapuche concerns and worldview throughout the research.

This study culminated in two important findings. Cyberspace, the landscape of the Internet, is not typically thought of as indigenous space. However, through an examination of

Mapuche communication networks, I have shown how this space is being incorporated according to a traditional understanding of socio-political territorial divisions. Additionally, within this space, Mapuche Internet users are trying to foster a national identity among Mapuche communities, using language as a focal point, in order to bolster legitimacy to claims of autonomy and self-determination.

PROLOGUE

I am not indigenous. I cannot trace my cultural heritage back to an indigenous people. Consequently, I never imagined myself working with indigenous issues when I started graduate school. Additionally, when I started my graduate career, I was given the impression that there was an unspoken sentiment that to study an indigenous culture was cliché and overdone. However, somewhere along the way I found myself drawn more and more to the Mapuche of Chile. I believe this interest occurs for two reasons: my hatred of discrimination and my love of South America, *Wallmapu* in particular, which is the traditional territory of the Mapuche people. Both of these have their roots in my own identity as a native Detroiter. Growing up my best friend was Mexican and I believe my interest in Latino culture was roused by her and her mother. I was also a "white girl" growing up amidst a predominantly black population. This provided me with a unique experience that most white people never have; that is, what it feels like to be part of a disenfranchised minority. In addition, I also vicariously experienced discrimination through the encounters of my black friends.

It is important to understand how I came to focus on Mapuche issues because I must situate myself within my préterrain[1] in order for my readers to understand the biases I bring to my research. Although, like all good social scientists, I do my best to bring objectivity to my work, no amount of effort will keep all subjectivity away. Edward Said addresses this in his seminal work, *Orientalism*, by stating that "no one has ever devised a method for detaching the scholar from the circumstances of life, from the fact of his involvement (conscious or unconscious) with a class, a set of beliefs, a social position, or from the mere activity of being a

[1] "Préterrain," was defined by James Clifford as "all those places you have to go through and be in relation with just to get to your village or to that place of work you will call your field" (1992:100). Peter Pels and Oscar Salemink elaborate on the concept further by maintaining that "it is made up of the hybrid spatiotemporal relationships that precondition the work of ethnography" (2000:13).

member of a society" (1978[1979]:10). Therefore, I acknowledge that I can have emotional reactions to situations where I see unjust treatment and discrimination. This, combined with my desire to see the land and peoples of Wallmapu protected, is part of the préterrain I bring to this study. So naturally, when faced with uncertain evidence I will grant the benefit of the doubt to the Mapuche people.

In the course of a conversation with a Mapuche activist during the summer of 2007, I was asked, "Why do you keep using the term 'indigenous *group*'?" We were in the countryside, not far from Temuco, in the community Lof Xuf Xuf. He had been teaching me Mapuzugun and it was the evening after the lesson. We were discussing the Mapuche and their sociopolitical situation. I kept speaking generally about "indigenous groups" around the world and how the Mapuche experience compared. "Why do you keep using the term 'indigenous *group*'?" I had not thought much about it before that moment, but ever since I have been very careful about the words I choose to speak about the Mapuche and other indigenous *peoples* around the world. Words are powerful, can be extremely influential, and how they are used says everything about the speaker's underlying perceptions of the subject at hand. Chilean nationalists who wish not to recognize the Mapuche as indigenous, which invokes certain rights under national and international law, refer to them as an 'ethnic group.' Mapuche use the word '*pueblo*,' or 'people,' which evokes nationhood, and, except where otherwise qualified[2], demands global recognition on par with nation-states, such as Chile and Argentina.

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[2] During the development of the International Labor Organization's Convention No. 169, a document important to the global indigenous rights movement, there was much debate over the inclusion of the term "peoples" in contrast to the term "populations." "State governments resisted the term *peoples* because of its association with the term *self-determination*…which in turn has been associated [in international law] with a right of independent statehood" (Anaya 1996[2004]:60). This debate was resolved with a compromise. The term "peoples" remained in the convention, but with a provision added to the text. "The use of the term *peoples* in this Convention shall not be construed as having any implications as regards the rights which may attach to the term under international law." (Convention No. 169, art. 1(3)).

The above example illustrates why, as an outside researcher, it is essential for me to be cognizant of how I go about my research. This involves my research ethics, which is something that must be addressed before I go any further. Human subjects review boards ensure that social science researchers are diligent in protecting participants and that they are sufficiently informed of their rights as participants. However, because my research concerns an indigenous people, I am compelled to take my ethical responsibilities a step further. One of the most common criticisms of academics working with indigenous peoples is the tendency to speak for them with an authority that suggests complete understanding, when realistically this is impossible. Usually the result is uninformed interpretations and misrepresentations. I could spend the rest of my life living in a Mapuche community and never fully comprehend Mapuche worldview. I come from a Western perspective. It is who I am, how I was raised, and how I learned. As a result of this, it can be very difficult for me to understand from a particularly Mapuche perspective. I do my best, but I will always fall short. I am comfortable knowing this and knowing that my research is not compromised due to an uninformed approach taken in working with an indigenous people. Without this awareness researchers fall into the Orientalism trap that Edward Said addresses. That is, contributing to the "corporate institutionalization" of the subject by creating the official, Western, academic version of the subject (1978[1979]:3). In other words, continuing the process of colonization.

In light of this reality, it is my responsibility to ensure I approach this research as ethically as I am able. For me, this is a matter of voice and I endeavor to allow Mapuche voices to 'speak' as much as possible throughout this project. I try not to speak *for* them, as there are already Mapuche scholars, activists, journalists and authors who use their voice, and have plenty to say about Mapuche identity and self-determination. Rather, I am interested in examining how

they have already exercised their voice and how they have chosen to represent themselves. My desire with this research is that perhaps I can offer some insight to help the organizations and individuals use their voices more effectively.

Note on Mapuche Orthography

The most common word used to denote the native language of the Mapuche is *Mapuzugun*[3]. Throughout this text, I have used numerous Mapuzugun terms. However, the term for the language can itself be spelled in numerous ways (Mapudungun, Mapudugun, Mapuzungun) due to the lack of an official alphabet. Throughout the past century, there have been many proposals, all of which employ Latin script, but as of the writing of this document, there is no consensus regarding which alphabet should be officially adopted.

Fernando Zúñiga (1955[2006]:73-74) identifies five alphabets: traditional, academic, Raguileo, Nhewenh, and Azümchefe. The "traditional" alphabet refers to the way the Spanish chroniclers recorded Mapuzugun, but is rarely, if at all, used today. This alphabet influenced the linguistic works of Fray Felix José de Augusta (1916[2007]), Rudolf Lenz (1905-1910), and P. Ernesto Wilhelm de Moesbach (1963). The "academic" alphabet, known as the Unified Alphabet[4] since 1992 (Bellido 2005:15) refers to one first proposed in 1978 by the Sociedad Chilena de Lingüística (Croese, Salas & Sepúlveda 1978) and was used in academic circles for many years. The Raguileo alphabet, first proposed in 1982, was named after its creator, Anselmo Raguileo Lincopil. This alphabet remains one of the more popular, in part, because it originated in the work of a Mapuche, but also due to the way Raguileo divorced some of the graphemes from their corresponding Spanish phonemes to make the alphabet uniquely Mapuche (Hernández Sallés, Ramos Pizarro & Huenchulaf Cayuqueo 2006:33). The Nhewenh[5] alphabet

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[3] Every time a Mapuzugun word is first used throughout the course of this text, it is denoted with italics.

[4] "Alfabeto Unificado" or sometimes simply "Unificado."

[5] Nhewenh or ñeweñ can be translated as "web" or "network" (Zúñiga 1955[2006]:74).

was first proposed in 1995 by Heinrich Puschmann (1995[1997]) and was designed to be compatible with Internet requirements of the time. Finally, the Azümchefe[6] alphabet was developed in collaboration with CONADI[7] in an attempt to synthesize a number of previous proposals. This alphabet is officially recognized by CONADI and the Chilean Ministry of Education.

While all of the more recent alphabets are in use in some form or other, the Unified, Raguileo and Azümchefe alphabets are the ones most often cited and used at this time (Hernández Sallés, Ramos Pizarro & Huenchulaf Cayuqueo 2006:33). Additionally, in 2003 the Instituto de Estudios Indígenas (IEI, n.d.), along with Mapuche linguist Eliseo Cañulef, introduced NICE, a Mapuzugun alphabet also intended to be compatible with the Internet (Bellido 2005:15).

The debate regarding which of these alphabets is most appropriate for the Mapuche people as a whole continues and does not seem to be nearing a resolution at this point in time. This is evidenced in the reactions to the efforts by Microsoft to standardize Mapuzugun for use with their office programs[8], which seemed to suggest that this debate involves very personal ideas about identity, colonization and intercultural relations.

Below, I present the variations in these alphabets along with their phonemic equivalents in order for my readers to be familiar with the various spelling differences they may encounter

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[6] This name is meant to represent something like "ABCs," since the order of the letters in this alphabet begin with a-z-ü-m-ch-e-f-i. Additionally, "azümchefe" can be translated as "one who teaches." (Hernández Sallés, Ramos Pizarro & Huenchulaf Cayuqueo 2006:34)

[7] CONADI, La Corporación Nacional de Desarrollo Indígena (the National Indigenous Development Corporation), is a joint government and civilian organization that was established in 1993 by the Chilean Indigenous Law with the intent to promote and coordinate state actions regarding the country's indigenous peoples' development projects while protecting indigenous rights.

[8] See Bellido 2005, Loncon 2005, Loncon 2006 & *Azkintuwe* 2006 for more information.

throughout the course of this work[9]. Except where I am directly quoting a written text, I attempted to remain consistent with my own spelling, which corresponds to the following: **a, e, i, o, u, ü, ch, z, f, g, k, l, l/b, ll, m, n, n/h, ñ, g/ng, p, r, s, sh, t, t, x, w,** and **y.** However, these choices do not wholly correspond to any of the alphabets below.

Not all of the following phonemes are consistently used across all Mapuzugun dialects or recognized by all the proposed alphabets. Additionally, in most cases a change in similar phonemes will not result in minimal pairs. For example, technically the < l > in lafken or bafken should be pronounced /l̪/, the interdental lateral; however, there is no such word in Mapuzugun that is spelled lafken but whose first letter is pronounced as /l/, the alveolar lateral, and which holds a different meaning from bafken. The significance of this is that in many cases spelling (as well as pronunciation) can be varied without a loss in meaning.

Vowels:

Phoneme (IPA)*	Unified	Raguileo	Nhwewnh	Azümchefe	NICE
/a/	a	a	a	a	a
/e/	e	e	e	e	e
/i/	i, y	i	i	i, y	i
/o/	o	o	o	o	o
/u/	u	u	u	u, w	u
/ɨ/, /ə/	ü	v	v	ü	ü

*These symbols follow the International Phonetic Alphabet (IPA) pronunciation conventions.

[9] The information for these charts were gathered from the following sources: Alvarez, et al. 2005; Fromkin & Rodman 1974[1998]; Hernández Sallés, Ramos Pizarro & Cárcamo Luna 1997[2005]; Hernández Sallés, Ramos Pizarro & Huenchulaf Cayuqueo 2006; Huisca Melinao, Loncomil Coñuenao, Llanquinao Trabol, Millañir Amaya, & Relmuan Álvarez 2007; IEI n.d.; Millward 1988[1996]; and Zúñiga 1955[2006].

Consonants:

Phoneme (IPA)*	Articulation	Unified	Raguileo	Nhwewnh	Azümchefe	NICE
/tʃ/	post-alveolar affricate	ch	c	ch	ch	ch
/ɵ/	interdental fricative	d	z	sd	z	d
/f/	labiodental fricative	f	f	f	f	f
/ɣ/, /ɰ/	velar fricative/ approximant	g	q	q	q	g
/k/	velar plosive	k	k	k	k	k
/l/	alveolar lateral	l	l	l	l	l
/l̪/	interdental lateral	l̲	b	ld	lh	l’
/ʎ/	palatal lateral	ll	j	lh	ll	ll
/m/	bilabial nasal	m	m	m	m	m
/n/	alveolar nasal	n	n	n	n	n
/n̪/	interdental nasal	n̲	h	nd	nh	n’
/ɲ/	palatal nasal	ñ	ñ	nh	ñ	ñ
/ŋ/	velar nasal	ng	g	g	g	ng
/p/	bilabial plosive	p	p	p	p	p
/ɻ/	retroflex approximant	r	r	r	r	r
/s/	alveolar fricative	s	s	s	s	s
/ʃ/	postalveolar fricative	sh	s	sh	sh	sh
/t/	alveolar plosive	t	t	t	t	t
/t̪/	interdental plosive	t̲	t	td	t	t’
/tʂ/	retroflex affricate	tr	x	tr	tx	t^r
/w/	labiovelar approximant	w	w	w	w	w
/j/	palatal approximant	y	y	y	y	y

*These symbols follow the International Phonetic Alphabet (IPA) pronunciation conventions.

Map of Chile

INTRODUCTION

The Mapuche are one among many indigenous peoples who have turned to the Internet and other new media to disseminate their cultural identity[10]. Generally, this movement is accompanied by claims to the right of self-determination and demands for the restoration of traditional territory. At best, state responses to these claims are begrudging land concessions and at worst, flat denial. In such cases, the Internet allows indigenous peoples an uncensored voice in which they can express who they understand themselves to be, regardless of the identity foisted upon them by external perspectives. Notably a tool of modernity, the Internet connects the local with the global, allowing these voices a widespread audience.

Scholarship regarding indigenous use of new media is relatively recent. Particularly where the Mapuche are concerned, there is a dearth of research regarding Internet use[11]. Mapuche websites, blogs and online videos emerge all the time, but little is known about the motivating factors of such occurrences. This dissertation will contribute to new media and indigenous studies by examining how a particular indigenous people uses the Internet as a tool of identity construction, as well as incorporating it into the understanding of their society. This will shed light on the ways in which other indigenous peoples and ethnic groups are using the Internet in the construction of their identity and for what purposes.

Lack of research regarding indigenous use of new media, particularly the Internet, presents a variety of questions that need to be addressed. How is the Internet incorporated into

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[10] See also the Sámi of Northern Europe (Pietikäinen 2008), the Tagish of the Yukon (Hennessy & Moore 2007), and the Taino of the Caribbean (Forte 2006) to name just a few.

[11] At present, some of the few researchers looking specifically at Mapuche Internet use are Niall Stephens of the University of Massachusetts at Amherst, Andrew Webb of the University of Cambridge in the U.K., and to some extent Juan Francisco Salazar of the University of Western Sydney in Australia and Jakob Redekal of the University of California at Riverside. Although, Salazar's research focuses largely on video production and Redekal's research focuses on Mapuche musical production, particularly hip-hop, the Internet is the primary vehicle of dissemination in these cases.

an indigenous understanding of their place in the world? How are they using it as a tool of self-representation and identity construction? What messages are being transmitted? For what audience are they intended? And finally, what is the underlying purpose?

Based on the results of my triangulated research, I intend to show that the answers to these questions are twofold. Cyberspace, the landscape of the Internet, is not typically thought of as indigenous space. However, through an examination of Mapuche communication networks, I will show how this space is being incorporated according to a traditional understanding of socio-political territorial divisions. Additionally, within this space, Mapuche Internet users are trying to foster a national identity among Mapuche communities, using language as a focal point, in order to bolster legitimacy to claims of autonomy and self-determination.

Chapter 1 details the methodology I utilized with this research, including the triangulated approach. My research design involved extensive archival research, both in Chile and in Madison, Wisconsin, in-depth interviews, and a content analysis of a popular online Mapuche newspaper. My epistemology was rooted in Indigenous Knowledge, which means that I prioritized Mapuche concerns and worldview throughout the research. Chapter 2 reviews the relevant literature regarding identity with an emphasis on ethnicity, as well as communication theory regarding new media. Chapter 3 continues the discussion of identity by examining the concepts of 'nation,' 'national identity,' and 'indigeneity' while focusing on their implications regarding the Mapuche.

Chapters 4 and 5 explore Mapuche history and the impact it has had on their present circumstances. Chapter 4 begins with a retelling of a popular Mapuche origin story. Throughout the chapter, I explore the various elements of the story, how they relate to aspects of Mapuche cultural identity and how this demonstrates a Mapuche understanding of their own history.

Chapter 5 examines the historical transition from the colonial era into the present age and the ramifications it has had on contemporary Mapuche-State relations.

Chapters 6 and 7 delve into Mapuche identity and the ways in which it is expressed through new media. Chapter 6 discusses Mapuche identity by exploring the depth of meaning behind the word "Mapuche," as well as how Mapuche themselves understand what it means to be "Mapuche." The chapter concludes by examining various revitalization projects that emphasize the restoration of Mapuche identity. The focus of many of these projects highlights the importance of language and communication to Mapuche identity. Chapter 7 continues this discussion of communication by examining traditional Mapuche models and the ways in which the Internet has both facilitated and impeded this aspect of identity.

Chapters 8 and 9 offer an analysis of Mapuche media use and suggest some possible answers to the questions proposed at the beginning of this introduction. Chapter 8 consists of an investigation of *Azkintuwe*, a popular Mapuche online newspaper and website, including a content analysis of the articles spanning the period between 2003 and 2010. This chapter proposes that fostering a particularly Mapuche national identity is one of the more prominent objectives of online, Mapuche-produced content. Chapter 9 examines the ways in which new media have both influenced social roles and have been incorporated into a particularly Mapuche model of socio-political territorial divisions.

At various points in my dissertation I may refer to 'the' Mapuche movement or 'the' Mapuche perspective. I would like to take this opportunity to explain my intentions regarding such practice. The use of the article 'the' should in no way be construed to mean that there is only *one* Mapuche movement or *one* Mapuche perspective. In general, when I utilize the definite article, I mean to convey the concept of collectivity. "The Mapuche movement" should

be understood as the heterogeneous collection of organizations and efforts that comprise a body of action working towards a similar goal. That is, the recuperation of traditional territory that was appropriated from unwilling participants by means of state action, as well as the right to express their indigenous identity with dignity and freedom. The reality is that historically there have nearly always been internal conflicts about how these goals should be pursued, how Mapuche identity should be understood and, who has authority to speak and for whom.

In regard to my use of the term 'the Mapuche perspective,' I would like to emphasize that, in general, I use to this term to refer to that particular set of perspectives that are presented in this dissertation. As with the variety of Mapuche organizations and individual movements, there are at least as many, if not more, perspectives on all aspects of Mapuche worldview and identity. There is no unanimous agreement on what it means to be Mapuche and this should be kept in mind at all times throughout the course of this work. That said, my intention was never to present all possible perspectives. Rather, at the outset, I focused on the prevalent ideas and voices of those utilizing media to convey their particular perspectives. At various points throughout this work, I attempt to synthesize the more widespread understandings of Mapuche culture and identity *common to these particular perspectives communicated through media*. As with 'the Mapuche movement,' this should not be construed to mean that there is only one understanding on any points of Mapuche culture and identity or that the perspective in this dissertation applies to all; quite the opposite.

I would also like to take this opportunity to reiterate the fact that I am not indigenous, nor Mapuche, and therefore am limited in my ability to fully understand various particularities of Mapuche worldview and thought. Any misinterpretations or errors within these pages are wholly due to my own failing and I would ask forgiveness for my *winka* ignorance. I have done my best

to follow an indigenous methodology and to allow Mapuche voices to speak for themselves; however, this does not preclude issues of representation. As there *is* no one Mapuche worldview, perspective, or movement, there is no *one* voice who is capable of speaking for the Mapuche People as a whole. Therefore, I have attempted to take a page from subaltern studies and offer this particular set of perspectives, largely made up of educated, urban Mapuche individuals, to the collective of other perspectives being offered by academics in this field. The more that is contributed to this body of work, the fuller picture we will have of these subaltern voices and realities.

While this dissertation focuses primarily on a specific indigenous people, the implications of its findings can extend to the myriad instances of Internet and new media use by other indigenous peoples and marginalized groups all over the world. This research contributes to our understanding of how new media are used in identity construction, particularly from the perspective of pre-existing offline communities. Questions of nationhood and rights of self-determination are addressed in this work, as well as how the Internet, used to exercise cultural and political voice, is incorporated into that understanding and the associated circumstances surrounding group-State relations. As scholars of new media can attest, the Internet is a rapidly changing landscape. While the existence of the Internet is not as new as it once was, the ways in which people are utilizing it continue to change, even as access to this medium increases. The more we can add to our understanding of this field, the better we will be able to interpret new situations of new media use as they arise.

CHAPTER 1

METHODOLOGY

1.1 OVERVIEW

Throughout the past decade numerous Mapuche-run websites have emerged. The central goal of this project is to examine the ways in which Mapuche organizations use the Internet, and other mass media, and to what end. This research uses a triangulated approach in order to arrive at a comprehensive understanding of the circumstances surrounding this media use. The three legs of my research design include 1) archival research at the Instituto de Estudios Indígenas, UFRO in Temuco, Chile, as well as the Memorial and Historical Society Libraries in Madison, WI; 2) in-depth interviews with Mapuche leaders, journalists, and media consumers; and 3) a content analysis of *Azkintuwe*, a prominent Mapuche online newspaper.

Throughout this project my epistemology has been rooted in Indigenous Knowledge. This means the intent during the course of my research has been to approach it with the kind of decolonizing methodology discussed by indigenous scholars such as Bagele Chilisa (2012), Renee Pualani Louis (2007), and Linda Tuhiwai Smith (1999[2004]); that is, to center the concerns and worldview of the Mapuche throughout this research. In order to do this, I had to consider Mapuche knowledge, or *kimün*, with every decision or interpretation made. At times this was difficult, as I had to wrestle with my Western training, which does not value the same ways of knowing as does Mapuche kimün.

I started with the assumption that the Mapuche perspective on their history and their identity was not only valid but should occupy a privileged position within my interpretive framework. I have recognized the need to understand that 'truth' is not an objective entity, but rather a relational understanding of the connectedness of all things (Chilisa 2012:110-111). As

Gregory Cajete put it, “truth is not a fixed point, but rather an ever-evolving point of balance, perpetually created and perpetually new” (2000:19). The implication of this is that, in some cases, there is quite a bit of variety in the ways Mapuche talk about their identity. Keeping in mind that this variety arose from the different relationships these Mapuche have with their environment and with Chilean society, I strive to uncover the unifying values that lay within this diversity, paying particular attention to the way identity is represented and constructed online.

As Indigenous Knowledge is based on relational connections, which implies that all steps of the research process are related (Louis 2007:133), I have allowed my interactions at each stage of the research to inform how I proceed: what concerns were emphasized by the Mapuche I interviewed, how traditional models of being were impacted by media use and the influences of Mapuche kimün on the identity being constructed. I applied Mapuche kimün relating to greetings and interpersonal communications to dictate how I structured my interviews, I allowed kimün and stories related to me in those interviews, as well as in written documents produced by Mapuche, to help me interpret my observations and data, and when possible I consulted with Mapuche regarding my interpretations.

Before moving on, I must address language. It has been noted by various scholars that language is important to understanding the form and content of culture, how the world is perceived and how knowledge is transmitted (Cajete 2000; Carihuentro 2007; Chilisa 2012; Hernández-Ávila 2003; Kidwell & Velie 2005; Queupumil Vidal 2007; and Smith 1999[2004], to name a few). Not everyone I interviewed spoke Mapuzugun. Some were “passive speakers” (Danko Marimán, April 16, 2010, personal communication) who understood but did not speak with fluency. Nevertheless, Mapuzugun was much more integral to this study than I had originally anticipated. Mapuzugun terms and concepts that cannot easily be translated into

Spanish are central to the culture and worldview of even those Mapuche who are not fluent in the language. This is because, as Shawn Wilson puts it, "traditional language has words that contain huge amounts of information encoded like a ZIP file within them" (2008:13). Therefore, Mapuzugun influenced nearly every aspect of this research, from how interviews were constructed (beginning with brief greetings in Mapuzugun or focusing on certain Mapuzugun concepts) to how interpretations of data were made (using Mapuzugun concepts to understand certain phenomena).

1.2 ARCHIVES AND LIBRARIES

During both research trips to Temuco, Chile, in 2007 and 2009/2010, I spent many hours in the Centro de Documentación of the Instituto de Estudios Indígenas at the Universidad de la Frontera[12]. Currently the center holds over 10,000 items relating to topics such as history, anthropology and education, among others. Many of these documents are out of print, local publications or extremely difficult to find elsewhere. (www2.estudiosindigenas.cl)

Despite an emphasis since 1994 on collecting material associated with multiple indigenous peoples, the majority of the center's holdings still relate to the Mapuche. Among the documents I referenced were journals concentrating on Mapuche language and literature, intercultural education, and communication; local publications concerned with Mapuzugun and Mapuche worldview; Master's and Doctoral theses from South American universities regarding Mapuche culture; and out-of-print books on the subjects of indigenous rights and politics published by the Institute. Some of these materials were published or produced outside of Chile;

[12]The Centro de Documentación was created in 1987 by the Centro de Estudios La Araucanía which was part of the Universidad de la Frontera. The initial purpose of the center was "to draw together, process, analyze and distribute" information regarding Mapuche culture and society (www2.estudiosindigenas.cl/). In 1994, with the creation of the Instituto de Estudios Indígenas, the center was incorporated into the new institute, and at the same time, the center also began expanding its collection to include documentary content from other indigenous peoples of Chile and the Americas.

however, many of them were not only published in Chile, but were in fact published locally. Some of these documents were produced by non-Mapuche academics, but a surprising number were produced by Mapuche leaders, artists, students and teachers. Some of the most valuable documents I found were the theses. Many of these were Master's theses; however, in Chile a Master's degree is held in higher esteem than in the United States and many of the university professors have only a Master's degree. Very few of these documents were written entirely in Mapuzugun, and when they did include a high percentage of Mapuzugun, it was generally because they contained poetry or a collection of readings intended as a language learning supplement. Apart from these, all but a few documents were written in Spanish. However, many of the documents contained Mapuzugun in the form of concepts discussed throughout the work. While I am fluent in Spanish, I am not fluent in Mapuzugun; nevertheless, I have learned sufficient Mapuzugun to recognize and understand most of the concepts discussed throughout these documents.

In Madison, WI, I utilized the University of Wisconsin's Memorial Library and the Wisconsin Historical Society's Archive Room in my search to explore the historical roots of the word "Mapuche," as well as other significant terms of identity. In the university's library I found old dictionaries from Spanish-speaking parts of the Americas, which detailed some change over time in the significance of different terms. I also found some chronicles and journals from non-native writers, which helped to shed some light on the linguistic history of the Mapuche.

At the Wisconsin Historical Society's Archive Room I examined all the pre-1900 maps of South America, Chile and Argentina in the map collection. I was also able to identify some reliable websites that have similar materials publically available. Maps offer a unique perspective because they represent certain places at particular times in history and reflect the

contemporary reality of those territories. Mapuche claims to traditional territory are often contested within Chilean and Argentine society. This is usually done by suggesting that Mapuche today comprise a different ethnic group from the indigenous peoples that the Spanish first encountered. Examining these maps offers an understanding of how those original inhabitants were conceived of at that time, what territories they were understood to inhabit and how much of their own identity – through language – influenced those understandings.

1.3 PERSONAL INTERACTIONS

The fieldwork I conducted for this research project took place over the course of two trips to Temuco, Chile; the first during the summer of 2007 and the second from October 2009 to May 2010. Temuco, Chile is located more than 300 miles south of the capital of Santiago and is situated about halfway between the ocean and the Andean cordillera, or mountain range. Temuco also approximately marks the center of the traditional Mapuche territory on the western side of the Andes. Most of the Mapuche who have not migrated to Santiago live in one of the southern regions. Temuco is a hub of Mapuche activism and in the city, as well as in the surrounding rural areas, a good many Mapuche communities continue to thrive. I chose this field site as my primary location for these reasons, as well as for being the host city to many of the managers and writers of the more dominant Mapuche websites based in Chile.

I also had the opportunity to spend a couple of weeks in Bariloche, Argentina, which is one of the hub cities in Argentina where Mapuche activism thrives. Many Mapuche in both Argentina and Chile consider those state boundaries arbitrary and understand themselves to live in Wallmapu, their traditional territory, which spans the Andes into both countries. For this reason it was necessary to have perspectives from both sides of the cordillera; however, due to

the scope of this project, unless explicitly stated otherwise, discussions of Mapuche-State relations will be limited to Chile.

Throughout the course of my fieldwork, I had numerous opportunities to interact with Mapuche activists, students, educators and others in a variety of ways. In addition to personal interviews, I also had the pleasure of attending a ngillatun, which is a traditional ceremony, as well as some conferences and presentations. I observed the activity of an organizational hub, El Observatorio, and participated in two Mapuzugun language classes.

Research Ethics

Singleton, Straits and Straits point out that ethics for social science researchers "poses questions concerning how to proceed in moral and responsible ways" and that "basic ethical principles accepted in our cultural and legal tradition demand that research participants be treated with respect and protected from harm" (474). As the subject of my research involves an indigenous people, respecting the participants means utilizing a "postcolonial indigenous research paradigm" (Chilisa 2012). Generally speaking, this means valuing and privileging Mapuche kimün, as well as emphasizing the relational nature of reality.

Most of the participants I interviewed were community leaders, published authors or known activists and therefore their participation produced no threat of harm through identification by contributing to my research. For the few participants who had no public role, their participation equally posed no risk due to the public nature of this research project. Nevertheless, I followed human subjects protocol and provided every participant with written information regarding their rights. Every participant willingly signed these consent forms, which were written in Spanish, a language all participants spoke fluently. All but one participant gave permission to use their full names in the final written product of the research. While most

university ethics boards encourage anonymity, an Indigenous research paradigm encourages the opposite. This is so knowledge can be traced back to its originators (Chilisa 2012:119) and so that I can honor a relational accountability with those people (Louis 2007:133; Wilson 2008:130). Therefore, with the one exception for which I simply use initials, in citing quotations and information I use everyone's full name.

Interview Techniques and Models

Many of the people I interviewed had some kind of direct influence over the content being created for Mapuche websites, but almost everyone was involved in community projects, held leadership positions or was an educator. The majority of the interviewees were Mapuche. I felt it was important to focus my attention on these individuals as my purpose for conducting the interviews was to gain a better understanding of Mapuche kimün and how Mapuche who produced or consumed Internet websites thought about what they were doing. Therefore, the method I used for choosing interviewees was not random, although there were some accessibility issues that prevented me from speaking with everyone I would have liked.

During my trip to Chile in 2007, I first introduced myself to Alejandro Herrera, the director of the Instituto de Estudios Indígenas. Through his enormous help, both in 2007 as well as upon my return in 2009, I made my initial contacts and from there I was referred to other possible interviewees. By the time I had interviewed almost every one of those people, my contacts started repeating referrals. There were a few key people I was unable to interview due to scheduling conflicts or location difficulties.

I modeled my interviews on the respondent type interview, which Thomas Lindlof describes as one that "elicits open-ended responses to a series of directive questions" (1995:171). He further describes the aim of this type of interview as being one or more of the following: "(a)

to clarify the meanings of common concepts and opinions, (b) to distinguish the decisive elements of an expressed opinion, (c) to determine what influenced a person to form an opinion or to act in a certain way, (d) to classify complex attitude patterns, and (e) to understand the interpretations that people attribute to their motivations to act" (1995:172). Although, the main goals of my interviews depended on the person being interviewed, I specifically concentrated on matters of identity, certain Mapuche concepts such as *werken* or *nüxam*[13], specific types of media usage, cultural changes which the interviewee considered at least partly due to the introduction of new media, and concrete examples of discrimination or inequality that the interviewee felt necessitated societal change.

The structure of my interviews fell very much in line with what James Spradley suggests in his book *The Ethnographic Interview* (1979). "The three most important ethnographic elements are its *explicit purpose, ethnographic explanations,* and *ethnographic questions*" (59). Additionally, the interviews were structured according to my knowledge of Mapuche relational expectations. I began each interview by explicitly stating my reason for being in Temuco, my interests regarding the interview and my ethical stance on the research I was doing. I allowed the interviewee to ask me questions and we generally had a short, casual conversation before I began the formal part of the interview. Sometimes this was preceded by a Mapuzugun exchange, as much as my language skills allowed. I asked permission to record the conversation[14] and explained that my primary reason for doing so was because Spanish is my second language and it is difficult to take notes and listen at the same time. I assured them that no one but me would

[13] Literally, these Mapuzugun words translate as 'messenger' and 'conversation.' These concepts will be discussed in greater depth in later chapters.

[14] These recordings are stored on an external hard drive, disconnected from the Internet and maintained in a secure location. They will be kept for five years or until the conclusion of this research, at which time they will be destroyed.

ever listen to them. I further explained how I had structured the interview. And, of course, the interviews were conducted with IRB consent and each participant's rights were explained in a consent form, as discussed above.

In most cases, my first questions[15] were largely demographic (do you live in a lof[16]?, do you speak Mapuzugun?, etc.), but highly important for understanding the background of the interviewee. I had two main sets of questions. The first involved identity, the idea of being "Mapuche" and what it meant to the interviewee. The second was about mass media: how the interviewee used them, what his or her opinion was of them, and when appropriate, questions regarding specific websites. Throughout the interview, I allowed the interviewees to expound on whatever they thought was important to the topics I brought up. Often this technique proved highly valuable and only rarely did I have to redirect the conversation. I ended each interview with a request to cite them in my dissertation and for potential references for further interviewing. Finally, I expressed my gratitude for taking the time to speak with me and I ensured each person I interviewed that, as long as it was within my power, I would provide them with the final version of my research[17].

Description of Additional Experiences

In addition to the in-depth interviews, I had the opportunity to observe different instances of Mapuche communication networks, including Mapuzugun classes, a ngillatún or religious ceremony, and a communication conference with attendees from around the world. My

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[15] See Appendix B for set of structured interview questions.

[16] 'Lof' is the Mapuzugun word that describes one of the more intimate levels of socio-political territorial organization. The closest English translation is 'community,' although this word fails to fully convey the idea of a 'lof.' A more in-depth explanation of 'lof' will follow in Chapter 9.

[17] In all but a few instances I was able to acquire email addresses so that I would be able to follow through with this undertaking. I also explained that the dissertation would be written in English and that translating it into Spanish would take even more time.

dissertation is not intended to be ethnographic and as such the majority of the research I conducted was not traditional participant observation. However, I would like to briefly point to Atkinson & Hammersley to suggest that the concept of 'participant observation' can be somewhat controversial. Given the fourfold typology of complete observer, observer as participant, participant as observer, and complete participant, it can be argued that "'in a sense *all* social research is a form of participant observation, because we cannot study the social world without being part of it'"(Hammersley & Atkinson 1983 cited in Atkinson & Hammersley 1998:249). That said, spending several months in Temuco, being part of a world in which many Mapuche live and being able to observe the moments I did were valuable experiences and provided me with insights into Mapuche knowledge. These opportunities also allowed for impromptu and casual conversations to which I might not otherwise have had access.

In July 2007 I attended a one-on-one intensive weekend Mapuzugun course at Lof Xuf Xuf, the community of the teacher, Javier Quidel, and in January 2010 I attended a 4-week summer course of Mapuzugun taught by Rosa Huenchulaf at the Universidad Católica in Temuco. The sessions were taught by native speakers and both teachers were involved in cultural revitalization projects. In each instance, the teachers were aware of my purpose in Temuco. Both teachers presented their material in a holistic manner. Instead of beginning the first class with basic identifying sentences, the students were presented with a lesson on Mapuche worldview. Throughout the courses both teachers maintained the approach of interspersing linguistic lessons with cultural ones.

In March 2010 I was lucky enough to be invited to a ngillatún, a traditional ceremony, which took place at Lof Ralun Kollan, a community located on the northwestern outskirts of Temuco. The land the lof occupies had once been rural, but the city has grown up around it.

Some communities are more open than others in allowing outsiders to observe religious ceremonies and at almost all ngillatún recording or pictures are forbidden.

In 2010, I spent time at El Observatorio Ciudadano, located in downtown Temuco. This organization serves indigenous peoples and the poor in their legal needs; however, it also serves as a type of network hub for those activists interested in communications. Many Mapuche activists commute to the city or travel from city to city. Temuco serves as a center for these activists and when they travel, the Observatorio is one of the places in which they congregate to touch base with other activists and journalists. Many of my interview appointments took place or started in this office. It was also here that I made an acquaintance with someone who invited me to a communications workshop that took place in April 2010 in Villarrica, Chile. The attendees were mostly Mapuche, but others who attended came from as far away as New Zealand and Italy. The workshop covered a great deal of information and the sessions were led by a variety of media experts representing print media, the Internet, television and general communication theory. This workshop was enlightening because it established how difficult it is to work in some media, such as television, but showed how dedicated people were at developing Mapuche media.

1.4 QUALITATIVE ANALYSIS

The third leg of my triangulated research design involves an investigation of the Mapuche presence online. I decided to focus on *Azkintuwe*, a popular online newspaper, by conducting a content analysis. The *Azkintuwe* website includes articles that are posted on a regular basis. However, about every other month Pedro Cayuqueo, the website manager and newspaper editor, collects and edits these articles for publication in a physical and an electronic version of a regular newspaper. The distribution of the physical newspaper is limited. It can be

found at various kiosks and businesses around Temuco and Santiago, but in other cities, such as Valparaíso, Valdivia, Osorno, Buenos Aires, Neuquén and Bariloche, it is available only through particular organizations and people. However, a PDF version is available through the website (www.azkintuwe.org).

I chose *Azkintuwe* for a focused case study for a number of reasons. In talking to Mapuche activists, journalists and media consumers, it was the most commonly referenced Mapuche Internet website. *Azkintuwe* contains original articles that are intended to be democratic and representative. Although there is another popular website, Mapuexpress, managed by Alfredo Seguel, it serves more as a database of articles, collecting them from multiple sources. In addition to the readily accessible PDFs in the *Azkintuwe* archives, the newspapers are prepared with a very specific objective. That is, the *Azkintuwe* website claims the newspaper privileges journalistic principles and "the right of peoples to communication… [It also] promotes informative pluralism, the tolerance of ideas and solidarity among peoples. It also considers that communication, facilitated by new information technologies, should fulfill a social role"[18] (www.azkintuwe.org/quienesomos.htm). Due to these reasons, I felt that *Azkintuwe* would provide a clearer representative of how Mapuche are using the Internet and to what end.

Azkintuwe was first published in October 2003. For the next seven years the newspaper was published about every other month. I used all of the editions of the newspaper from October 2003 to December 2010 in the content analysis with the exception of the nine editions published

[18] "…el derecho de los pueblos a la comunicación…se propicia el plurismo informativo, la tolerancia de ideas y la solidaridad entre los pueblos. También considera que la comunicación, facilitada por las nuevas tecnologías de la información, debe cumplir un rol social."

between March 2008 and August 2009. These were not available via the website and despite enormous effort I was unable to get copies of these editions to include in the analysis.

For the content analysis, I focused on the topic of Mapuche identity. I used knowledge gained from the interviews and the archival research that I conducted, as well as my observations at conferences and presentations to determine how to narrow these articles for analysis. This process resembles David Althiede's "progressive theoretical sampling" (1996:33-35). The narrowing factor I chose was language because it was central to understanding Mapuche identity for most of the people I interviewed. Additionally, language, as opposed to land recuperation or misuse of traditional territory, does not necessarily focus on conflict. As so many mainstream Chilean newspapers emphasize conflict when reporting on the Mapuche people, I did not want to unnecessarily bias my sample by choosing a delineator that focuses specifically on conflict. Language can emphasize cultural aspects of Mapuche identity, but as Donald Horowitz (1985) points out, language can be a symbol of domination or autonomy, and it can be the link between political claims and cultural identity. Language is also the element that can find unity within diversity. Narrowing the articles based on language[19] led to a sample of 191 articles or 23% of the total articles.

I used all my previous conversations, experiences and accumulated knowledge of Mapuche kimün and identity, as well as an initial reading of the newspaper, in order to develop the categories used to code these articles. Using a combination of first and second cycle coding methods as described by Johnny Saldaña in *The Coding Manual for Qualitative Researchers*

[19] I define articles about language as being one the following: articles about language in general, articles specifically about Mapuzugun or another indigenous language, articles partly or wholly written in Mapuzugun (or another non-Western language), or articles about concepts expressed in Mapuzugun, such as ngillatun, werken, or We Tripantu.

(2009), I created three main types of categories: geography & territory, frames and themes[20]. The first category employed the "grammatical method" of "attribute coding" (Saldaña 2009:55-58). That is, this type of category records essential information. Geographic setting determined whether the events of the article took place in Chile, Argentina, both, or neither. Territorial identity clarified the main subject of the article; whether it was about a person (che), family (ruka), or community (lof), etc. The second category employed the "elemental method" of "descriptive coding" (Saldaña 2009:70-73). This method is used to examine the content of the article to determine the important topics found within. I utilized this method to determine whether the concepts of "self-determination" and "nation/nationalism" explicitly appeared within the articles. I also used this method to determine the frames that characterized the ways in which the information in the articles were presented. Frames included categories such as "political," "cultural" and "spiritual." Finally, I utilized a combination of first-cycle, initial coding and second-cycle, pattern coding to develop categories that more accurately reflected emerging themes and meaningful patterns that communicate the authors' attitudes towards contemporary affairs. "Initial coding" (Saldaña 2009:81-85) involves looking for similarities and differences in the data. "Pattern coding" (Saldaña 2009:152-155) involves taking the similarities and identifying the patterns that link them. I expressed these categories as "themes." Themes included concepts such as "Mapuche are unjustly labeled terrorists," "Non-Mapuche prosper economically off of Mapuche culture," and "We are united in our diversity."

Then, by randomly selecting 10% of the newspaper editions with a random number generator, I examined this subsample to ensure first that narrowing by language would provide enough articles to give a sense of the kinds of messages conveyed by the newspaper. Secondly, I

[20] See Chapter 8 for an elaboration of these categories.

used this subsample to make sure that my codes were appropriate and sufficient. I also used an outside coder, a recent doctoral graduate familiar with Latin American history and culture, who is also fluent in Spanish. In order to ensure inter-coder reliability, she evaluated 11% of the articles chosen for inclusion in the content analysis and returned an overall agreement rating of 91.3%[21], which falls within the acceptable range for intercoder reliability (Miles and Huberman 1994:64).

1.5 CONCLUSION

In summary, the three legs of my triangulated research design included archival research, in-depth interviews and a content analysis. The value of this research design lies in the fact that I used multiple sources to draw data from which to interpret my observations about how Mapuche use the Internet to convey and construct identity. This added validity to my interpretations by permitting the data to converge upon consistent conclusions. These multiple data sources also allowed me to check my understanding of Mapuche kimün. When a concept arose in conversation, I would check the archives for more information on this concept, and then, when relevant, bring it up in future interviews. In this way, I had a good grasp of most concepts when analyzing the articles during the analysis. It also provided me with multiple ways of understanding Mapuche perspective and concerns.

[21] When comparing just the primary frame or theme chosen, the agreement rate was 90.5%. See Chapter 8 for a more detailed discussion of the content analysis and its findings.

CHAPTER 2

LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 IDENTITY

Identity as a theoretical model is nothing new; however, it remains one of the most important conceptual frameworks to which we have access. So much about what people do and why they do those things relates back to identity. It can be imposed, self-determined and appropriated. Each of these employments illuminates important facts about the cultural processes at work. Practically every discipline within the social sciences deals with identity in one way or another. As identity is central to this research, I begin this literature review by focusing on a specific type of identity – ethnicity – and exploring how it relates to the Mapuche experience.

Ethnicity

The concept of ethnicity was developed in order to explain the new reality of the latter half of the twentieth century. Minority groups on the outskirts of society "– groups expected to assimilate, to disappear, to continue as survivals, exotic or troublesome –" (Glazer & Moynihan 1975:5) instead expanded and became major forces within society. This is evident in the United States with the Civil Rights Movement of the 1960s and the Red Power Movement of the 1970s. Today, almost 60 years after the first written occurrence of the term[22], 'ethnicity' is employed to explain myriad phenomena. So much, in fact, that sometimes it seems to be used synonymously

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[22] According to Glazer and Moynihan (1975), the first *usage* of the term 'ethnicity' was in 1953, but it was not until 1972 that the word first appeared in the *Oxford English Dictionary*'s *Supplement* published that year. 'Ethnic,' a much older term, had been commonly used for some time to describe a pagan or a heathen. "The matter of belief is less important in this usage than the drawing of a boundary" (Cornell & Hartmann 1998:16). By the beginning of the twentieth century this usage had shifted, referencing "common blood or descent" rather than religion (16).

with 'identity.' This leads not only to its gratuitous use where a different concept may be more valuable, but skews and confuses interpretations in the situations to which it is applied.

Using ethnicity to talk about indigenous peoples has proven to be problematic. Doing this creates the idea that they are just another ethnic group, which "relegates indigenous peoples to the status of immigrant minority populations with no rights to sovereignty or nationhood" (Nagel 1996:8). In Chile, this is encouraged as a way to delegitimize indigenous claims. The result is that indigenous peoples are understood to be ethnic mestizo, or mixed, populations, which is used to imply that they are somehow distinct from the original inhabitants that were colonized. The concept of 'ethnogenesis' encourages this idea by describing the Mapuche as a *new* ethnic group (Boccara 1999). If they are different and new, their rights are limited to those of every other citizen, but do not extend to those of an independent nation. Mapuche do not usually understand themselves to be an ethnic group and so I will examine the concept of 'ethnicity' in order to explore its relevance to the present research.

Frederik Barth, a well-known anthropologist, considers an early anthropological definition of 'ethnic group' in the introduction to his 1969 edited book *Ethnic Groups and Boundaries*. He begins by emphasizing that "ethnic groups are categories of ascription and identification by the actors themselves" (10), which is how ethnicity has become an organizing tool. He identifies the anthropological "ideal-type[23]" definition of 'ethnic group' as designating "a population which: 1) is largely biologically self-perpetuating, 2) shares fundamental cultural values, realized in overt unity in cultural forms, 3) makes up a field of communication and

[23] The concept of 'ideal type' comes from Max Weber's type of sociological meaning. "The theoretically conceived *pure type* of subjective meaning attributed to the hypothetical actor or actors in a given type of action. In no case does it refer to an objectively 'correct' meaning or one which is 'true' in some metaphysical sense" (Weber 1947[1964]:89). In other words, an ideal type definition will provide characteristics or elements of a phenomenon but will not correspond exactly to any one *particular* case.

interaction, 4) has a membership which identifies itself, and is identified by others, as constituting a category distinguishable from other categories of the same order" (10-11). Barth criticizes this definition for assuming that boundaries are well-defined and maintained, without any problematic circumstances. This definition is also limited in explaining cultural diversity because it assumes the ethnic group developed in relative isolation and that each ethnic group "can legitimately be isolated for description as an island to itself" (11). I would add to Barth's criticism by pointing out that it remains vague about how this identity is originally constructed and how it is maintained.

In another popular edited volume on ethnicity Hutchinson & Smith build on Richard Schermerhorn's definition[24] of 'ethnic group.' They dismiss the need to place an ethnic group 'within a larger society,' and identify six different features: 1) a common proper name, 2) a myth of common ancestry, 3) shared historical memories, 4) one or more elements of common culture, 5) a link with a homeland (but not necessarily its physical occupation), and 6) a sense of solidarity (1996:6-7). This is certainly one of the better definitions. It emphasizes the *belief* of common ancestry and link to a common homeland, rather than necessitating an actual biological connection or physical occupation of land. For the Mapuche, this suggests that the belief of common ancestry is enough for them to be considered ethnically Mapuche, but what happens when there is disagreement? Mapuche, who most definitely live within a larger society, may hold the belief of common ancestry, but if other members of that larger society do not recognize it, whose perspective should be allowed to define Mapuche ethnicity? This problem invokes the issue of interactions between discrete groups.

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[24] Schermerhorn (1970) defined 'ethnic group' as "a collectivity within a larger society having real or putative common ancestry, memories of a shared historical past, and a cultural focus on one or more symbolic elements defined as the epitome of a their people-hood" (12).

Manning Nash, in his 1989 book *The Cauldron of Ethnicity in the Modern World*, deals with this concept of discrete groups by suggesting that in order for there to be an ethnic group there must be boundaries and therefore some mechanism of maintaining these boundaries. In some ways this addresses the problem Barth identified in definitions assuming neat and unproblematic boundaries. The mechanism that Nash identifies is the cultural marker of difference. These are *kinship, commensality*, and *common cult*. *Kinship*, that which he calls the "most pervasive," is "the presumed biological and descent unity of the group" (10-11). Again, we have the idea of *presumed* and not necessarily *actual* descent relations. *Commensality* is defined by Nash specifically as the act of eating together which is meant to imply intimacy and the promise of future kinship links. The final cultural marker Nash identifies, the *common cult*, implies a value system, including sacred symbols that exist in a sacred time or *illo tempore*[25]. He calls these three elements a "*single recursive metaphor*" of blood, substance, and deity. (1989:10-11) While I think this idea is intriguing, it is Nash's discussion of the cultural markers of difference that I find more relevant. According to this concept of ethnicity, Mapuche should be identified by their cultural markers of difference. If ethnicity is defined through the interaction between two (or more) bounded groups, then there must be some recognizable boundary markers that serve to distinguish the Mapuche from other groups. Nevertheless, interpreting which boundary markers serve to identify Mapuche ethnicity remains problematic.

Paul Brass (1991) points out that the three ways of approaching a definition of ethnicity are "in terms of objective attributes, with reference to subjective feelings, and in relation to behavior" (18). An objective approach is not specific but assumes that certain cultural features, such as religion, language or territory must be what distinguish one group from another.

[25] This is "sacred time" as Mircea Eliade distinguishes it from "profane time." Sacred time is reversible, "a primordial mythic time made present" (Eliade1957[1959/1987]:68)

However, because an objective approach does not specify any particular feature it is still difficult to determine boundaries. A subjective definition does not assume any particular features but rather relies on self-conscious understanding of boundaries, which, of course also makes it extremely difficult to determine how these boundaries are identified. A behavioral approach is much like an objective approach, except that the boundary distinctions only reveal themselves upon interaction between the groups. Brass sees the most reliable way to define ethnicity as based on the objective approach, with an understanding that the elected features may change over time. I think this is unrealistic for something as fluid as ethnicity is difficult to approach objectively. If religion is an objective boundary marker, then many Mapuche who are Christian would not be considered ethnically Mapuche. Instead, some combination of the behavioral and the subjective might be able to more accurately identify boundary markers.

Brass also tackles ethnicity and the state, and the ways in which scholars think about and should think about these concepts. He seems to have the idea that ethnic groups are largely about interest and that the question regarding them is not whether they have an independent reality from within, but whether or not they are really just subgroups of other social formations, such as class or interest groups (1991:256). He seems to conclude that they are *not* simply subcategories of group interest (257). "[T]he interest group approach pays attention only to groups formally organized to press demands upon the state…interest group analysis pays no attention at all to potential groups, to categories of people that may or may not develop internal organization and/or enter the political arena as interest groups in the future" (257). Ultimately he thinks treating ethnic groups as another type of interest group is incorrect because "it ignores the cultural matters that are important to all ethnic groups and that distinguish such groups from other types of interest associations" (276). However, at its base he still sees ethnic groups as

internally motivated, which reduces all cultural identities to ethnic identities, essentially removing other ways of understanding cultural identity.

Even though he claims that to reduce ethnic groups to interest is analytically incorrect, in his discussion of the state's role in ethnicity that is in fact how he looks at ethnic groups. First, we need to understand how he conceives of the concept of state. Brass feels the question is whether or not a state is a neutral entity. He concludes that "the state is not simply an arena for group conflict nor an instrument for class domination but a relatively autonomous entity that tends, however, both to favor some classes and ethnic groups at particular points in time and also to develop relationships with elites within selected communities to serve its own interest" (Brass 1991:255). Basically, the state holds and uses the power of "differential distribution of resources among categories in the population" (253), and these decisions are based on a variety of factors, including the state's own interest.

As the distributor of resources, elites from ethnic groups that are in competition for these resources will use the symbolic capital at their disposal. "When elites in conflict come from different cultural, linguistic, or religious groups, the symbolic resources used will emphasize those differences" (Brass 1991:275). A consequence of this certain cultural characteristics will become associated with boundary markers between groups. Brass also warns that it is necessary to remember that these elite struggles happen both on an intragroup level, as well as on an external interaction level (278). These elite struggles can be executed in a variety of ways, some of which will lead to ethnic mobilization. In confrontations with external elites, ethnic characteristics will be called upon in order to maintain allegiance of the ethnic group. In the same way, certain ethnic characteristics may be emphasized over others in order to maintain control from within an ethnic group.

The aspect of Brass' discussion that is relevant for the purposes of this dissertation is the idea that certain cultural characteristics may be used as symbolic resources to either obtain or maintain control over other resources. In this way, as the distributor of resources, the state can potentially play a role in the revitalization of culture. The Mapuche organization Consejo de Todas las Tierras chooses to emphasize obscure aspects of Mapuche tradition in order to maintain and garner support for their organization. This organization's predecessor, Mapuche Culture Centers, and then Ad-Mapu in its early years, also focused on culture as a way to organize, as it helped to circumvent the power of the dictatorship's rules. Today, many Mapuche organizations use language as a focal point of revitalization. And so, according to Brass, the State, through direct or indirect interaction with ethnic groups, can be very influential in the development of these groups' cultural identities.

Ultimately the problem with these definitions is they try to be appropriate for any circumstance in which identity is constructed based on boundaries. Because of the generalizing nature of these definitions, they simply cannot be appropriate in all circumstances. Thus far, none of these definitions has proved sufficient in determining a specifically Mapuche ethnicity. Additionally, definitions can be applied so broadly that almost anything can be considered ethnicity. For example, using Hutchinson & Smith's definition, the members of an online gaming forum, Gamers with Jobs, can be understood as sharing a common ethnicity: a common name (goojers), a common ancestry (pioneer gamers from the inception of the video game), shared memories (anything from first experiences of a new game to threads from prolific posters), a homeland (the 'cyber-space' of the forums), and a sense of solidarity (newcomers are viewed with distrust until they are understood to be a 'goojer' and not a 'troll' who does not belong in the community). There is certainly an interesting construction of identity going on in

such an example, but I do not believe it should be considered an ethnicity. When comparing this application of ethnicity to its application in relation to a group like the Mapuche, it seems rather nonsensical.

If we then assume that a definition will depend on the particular context of the interactions between groups, there are still two main ways of approaching ethnicity: primordialism or circumstantialism (also known as instrumentalism). Primordialism is essentially a psychological explanation for attachment based on "ineffable affective significance"; circumstantialism is a behavioral explanation for attachment based on internal and external social circumstances (Scott 1990:148).

Edward Shils, an influential sociologist, was the first to employ the concept of ethnicity in relation to ties of kinship. "The attachment to another member of one's kinship group is not just a function of interaction…It is because a certain ineffable significance is attributed to the tie of blood" (Shils 1957:122 quoted in Scott 1990:150). Geertz built on the idea of the ineffable and described a primordial attachment to derive from "the givenness that stems from being born into a particular religious community, speaking a particular language, or even a dialect of a language, and following particular social practices" (1973:259). Essentially this suggests that someone is Mapuche because they *feel* Mapuche based on the psychological bonds and "ineffable" elements of kinship.

Cornell and Hartmann (1998) direct attention to Harold Isaacs (1975) who builds on Geertz' discussion by identifying the eight 'givens' of basic group identity that a person is born into: physical body, given name, first language, history and origins, religion, nationality, culture and geography. These are the features that are first and involuntary attributed to every person. All other identity and changes in identity are built on this first set of features. Accordingly a

Mapuche would be someone who *looks* Mapuche, has a Mapuche last name, speaks Mapuzugun, shares in a common Mapuche history, holds a particularly Mapuche spiritual faith, belongs to a Mapuche nation, shares in a common Mapuche culture and lives with other Mapuche. While these features may be true for some, they will differ on an individual and community level. These "givens" may be a fine starting point for examining identity, but provide little about the specifics of ethnicity.

Neither treatment of Mapuche ethnicity really explains anything of relevance. How is it then that ideas about who is Mapuche and who is not differ so drastically from individual to individual? And some of the criticisms of primordialism point out that it does not explain the phenomenon of ethnic attachment; it simply describes it (Scott 1990:150). Many of the groups that claim primordial identity are themselves "recent historical creations" (Glazer & Moynahan 1975:19). Since primordialism suggests a basic identity, it does not adequately explain the phenomenon of multiple primary ethnic identities (Cornell & Hartmann 1998:50). While it sheds light on the persistence of an ethnic identity, it does not help to explain the changes in intensity of these identities (Cornell & Hartmann 1998: 50;Scott1990:149). Eller and Coughlan (1993) advocate dropping the concept altogether. They state that if primordialism is to be understood as *apriori*, ineffable and derived from emotion then it "presents us with a picture of underived and socially-unconstructed emotions that are unanalysable and overpowering and coercive yet varying" (187). While I concede that primordialism is problematic, to scrap the term entirely is to ignore the reality that some groups are viewed as ethnically different based on these characteristics.

Turning now to circumstantialism, we have an approach that emphasizes social interaction and "treats ethnicity as a social, political, and cultural resource for different interest-

and status- groups" (Hutchinson & Smith 1996:8). This perspective views ethnic identity as the means to an end. Cornell & Hartmann point out, however, that an analysis based on this perspective should not start by looking at the interests but rather by the circumstances that put the relevant groups into a position where they found their interests best served by claiming a common ethnicity. "It embeds identities in changeable social situations instead of in unchanging attachments that often lie at the heart of primordialism" (Cornell & Hartmann 1998:59). Glazer and Moynihan (1975) are proponents of this model and they seem to see ethnicity almost entirely as constructed on the basis of interest. They try to explain that ethnicity is not constructed solely as a means of seeking advantage, but apart from mentioning and then dismissing primordialism, they never really shift their discussion from the idea that ethnicity is a highly used mobilizing tool.

The implications of this perspective are that the Mapuche as an ethnicity exists because those who claim membership see some benefit in doing so; however, in talking with many Mapuche, it becomes clear that living as a Mapuche within Chilean society leads to far more disadvantages than advantages. It can be argued that contemporary Mapuche ethnicity is working towards the political end of self-determination; however, this does not explain how a common Mapuche identity has persisted for so long. Some criticisms of circumstantialism cite this very problem by pointing out that while it is good at explaining change and intensity of ethnic identity, it does not contribute to an understanding of the enduring nature of primordial identity. Scott (1990) points out, that in this regard, primordialism and circumstantialism seem to be mutually exclusive. Where circumstantialists fail to "explain a constant with a variable" primordialists are unable to explain a variable with a constant (149). Cornell and Hartmann (1998) identify two important ways that circumstantialism falls short. First, in depending largely

on context to explain ethnicity, "they ignore the sentiments and experiences of many ethnic groups themselves" (66); and secondly, circumstantialism fails to explain why ethnicity is such a motivating factor in collectivity rather than other factors that can motivate humans, such as sex or religion.

There have been some attempts to reconcile these two approaches; however, Hutchinson and Smith do question the degree to which these syntheses can be helpful. They direct attention toward three of these attempts: Barth's transactionalism, Horowitz's social psychology, and Smith's ethno-symbolism. Barth's transactionalist approach examines the boundary as the unit of analysis rather than the cultural aspects within such boundaries. Boundaries are permeable but fixed, and the "transactions" that cross these boundaries are what hold them together. His idea has been criticized for assuming the fixity of ethnic identity and for not taking into account the different types of ethnic allegiance. (Hutchinson & Smith 1996:9). The essence of Horowitz's approach is "the assumption that ethnic affiliation is ultimately based on kinship myths and on a sense of group honour in relation to other groups" (10). This model allows for additional analyses of other factors such as collective memories and the role of the elite. Smith's approach elaborates on the idea that myths and symbols are what unify and form cohesive bonds of identity over time. He sees the role of the elite in uncovering ethnic roots as a response to the impersonality of bureaucracy, although this approach has been criticized for overly privileging the content of such myths. (10)

Ultimately, I find all of these concepts of ethnicity lacking in regards to the Mapuche. I believe this is because there are different types of identity at work; ethnicity and indigeneity are two similar but distinct kinds of identity. Ethnicity is about negotiating the relationship between two bounded groups. It happens on relatively local levels because this is where the interaction

happens. Mapuche *ethnic* identity is negotiated on the level of Chilean and Argentine societies respectively. An international audience would understand Mapuche more in terms of an indigenous ethnicity than a particularly Mapuche one, but a Chilean audience would understand them in terms of the Mapuche ethnicity created through the interactions between Mapuche and Chilean society. Based on the above examination of relevant scholarship, for the purposes of this study, I define ethnicity as, 'a negotiated identity constructed within the interactions between two or more bounded groups, and built on visible boundary markers that may or may not include an understanding of primordialism; it is not entirely externally imposed, but may leave little room for agency.'

In conclusion, ethnicity is useful in providing insight into Mapuche-Chilean relations. In Chile, Mapuche ethnicity relates largely to their place within Chilean society. They are ethnically Mapuche because this is how they have been viewed and treated. If, for example, a person changes her last name, does not speak Mapuzugun, does not practice ceremonies, "dresses like a professional," thinks like a Chilean, does not maintain ties to a traditional territory, but *looks* Mapuche, she may still get treated as Mapuche (Irene Weche, cited in Ovalle Vergara 2009:157). In this respect, the identity has already been negotiated and ethnicity is imposed from the outside: if she is viewed as Mapuche and treated like she is Mapuche, she is ethnically Mapuche, whether she likes it or not. There are understood visible boundary markers that have been collaboratively determined over time, such as physical features, dress, and language that ethnically separate Mapuche from Chileans; however, this says very little about how that Mapuche views herself, whether indigeneity is something she identifies with or if she understands herself to be a member of a Mapuche *nation*. Identity is complex and exists on multiple, intersecting levels. Self-ascribed Mapuche identity may involve many of the very same

boundary markers used to create a Mapuche ethnicity, but will be framed and understood in an entirely different manner.

2.2 COMMUNICATION

The framing of identity moves the discussion into communication and media theory. This project is about the intersection of identity and communication, so in this next section I will turn my attention to the latter. This discussion begins with an examination of new media theory and how it can be used to understand the Mapuche experience. As new media studies is a relatively new field, it must be considered from multiple perspectives. I conclude this chapter by briefly touching on semiotics, or the study of signs, an approach to communication that is rooted in linguistics, which is salient because a large portion of my analysis involves language.

Media Theory

It is necessary to situate the context of this research, which lies in new media. The most essential, and somewhat elusive, question that first comes to mind is, what is 'new media'? The term itself has been in use since the 1960s (McQuail 1983[2010]:39) and has been defined as "recently evolved systems (in the last 10-15 years) for delivery of content to audiences" (Breen 2007:55). However, surely what were considered new media in the 1960s are different from what are considered new media today. On the other hand, is it accurate to define new media in terms of age? The Internet as a medium[26] available to the general public has been around for over 20 years now, but due to its dynamic nature, it is continuously used in novel ways; for this reason, it should still be considered part of this category of 'new media.' While some Mapuche websites have been in existence in some form or other since the late 1990s, most contemporary incarnations date from the early 2000s and later.

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[26] This can be contrasted with the technology which facilitates the Internet, which has changed tremendously in the past 20 years.

There are a couple of reasons why it is so difficult for scholars to settle on a definition of new media. The first is that while the term is often used as a collective noun, it is actually a diverse assortment of different "production[s], distribution[s] and use[s]" (Lister, Dovey, Giddings, Grant & Kelly 2003:9, 13). Examples of new media are satellite radio, online newspapers, blogs and forums (Breen 2007:57). The Mapuche utilize all of these, as well as digital video, in their media production and consumption. These all represent the possibilities for content using the Internet. The Internet is described as "the collection of networks that link computers and servers together"; although taken at face value this definition limits an understanding of the Internet to simply the way computers communicate (Lister, et al. 2003:164). The term World Wide Web technically refers to the interlinked documents that people use the Internet to access; however, these two terms are usually used interchangeably. 'Cyberspace' is a term coined by the science fiction author, William Gibson, "to denote metaphoric abstraction for the online world of computer networks, especially the Internet" (Breen 2006:62). 'Cyberspace' and the 'World Wide Web' allow our understanding of the Internet to extend beyond just the technological side of the computer-to-computer communication. For the purposes of this dissertation, I will be using the Internet and the World Wide Web interchangeably to refer to the types of new media that use this technology. I will reserve the term 'cyberspace' to refer solely to the abstract space that we imagine the Internet to contain.

The second reason it is difficult for scholars to settle on a definition of new media is because the Internet, where most new media today are found, "is not yet mature or clearly defined" (McQuail 1983[2010]:40). Uses for the Internet are constantly being imagined and re-imagined: personal and professional communication, homepages to blogs, podcasts, convergence of other media such as television and radio, advertising, digital storage, social media, political

resistance, etc. The Mapuche, for example, utilize the Internet largely to extend their political voice and began doing so with the production of websites and the maintenance of listservs. While these are still being used, they have branched out into social media, such as Facebook, personal blogs, and videos on YouTube. As long as new media technology continues to develop people will find new ways of using the Internet. This often happens much faster than scholars can appropriately investigate.

For the purposes of my research, which involves an analysis of an online newspaper with a focus on content and the intent of the producers of said content, the media effect that is most relevant is framing. Generally speaking, framing "refers to the activities of the mass media as they select, emphasize and present some aspects of 'reality' to audiences, while ignoring others" (Stone, Singletary & Richmond 1999:277). The concept of framing is usually attributed to Erving Goffman who published his seminal work *Frame Analysis* in 1974. He described framing as the "organization of experience" (Goffman 1974:11), or the process by which people make sense of their world. "According to Goffman, we don't operate with a limited or fixed set of expectations about social roles, objects, or situations. Rather, we have enormous flexibility in creating and using expectations" (Baran & Davis 2003:274). This is the main reason that two people can interpret the same event in entirely different ways. We approach our world according to our frames of reference. Mapuche frames of reference on the Internet tend to be political and cultural in nature, and focus on issues of territory and language.

There are two different ways Goffman explained how humans are not trapped in their own unique, disjointed experiences. The first is that we order and coordinate our social interactions with others by using social cues. These cues can be understood as "information in the environment that signals a shift or change of action" (Baran & Davis 2003:275). Secondly,

in order to maintain a sense of continuity in our social experiences we commit to a primary reality. Our primary, or dominant, reality is that in which people obey conventional rules. However, Goffman stated that sometimes we can work so hard to maintain our sense of continuity that we can make framing errors. "We literally see and hear things that aren't there but that should be there according to the social rules we have internalized" (Baran & Davis 2003:278). This is where social misunderstandings can arise and how sometimes, until our frame of reference changes, we cannot see something that is right in front of us.

Robert Entman's article "Framing: Toward Clarification of a Fractured Paradigm" (1993) is still one of the best attempts at synthesizing the concept's key components. He begins by emphasizing that framing is largely about selection and salience. "To frame is to *select some aspects of a perceived reality and make them more salient in a communicating text, in such a way as to promote a particular problem definition, causal interpretation, moral evaluation, and/or treatment recommendation* for the item described" (52, author emphasis). This is accomplished by repeating information or associating it with familiar cultural signs. Ultimately, frames select certain perspectives or themes over others and make them salient to the audience, which increases the likelihood that the receiver will make changes to their social perceptions. For example, Mapuche activists often complain that mainstream Chilean media frame issues in a way that perpetuates negative stereotypes of Mapuche (they are lazy, they are greedy, they are violent, etc.), which works to sway social opinion away from favoring the Mapuche.

Agenda-setting, along with priming, is sometimes merged with the concept of framing, which confuses analyses; nevertheless, they are both associated with framing analysis. Priming "refers to the effects of the content of the media on people's later behavior or judgments related to the content" (Roskos-Ewoldsen, Roskos-Ewoldsen, & Dillman Carpentier 2002:97). It is

sometimes seen as a more specific aspect of agenda setting and originated in social learning theory, especially in aggression studies (McQuail 1983[2010]:514). In terms of framing, the frames that are presented in the media may have the effect of priming the audience to respond in certain ways to ideas or events because their attention is drawn in a particular direction. Agenda-setting is the idea that media cannot tell the audience *what* to think, but they can tell the audience what to think *about* (Baron & Davis 2003:311; Stone et al. 1999:238). Framing differs from agenda-setting and priming in a few ways. First of all, it accommodates a wider range of factors and is associated with culture, since culture is how people integrate meaning into their social world. A picture of an old Mapuche woman will evoke different meanings for Mapuche audiences than for Chilean audiences because of their cultural understandings. Additionally, framing "goes beyond commenting on the *extent* or *degree* of media attention, focusing instead on the *nature* of that attention and the aspects that are highlighted as *salient*" (Kitzinger 2007:137, author emphasis). Both the degree of attention on certain events and the way these events are framed must be considered when analyzing online content.

In the case of Mapuche media, agenda-setting can be useful in examining what issues are written about most often. This will say something about the intent of the producers of the media. For example, Mapuche often claim that the Chilean media chooses to run mainly articles that have to do with conflict, especially violent conflict, when reporting on Mapuche issues. The effect of this can be that regardless of people's opinion on these events, they are talking about them instead of the other, more positive aspects of Mapuche society, such as ceremonies or intercultural health and education. An investigation into the agenda-setting practices of Mapuche-produced media will illuminate what issues those organizations want people talking about. The way those issues are framed is of particular interest to me because it suggests *how*

those organizations want people thinking about those issues, or in other words, how they are representing Mapuche identity. For example, Chilean media may frame a territory dispute in terms of conflict, where Mapuche media may frame the same dispute in terms of national rights. The representation here is that Mapuche are defending a national right, rather than being culturally belligerent. The way these issues are framed will influence how the audience is primed to think about and act towards similar events in the future.

The question of whether or not media, including new media, can actually have a societal impact, or change culture, has been an enduring question, one that has become more prominent with the development of new media (Lister et al. 2003:77). This has especially come to the forefront with the events of the 'Arab spring,' which seems to suggest that indeed new media can affect societal change. However, this is not always clear-cut and in the case of the Mapuche remains to be seen. Marshall McLuhan's famous axiom, 'the medium is the message,' is reflected in some Mapuche perceptions about how the technology has changed their society. McLuhan's idea is that "the personal and social consequences of any medium – that is, of any extension of ourselves – result from the new scale that is introduced into our affairs by each extension of ourselves or by any new technology (McLuhan 1964[1994]:19). While the Internet and other new media have benefits such as transmitting knowledge about culture that is being lost, or keeping people in better touch, it has also had a negative impact on how people communicate with one another (Luis Nahuel, May 17, 2010, personal communication). Traditionally Mapuche placed huge emphasis on conversations with one another; conversations could last all morning (Juan Jacinto Huaiquin, May 6, 2010, personal communication). While other factors may also have influenced this, the suggestion is that Mapuche culture has been

changed in a negative way due to new media that encourages different kinds of interactions with people. This same argument can be applied in a variety of cultural settings around the world[27].

If new media are similar to 'old' media in the applicability of media effects and in regard to questions about societal impact, how do they differ? Several scholars offer a list of characteristics or features which distinguish new media from traditional media. Michael Breen identifies these as follows: "entry is cheap, the number of practitioners is limitless, geography is not a barrier, communication is a two-way process, and the audience has a high power in terms of how and when content is consumed" (2007:55). McQuail identifies new media's distinguishing features as "their interconnectedness, their accessibility to individual users as senders and/or receivers, their interactivity, their multiplicity of use and open-ended character, and their ubiquity and 'delocatedness'" (1983[2010]:39). Two of the most commonly cited features seem to be their interactivity and their accessibility. For the purposes of this research, I will briefly examine the implications of these features, as well as the convergence of media and the rhizomatic nature of new media.

The interactive nature of new media is probably one of its most commonly mentioned characteristics because of its obvious difference to media of the past[28]. Interactivity implies a

[27] In informal conversations with other academics, there is a common opinion that due to the way new media has truncated communication over time – from email to Facebook to texting to twitter – younger students are unaccustomed to digesting knowledge in large chunks. In other words, new media is negatively impacting the educational identity of contemporary students.

[28] However, relating the concept of interactivity to new media has been challenged. Lev Manovich calls it a 'myth' and points out that "once an object is represented in a computer, it automatically becomes interactive. Therefore, to call computer media 'interactive' is meaningless – it simply means stating the most basic fact about computers" (2001:55). He warns against confusing the physicality of interaction, such as pushing a button, with the psychological interaction, the "processes of filling-in, hypothesis formation, recall, and identification, which are required for us to comprehend any text or image at all" (2001:57). Some ways scholars have specified the types of interactivity are by using it to refer to "a more powerful sense of user engagement with media text, a more independent relation to sources of knowledge, individualized media use, and greater user choice" (Lister et al. 2003[2009]:21).

two-way communication flow. It is no longer simply a one-way communication flow from the top or from the center (McQuail 1983[2010]:141), but rather from passive consumption to interaction. Moreover this shift from one-way flow implies the "interchangeable roles of senders and receivers," which grants a large amount of control to the user (Mundorf & Laird 2002:588). For Mapuche, this control involves having the option to choose content produced by Mapuche, as well as interacting with the other Mapuche online regarding contemporary events.

Accessibility is also something that is often noted in discussing the distinctions between old and new media. There are several different ways of talking about this concept. Both Breen and McQuail note a sense of freedom from geography. New media are not usually physically located anywhere, which means that access to the information and potential uses of such media are open to anyone, anywhere in the world with an Internet connection. The advancement of new media technology has made it so that access is becoming more and more open. Older computers with outdated specifications are relatively cheap and easy to come by, and are sufficient to access much of what is available on the Internet. However, McQuail points to the 'digital divide,' a successor to the 'information gap,' and states that "it is the better-off that first acquire and then upgrade the technology and are always ahead of the poor" so that "social and information gaps widen rather than narrow" (1983[2010]:156). Additionally the Internet and cyberspace are largely dominated by a few world languages[29], which naturally limit accessibility to information.

[29] Most content produced for the Internet by Mapuche is in Spanish, which is a widely spoken language. In this regard, language is not an obstacle for the Mapuche. However, in the past few years, there has been controversy over standardizing the Mapuzugun alphabet to facilitate the use of Mapuzugun with word processing applications, as well as online. At least two of the currently proposed Mapuzugun alphabets were developed with the Internet in mind (see "Note on Mapuche Orthography"). For more information about the uproar over Microsoft deciding on a Mapuzugun alphabet for use with their programs, see Bellido 2005, Loncon 2005, Loncon 2006 & *Azkintuwe* for more information.

While McQuail has a valid point that technology upgrades are not going to be accessible for those in poorer regions, I would argue that this does not necessarily lead to an information gap. The vehicle for transmitting information may not be as sophisticated, but even old technology still allows access to information. Many Mapuche may not have access to IPads or 3D monitors for financial reasons, but this does not hinder their use of the Internet as a political tool. The newer technology gets, the more accessible older technology (such as laptops) becomes. I would argue that, rather than the level of technology, access to an Internet connection at all is what creates the knowledge gap. Access to broadband can be a challenge for some Mapuche; both in Chile and in Argentina, there is not always electricity, let alone Internet, in the rural countryside. However, Internet access in the city centers is readily available, even if this means having to pay for it at an Internet café. Regardless, information flows slower when it has to travel from the city center to the rural communities.

Convergence is the idea that "previously discrete media forms and processes are drawn together and combined through digital technologies" (Lister et al. 2003[2009]:420). In many ways the convergence of media is moving extremely rapidly. This is evident in the changes that have occurred in the past ten years. In 2000, Nielson released a report which suggested that people were using the Internet on average just three hours a week, which was significantly less than people watched television (cited in Gerbner, Gross, Morgan, Signorielli & Shanahan 2002:61). Today the very definition of 'television' can be questioned – what does it mean if someone says he does not watch 'television'? Does this mean he does not watch serialized, visual entertainment produced for mass consumption by broadcasting networks such as ABC or the CW? Or does this mean he watches all his television shows online? With new media technology such as gaming consoles (Wii, PS3, Xbox) and streaming receiver boxes (Roku,

Sony, WD), as well as innovative websites like Hulu and Netflix, the landscape of visual entertainment has changed tremendously. In the case of Mapuche media use, this convergence allows access to media that was not possible in the past. Today, producing community television in Chile is still difficult, but Mapuche videos are readily available online.

Finally, new media, particularly the Internet, can be distinguished by their interconnected and nonhierarchical nature (Lévy 2001:112). Sometimes this is referred to as rhizomatic because the structure resembles that of a rhizome, "a subterranean stem lacking a definite beginning or end that continues to grow in all directions, constantly building new connections while old ones die" (Froehling 1997:293). This describes the network aspect of the Internet, which functions on a number of levels, from the server as a networked device with multiple inputs and outputs (Lister et al. 2003[2009]:32) to the connected social spaces that flow through and are created via the Internet (Froehling 1997:293). For many, this decentralized structure allows producers and users a great deal of autonomy in media content. As there is no central hub or control over how content is transmitted, Mapuche are able to circumvent the national laws which restrict other types of media use, such as television and radio. This allows them to respond to the perceived negative framing of Mapuche in the mainstream media in ways to which they would not otherwise have access.

However, the concept of networked organizations is not only useful for evaluating the Internet and new media, but also for examining offline social webs of connectedness. McQuail demonstrates how communication networks are at play in society in a variety of ways: at the community, regional, occupational, or institutional levels, as well as those based on shared daily life experiences, such as interest, need or activity (1983[2010]:16-17). This can be useful for investigating how communication information flows from individual Mapuche communities to

the Internet. There is a whole field of study devoted to social network theory, which has its roots in mathematics.

Today, examining networks are one of the ways in which social scientists attempt to understand social organization. Manuel Castells claims that “dominant functions and processes in the Information Age are increasingly organized around networks” and that despite networks having been used as a way of social organization in the past, today they have become pervasive because of our “new information technology paradigm” (1996[2000]:500). He divides human society into three grand ages. The first existed for millennia and was characterized by the domination of nature over culture. The second was characterized by the Industrial Revolution in which society saw the domination of nature by culture. Today we are at the beginning of a new age, “in which culture refers to culture, having superseded nature to the point that nature is artificially revived (‘preserved’) as a cultural form: that is in fact the meaning of the environmental movement, to reconstruct nature as an ideal cultural form” (1996[2000]:508). He uses the term ‘network society’ to describe the networking logic component of this new ‘informational society.’

In the beginning his discussion on how networks are related to all aspects of life, Fritjof Capra uses an analogy of ecology to describe how he views the relevance of networks:

> Shallow ecology is anthropocentric, or human-centered. It views humans as above or outside of nature, as the source of all value, and ascribes only instrumental, or ‘use,’ value to nature. Deep ecology does not separate humans – or anything else – from the natural environment. It sees the world not as a collection of isolated objects, but as a network of phenomena that are fundamentally interconnected and interdependent. Deep ecology recognized the intrinsic value of all living beings and views humans as just one particular strand in the web of life. (1996:7)

What is most interesting about this quote is that it almost seems as though he could be describing the differences between indigenous peoples and Western peoples. Seeing the world

as an interconnected network that does not privilege humans above other types of life is an essential part of most indigenous people's worldview. In fact, there have been several elements of new media theory that seem to be extremely reflective of a specifically Mapuche approach to social experiences. Besides the idea of interconnectedness, Mapuche culture incorporates a variety of learning models, especially orality, the variety of which can be associated with the convergence of different media; Mapuche culture is not hierarchical; and, it places enormous emphasis on a two-way communication model. The one aspect of new media that stands in blatant contrast to Mapuche culture is the idea of 'delocatedness.' Quite the contrary, Mapuche identity is intricately linked with a specific territory. Nevertheless, many Mapuche organizations have incorporated the Internet as a metaphorical space within their understanding of territorial divisions.

Semiotics

All of these characteristics of Mapuche culture and society contribute to the ways in which issues in Mapuche-produced content are framed. Determining and interpreting these frames happens on a cultural level, which means that what a producer intends with content is not always what the reader will understand. This is because their frames of reference are distinct and while the signifier is seen the same, the signified, or meaning behind the content, is understood differently. This leads into the realm of semiotics, which is necessary for exploring the way Mapuche frame issues in online content.

Simply put, semiotics is the study of signs. It has its roots in the work of two different men, Ferdinand de Saussure and Charles Sanders Peirce, working independently from Great Britain and the United States respectively. Their models are very similar and deviate only in a

couple of important ways. In the following discussion, I will clarify the theory of semiotics and examine its varying aspects in relation to the Mapuche experience.

Saussure's approach to linguistics was revolutionary in one very important way: his synchronic approach to the underlying structure of the system of language. Saussure was more interested in formal, generalized laws that govern the way people speak, rather than particular languages[30]. To fully comprehend Saussure's concept of semiotics, or as he named it, semiology, it is necessary to examine his definition of a 'sign.' Saussure emphasized that the previous notion that language was simply about *naming things* was an incorrect assumption. Rather, he stated, "the linguistic sign unites, not a thing and a name, but a concept and a sound-image" (1916:66). Based upon this idea he constructed a dyadic model using the concept or what he termed *signified* and the sound-image, or *signifier*. "He called the physical element (word, image, sound) the *signifier* and used the term *signified* to refer to the mental concept invoked by a physical sign in a given language" (McQuail 1983[2010]:346). In other words, "the signifier is the sign's image as we perceive it – the marks on the paper or the sounds in the air; the signified is the mental concept to which it refers" (Fiske 1982:44). For example, the word *ruka* in Mapuzugun can be translated as "house." In this case, the word itself, the letters

[30] Saussure made a distinction between the two components of language: *langue* and *parole*. Simply put *langue* is the unconscious framework of language and *parole* is the conscious act of speech or production. Roland Barthes, a sociologist who expanded on Saussure's model, points out that *langue* "is not subject to premeditation" and *parole* is "an individual act of selection and actualization" (Barthes 1964[1973]:14). Another way to think about this distinction is that "*langue* refers to the abstract system of rules and conventions of a signifying system – it is independent of, and pre-exists, individual users. *Parole* refers to concrete instances of its use" (Chandler 2002:231). *Langue* is the structure behind language and it is unchanging. According to this distinction, in examining Mapuche use of language to frame issues, it is parole that is of interest.

This division between langue and parole is the beginning of *structural* linguistics, which had a huge impact on the social sciences. Claude Lévi-Strauss, the father of *structural* anthropology, borrowed heavily from structural linguistics in developing this new field within anthropology. In *Structural Anthropology* (1963), Lévi-Strauss demonstrates how using structural linguistic models can help understand kinship systems in a way that is relevant to cultures in general regardless of the particularities. Just as structural linguistics seeks to identify the unit of language, the phoneme, structural anthropology seeks to identify the unit of kinship. "'Kinship systems,' like 'phonemic systems,' are built by the mind on the level of unconscious thought" (34).

used to compose it, the sounds used to speak it, is the signifier. The concept of a ruka would be the signified. Both the word and the concept constitute a sign.

Notice that neither the signified nor the signifier, as Saussure conceived them, is the actual *thing* that exists in external reality. The signified is "not a thing but the notion of a thing" (Chandler 2002:20). The sign, composed of signifier and signified, "*refers* to some object or aspect of reality about which we wish to communicate, which is known as the *referent*" (McQuail 1983[2010]:346). Therefore, the actual, physical, objectively present object of the ruka is the referent. Saussure saw the relationship between signifier and referent as entirely arbitrary. In other words, there is no inherent relationship between a ruka, the referent, and the shapes and sounds that comprise the word ruka, the signifier.

Charles Saunders Peirce developed his conception of language concurrently with Saussure. Peirce's model of a sign was triadic in nature and contained the *representamen*, the *interpretant*, and the *object*. In this model, the representamen corresponds to Saussure's signifier and an interpretant corresponds to the signified, except that the interpretant "is itself a sign in the mind of the interpreter" (Chandler 2002:33). Umberto Eco explained this in his work *A Theory of Semiotics* (1976). Eco stated that the interpretant can be conceived of "*as another representation which is referred to the same 'object'*" (68). He identified this as the beginning of a process he labeled *unlimited semiosis*. He continued, saying,

> In order to establish what the interpretant of a sign is, it is necessary to name it by means of another sign which in turn has another interpretant to be named by another sign and so on…[*U*]*nlimited semiosis*, which, paradoxical as it may be, is the only guarantee for the foundation of a semiotic system capable of checking itself entirely by its own means. (68)

Essentially the concept of the interpretant leading to unlimited semiosis is the idea that any interpretation can be re-interpreted ad infinitum. The signifier, or word, ruka, stands for the

interpretant, or concept, ruka, but how is this concept of ruka to be interpreted? Ruka means 'building where a family lives,' but 'building where a family lives' can mean 'place where everyday life happens,' but 'place where everyday life happens' can mean ' where a child is taught to be a person,' et cetera. Even within the same culture, everyone may assume they agree that the signifier, ruka, stands for the signified, ruka, but upon closer examination, the signified may be interpreted differently by various people. Perhaps a clearer example lies in exploring the signifier Mapuche, which stands for the signified, a person who is Mapuche, but as I will explore in later chapters, what Mapuche means for one person, can be quite the opposite for another.

Peirce's model includes a third element, the *object*, similar to the referent to which Saussure gave so little thought. This is what the sign stands *in place of*, or in other words, what the sign refers to in the real world. This does not necessarily exclude referents of abstract things or "fictional entities," but "it does allocate a place for an objective reality which Saussure's model did not directly feature (though Peirce was not a naïve realist, and argued that all experience is mediated by signs)" (Chandler 2002:34-35). So, the signifier Mapuche stands for the signified Mapuche, which in turn stands for the actual, physical being who is Mapuche; however, the referent or object may change depending on which interpretation of the signified a person understands.

The application of semiotics in relation to the framing that occurs on Mapuche websites can be clarified by examining the two levels or orders that Barthes identified, which provide a model that allows for the analysis of meanings associated with a sign. The first order, on which Saussure concentrated, is denotation. Denotation "describes the relationship between the signifier and the signified within the sign, and of the sign with its referent in external reality" (Fiske 1982: 85). In other words, it is the conspicuous meaning of the sign. If a picture of a

Mapuche man in a rural setting wearing a traditional poncho and holding a branch of the foye tree is attached to an article criticizing the negative stereotypes perpetuated by Westerners who study Mapuche, the photo simply denotes the man. There is no deeper meaning; the picture simply denotes the man in the photo.

However, this changes with the second order of signification, which is connotation. This refers to the associated meaning that a signified object elicits. In other words, connotation is "the interaction that occurs when the sign meets the feelings or emotions of the users and the values of their culture" (Fiske 1982:86). It is when the man in the photo is associated with certain qualities attributed to Mapuche, such as "living off the land," "spiritual," "primitive" and "country dwelling," things that stray dangerously close to the trope of "the noble savage," and when that association is transferred to the subject of the photo or article[31]. Connotation is entirely dependent on cultural interpretations and there is not necessarily any natural connection between the sign and the referent; nevertheless, as shown above, a connotation in the right setting can be extremely effective in shaping a person's expectations and interpretations.

Semiotics is often used in textual analysis and can be extremely helpful in determining the intentions behind frames used in newspaper and online articles. Because semiotics views all signs as meaningful, the prevalence of one over another is not necessarily deemed significant. It takes the whole into account, "investigates latent, connotative meanings" and would "emphasize the importance of the significance which readers attach to the signs within a text" (Chandler 2002:8). While semiotics certainly has its empirical limitations, it remains a valuable tool for

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[31] This example is taken from an actual occurrence on the progressive website, El Post (elpost.cl). Pedro Cayuqueo, editor of *Azkintuwe* and *MapucheTimes*, wrote an article criticizing the way various Chilean academics portray Mapuche, and the online site that published his article attached this photo to it. He wrote a follow up article criticizing the choice of photo for perpetuating a stereotype instead of portraying an urban-dwelling Mapuche, who may be a lawyer or an artist, which was one of his points in the first place. See Cayuqueo April 9, 2011 and April 18, 2011.

investigating the meaning of signs within a social context, their possible representations, and their role in the social construction of reality. I used semiotics as an interpretive model in my analysis of the articles in *Azkintuwe* that were used as a case study.

However, in order to properly understand how and why signs are used, for what purposes, and how they are interpreted, further investigation is needed. It is important to examine the historical and contemporary processes of the Mapuche experience which have led to the necessity of using the Internet as a tool of identity construction and self-representation in the first place. In the following chapters, I begin examining these issues. In Chapter 3, I further discuss identity and how the concepts of nationalism and indigeneity relate to the Mapuche. I continue in Chapters 4 and 5 by exploring Mapuche history and state relations.

CHAPTER 3

NATIONS, NATIONAL IDENTITY AND INDIGENEITY

In the previous chapter, I explored the concept of ethnicity and how it relates to the Mapuche experience. I suggested that ethnicity is useful in exploring the interactions and relationships between Mapuche and Chilean societies, but that applying the concept to how Mapuche think about themselves can be problematic. In order for this study to privilege the Mapuche perspective, considering ethnicity alone is not sufficient. Additionally, just as people can have multiple identities, examining multiple concepts of identity is necessary to have a broad understanding of what is occurring. In this chapter, I explore the concepts of nation, nationalism, national identity, and indigeneity. Along with ethnicity, these concepts examine how the Mapuche and the Chilean State attempt to situate the Mapuche within the larger society; however, differences in an understanding of these concepts and doubts regarding the legitimacy of claims to some of these identity constructs is what leads to many of the problems faced by Mapuche today. Are the Mapuche a nation? How are national and ethnic identity related? Is self-determination a national right? What constitutes an indigenous people? Is indigeneity a cultural or political identity? Beginning with the concept of nation, these are just a few of the questions I will explore throughout this chapter.

3.1 NATIONS, NATIONALISM AND NATIONAL IDENTITY

For many scholars ‘nation’ and ‘nationalism’ are not only new concepts, but also relatively recent phenomena. These modernists see the American and French Revolutions as some of the first examples of nationalism and assert that these national movements grew out of

neo-classic and romantic[32] perspectives, focused on ideas of freedom and liberation. Sometimes the state is an essential component of nationalism, but regardless it seems to be difficult to talk about a nation without also talking about a corresponding state. Nation and nationalism distinguish themselves respectively as a community, citizenry, or social entity, and that driving sentiment that creates and maintains the nation. This modernist perspective states that under no circumstances can a nation have existed in a pre-agrarian setting (Gellner 1983) or without the 'modern territorial state' that contributes to today's 'nation-state' (Hobsbawn 1992:9-10). However, if this is the case, then where does that leave the Mapuche experience? Demands of separate statehood are extremely rare among Mapuche; although, claims of regional autonomy are often associated with an ethnonationalist connection to the people who pre-dated the Spanish arrival. A common assertion is that the original inhabitants were a nation that never willingly relinquished their nationhood, and therefore, Mapuche today maintain the same rights of self-determination that belonged to those people. The question remains, however, if the nation is a modern invention born out of 18th century European and American ideals, does this mean the original inhabitants of the southern cone of South America could not have been a nation? And if so, do the Mapuche people today constitute a nation?

Nation

One of the first scholars to elaborate on the concept of the nation was Ernest Gellner in his 1983 book *Nations and Nationalism*. He identifies three concepts that need to be defined: nation, nationalism and state. He immediately begins the first chapter by defining nationalism as "primarily a political principle, which holds that the political and the national unit should be

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[32] Neo-classic in the sense of returning to ideals that imbued the Greek and Roman eras. Romantic in the sense that the role of intellectuals was elevated and ideas were concerned with strong emotion, self-expression through art and writing, and for the new nations, uncovering their true origins. (Hutchinson & Smith 1994:5)

congruent" and continues to say that it is "a theory of political legitimacy" (1). The "political unit" is usually the state and the "national unit" is the nation, although he does suggest that this national unit has to do with ethnic boundaries. He uses Max Weber's definition as a starting point to discuss the concept of the state; that is, the "agency within society which possesses the monopoly of legitimate violence" (3). Based on this definition, the state has been around much longer than the nation, and it can exist without a corresponding nation, such as in the case of a feudal state.

The question of 'what is a nation?' is much more difficult to answer and Gellner spends the next four chapters trying to do just that. First, he emphasizes that, despite current emotional attachments, "having a nation is not an inherent attribute of humanity" (6). So, there can be and have been both state-less and nation-less societies. The state and the nation can exist independently from one another, but "nationalism holds that they were destined for each other; that either without the other is incomplete, and constitutes a tragedy" (6). Gellner then attempts to define the nation in terms of self-identification, the will to "persist as communities" (54) and shared culture. He determines that none of these are entirely accurate because in casting the "definition-net" a definition based solely on these ideas will "bring far too rich a catch" (53). Ultimately, according to Gellner, 'nation' can only be defined in association with nationalism. "The great, but valid, paradox is this: nations can be defined only in terms of the age of nationalism, rather than, as you might expect the other way round" (55).

In his 1992 book, *Nations and nationalism since 1780*, Eric Hobsbawn builds on Gellner's definition of nationalism, but would add to it an obligation that overrides all other public obligations, and in extreme moments, such as war, all obligations whatsoever (9). He critiques Gellner's perspective as only enabling a view of modernization from above, which

makes it difficult to take into account the feelings of ordinary people. Hobsbawn also emphasizes that the nation is a new phenomenon that occurs only in our period of the "modern territorial state, the 'nation-state'" and that "it is pointless to discuss nation and nationalism except insofar as both relate to it" (9-10). So, Hobsbawn is one of those scholars that see the nation and the state as intricately linked. Nations exist only as a function of the state or as the aspiration to one (10). According to this perspective, the Mapuche, who neither have a state nor want one, cannot be a nation.

Hobsbawn does no better than Gellner in pinning down a definition of 'nation'; however, in *The Invention of Tradition* (1983), he does point out that "modern nations and all their impedimenta generally claim to be the opposite of novel, namely rooted in the remotest antiquity, and the opposite of constructed, namely human communities so 'natural' as to require no definition other than self-assertion" (14). In other words, nations, which are new, claim to be old. As such, tradition is invented to create this story, which often relies on history as a "legitimator of action" (12).

Benedict Anderson (1983[1991]) provides one of the clearest definitions of the nation: "it is an imagined political community – and imagined as both inherently limited and sovereign" (6). By 'imagine' he mainly means that the community is not intimately acquainted. Most of its members will never know nor ever meet each other, "yet in the eyes of each lives the image of their communion" (6). Anderson claims that "all communities larger than villages of face-to-face contact (and perhaps even these) are imagined" (6). Anderson explains 'limited' to mean that no nation imagines itself equivalent with the entire world population, but rather there are boundaries beyond which lie other nations. The nation is imagined as 'sovereign' because it was born out of the Enlightenment when the God-given right to rule, common in Europe at the time,

was first questioned. Finally, Anderson explains that a nation is imagined as a 'community' because "regardless of the actual inequality and exploitation that may prevail in each, the nation is always conceived as a deep, horizontal comradeship" (7).

Most of Anderson's book is devoted to print-media or what he calls "print-capitalism." This technology influenced many of the cultural changes in Europe during the years before the American and French revolutions. One of these changes was language. When books were first printed, they were in Latin, but once this market was saturated, capitalism spurred people to find new markets – vernacular languages. While there were other forces that encouraged a focus on the vernacular, what came about due to these changes were unified avenues of communication, language permanency, and dominating languages. People who could not speak to one another because of dialectical difference could suddenly communicate through the written word. Books represented a kind of permanence to the language, which created a strong sense of historical continuity. Certain dialects became valued above others because they more accurately reflected that which was found in print. All of these things created circumstances for people to start creating communities based on "imaginary" connections to one another through language.

One of the most important criticisms of these theorists is that they focus on the state, state development and maintaining the state. This makes it difficult to examine the nation on any other level. According to Gellner, it is possible for a nation to exist without a state, but it appears that any nation will necessarily be in *want* of a state. Is there any other reason for a nation to exist other than to seek that brass-ring of recognized statehood? Anderson provides some of the most thought-provoking ideas on how nationalism comes about, but in places like Indonesia, how is the idea of the nation fostered among "sub-national" communities (Steckman 2011) and what about sub-state national identities? Is a nation solely that which came into existence as a

result of the historical forces of Europe? There are some scholars who take a different approach to this modernist perspective, which I will examine now.

Walker Connor (1994) finds the confusion between the state and the nation to be one of the most profound misunderstandings concerning these terms. He emphasizes the idea that nationalism is *not* loyalty to the state, but rather loyalty to the nation. He makes a very clear distinction between these two entities. The state is a politico-territorial entity with defined quantitative measures. Chile, for example, is that bounded political realm comprising a certain square mileage located in that physical area between the Pacific Ocean and the Andes mountain range, and composed of some several million people. A nation, on the other hand, is a non-political, self-defined, self-conscious psychological bond that understands its members to be distinct from all other people based on a subconscious, corresponding conviction. Particular nations can be identified based on particular tangible elements, but these are not essential to national identity. A nation can lose a language or a religion, but retain its national identity. Basically, a nation exists because its members understand it to be so. (91-106)

Connor's most important contributions are that nations are *not* a 'modern' invention, they are non-political (and therefore do not rely on states in any way), and they are self-defined. The first idea – that nations are not 'modern' in a theoretical sense – allows for the existence of nations that are not necessarily related to the philosophical ideal of popular sovereignty (95). This allows for the discussion of 'nation' as a theoretical concept rather than a particular historical construct. The second idea – that nations are non-political – allows for the existence of nations that do not the desire a "political roof" (Gellner 1983:43). In other words, they did not come into existence solely for want of a state. Finally, modernists do not typically stress the idea that nations are self-defined.

Conner juxtaposes this self-defined nation-hood with other-defined ethnicity. He implies that they are two sides of the same coin. "An ethnic group may be readily discerned by an anthropologist or other outside observer, but until the members are themselves aware of the group's uniqueness, it is merely an ethnic group and not a nation" (103). While, it may seem that people use the same cultural markers, such as language, myth, or ritual, to define themselves as a nation in the same way ethnicity would be defined, I do not believe the two are simply a reflection of one another: a self-defined yin to an other-defined yang. Although, the question here becomes whether or not a nation can exist in the absence of an 'other.' Connor's definition, based on the idea that a nation's essence is a "psychological bond that joins a people and differentiates it…from all other people in a most vital way" (92) would suggest that, like ethnicity, nations only come about after contact with an 'other.'

It seems as though, in Connor's attempt to show how 'nation' differs from the concept of 'state' and that it is "shadowy and elusive" (92), he says more about what it is not, rather than what it is. In comparing it with ethnicity, he suggests that there is an idea of primordial connection, but this seems unnecessarily exclusive. Anthony D. Smith, another critic of the modernist perspective, considers it "unduly restrictive to insist" on the primacy of kinship ties and that doing so excludes the possibility of nations "on the basis of shared memories, historic territory and shared public culture" (2009:108).

Smith's criticism of modernism is formulated in the alternative of ethno-symbolism, which he states is not a theory per se but rather an approach to examining the concepts of 'nation' and 'nationalism' (2009:13). First, Smith identifies three areas in which the ethno-symbolic approach agrees with modernism. That is, nations are "'real' sociological communities," "dynamic, purposive communities of action," and "embedded in historical and

geo-cultural contexts" (2009:13-14). However, he disagrees that nations do not belong in pre-modern settings, that they arise based solely on material factors or modernization, that they are concerned with mobilizing power, that ethnicity is not a significant factor, and that the interaction between elite and other social strata is not important. Ethno-symbolism places emphasis on "the national meanings of popular sentiment, beliefs, tastes and activities" (2009:135) and how these relate to the formation and maintenance of nations. Ethno-symbolism also understands ethnicity to have an integral role in understanding nations.

Smith defines nations as "named and self-defining communities whose members cultivate shared symbols, myths, memories, values and traditions, inhabit and are attached to an historic territory or homeland, create and disseminate a distinctive public culture, and observe shared customs and standard laws" (2009:49). Smith views the importance of a *named* community as deriving from ethnicity's role in the nation. In order for a community to have a distinctive sense of ethnic identity it must have a proper collective name, because it is only in understanding who the members of a population *are* as opposed to simply who they *are not*, that ethnic identity is born (2009:46). According to Smith, an ethnic community, or 'ethnie,' is "a named and self-defined human community whose members possess a myth of common ancestry, shared memories, or one or more elements of common culture, including a link with a territory, and a measure of solidarity, at least among the upper strata" (2009:27).

However, in comparing his definition of nation with this definition of ethnicity, the major distinction is that an ethnic community "possesses" shared memories and common culture where nations "cultivate" shared memories and "publically disseminate" their common culture. So, again, we are presented with two sides of the same coin, albeit a different coin than what Connor presented. Instead of it being a difference between self- and other-imposed, as with Connor, we

have a difference between the idea of possessing and the idea of cultivating or disseminating. I believe that both Connor and Smith fall into the same misconception that nations and ethnicity are intricately linked. Smith's dichotomy implies that ethnicity is something "possessed" before the event of nationhood, but he would concede that ethnicity begins with an external designation and therefore does not necessarily create a sense of solidarity. Cultivation of that ethnic identity would result in becoming an ethnic community, but then the concepts of ethnicity and nation are once again confused.

Ethnic identity *may* be a component of a nation, just like the understanding of primordial kinship or shared historical memory *may* be components of a nation. However, none of these elements are *necessary* to the composition of a nation. For the purposes of this dissertation, I will define a nation as "a self-defined community, real or imagined, that understands its membership to be culturally unique, part of a horizontal fraternity, and mutual participators in social exchange." Connor emphasized the self-identifying nature of the nation in a way that modernists had not and I find this is to be one of the central aspects of what it means to be a nation. Nations are not externally imposed, but internally understood. Anderson sees all communities as imagined and while there is a lot of truth to this statement, it is not necessary to understand all communities in this way; a community may be a real social entity before it becomes associated with an identity. Unlike Anderson, I do not see that the community necessarily understands itself to be limited. The uniqueness of their cultural connection may be in reference to another cultural group or it may be understood that their culture is unique in that they are the only ones in existence. Obviously, this situation is hypothetical, but my point is that a cultural community does need to *negotiate* their identity with another cultural community in order for them to be considered a nation. The idea of "horizontal fraternity" is derived from

Anderson; in defining a community he states that there may be actual inequality, but the perception is always of "a deep, horizontal comradeship" (7). Finally, I take from Smith the idea of mutual social exchange, which may very well exist solely on the level of symbolism in ideas like the flag, shared memory or even language. It could also be understood as economic exchange or daily interaction with other members of the nation.

Therefore, 'ethnicity' and 'nation' are distinct concepts; one is an *externally imposed identity* and the other one is an *internally understood community*. Ethnic communities may become nations but the two entities are not synonymous. Where then does this leave 'ethnonationalism'? I agree with Connor that the term ethnonationalism is inappropriate, albeit for different reasons. Connor feels that 'ethnonationalism' is used because 'nationalism' is *mis*used. Nationalism does not mean loyalty to the state, it means loyalty to the nation; however, since nation and state have been so confused in scholarly and popular literature, it is natural that the referent of nationalism should also be confused. While I agree with Connor that nationalism has to do with loyalty to the nation, I feel that ethnonationalism is inappropriate because it confuses ethnicity with the nation. The Mapuche claim to have an ethnonational connection to the indigenous people that pre-date the arrival of the Spanish; however, this idea helps to legitimate State claims that Mapuche today are ethnically different from those original inhabitants. By invoking ethnonationalism, the idea is that ethnically the Mapuche today correspond to the indigenous people back then, and therefore the national right to self-determination those people had still belongs to the Mapuche today. However, the Mapuche people may not be ethnically the same, if Boccara is to be believed, but that fact is utterly irrelevant to the question of autonomy. Ethnicity does not grant the right of autonomy. If anything this would be an issue of nation, or at least, of national identity. A more appropriate

Mapuche claim would be that of nationhood and a *national* connection to that pre-Spanish people who maintained the right to self-determination.

Nationalism and National Identity

If the Mapuche can be considered a nation today, but nations do not signify political power, how is an understanding of autonomy associated with being a nation? Autonomy is an element of 'national identity,' according to Smith, who defines nationalism as "an ideological movement to attain and maintain autonomy, unity and identity on behalf of the population, some of whose members believe it to constitute an actual or potential 'nation.' Nationalism is not simply a shared sentiment or consciousness…it is an active movement" (2009:61). I find this definition near perfect. Nations are communities, not identities; and nations do not have anything to do with political authority. However, an understanding of *national identity* motivated by *nationalism* explains the phenomenon that many people associate with *nation-building*. Nations are self-identified communities and when such communities find themselves in situations where outside political authority interferes with them, they turn to popular political rhetoric which states that self-determination is a national right. Nationalism *is* a modern phenomenon because its ideology derives from the doctrine of popular sovereignty and the modern, colonial processes in Chile are what have created a need for national identity on the part of the Mapuche people.

Smith defines 'national identity' as " the continuous reproduction and reinterpretation of the patterns of values, symbols, memories, myths and traditions that compose the distinctive heritage of nations, and the identification of individuals with that heritage and its cultural elements" (2009:109). I agree that a national identity is about "continuous reproduction and reinterpretation," but the rest of the definition is too generic. I would define 'national identity' as

“the continuous reproduction and reinterpretation of an identity based on perceived membership in a nation that has become rooted in a particular space and time.” By ‘space’ I mean that the nation is physically or psychologically established in a particular territory that has become associated with a nation’s cultural character or social exchange. In most cases this understanding is related to a primordial origin or a homeland. By ‘time’ I mean that historical processes have influenced the development of the nation and by extension the corresponding national identity. Nationalism motivates national identity towards an understanding of autonomy and unity based on that territory and history. In other words, nationalism works to associate that territory with autonomy based on a unified understanding of identity within their shared history.

In Chile, this is what appears to be happening with the Mapuche. First, as Anderson puts it, “nation-ness is the most universally legitimate value in the political life of our time” (3) and so, it is by this avenue that Mapuche claim the right to self-determination. Since this ‘right’ is located in the ‘nation,’ I hypothesize that what Mapuche elite – scholars, activists and representatives – are trying to accomplish is solidarity in a national identity that understands the consequence of membership in a nation as self-determination. The desire for freedom from the domination of the Chilean State leads members of the Mapuche nation to instigate nationalism which suggests that national identity is what is linked to self-determination and autonomy. However, this ‘right’ can only be granted by the Chilean State or by interference of the international community. Like so many other people and institutions, the Chilean State sees nationhood linked to ethnicity, which provides a way for Mapuche claims to be denied. If ethnicity is not continuous, then nationhood is not continuous. Continuity becomes important because there is another concept that complicates this discussion and is often confused and conflated with some of the terms we have already discussed: indigeneity. It has become

associated with nationhood and provides a route to self-determination; however, recognition of the tyranny of colonization is what has been understood by the international community as the basis of the right to self-determination specifically of indigenous peoples. So, I must examine 'indigeneity' and the broader implications of this concept to determine its relevance to the Mapuche people. First, however, I would like to examine these concepts of nation, nationalism and national identity from a different perspective.

Subaltern Studies

There is a perspective that comes out of South Asian History that can prove very useful in exploring some further complexities of the concepts of 'nation,' 'nationalism,' and 'national identity'; that is, Subaltern Studies. This perspective was developed in the 1980s as a way to "rewrite the nation outside the state-centered national discourse that replicates colonial power/knowledge in a world of globalisation" (Ludden 2002:12). The intention was originally to examine the history of South Asia "outside the bounds of colonialist, elite nationalist, and Marxist frameworks" (Byrd and Rothberg 2011:2). The term 'subaltern' is taken from the work of Antonio Gramsci and "was used to signify the centrality of dominant/dominated relationships in history" (Prakash 1994:1477). Ranajit Guha, one of the founding theorists of Subaltern Studies, has defined a 'subaltern' as "anyone who is subordinated 'in terms of class, caste, age, gender and office or in any other way'" (Guha 1988a:35, as quoted in Mallon1994:1494). As a marginalized and subjugated people, the Mapuche may be considered 'subalterns.'

One of the main thrusts of Subaltern Studies criticizes the story of national identity perpetuated by the nation-state because it represents ideology of the elite power-holders while silencing the subaltern perspective. According to the Latin American Subaltern Studies Group, the "national bourgeoisie and/or the colonial administration are responsible for inventing the

ideology and reality of nationalism" which is "constituted at points of intersection, and interest, between a formerly hegemonic colonial power and a future post-colonial system of new states" (1993:117). The continuing effects of colonization are often part of the rhetoric of many indigenous movements throughout the Americas, including the Mapuche. This Subaltern Studies critique aligns nicely with such rhetoric. The hegemonic agenda of this nationalism continues the process of colonization by disallowing the indigenous people a voice.

Additionally, the Subaltern Studies critique suggests that the West has monopolized and controlled the concept of nationalism altogether. What Partha Chatterjee calls the "classical nationalism" of theorists such as Benedict Anderson, represents the utopian, "empty homogenous" model of the nation claimed by European thought and history (1999:131). The contention that the nation only came into existence as the result of European Enlightenment and associated ideas regarding popular sovereignty, as well as the application of this model to contemporary nation-states, particularly as a result of post-colonial endeavors in the wake of World War II, assumes homogeneity in the historical and current processes that influence the political development of these countries. "In short, the classical idea of popular sovereignty, expressed in the legal-political facts of equal citizenship, produced the homogeneous construct of the nation, whereas the activities of governmentality required multiple, cross-cutting and shifting classifications of the population as the targets of multiple policies, producing a necessary heterogeneous construct of the social" (Chatterjee 2004:36). Essentially, Chatterjee is saying that the Western concept of national identity assumes commensurability in those holding to it, when the reality is more reflective of a heterogeneous body driven by diverse motivations and perspectives. The story of equal participation of the citizenry, part of the idealism of national identity, assumes a uniformity that fails to reflect the heterogeneous make-up of a nation, which

can be found in the mundane workings at the level of government. Chilean nationalism only incorporates the Mapuche insofar as it supports the official story, which is reflected in the limited perspective found in local, regional museums that portray the Mapuche culture in a static manner. The reality is that the Chilean State must govern a diverse body of people – indigenous and nonindigenous alike – who all have different needs.

In the second collection of essays edited by the Subaltern Studies Group, Ranajit Guha identifies this tendency to homogenize national identity as one of the unifying elements of the Group. Historians of the time were "blinded by the glare of a perfect and immaculate consciousness…Historians of all political persuasions had yet to investigate subaltern politics in all its contradictory complexity" (Guha 1988b:84, as quoted in Mallon 1994:1496). Additionally, in her article "The Promise and Dilemma of Subaltern Studies," Florencia Mallon states that historians have shown that "subaltern communities were internally differentiated and conflictual and that subalterns forged political unity or consensus in painfully contingent ways" (1994:1500). Moreover, she points out that "most subalterns are both dominated and dominating subject" (1511). Moving forward, this is extremely important to keep in mind, as a hierarchical relationship between indigenous peoples is part of the reality of a diverse make-up. In terms of the Mapuche, this is relevant in regard to the hierarchal nature found in gender relations, as well as among some of those voices claiming a particular national identity as representing the Mapuche as a whole.

This perspective, which elucidates the existence of alternative points of view found among subalterns helps to remind scholars of the diverse nature of national identity. However, some theorists within Subaltern Studies have the tendency to focus in certain directions which can be problematic. The first is the inclination to dichotomize the elite and the subaltern.

Chatterjee refers to an early phase of Subaltern Studies in which they "talked about a split in the domain of politics between the organized elite domain and an unorganized subaltern domain" (2004:39). The Latin American Subaltern Studies Group reinforces this dichotomy in their "Founding Statement" by conceptualizing the nation as a "dual space (colonial or metropolitan/creole elites: creole elites/subaltern groups)" (1993:117).

David Ludden uses the metaphor of a two-story building to explain this tendency: it "resembles a concrete slab separating upper and lower space into a two-storey building. This hard dichotomy alienated subalternity from *social histories* that include more than two storeys or which move among them" (2002:10). This has two effects on subaltern perspectives. First, it minimizes the diversity of voices from within that sector of society. Heterogeneity extends both horizontally and vertically throughout society. According to Gyan Prakash, one solution to this tendency, at least in terms of history, is to recognize this diversity and write multiple accounts. "[T]he colonial subaltern was not just a form of 'general' subalternity…The conditions of subalternity were also irreducibly different. Subaltern Studies, therefore, could not just be the Indian version of the 'history from below' approach; it had to conceive the subaltern different and write different histories" (1994:1480). The other effect is that this dichotomy can work to confine subaltern politics from political histories in which they can have transformative effects on society. If "the subaltern had acted in history '*on their own*, that is, *independently of the elite*,'" (Guha 1982:3-4 as quoted in Prakash 1994:1478), then their influence could be "confined theoretically to the lower storey, [where] it could not threaten a political structure" (Ludden 2002:10).

The other tendency within Subaltern Studies that can be problematic is the tendency to assume that the 'nation,' the 'nation-state,' and the 'state' are essentially the same entity. While

the tendency in academia to assume that the 'nation' and 'nationalism' follow the Western model can lead to the silencing of subaltern perspectives, the assumption that the aforementioned terms are interchangeable can lead to similar misunderstandings in regard to how the 'nation' is conceived. Associating the 'nation' with governmentality reinforces the idea of that nations are necessarily in want of a state or a "political roof" (Gellner 1983:43). As I mentioned above, a 'nation' in and of itself does not constitute politicized action. Whether or not one distinguishes between an unselfconscious people and an already united, conscious nation, in order for such a community to become a political movement, a "'national question'" must present itself (Borojov 1979:62-64 as identified by Mallon 1987:235). That is, the community must be confronted with "some form of national conflict that brings them into contradiction with another people" (Mallon 1987:235). An exterior force must encourage the community towards political action, but not necessarily that demanded of them by the state. Mallon has identified the importance of "analytically separat[ing]" nationalism from "the politics of the triumphant nation-state" (1995:3). This reiterates the lessons of Subaltern Studies in the sense that the subaltern's agency is not limited to that which aligns with state politics. In other words, there is a separation between that entity contemporarily known as the 'nation-state' and the concept of 'nation' as understood by subaltern communities. A 'nation' defined by nationalism does not necessarily place its loyalty in the 'nation-state.'

In his 1978 essay, "A nation is a nation, is a state, is an ethnic group is a …", Walker Connor addresses this tendency to confound these different terms:

> In this Alice-in-Wonderland world in which nation usually means state, in which nation-state usually means multi-nation state, in which nationalism usually means loyalty to the state, and in which ethnicity, primordialism, pluralism, tribalism, regionalism, communalism, parochialism and sub-nationalism usually means

> loyalty to the nation, it should come as no surprise that the nature of nationalism remains essentially unprobed (396).

Connor refers to the way so many scholars assume that nationalism and national identity have to do with the state boundaries that define today's countries. While today, as is evidenced by Subaltern Studies, for example, the concepts of 'nation' and 'nationalism' have received closer examination, this tendency still persists. In addition to some of the issues discussed above, another consequence of this tendency, as Connor mentions, is to incorporate more and more terms in order to explain the phenomenon. Two of these terms are 'postnational' and 'transnational.'

'Postnational' is the idea that 'nation-states' and 'national identities' lose their salience in the face of global forces. In *Modernity at Large*, Arjun Appadurai suggested that as "mass mediation becomes increasingly dominated by electronic media," localities becomes more influenced by other localities and we will start seeing "a growing number of diasporic public spheres" (1996:22). He stated that "there is growing evidence that the consumption of the mass media throughout the world often provokes resistance, irony, selectivity, and, in general, *agency*" (1996:7). He believed this would bring about the beginnings of a "postnational political world" (22). While he was certainly right about the enormous impact mass media would have, the idea of a "postnational" world, today, still seems like a very unlikely reality. However, in many ways Appadurai fell into the trap of confounding 'nation' with 'state.' National identities, if anything, are being cultivated more often as a result of globalization. The strengthening of claims to self-determination over the past fifteen years by indigenous peoples across the Americas serves as evidence of that. Nevertheless, it can be argued that the growing sub-state, national sentiments,

globalization and the capitalist consolidation of economic power are having an impact at the state level.

Appadurai and others also use the term 'transnational,' which refers to growing interactions of peoples across borders which makes those borders become less significant. This term also assumes that those state borders coincide with national borders, which is not always, or even usually, the case. The Mapuche are a very good example of how 'transnationalism' can be inappropriate. The border between Chile and Argentina is a state border. For some, it can also serve as a national border; however, for many Mapuche, this Chile-Argentina border is simply an arbitrary dividing line in the middle of their traditional territory. It is certainly true that the Chilean and Argentine States impact individual Mapuche and Mapuche communities in different ways; however, many Mapuche identify with Wallmapu, which defines the borders of traditional Mapuche territory to extend from the Pacific Ocean to the Atlantic Ocean. The Andes, which serves to identify state boundaries does not carry the same meaning for Mapuche who identify with Wallmapu. Therefore, the idea of 'transnationalism' becomes meaningless for these Mapuche. And in fact, may only serve to further perpetuate those Western concepts of 'nation' and their inextricable relationship to the 'state.'

Finally, I would propose a third term, which I feel needs to be investigated. That is, 'multinational identity.' By this term, I do not mean the conglomeration of corporate institutions across state boundaries, but rather, that a person or community may hold loyalty to multiple nations. Another assumption that often runs through discussions of nationalism is that a person or group can only be a part of one nation or hold one national identity. This idea also serves to limit the possibilities of nationalism. Immigration, which is different in our globalized world, may be a good place to start such an investigation. For example, not all immigrants to the United

States seek citizenship, even if they become life-time permanent residents. While the idea of citizenship can also confuse the difference between participation in a state and participation in a nation, I wonder what kind of national identities these immigrants hold. I suspect their loyalties are indeed divided between multiple nations, in which case the term 'multinational identity' would be appropriate.

One final comment on Subaltern Studies will lead this discussion in the direction of the thoughts on nationalism by an intellectual 'subaltern.' For some Subaltern Studies scholars this may not seem possible, for it has been suggested that the "subaltern cannot speak" (Spivak 1988:308). Granted, historical documents include few authentic subaltern voices, which support this idea. The historian must 'listen' to the spaces in-between and the silences in order to 'hear' the subaltern. The idea that the subaltern is not capable of speaking is not confined to Subaltern Studies, but can also found in other disciplines. Anthropology, for example, has been guilty of this. "The 'native point of view' is inevitably constituted as an interesting object for study rather than as a legitimate voice to be reckoned with" (Tobin 1994:124).

In our contemporary world, hegemonic processes can certainly still serve to silence 'subaltern' voices; however, according to Guha's definition, a 'subaltern' is identified by subordination and not inability to speak. Therefore, maintaining the idea that the subaltern cannot speak raises the issue of whether this means an elite, intellectual subaltern claiming to represent others has found a way across Ludden's metaphorical slab to reach the second story and by virtue of this new position is no longer subaltern. The relationship between intellectual subaltern elites and the people for whom they claim to speak can be very delicate, for issues of representation are never easy. In an article about the relationship between subalternity and indigeneity, Jodi A. Byrd and Michael Rothberg address the idea that indigenous intellectual

voices can get at a perspective which is difficult for Subaltern Studies, but still represents the 'subaltern' voice:

> Many indigenous scholars situate themselves in binding relation to – and indeed are *part of* – native communities in ways completely absent from the subaltern studies project. To borrow another Gramscian concept, indigenous studies is involved in a project of fostering the creation of 'organic intellectuals' capable of articulating and defending native sovereignty and autonomy; that intellectual project cannot simply be a matter of tracing disruptions 'inside' the dominant (2011:10).

Therefore, it is important for Western scholars to listen and value subaltern voices. Where these voices are not already 'speaking' through the written word, it is necessary to find other ways to present their voice. The collaboration between Isolde Reuque, Mapuche activist, and Florencia Mallon is an excellent example of one of the ways this can be accomplished. In her introduction, Mallon states, "one of my goals was to explore the possibility of collaborating with a Mapuche woman in the production of a feminist testimonial. I was searching for a horizontal or egalitarian relationship, inasmuch as this was possible" (2002:1). This was achieved, in part, through numerous conversations between the two women, and Reuque having final say on all revisions. Therefore, the book's author is Isolde Reuque and Florencia Mallon, as editor, organized the initial narrative structure.

To both return to the topic of 'nation' and 'nationalism,' as well as to give voice to one subaltern's ideas on this topic, I would like briefly discuss Taiaiake Alfred, a Mohawk intellectual, and his ideas on 'Native nationalism' and 'sovereignty.' He also criticizes the way many scholars talk about nationalism from a European, classical perspective. "Most earlier formulations of nationalism were based on the imposition of a common culture and the gradual homogenization of values within society…The dominant formulation of nationalism lacks the necessary depth to incorporate the experience of political communities reacting to Western

political and cultural hegemony" (1995:8). He distinguishes between what he labels "state nationalism," "ethno-nationalism (statehood)," and "ethno-nationalism (autonomy)." State nationalism is that which supports state institutions. Ethno-nationalism based on statehood is "clearly oriented to the achievement of political independence and the promotion of cultural distinctiveness among a group within an existing state" (1995:14). Ethno-nationalism based on autonomy seeks *self-determination*, but through "cultural sovereignty and a political relationship based on group autonomy reflected in formal self government arrangements" (1995:14). This last form of nationalism describes the movements of many indigenous peoples.

"Self-determination," "sovereignty," and "autonomy" are all terms which must be examined to further understand the motivations behind nationalism.

Self-determination

In the United States, among indigenous peoples the rhetoric is often *sovereignty*, whereas in Latin America the rhetoric is often *self-determination* and frequently *autonomy*. 'Sovereignty' and 'self-determination' can be construed as opposite sides of the same concept. In the United States, many indigenous peoples had their 'rights' to self-governance recognized by treaties and so can discuss this in terms of 'sovereignty' which places them on the same level as the state of the United States of America. Those treaties were negotiated between two recognized *states*. States are sovereign. Nevertheless, 'sovereignty' is not universally applied. Chatterjee has pointed out that "equal rights of sovereignty constitute the norm. But exceptions are plentiful and various…Those who claim to decide on the exception do indeed arrogate to themselves the imperial prerogative" (2012:20-21). As examples, he points to the new settler state of Israel and the international recognition that country enjoys, while there is little recognition of Palestinian

sovereignty. Another exception he points out has to do with the right to nuclear proliferation. Some sovereign countries have this 'right' and others, such as North Korea and Iran, do not.

Alfred also calls attention to the necessity of problematizing this concept. "Sovereignty. The word, so commonly used, refers to supreme political authority, independent and unlimited by any other power. Discussion of the term 'sovereignty' in relation to indigenous peoples, however, must be framed differently, within an intellectual framework of internal colonization" (2002,2004:460). Despite admission of sovereignty due to treaties, recognized tribes do not constitute independent states, but rather 'domestic dependent nations,' which often are still subject to the colonizing powers of the United States.

In Latin America, no indigenous peoples have comparable treaties with any current Latin American state, and so when the issue comes up, it is 'self-determination,' a 'right' that is associated with nations, which in most, if not all, cases is the only thing indigenous peoples can claim. There are no indigenous states in Latin America (with the arguable exception of Bolivia, which is technically a 'plurination state'). Autonomy is usually distinguished from self-determination in that it is limited to regional authority (Connor 1994:82; Marimán 1992).

Self-determination, according to the Western model, is not an inherent right. It could be argued that humans have no *inherent* rights whatsoever. Instead, humans only have the 'rights' that we collectively decide we *should* have. Before the modern era, the concept of self-determination was likely non-existent. The term can be traced to 1865; however, it did not receive much attention until World War I and was not recognized as a "self-evident truth" until after World War II (Connor 1994:38). At that time, "there was little doubt about the chief instrument by which human rights were to be established: it was the principle of self-determination of peoples and nations. That was the principle the United Nations had enshrined"

(Chatterjee 2012:11). In the age of monarchism, individual or group self-determination would be unthinkable, not just because no other political system could be imagined but because people were subjects, not citizens, and political legitimacy was divinely derived (Anderson 1983[1991]:19). It was during the foundations of the modern era, with the ideas of John Locke and the American and French Revolutions that the concept of popular sovereignty began to take hold. This is the idea that political power resides with the *people* and not a monarch or ruling class. According to Connor, the French *Declaration of Rights of Man and Citizen* proclaimed that "'the source of all sovereignty resides essentially in the nation; no group, no individual may exercise authority not emanating expressly therefrom'" (95).

Self-determination today is often understood to be an inherent right belonging to nations. Other than international recognition or consensus of this 'truth,' there is no other source from whence nations derive such a right. Since nations can have existed *before* the modern era, but the concept of self-determination was born *of* the modern era, the natural conclusion is that nations and self-determination are not related in the way people assume. Even when this idea is legitimized, rarely is there an explanation of how this is supposed to work, which is where so many conflicts originate. If the idea of 'nation' is so elusive, then naturally identifying nations to which the right of self-determination (another elusive concept) should be attached becomes an exercise in riddles. Which groups should be *recognized* as nations? This immediately illuminates two problems. First, nationhood is a self-defined concept, so when it becomes a matter of external identification it leads to the second problem; that is, determining what characteristics should be used to identify these nations. Nations that possess a national identity but are incapable of exercising this 'right' themselves are placed at the mercy of external authority. In other words, they need others, such as the international community, to recognize

them as a nation and grant them their 'right.' If an external entity needs to determine which groups constitute a nation, we suddenly come back around to ethnicity, which is how identity is determined by external entities. Chilean academics, for example, often resort to talking about ethnicity when discussing Mapuche historical claims to self-determination. The only way to avoid ethnicity is to be willing and able to investigate from an emic perspective; that is, based on terms meaningful to members of the nation. Unfortunately, this is rarely the case.

However, for many indigenous peoples, these 'rights' of nationhood are conceived of in different ways. Alfred has pointed out that assumptions about national revitalization "assume[s] that Native politics function in an environment created exclusively by non-Natives" (1995:7), when, for many active communities, the sovereignty movement is more about re-establishing the native perspective of nationhood based on "indigenous values and principles" (1995:8). Donald Fixico, another indigenous intellectual, talks about "natural sovereignty," which he states that "for Indian people has meant that all native communities possessed a heritage of freedom" (2003:113).

In addition to nations and nationalism being about more than statehood, Alfred says that approaching it from duality of primordialism versus instrumentalism is also insufficient. "There is no simple answer to the question, 'Do ideologies/peoples/nations/cultures change or not?' They of course change – and they do not... [I]n Native cultures at least there exists a stable core which forms the basis of the political culture and nationalist ideology. There are also peripheral elements within the culture which are malleable and which do shift and transform" (1995:188). In other words, indigenous politics and nationalism work in both static and dynamic ways. Indigenous people often see their culture as fixed and objectify it, rather than understanding it as constantly evolving (Tobin 1994:121). Instead of rejecting this notion, it is important to allow

that 'subaltern' voice to speak and inform the understanding of what it means to be indigenous. In order to further explore what this means, I now turn to an examination of indigeneity.

3.2 INDIGENEITY

The Mapuche and other peoples around the world formulate their national rights to self-determination based on their status as *indigenous* people, which is why the term has become so contested. The debate that surrounds the meaning and political implications of this word is far-reaching and incredibly diverse. Some scholars feel that attempts to explicitly define the word "indigenous" leads to essentialism and is only useful for the "reactionary" governments who seek to oppose indigenous claims (Colchester 2002b; McIntosh 2002). Other extreme opinions state that we should dispense with the term completely, as it is inappropriate for claims of self-determination, and is simply another way of expressing 'race' or 'culture' (Kuper 2003). Finally, others recognize the difficulties of writing on such a contentious issue – that inevitably something will be said that can be construed as erroneous or will be misinterpreted – and see the dangers of falling into simple dualism, essentialism and primordialism. They nevertheless find value in such a concept, particularly as indigenous peoples themselves identify with it (Barnard 2006; Colchester 2002b; Guenther 2006; Kenrick 2011). However, the questions remain, who gets to claim indigeneity[33], how should it be defined, if at all, and is the concept solely a political or legal one?

I would like to present a typology of indigeneity that I have adopted and which can be useful for thinking about the multiple layers of indigenous identity. Scholars discuss the concept

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[33] According to Adam Kuper, a delegation of South African Boers claiming to be indigenous was turned away from the 1996 inaugural meeting of the UN Forum of Indigenous People (2003:389). At the 2002 Indigenous Peoples Global Conference UN open forum, everyone in attendance, including a group from Harlem seeking slavery reparations, claimed to be indigenous (McIntosh 2002:23). In the United States, numerous white people claim to have "Indian blood" and often enough try to benefit from that claim (Kidwell & Velie 2005:10).

without distinguishing the cultural and political implications, or take the perspective that it must be one or the other. These discussions become counterproductive and confuse the conflict between indigenous peoples and their corresponding States. To analyze the concept of indigeneity as an elementary unit obscures the processes that influence the application of this term. In reality, the term encompasses multiple layers of meaning and significance.

However, before continuing I would like to point out three of the dangers in attempting to develop a framework to investigate the concept of 'indigenous.' First of all, in narrowing down characteristics that help define a term there is always the possibility of essentialism; that is, of implying that the concept should fit neatly into the identified parameters and that instances of the concept are limited to those characteristics. To combat this in my framework of indigeneity, I would like to stress that the delineations are fluid, that the categories represent ideal types, meaning that not every possible instance of the concept will match exactly, and that over time the framework should be adjusted to reflect changing social realities. The second danger is inadvertently perpetuating social Darwinian evolution. By suggesting that indigenous societies generally originate in a pre-colonial period is not meant to imply any kind of value statement. Imperialism, technology and population do not necessarily equate to progress or a more evolved civilization. Finally, there is always the danger of sensationalizing or romanticizing indigenous culture. In order to avoid this, I use indigenous voices so that these characteristics are explained from their point of view rather than a Western perspective.

There are two ideal types that must be considered when examining indigenous identity and claims: cultural indigeneity and political indigeneity. In some respects, cultural and political indigeneity overlap and intersect; however, discussing these types separately will provide a clearer understanding of what realities are being invoked and constructed in particular situations.

These types are meant to describe *collective* identity, not *individual* identity. They are based on conversations and writings by indigenous peoples, both scholarly and colloquial.

Cultural Indigeneity

Cultural indigeneity is a self-ascribed identity. It is global, in the sense that indigenous peoples all over the world recognize a bond of unity that outsiders cannot share (Niezen 2003:23). While the need to define the term may come from modern processes of colonization, the characteristics of cultural indigenous identity exist independently of those historical interactions. That is, while the elements of cultural indigeneity may be described and negotiated in opposition to Western ideals, the underlying philosophies existed before European colonization. They are not dependant on colonial experiences. The elements of cultural indigeneity are land, or territory, indigenous knowledge, language, indigenous development, or 'living well,' and ancestral heritage. Being culturally indigenous is not about any one of these elements, but rather the confluence of these elements.

Most indigenous peoples have experienced some degree of continuous occupation of their traditional territory; albeit, today, this usually represents a severely reduced area. The Ho-Chunk of Wisconsin, for example, have inhabited the land south and west of modern-day Green Bay for thousands of years (Loew 2001:40). Even when an indigenous people have been displaced and have developed sacred sites in their new homeland, they often "still hold in their hearts the sacred locations of their history" and will even travel to those sites to hold ceremonies (Deloria Jr. 1992:67). However, occupation of territory is only a small part of the relevance land has for indigenous peoples.

Many understand the natural world to be alive and inhabited with animals as well as spirits[34]. Traditional Mapuche perspective “considers that all the elements of the natural world are alive and connected with both the supernatural and the human spheres. Thus, the mountains, woods and rivers are born, grow and die; this means they may also become sick” (Hernandez Sallés, Ramos Pizarro & Cárcamo Luna 1997[2002]:91). This implies a reciprocal relationship with the environment, which involves respecting it, adjusting activities to its cycles and striving to maintain harmony and balance with it. “Our powerful kinship with the environment we inhabit generates a permanent search for a sense of equality, reciprocity and harmony, which constitutes our main endeavour in life” (Marileo n.d.-a).

Indigenous identity and history is also rooted in the physicality of the land. Devon Mihesuah examines the stereotype that all native peoples came across the Bering land bridge in her book *American Indians: Stereotypes & Realities*, concluding that “tribes universally recognize the Western Hemisphere as their mother” (1997[2002]:50). In other words, most indigenous peoples refute this story of migration and have an origin story that takes place in the physical geography of the land they still inhabit. The land embodies not only their origin, but also the story of that origin and all the history that followed it. “The vast majority of Indian tribal religions, therefore, have a sacred center at a particular place…This center enables the people to look out along the four dimensions and locate their lands, to relate all historical events within the confines of this particular land” (Deloria Jr. 1992:67). This sense of belonging differs from Western understandings of connection to land in that it is not just a reminder of an

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[34] Mapuche call these spirits *ngen*, which can be translated as ‘owner,’ ‘guardian,’ ‘spirit,’ ‘force,’ or ‘author’ that serves to protect and take care of nature (Foerster G. 1993:66-67; Marimán, Caniuqueo, Millalén & Levil 2006:274). Each aspect of nature – water, rocks, mountains, medicinal plants – will have their own ngen.

historical event, but rather represents a "boundedness" in that territory (Kidwell and Velie 2005:26).

This sense of belonging in a particular place is related to Indigenous Knowledge[35], which is not just a methodology of research, but also a way of understanding and interpreting the world. Indigenous Knowledge can be defined as "the unique traditional, local knowledge existing within and developed around the specific conditions of women and men indigenous to a particular geographic area" (Grenier 1998:1) or as the "set of assumptions and beliefs that form the basis of a people's comprehension of the world" (Cajete 2000:62). Indigenous Knowledge is cumulative, dynamic, relational, oral, holistic, shared, continuous, stored in memories & activities, and is adjusted according to the context, history and identity of particular peoples (Sergio Carihuentro, personal communication, October 27, 2009; Chilisa 2012; Grenier 1998). Indigenous Knowledge represents generations of knowledge accumulation that is passed down orally and stored in cultural practices such as stories, songs, language, rituals, community laws and plant & animal species (Grenier 1998:2).

Donald Fixico (2003) describes the differences between indigenous and Western thinking as the difference between the visual and the circular, and the analytical and the linear. Another way of thinking about this is the difference between a story and a bulleted list of facts. Indigenous peoples traditionally learn, teach and know through stories, through their oral culture. This affects how they interact with the environment as well as how they interpret their reality.

[35] Mapuche knowledge is called *kimün* in Mapuzugun, which can be defined as knowledge, knowing, or understanding, and "includes the following types of content: social, spiritual-symbolic, mapunzugun such as signs of communication, the animal, vegetable, mineral and aquatic worlds and the dimensions of time and space / incluyendo los siguientes tipos de contenidos: sociales, spiritual-simbólico, el mapunzugun como signos de la comunicación, el mundo animal, vegetal mineral, acuático y las dimensiones de tiempo y espacio (Quilaqueo 2006). *Kimün* is especially used when talking about Mapuche with special gifts, such as machi, Mapuche shaman, or lonko, Mapuche community leaders (Rosa Huenchulaf, personal communication, January 21, 2010). *Kimün* is complemented by *rakizuam* which can be defined as "knowing from a Mapuche perspective" (Carihuentro 2007:14).

Most indigenous peoples today live in two worlds with two different ways of thinking – the indigenous and the Western; however, this does not necessarily mean that one is placed over the other. As Elicura Chihuailaf, a Mapuche poet, so beautifully puts it in *Recado confidencial a los chilenos*: "This is our Word already being written, but alongside orality – 'orature,' as its speakers say –. The Word sustained in Memory, moved by her, from the speech of the spring that flows in the communities. The written word not as a mere linguistic device…but a commitment in the presence of Dream and Memory"[36] (1999:62). Chihuailaf is addressing Chileans in this book, but here he is using Mapuche motifs to do so. He speaks of the "written word" being a commitment related to two important Mapuche concepts – the Dream, where machi[37] are called to service, and Memory, the vehicle through which knowledge is passed. He places orature and literature alongside one another. This excerpt demonstrates how Western technology (writing) has been adopted as a method of conveying knowledge while maintaining an indigenous identity.

The intersection of orature and literature introduces the third element of cultural indigeneity: language. Not everyone who is a member of an indigenous people will be fluent in their traditional language; however, the language will still serve to influence how each person experiences and categorizes the world. "Language itself is a reflection of how we organize and perceive the world; in every language, key words, phrases, and metaphors act as signposts to the way we think about the world and ourselves" (Cajete 2000:271). Indigenous languages generally differ from European languages, which "are based on nouns and are concerned with naming

[36] "Esta es nuestra Palabra ya escribiéndose, pero al lado de la oralidad – 'oralitura,' decimos sus oralitores –. La Palabra sostenida en la Memoria, movida por ella, desde el hablar de la fuente que fluye en las comunidades. La palabra escrita no como un mero artificio lingüístico…sino como un compromiso en el presente del Sueño y la Memoria."

[37] Machi can be described as Mapuche shamans or doctors. They are holders of specialized medical, herbal and psychological knowledge.

things, ascribing traits, and making judgments. Indigenous languages are based on verbs; they communicate through description of movement and activity" (Alfred 2004:98)[38]. Language is the identity of a people and is what permits the transmission of information and the construction of knowledge.

The fourth element of cultural indigeneity is the indigenous concept of development, which can also be thought of as 'well-being[39].' Gregory Cajete describes the Western paradigm of development as the "unlimited progress and unbridled capitalism supported by the corporate mindset of profit at all costs through science and technology" (2000:273). This is significantly different from the indigenous paradigm and, at least in Chile, is the reason for many poorly implemented social programs; the Chilean government uses the Western development model to make assumptions about what Mapuche communities need.

This concept of 'well-being' is known by several different names. In Spanish, this is sometimes called 'desarrollo con identidad' or 'development with identity' (Sergio Carihuentro, personal communication, October 27, 2009). In Southern Africa the term *ubuntu* is related to the concept of well-being. It can best be translated as "I am we; I am because we are; we are because I am, I am in you, you are in me" (Chilisa 2012:108). Nelson Mandela, in an interview with South African journalist Tim Modise, explained that "ubuntu does not mean that people should not enrich themselves. The question therefore is: Are you going to do so in order to

[38] Taiaiake Alfred expounds on this concept by discussing his own name, Taiaiake, which in English functions as a noun and serves to label him for identification purposes. A literal translation of his name from Mohawk is "he is crossing over from the other side" (2004:98). In his native language, his name conveys so much more about who he is than simply to set him apart from other people. He concludes that "we have been sucked into thinking that 'Indigenous' or 'First Nations,' 'Carrier,' 'Cree,' or 'Mohawk' (even if we use Kanien'kehaka or Innu, or Wet'suwet'en) is something that is attached to us inherently, and not a description of what we do with our lives" (2004:98).

[39] The Spanish term is *bienestar.*

enable the community around you to be able to improve?" ("Experience Ubuntu," retrieved from http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/File:Experience_ubuntu.ogg on March 7, 2012).

The Mapuche concept of *küme felen* is a close approximation of the idea of development. It takes a much more holistic and communal perspective than the Western concept. It is also usually described more as a state of being or future vision of being. It has been defined as the "state of individual and collective well-being that gives to [one's] existence a relationship of social, environmental and cultural equilibrium"[40] (Marimán et al. 2006:275). It is "the state where a person reaches well-being in all aspects of his life,…which consists of the search for equilibrium of the person and that is reflected in facts such as solidarity, mutual aid, practices and traditions"[41] (Queupumil Vidal 2007:29). It is a holistic attitude towards life, towards living well in all aspects of life: spiritually, psychologically, socio-culturally, physically and materially (Sergio Carihuentro, personal communication, October 27, 2009), and encompasses an understanding of the world which is based on valuing relationships and living well with the environment.

The last element that is common to cultural indigeneity is a perceived ancestral connection to a people's ancestors who also inhabited the same territory. Generally speaking, people do not understand someone to be indigenous solely based on the attitude he has towards the environment. Those who have indigenous heritage may reclaim that identity – through membership in a tribe or developing the previously mentioned attributes of territory, language, Indigenous Knowledge, and well-being – but for individuals who do not have perceived ancestral

[40] "estado de bienestar integral, individual y colectivo, que se da al existir una relación de equilibrio social, ambiental y cultural"

[41] "el estado, donde la persona alcanza el bienestar, en todos los ámbitos de su vida,…que consiste en la búsqueda del equilibrio de la persona y que se refleja en hechos como la solidaridad, la ayuda mutual, practicas y tradiciones"

heritage, the route to becoming indigenous can be much more difficult, if not entirely impossible. "Most Indians insist that claims to Indian identity must be grounded in some degree of blood quantum, some genetic tie to a particular tribe. In the eyes of the Indian community, it is not sufficient to wish oneself Indian…But blood by itself is not enough" (Kidwell & Velie 2005:10). There is some debate about whether a perceived blood connection is enough to be considered indigenous. In the United States, tribes with politically recognized rights to self-determination decide for themselves who should be granted membership. Generally, however, being culturally indigenous is about the convergence of these elements. As I stated above, this is a model based on ideal types of what cultural indigeneity is, which means that an individual claiming this collective identity does not need to reflect all of these attributes in order to be culturally indigenous.

Political Indigeneity

While cultural indigeneity is often defined in opposition to Western perspectives, it is actually political indigeneity that is defined *by* interactions with Western colonizing principles, and it is through this ideal type that claims to self-determination are expressed. Political and cultural indigeneity overlap because there is usually an attempt to demonstrate cultural continuity with peoples of the past as a way of claiming political indigenous identity. This is how discussions of indigeneity become confusing. Cultural indigeneity is an identity that can stand independently from outside influences, even if this rarely happens today. Political indigeneity is entirely dependent on the historical, colonial processes that are particular to each region but can fall into one of the two main categories discussed below.

Before delving into this discussion, it is important to note, at least in the case of the Mapuche, why a political identity to claim self-determination is necessary in the first place. In

the United States, recognition of the indigenous status of a person or group signifies something very different than what it does in Chile. Being recognized by the federal government in the United States corresponds to membership in a recognized tribe; in turn, this connotes certain legal realities, such as statehood and the right to sovereignty.

In Chile, federal recognition of indigenous status simply signifies eligibility for certain services provided by the state. For example, every year the Chilean Ministry of Education offers scholarships to Mapuche students enrolled at the elementary, secondary and post-secondary levels[42]. According to their website[43], the purpose of these scholarships is to help facilitate education among indigenous students. In order to qualify for these scholarships the student must possess indigenous ancestry as certified by CONADI, the joint government and civilian organization established by the 1993 Indigenous Law. This certification is based on registry in the *títulos de merced*, or land-grant titles that were given to Mapuche leaders and their families around the turn of the twentieth century as part of the *reducción* process and forced Mapuche communities onto particular settlements of land (see Chapter 5 for more information on the reducción system).

The problem with qualifying as "indigenous" under this system is that, at times, the granting of these títulos de merced, "did not simply record, but selectively reorganized, the

[42] These scholarships, while undoubtably helpful for the recipients, are limited in both amount and number. As of the writing of this dissertation, the website of the the Ministry of Education's JUNAEB – Junta Nacional de Auxilio Escolar y Becas (National Board of Student Aid and Scholarships) lists the annual awards for the Indigenous Scholarships as follows: 93,500 pesos (currently about $198 U.S. dollars) for elementary students, 193,000 pesos (currently about $408 U.S. dollars) for secondary students and and 607,000 for post-secondary students (currently about $1285 U.S. dollars) (retrieved from http://www.junaeb.cl/prontus_junaeb/site/artic/20100115/pags/2010011 5125722.html on October 18, 2012). According to Alejandro Herrara, director of the Instituto de Estudios Indígenas, there are only about 1000 scholarships for university students and 80,000 for elementary students, which seems negligible when compared with the millions of Mapuche who make up the Chilean population (personal communication, December 3, 2009).

[43] http://www.junaeb.cl/prontus_junaeb/site/artic/20100115/pags/20100115125722

kinship relations within the group (Mallon 2005:35). In other words, a number of family members were missing from these rolls or recorded incorrectly. The repercussions of this are that today their descendents cannot claim Mapuche indigenous identity in a way that is recognized by the Chilean government. Numerous Mapuche, as identified in the last federal census, as ethnically determined by Chilean society and as internally understood themselves, would not be federally recognized in this manner. Regardless, this recognized status as an indigenous person in Chile does not correspond to concepts of statehood or self-determination as they do in the United States. Rather, the "rights" associated with being Mapuche in Chile are limited to those defined in the 1993 Indigenous Law, as well as those established in the 1989 Convention No. 169 of the International Labor Organization, which was finally ratified by the Chilean government in 2008[44]. This is why claims of political indigeneity remain so important for the Mapuche, as well as many other indigenous peoples in similar situations.

The historical, colonial processes, which can be generally subsumed by two categories, "settler" and "non-settler," are essential to understanding a politically indigenous identity. Many indigenous scholars talk about *colonialism* in reference to identity formation, political struggles and historical processes (Alfred 2006; Fixico 2003; Marimán Q. 2006; Smith 1999[2004]), but very few, including post-colonial scholars, acknowledge that it was a *particular* brand of colonialism that shaped identity. I am referring to *settler colonialism*. I have found settler colonialism to be a key element in understanding political indigenous claims. It seems as though the regions where the most vocal claims to indigeneity originate, such as Canada, the United States, Latin America, Australia and New Zealand, happen to be in areas where colonizers permanently settled. This type of colonization stands in contrast to areas where colonization was

[44] However, since the means of enforcing adherence to this Convention are limited, many Mapuche are not optimistic that this ratification will introduce any significant changes for the Mapuche people.

largely administrative, where settlers stayed temporarily, gathering resources, but left during the process of decolonization. This was true of colonies in places such as India, other parts of Southeast Asia and much of Africa.

A body of scholastic work has accumulated over the past two decades regarding settler colonialism that examines the differences in colonial projects on a global scale. Due to space constraints I will limit my discussion of this concept; however, it is important to note that there is some debate about what constitutes settler colonization and what the implications are for indigenous peoples. Several settler colonialism scholars invoke Marx as the starting point of the theoretical model (Veracini 2010; Wolfe 1997); however, the concept first took recognizable form, as distinct from colonialism, in the late 1990s, particularly with A. G. Hopkins, historian of British imperialism. He identified the difference between colonialism and *settler* colonialism based on demography: "Where white settlers became numerically predominant, colonial rule made peoples out of new states; where indigenous societies remained the basis of government, the state was fashioned from existing people" (1999:215).

Hopkins points out that as part of the project of settler colonization, individualism and privatization of rights were emphasized. This was accomplished by the colonial government parceling out land to settlers, land that was already being occupied by the indigenous population. In settler colonies, the model began with development because the object was to create a "docile copy of the home country" (1999:218). Ultimately, this development is what allowed them to break with their mother country.

In colonial states without settlers, a revenue stream was still necessary to flow back to the seat of the empire. "In both cases, state-building required revenues, and revenues could be raised only be predatory means or by development" (1999:220). In non-settler colonies, the colonial

government first used a predatory model by simply exporting resources, but this was not enough to sustain a suitable revenue flow, which meant that inevitably the colonial government had to switch to a development model. "The strategy typically involved giving subject people a stake in the colonial enterprise by drawing them into export production, whether as independent farmers or as wage-labourers" (1999:221-222).

Patrick Wolfe, the author of *Settler Colonialism and the Transformation of Anthropology*, also attributes the distinctions between colonialism and settler colonialism to demographic criteria. He claims that non-settler colonies, or dependent colonies, had to rely on the native populations for revenue reasons, much the same way Hopkins explained it. Wolfe also suggests that settler colonies are "premised on the elimination of native societies" (1999:2). In explaining how genocide and the construction of race are influenced by the type of colonization at play, he provides an excellent example of the necessity of settler colonies to somehow eradicate the indigenous population by contrasting the "one-drop rule" of slavery in the United States with the idea of "half-breed" Indians. "Any amount of African ancestry, no matter how remote, and regardless of phenotypical appearance, makes a person Black. For Indians, in stark contrast, non-Indian ancestry compromised their indigeneity, producing 'half-breeds,'…As opposed to enslaved people, whose reproduction augmented their owners' wealth, Indigenous people obstructed settlers' access to land, so their increase was counterproductive" (2006:388). Therefore, the type of colonization at work in a particular area determined a general treatment of the indigenous peoples of that region and in many ways indigenous peoples today are still being colonized in these settler states.

Another important aspect of political indigeneity can be found in the international community. In many ways the term itself, 'indigeneity,' grew out of international initiatives that

had their origin in reactions to international events, particularly the World Wars. In the wake of World War I, two international bodies were created: the League of Nations and the International Labor Organization. The League of Nations was short-lived, dissolving in the late 1930s. In terms of indigenous rights, the League of Nations proved relatively useless as member states could too easily deny underrepresented peoples access to the forum (Niezen 2003:31). A few years later, in the midst of World War II, the United Nations was created to replace the defunct League of Nations.

The international political atmosphere after World War II created conditions amenable to addressing indigenous rights. Four elements of this political atmosphere are clearly laid out by Ronald Niezen in his book, *The Origins of Indigenism*. First, concerns over fascism "contributed to a greater receptiveness at the international level to measures for the protection of minorities with standards intended to resist racism and discrimination" (Niezen 2003:40). World War II had proven that states could not always be trusted to protect their own citizens. These concerns led to the adoption of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights in 1948. Secondly, "the dismantling of European colonies raised global awareness of political hegemony and the myriad forms of cultural suppressions that had seemed a natural part of the 'civilizing' process in earlier generations. If European states could not be trusted to safeguard human life and dignity, colonial governments could be trusted even less." (Niezen 2003:41). It is during this time that self-determination is first discussed as being a "right." Thirdly, it had become apparent that the assimilation practices of forced education (i.e. boarding schools in the U.S. and Canada) as a means of eliminating indigenous cultures and integrating them into mainstream society had clearly failed. Niezen points out the irony that these practices are what, in many cases, generated the sense of solidarity among indigenous peoples that led to the formation of native support

groups and organizations. Lastly, in the wake of World War II, the number of non-governmental organizations (NGOs) grew exponentially.

The International Labor Organization (ILO) has consistently been the first international organization to involve themselves with indigenous rights issues. Initially, these concerns were framed as “native workers” rights. The term “indigenous” was first used by the ILO in a 1952 study, although the perspective at the time embraced the idea of the “inevitable assimilation or destruction” of indigenous peoples (Niezen 2003:38). Two important conventions concerning indigenous rights have arisen out of the ILO: Convention No. 107 or the Indigenous and Tribal Populations Convention of 1957 and the 1989 Convention No. 169 Concerning Indigenous and Tribal Peoples in Independent Countries.

The main goal of Convention No. 107 was to provide for the dignified assimilation of indigenous peoples. This was the first instance of international agreement intended to deal specifically with indigenous peoples and it inevitably reflected the “prevailing political and philanthropic attitudes of the time, in which assimilation of “backward” societies into a nation-state was seen as the first necessary step for the prosperity and liberation of their individual members” (Niezen 2003:38).

Convention No. 169 was an attempt to correct the assimilationist perspective of the 1957 Convention. The ruling theme of Convention No. 169 can be found in the preamble where it states that it recognizes “the aspirations of these peoples to exercise control over their own institutions, ways of life and economic development and to maintain and develop their identities, languages and religions, within the framework of the States in which they live” (International Labor Organization 1989).

During its development there was much debate over the inclusion of the term "peoples" in contrast to the term "populations." "State governments resisted the term *peoples* because of its association with the term *self-determination*…which in turn has been associated [in international law] with a right of independent statehood" (Anaya 1996[2004]:60). This debate was resolved with a compromise. The term "peoples" remained in the convention, but with a provision added to the text. "The use of the term *peoples* in this Convention shall not be construed as having any implications as regards the rights which may attach to the term under international law." (Convention No. 169, art. 1(3)). To date, 22 countries have ratified the convention. Argentina did so in 2000. Chile finally did in 2008. Currently, the U.S. is not one of these countries. (www.ilo.org/ilolex/cgi-lex/ratifce.pl?C169, retrieved September 25, 2010)

The Convention has been met with disappointment by many indigenous peoples, who believe that it could have been an opportunity to accomplish much more (Niezen 2003:40). Two of the most glaring deficiencies are the lack of strong wording (particularly in reference to "self-determination") and the inaccessibility of the complaint procedures. Indigenous peoples' organizations do not have the right to file complaints on their own. They need an intermediary, such as a labor union. ILO complaint procedures involve a tripartite structure in which "representation is built around an exclusive balance of state, corporate and labor interests" (Niezen 2003:39). As of 2009, only seven representations have been accepted and reviewed by the Governing Body of the ILO (Anaya 2009a:152). "The main message that the ILO wanted to convey in the first representation concerning Convention No. 169 [which involved a Mexican labor union on behalf of the Huichol indigenous community] is that the organisation is simply not a land claims court" (Anaya 2009a:152). As a result, indigenous peoples shifted their focus to the parent body of the United Nations, in particular the U.N. Commission on Human Rights

(UNCHR) (Niezen 2003:40) and then the U.N. Human Rights Council, which replaced the UNCHR in 2006.

These international documents and bodies do not represent international *law* or enforcement per se, but they are what have allowed the Mapuche and other indigenous peoples around the world to make claims to autonomy by virtue of their status as indigenous peoples. Despite the ILO Convention No. 169 qualifying the term 'people,' the assumption is still that indigeneity and nationhood are related, and that because of that indigenous peoples have the right to self-determination. It must be noted at this point that the indigenous peoples referred to in these international bodies is not limited to those currently living in settler states.

While, currently, the claims of self-determination by way of indigeneity are loudest in settler states, political indigeneity is no doubt being reinterpreted to be inclusive of more peoples around the world. In the meantime, and particularly for Latin America, this framework of cultural and political indigeneity helps to determine the kinds of identity being fostered and how claims of self-determination can be embedded in ideas of colonialism and international recognition, while at the same time fostering particularly local indigenous identities.

3.3 CONCLUSION

Ethnic identity, while negotiated between groups, is ultimately other-ascribed. This can lead to misuse and miscommunication. Ethnicity is only one way to look at identity. For the Mapuche, other ways of investigating identity involve exploring the self-ascribed concepts of nation, nationalism, national identity and indigeneity. Nations are communities that can have existed long before the modern era. Nationalism and national identity are recent constructs based on the ideas born of the Enlightenment. Nationalism is a movement centered on attaining

and maintaining autonomy. National identity is the continuous renewal of identification with a nation, perpetuated in order to feed the flame of nationalism.

Indigeneity is a highly contested term, often used to claim the right of self-determination. Talking about indigeneity can become very confusing if the cultural and political aspects of the identity are not distinguished. Cultural indigeneity stands apart from interaction with other groups and is based on the convergence of certain elements: land, or territory, indigenous knowledge, language, development, or 'living well,' and ancestral heritage. Political indigeneity may build on cultural indigeneity, but has to with colonization and the historical interactions between the original peoples and the colonizers.

Indigeneity is an identity that is widely used to legitimate the claim to self-determination. While this terminology is not always at the forefront, it remains essential to the discussion. The Mapuche, for example, can sometimes rely more on national rhetoric than claims of indigeneity; however, they link their claims of 'ethnonationalism' to what happened when the Spanish arrived, and this is political indigeneity. In order to fully understand these claims and the identities upon which they are based, an historical examination is necessary; therefore, the next two chapters are devoted to exploring Mapuche history in terms of identity from their own perspective and examining the repercussions of the interactions between the Mapuche and their colonizers.

CHAPTER 4

MAPUCHE ORIGINS

Western scholars have long debated the origins of the Mapuche people. From early cartographers, such as Nicolas Sanson to 17th and 18th century European chroniclers, such as Diego de Rosales and Thomas Falkner, writers have attempted to categorize the indigenous peoples of the southern cone of South America, in part, to identify where different groups originated[45]. Diego Barros Arana, a 19th century Chilean historian and diplomat, spent a number of pages of his seminal work, *Historia General de Chile*, trying to show that the Mapuche were not the original inhabitants of the region. Early 20th century anthropologist, Ricardo Latcham, argued that the Mapuche were originally hunter-gatherers that migrated into modern-day Chile from western modern-day Paraguay through the Argentine Pampas (Course 2005:32). These discussions have had a detrimental effect on the contemporary Mapuche struggle for self-determination and they do not reflect a Mapuche understanding of their own origin.

The Mapuche are an indigenous people, which means that their identity, their history and their origin are interrelated with the territory they presently, and traditionally, inhabit. The Mapuche understanding of their origin opposes the Western scientific perspective. That is, their origin rests in the lands of the southern Andes, not in the distant lands of Paraguay; for generations they have been in southern South America perfecting their culture, learning their place in the world and living in harmony with their natural surroundings. I will now turn to a well-known Mapuche origin story to introduce Mapuche identity and historical perspective.

[45] For a more detailed discussion of early Western scholarly work, see Appendix C.

The *Epew* of Xeg-Xeg and Kay-Kay Filu[46]

Rume fütxa, fütxa kuifi mulekefuy pian tayiñ mapu mew epu fütxake che ka epu kümeke az iway filu[47]…A long, long time ago there lived in our land two giant, beautiful serpents. Our elders tell us the serpent *Kay-Kay* was the serpent of negative energies that lived at the bottom of the sea. *Kay-Kay* was ill-tempered and easily enraged. *Xeg-Xeg* was the serpent of positive energies who lived in the heights of the mountains and was more tender and sweet-natured. *Kay-Kay* and *Xeg-Xeg* were great friends who greeted one another everyday and sometimes shared secrets. But one day *Kay-Kay* awoke in a foul mood and began to raise the waters with the intention of ending people and all living things. The waters flooded the land, uprooting great trees and sweeping people and animals into the sea. Those humans who drowned were turned into fish and those animals that drowned were turned into rocks. When *Xeg-Xeg* saw what was happening, he engaged *Kay-Kay* in a battle that lasted many moons. *Xeg-Xeg* raised the mountains, hills and volcanoes to such heights they almost touched the sun. People fled to the hills to escape the waters and the wrath of *Kay-Kay*. *Metawe, meñkuwe* and *rali* – clay pitchers, jars and plates – saved the people from being burned to death by the sun. Eventually *Kay-Kay* gave up and reconciled with *Xeg-Xeg*. In the end, only four people were saved: an old man, an old woman, a young man and a young woman. The old couple was preserved so they could pass on knowledge and the young couple was preserved to be *llituche* – progenitors of people. They offered *llellipun* – prayers – and held the first *ngillatun* – ceremony – in order to celebrate balance and harmony returning to the world.

[46] This represents a compilation of various versions from Casamiquela & Aloia 1964[2007], Chihuailaf 1999, Faron 1964, Foerster 1993, Marileo L. n.d.-a, Marileo L. 1995[2000], Millalén P. 2006, and Muñoz H. & Chihuailaf 2007.

[47] This first sentence is written in Mapuzugun and comes from the story found in Muñoz H. & Chihuailaf 2007.

This origin story is called an *epew*, which is usually translated from Mapuzugun as 'myth' or 'story;' however, Juan Ñanculef Huaiquinao, a Mapuche historian, stresses that doing this is a grave mistake. He calls it a "reading from the past" (2003:39). The Western concept of a myth describes an impossible and abstract idea, but an epew is a real fact, a truth about a real happening. Ñanculef draws a parallel between the Epew of Xeg-Xeg and Kay-Kay and today's scientific understanding of melting glaciers. The battle between Xeg-Xeg and Kay-Kay represents a universal struggle between water and earth. Today the sea is advancing on the continents; this is Kay-Kay slowly "gnawing each day at the banks" (2003:39).

Armando Marileo Lefio, a Mapuche ngenpin[48], also describes epew as real, which begs the question, what is reality? Hugo Carrasco, a Chilean scholar, argues that if a "neo-positive, logical, empirical" approach is taken, then we must accept that humans indeed have *a reality* that each person *accurately* perceives. However, he points out that this perspective has been highly criticized, even by constructivists, "who think that the perception of reality is not an exact absolute and so the knowledge that man has of the world around him is very relative"[49] (4). Instead, Carrasco describes perception of reality more like symbolic representations that "are modified, recreated and even constructed according to one's own parameters"[50] (3).

Marileo translates epew as 'historical narrative,' but he shows that epew literally means "almost seeing oneself," because *epe* in Mapuzugun means 'almost' and *pew* in Mapuzugun means 'to see or find oneself' (n.d.-a). "In other words, the EPEW is our reflection, the portrait of our identity, our way of being, our conception of the world, our guide and projection" (n.d.-a).

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[48] A ngenpin is a community authority figure and holder of knowledge.

[49] "quienes piensan que la percepción de la realidad no es en absoluto exacta y por tanto el conocimiento que el hombre tiene del mundo que lo rodea es muy relativo."

[50] "los modifican, recrean e incluso los construyen a partir de sus propios parámetros."

Sergio Carihuentro, a Mapuche intercultural educator, translates epew as 'oral accounts' and understands them to be an important strategy for education (2007). Because epew are didactic in nature, "they allow the transmission of values, such as justice, honesty, respect for the weak, respect for nature and of course, provide entertainment"[51] (2007:87). In other words, the epew grant a method for Mapuche people to remember their history (Ñanculef 2003:39).

The Mapuche perspective of history is more complex and cyclic than a Western perspective. Mapuche history is "a body of knowledge that is part of Mapuche *kimün* and their own way of understanding the world expressed in Mapuche *rakizuam* – thought/worldview – all of which is channeled through the Mapuzugun language"[52] (Castro N. & Lienlaf L. 2009:10). Marileo (n.d.-a; 1995; 1995[2000]) spends a great deal of time describing Mapuche history. Generation after generation knowledge is passed down. Mapuche ancestors originally had to organize and explain existence. Mapuche are tasked with living in harmony and balance with the earth and all her inhabitants – an attitude grounded in the belief that existence is a gift of Ñuke Mapu, or Mother Earth, which has rooted their identity in the land. Those ancestors "built a utopia, a culture, a language, a conception of the world and an approach to science in a completely original manner, without influences from other cultures or peoples" (n.d.-a). Mapuche history passes on this knowledge, but it does more than explain the past. It offers an approach to the future, based on the knowledge of multiple generations of Mapuche *kimche*, or wise people.

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[51] "permitiendo la transmisión de valores, como la justicia, la honradez, el respeto por los más débiles, el respeto a la naturaleza y por supuesto permite la entretención."

[52] "un conjunto de conocimientos que forman parte del Mapuche *kimün* y una forma propia de entender el mundo expresada en el Mapuche *rakizuam* – pensamiento/cosmovisión – todo lo cual se canaliza a través del idioma Mapuzugun."

Jose Millalén Paillel, Mapuche historian and co-author of *¡Escucha, winka!*, calls the narrative of Xeg-Xeg and Kay-Kay a *piam*, which is another kind of narrative. Literally, piam means "they say" or "it is said" (deAugusta 1916[2007]:178). A piam is also described as didactic and a way of transmitting Mapuche knowledge (Huenchumilla M., Marileo C., Millahuanque J. & Painemal P. 2005:92). Sometimes it is considered a particular kind of time referring to occurrences witnessed by ancestors during a real point in history, many generations back (Huenchumilla M., et al. 2005:106, 137). Piam, however, is most often used to mean 'sayings,' such as "Do not get up after sunrise as you will thus be calling poverty. You might get married to an older person who will never allow you to rise early" (Marileo n.d.-a). Marileo distinguishes piam from epew by describing epew like "an old photo album or trunk brimming with the memories and secrets of generations" (n.d.-a). Piam, on the other hand, "allow us to analyze, question and organize our conduct" (n.d.-a). They serve to facilitate self-reflection and refinement of character.

The Epew of Xeg-Xeg and Kay-Kay synthesizes a number of fundamental elements of Mapuche culture and identity. Millalén (2006) identifies seven elements: the concept of time, oral tradition, duality & complementariness, the concept of space, the divine family, ideals for 'being' Mapuche and social structure (see Table 4.1). The Epew was first recorded during the 17th century by the Jesuit priest and chronicler Diego de Rosales. He and others since then have not fully understood the depths of meaning contained in the Epew. Rosales even went so far as to claim that the Mapuche have no way of measuring time. This, of course, is not correct and Millalén demonstrates that other chroniclers, such as Vicente Carvallo y Goyeneche and Luis de Valdivia, who may not have completely comprehended, nevertheless recognized different ways Mapuche understood time, such as with the celebration of the New Year, *We Xipantu*, and with

terms for day, month, and seasons. In fact, the Mapuche had, and have, a very intricate understanding of time, particularly the meanings of 'the past.'

Fundamental Elements of Mapuche Identity Related in the Epew of Xeg-Xeg & Kay-Kay	
Concepts of Time	Relative present and historical memory
Oral Tradition	How knowledge has been passed down
Complementariness	Complementary pairs, balanced gender roles, health & sickness
Concepts of Space	Physical representation, *ngen*
Divine Family	*Kuse, Fücha, Üllcha, Weche*
Ideals for 'Being' Mapuche	*Kimche, Kümeche, Norche, Newenche*
Social Structure	*Tuwün, küpan* & *küpalme*

Table 4.1 Fundamental Elements of Mapuche Identity in the Epew of Xeg-Xeg & Kay-Kay

Concepts of Time

In everyday Mapuzugun, when speaking of an event, it is necessary to specify the time frame. In the relative present, as opposed to the historical past, there are several different categories that signal specific times: "*wegentu* (recently), *newechumuj* (some days ago), *wüja* (yesterday), *xafia* (last night), *müchay* (in a little while), and *chumul müten* (soon) *ka antü* (some days from now – future tense)" (Huenchumilla M., et al. 2005:106)[53]. Those today who speak Mapuzugun still utilize these categories.

[53] There are several terms that accompany these categories: "feula = now [ahora], kuifi = before [antes], futra kuifi = longer ago than before [más antes de antes], doy fütra kuifi = longer ago than before before [más antes de más antes de antes], rume fütra kuifi = longer ago than before before before [más antes de más antes de más antes de antes]" (Carrasco, n.d.:5).

Mapuche do not view the past as a singular unit. The past in general is a "generic and abstract concept without clear empirical referents indicating the beginning or end of something" (Millalén 2006:23). When talking about historical memory transmitted via people this is called *rupalu chi zugu* or *kuifi rupan dungu*, which is also sometimes used to refer to a person's life (Carrasco n.d.:5; Millalén 2006:23). Within that concept there are different terms used to identify distinct historical moments. *Fantepu* is understood as the present time. *Newe kuifi* is the experienced past. *Kuifi* is a past time, but one that was experienced by close family members such as parents or grandparents. *Füxa kuifi* is a time before kuifi that is applied to moments that were not personally experienced by a relative. (Huenchumilla M., et al. 2005:136-137). Finally, there is *rüf kuifi em* or *wera füxa kuifi*, the most distant past, that is "a time in which the fundamental antecedents of philosophy, religion, concepts of powers and energies that coexist in the universe can be found"[54] (Millalén 2006:23).

This last concept of past time is the one in which the Epew of Xeg-Xeg and Kay-Kay took place and it belongs within oral tradition. The kuifi rupan dungu is understood to be the vehicle by which the lives of ancestors are shared with the present generation (Carrasco n.d.:5). A Jesuit priest in the 17th century wrote a version of this myth down, but before that time, and since that time, it and the knowledge it contains has been transmitted orally generation after generation, a form of "intangible culture" (Castro N. & Lienlaf L. 2009:10) that is circulated among members of communities.

[54] "tiempo en el cual se hallan los antecedentes fundamentales de la filosofía, la religiosidad, las concepciones de fuerzas y energías que coexisten en el universo."

Oral Tradition

Epew and piam are examples of oral tradition, but orality is so much more than story-telling. Oral tradition is a central focus of Mapuche education and is being implemented in intercultural schools today. "Mapuche culture is an almost entirely oral one, all the teaching and guidance that is provided to children is done orally"[55] (Mauricio Huenchulaf quote in Llanquinao 2009:224). Hilda Llanquinao Trabol, a Mapuche professor at the Universidad de la Frontera, has defined oral tradition as "verbal communication that occurs in a particular context, a system by which the Mapuche have generated effective ways to convey their vision of the world, adapted to their reality, that transforms and produces changes in the listener, and is difficult to successfully translate into Spanish"[56] (2009:222). This is the vehicle through which all the accumulated knowledge and kimün is passed to future generations; however, Carihuentro points out that the oral nature of the communication also allows kimche to "reflect, discuss, confront and clarify aspects of Mapuche knowing" as a way of refining the knowledge (2007:45).

Complementariness

The third aspect of the Epew of Xeg-Xeg and Kay-Kay that is relevant to Mapuche identity and worldview is that of duality or complementariness. There are no winners or losers in the epew. While Kay-Kay is usually portrayed as a more negative force than Xeg-Xeg, this does not make him evil. "In Mapuche culture, the negative is not derived from evil, the negative is the opposite of positive energy"[57] (Marileo, n.d.-b). Instead the two serpents represent "the

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[55] "La cultura mapuche es una cultura sumamente oral, toda la enseñanza las orientaciones que le entrgan a los niños orales."

[56] "La comunicación verbal que se da en un contexto determinado, sistema por el cual los mapuche han generado formas eficaces de transmitir su visión de mundo, adecuadas a su realidad,…que transforma, que produce cambios en el oyente, y que difícilmente tiene una traducción acertada en lengua castellana.

[57] "En la cultura mapuche lo negativo no es derivado del mal, lo negativo es la oposición de la energía positiva."

everyday duality, complementary and opposite, of symmetrical energies…The dual tools, they say: positive and negative; feminine and masculine. In order to till the transparency – the harmony – of our Spirit"[58] (Chihuailaf 1999:202). The concept of harmony and equilibrium is extremely central to a Mapuche worldview. Marileo stresses this immensely throughout his paper "The Mapuche Universe" (n.d.-a).

In addition to the complementary forces that Xeg-Xeg and Kay-Kay represent, their duality is also apparent in the geography they symbolize. Kay-Kay comes from the depths of the ocean, while Xeg-Xeg reaches to the heights of the sky. Xeg-Xeg is representative of earth and fire[59], while Kay-Kay is representative of the opposite: water. Rolf Foerster, a Chilean anthropologist, also points out the duality of earth/sky (1993:82). Both Xeg-Xeg and Kay-Kay are elements of the earth, while the Sun and Moon are elements of the sky. In some versions of this epew, *Kuyen*, the Moon, and *Antü*, the Sun, play a much bigger role. For example, in Carmen Muñoz Hurtado and Elicura Chihuailaf's version of the epew, one of the secrets Kay-Kay shares with Xeg-Xeg is that the moon was in love with the sea (2007). In such a case, the sun and the moon are considered celestial beings.

Foerster furthers this duality by explaining that in the sky, the sun is representative of fire, while the moon is representative of water (1993:82). This exemplifies the oppositional pairing of dualities that is so common in Mapuche worldview. The sun is air/fire, the moon is air/water, Xeg-Xeg is earth/fire and Kay-Kay is earth/water (see figure 4.1). The four survivors also represent an oppositional pairing: an old woman, an old man, a young woman and a young

[58] "Son la dualidad cotidiana, complementaria y opuesta, de energías simétricas,…Las herramientas duales, nos dicen: positive y negativo; femenino y masculino. Para labrar la transparencia – la armonía – de nuestra Espíritu."

[59] The region of the southern Andes is populated with a number of volcanoes and so mountains (earth) and volcanoes (fire) are often associated.

man. These four survivors also represent what is sometimes known as the divine family (see below). The equal roles of women and men in this divine family are also meant to represent the equality and cooperation – balance – between the two (Marileo n.d.-a). This is evident today in the fact that there are female *lonko*, political community leaders (Cristina Marín, personal communication, April 12, 2010), and male *machi*, or shamans[60] (Bacigalupo 2004b).

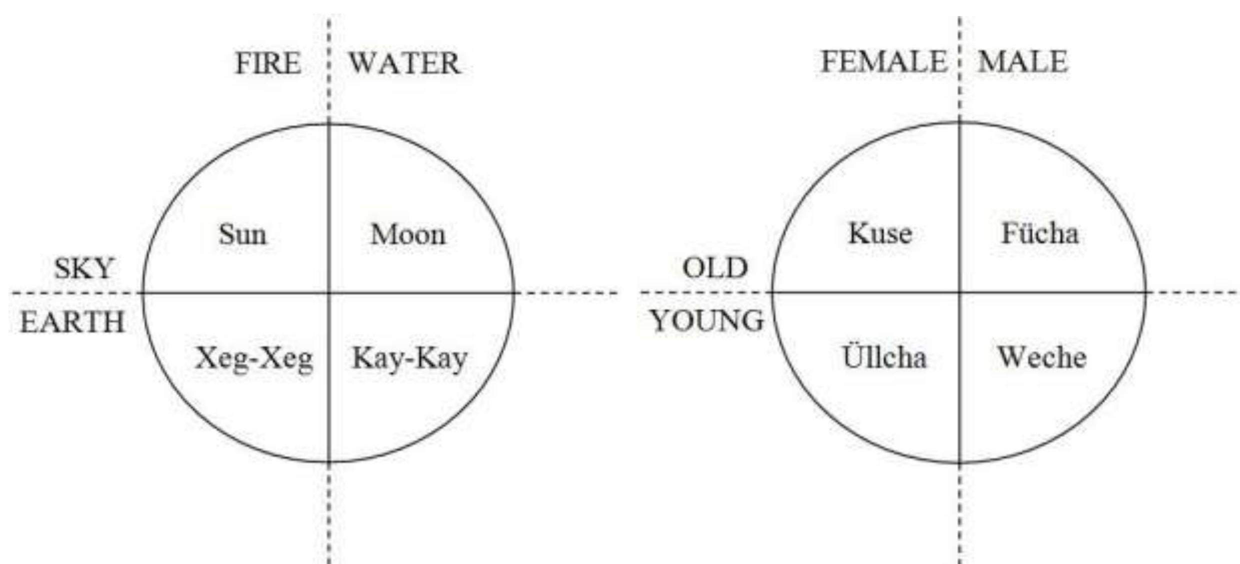

Figure 4.1 Oppositional Pairs

A person's health, both physical and mental, is also ruled by the concept of duality. "Everything connected with health and disease, according to the Mapuche conception, can only be understood and explained as a balance of power" between negative and positive forces (Hernández S., Ramos P., & Cárcamo L. 1997[2002]:49). Health is seen as a biological and psychological equilibrium, which is in constant threat from sickness. Because health and

[60] The prevalence of male machi was greater before the arrival of the Spanish invaders. Sexual stereotypes and cultural expectations have, in some cases, influenced the balance between men and women in Mapuche society. Some Mapuche men are considered sexist (J.C., personal communication, May 20, 2010) and some male machi are simply not accepted (Bacigalupo 2004a).

sickness are complementary opposites, sickness is perceived as something constant and reoccurring. Health is associated with good, while sickness is associated with evil[61]; in the same way that health is threatened by sickness, sickness and evil are fought and defeated by health and goodness. (Citarella 1995[2000])

Health is the realm of the machi[62], which is loosely translated as shaman, but more accurately can be described as the socio-religious authority of a community and "principal possessor of the knowledge of health and medicine"[63] (Marimán, Caniuqueo, Millalén & Levil 2006:275). The machi mediates between the spheres of positive and negative energies[64]. Her job is to balance the influences of these two realms. "The Mapuche have a dualistic view of the world as the struggle between opposing forces in the natural and supernatural environments, where rituals serve to restore equilibrium"[65] (Bacigalupo 1996:39). The machi maintains harmony in her community and helps restore health to the individual. The machi has her complementary opposites in the *lonko*, the political authority of a community, as well as in the *kalku*, a term which is generally translated as witch[66]. Kalku are understood to be people who

[61] 'Evil' should not be construed in the same way it is in English according to a Christian perspective (Citarella 1995[2000]:110). Like Kay-Kay, it is just the opposite force of good. Just as "good" is orderly and balanced, 'evil' is disordered and chaotic (Grebe, Pacheco & Segura 1972:66).

[62] The role of machi is largely confined to *guluche*, or Mapuche living in Chile. In Argentina, or *Puelmapu*, the term is *pillankuse*, and the social role is slightly different. According to Leslie Ray (2007), "in the *Puel Mapu* the *pillankuse* performs a similar role to the *machi*, such as conducting ceremonies, but without the ability to enter a trance state. The knowledge of healing techniques and medicinal herbs is also general [sic] exclusive to *machis*. Most of the *machis* disappeared from Argentina with the Conquest of the Desert" (287).

[63] "principal poseedor o poseedora de los conocimientos de la salud y medicina."

[64]These are the *wenu mapu*, the realm above, and the *miñche mapu*, the realm below. See chapters 6 & 9 for more information.

[65] "El Mapuche tiene una visión dualista del mundo como la lucha entre fuerzas contrapuestas en el ámbito natural y sobrenatural donde los rituales sirven para restablecer el equilibrio."

[66] Ana Mariella Bacigalupo (2001a:26) states that 'kalku' would be considered *both* witch and sorcerer according to Evans-Pritchard's distinction in describing the phenomenon among the Azande: "The difference between a sorcerer

work to undermine social solidarity and "introduce evil, unhappiness, and illness into bodies, both physical and political, instead of extirpating evil from the body and soul, as *machi* do"[67] (Bacigalupo 2007:20-21). Kalku are associated with *wekufe*, or malevolent spirits (Grebe, et al. 1972:66).

Concepts of Space

The fourth aspect of the Epew of Xeg-Xeg and Kay-Kay is the concept of space. This epew has a physical reality in the geography of the area, one that Millalén says was well documented during the colonial period and is still evident today. He says that there are diverse accounts locating the mountains of Xeg-Xeg in the current provinces of Neuquén and Río Negro in Argentina[68]. "The principal physical characteristic of these mountains is their greater height in relation to other terrestrial elevations in the surrounding area, together with an abundance of vegetation, diversity of bird and animal life, sources of water, all contributing in a significant way to the maintenance of environmental equilibrium in such places"[69] (2006:24). These physical spaces are sacred spaces for the Mapuche. On the one hand, they represent historical memory that refers to the beginning of Mapuche culture. On the other hand, they are the source

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and a witch is that the former uses the technique of magic and derives his power from medicines, while the latter acts without rites and spells and uses hereditary psycho-physical powers to attain his ends" (Evans-Pritchard 1937[1976]:176). In other words, a sorcerer intentionally sets out to do harm. A witch causes harm unintentionally and may not even be aware that he is doing so. More recently, Bacigalupo has said that the kalku does not fit into this classification (2007:261, n1).

[67] Bacigalupo identifies three different methods that Mapuche use to combat the power of the kalku. The first is to accept the paradigm of witchcraft, accuse someone, and seek treatment from a machi for that person. The second is to accept a Western perspective and deny their existence altogether. The third is to make a distinction between those who are falsely accused of witchcraft and those who believe themselves to be kalku. (2007:23)

[68] In the north of Chile just outside of Doñihue, a town not far from Rancagua, there is also a mountain with the name Xeg-Xeg.

[69] "La característica física principal de estos ceros es su mayor altura en relación a otras elevaciones terrestres del espacio circundante, agua, entre otras, contribuyen de manera significativa en la mantención de un equilibrio ambiental en dichos espacios."

of life, through the medicinal plants and the environmental diversity that helps sustain Mapuche culture and knowledge (2006:24).

In Mapuche worldview, these physical spaces are inhabited by *ngen*, spirits or forces, that care for and protect nature. There are as many ngen as there are ecosystems or natural elements: *ngenko* – ngen of the waters, *ngenmawida* – ngen of the mountains, *ngenantü* – ngen of the sun, *ngenküyin* – ngen of the animals, etc. (Foerster 1993:67). Some believe these spirits to be the creators of their natural element (Sergio Carihuentru, personal communication, April 7, 2010). Often ngen is translated into Spanish as 'dueño,' which is usually translated as 'owner' in English, but can also be translated as 'lord' or 'ruler.' The latter definition may be more appropriate than 'owner,' since ngen are not really understood to *own* the land[70], but if someone fails to ask permission of the ngen to enter or use its realm, that person may be punished with an illness (Bacigalupo 2007:23). Ngen are sometimes viewed as animated spiritual beings that take on anthropomorphic, zoomorphic or phytomorphic (plant-like) characteristics (Grebe 1998[2006]:63).

Machi have an intimate relationship with ngen, whom they often meet in visions (Bacigalupo 2007:28, 56). In some cases, the ngen is where a machi derives her power and can also be her source of medicinal and healing knowledge (Bacigalupo 2007:28, 156). According to María Ester Grebe Vicuña, Chilean anthropologist, the belief in ngen has been preserved and revitalized in the following ritual. "Mapuche respectfully request prior approval from the ngen to collect required elements for their subsistence; then they collect an amount sufficient for their immediate needs; they respectfully thank the ngen; and as a sign of reciprocity, they give a small

[70] Juan Sánchez Curihuentro describes the term as 'having power over something' (2001:32n10).

gift consisting of a handful of grains of wheat or bread crumbs intended for the wildlife”[71] (Grebe 1998[2006]:63). This ritual has also been observed in the daily life of machi – singing to the ngen while collecting herbal remedies, and leaving an offering of corn (Bacigalupo 2006:31).

Divine Family

The fifth element of the Epew of Xeg-Xeg and Kay-Kay is the divine family. There are four survivors of the flooding: the old woman, the old man, the young woman and the young man. Respectively the Mapuzugun terms for these survivors are *Kuse, Fücha, Üllcha* and *Weche*[72]. In addition to representing another oppositional pair (see Figure 4.1), they also represent the different Mapuche social roles. The old ones, or *Fütakeche*, are tasked with the cultivation of wisdom and the transmission of kimün to the younger ones – the *Wekeche*, or adolescents, and the *Pichikeche*, or the children (Marileo 1995[2000]:92,102; Millalén 2006:25). The young ones are given the responsibility of providing the required sustenance for the family, of becoming the *llituche*, or the progenitors, and the protectors of the race (Marileo 1995[2000]:103; Millalén 2006:25). It is up to the young ones to pass to younger generations what they have learned from their elders. Today’s roles in Mapuche society reflect those of the divine family. “Thus it has always been”[73] (Marileo 1995[2000]:92).

It is said that Kuse, Fücha, Üllcha, and Weche transcended to a higher cosmological plane, the *Wenu Mapu*, or land above, where they have become intercessors between Mapuche and the ngen of the natural world (Ñanculef H. 2003:44; Marileo 1995[2000]:102; Millalén

[71]“Los mapuches solicitan respetuosamente la aprobación previa del ngen para acceder a la recolección de elementos requeridos para su subsistencia; se recoge luego una cantidad justa para sus necesidades inmediatas; se agradece al ngen respetuosamente; y, en señal de reciprocidad, se le entrega un pequeño obsequio consistente en un puñado de granos de trigo o migas de pan destinadas a la fauna silvestre.”

[72] Variations on these names are as follows: Kuse or Kushe, Fücha or Füxa/Fütxa, Üllcha, Ülcha, or Üllcha Zomo/Domo, and Weche or Weche Wentru/Wenxu.

[73] “Así ha sido siempre.”

2006:25). The universe is divided into three general planes: the wenu mapu, or land above, the *nag mapu*[74], or land we currently inhabit, and the *miñche mapu*, or land below[75]. The wenu mapu is often translated as 'cielo' or 'heaven;' however, this translation skews the original meaning. It is not an ethereal place; rather, it is a real place, with material physicality, made up of stars, constellations and beneficent beings (Sánchez C. 2001:32). This space is inhabited by *küme newen*, or good forces, such as the divine family (Marileo 1995[2000]:102).

Once ascending to the wenu mapu the four survivors become the divine family. In this case, their names change slightly. In order to differentiate between the four survivors of the epew – kuse, fücha, üllcha and weche – and the four members of the divine family the term 'wenu mapu' (Millalén 2006:25) or '*kalfu wenu*[76]' (Sergio Carihuentro, personal communication, April 7, 2010) precedes their primary name: wenu mapu kuse or kalfu wenu fücha, etc. 'Wenu mapu kuse' literally translates to 'the old woman of the land above' and 'kalfu wenu fücha' would literally translate to 'the old man of the blue above.' At this time, the divine family becomes intercessors working on behalf of the Mapuche who seek their protection and help (Millalén 2006:25). They are invoked at ngillatun, or religious ceremonies, during which everything is performed four times: prayers are said four times, dances are performed four times, and kneeling is done four times. This is because "there is four of everything…four, four, four. In

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[74] The nag mapu is often referred to as the *meli wixan mapu*, which loosely means the four-directioned land. Meli means four, witran literally means to get up or arise, and mapu means land, so more directly meli wixan mapu is translated as the four awakenings land; although, the term is meant to convey the concept of the four cardinal directions.

[75] For a more in-depth explanation of these spaces see chapters 6 & 9.

[76] Kalfu or kallfü is the Mapuzugun word for blue. Blue is a sacred color for Mapuche and relates to a different, earlier origin story (see chapter 9).

everything that can be touched"[77] (Grebe, et al. 1972:64). People have four limbs, there are four seasons, four winds, four directions and there are four members of the divine family. Four is a sacred number for Mapuche.

Some Mapuche view this ascension to the wenu mapu to mean that kuse, fücha, üllcha, and weche are gods or part of a god-head. Marileo states that as the primary spirits of good in the wenu mapu, the divine family become *Elmapun* (Kuse)[78], *Elchen* (Fücha)*, Ngenemapun* (Üllcha) *y Ngenechen* (Weche)[79] (1995[2000]:95). Some view these four divine figures as four gods of a pantheon (Grebe, et al. 1972), but others view these four divine figures as four persons that make up one god (Ñanculef H. 2003). When considered to be many gods or one god, they take on the role of creators. According to Marileo, through "experience and ancient wisdom" Mapuche ancestors discovered that "neither humans, nor animals, nor even the smallest insect could live if they were not permitted by the great spirit named Elmapun, Elchen, Ngenemapun, Ngenenchen,…the earth, nature and humans were created by Elchen-elmapun"[80] (1995[2000]:92).

Elmapun, Elchen, Ngenemapun and Ngenenchen are understood to have different roles. Elmapun is the creator of the visible and invisible earth, all of nature and her environment.

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[77] "Cada ser hay cuatro…cuatro, cuatro, cuatro. En todo lo que se puede tocar."

[78] Juan Ñanculef Huaiquinao identifies Elchen as Kuse, Fücha as Ngenechen, Üllcha as Mapun and Weche as Ngenemapun (2001:45).

[79] The old man, Fücha and the old woman, Kuse, have also been respectively called *feta chachai* and *ñuke papai*. 'Chachai' means " 'daddy' (vocabularly used by children for father / 'papito' (vocablo usado por los niños a su padre)" and 'pai pay' means a "tender word that is given to 'mother' / palabra cariñosa con que se nombra a la 'madre'" (Zucarelli, Malvestitti, Izaguirre & Nahuel 1999[2008]:57,94). So, 'feta chachai' would be literally translated as 'father daddy' and 'ñuke papai' would be literally translated as 'mother mommy.' The story of feta chichi and ñuke papai is that they created the younger couple – weche wentru and ülcha domo – and the rest of spirits and men (Grebe, et al. 1972:63-64).

[80] "a través de su vivencia y experiencia milenaria que ni el hombre, ni los animales, ni el más pequeño insecto podría vivir si no estuviera permitido por el gran espíritu denominado **Elmapun, Elchen, Ngenemapun, Ngenechen**…la tierra, la naturaleza y el hombre fueron creados por el **Elchen-elmapun**."

Elmapun represents *kürüf*, wind or air. Elchen is the creator of people and represents the mapu or the earth. Ngenemapun is the sustainer or administrator of the earth, who controls all the natural forces of the earth and all existence in the universe, including space. Ngenemapun represents *kütxal*, fire. And finally, Ngenechen (one of the more common names for 'god' in Mapuche culture) is the sustainer or administrator of people, who controls the lives of people and is like the strength of the aura of every human entity. Ngenechen represents *ko*, water. (Marileo 1995[2000]:102; Ñanculef H. 2003:45)

As far as the notion of 'god' is concerned, everyone will give a different answer: some people consider the divine family to be four persons of a single god, and some consider them to be four primary gods. Certainly there has been a great deal of syncretism, but despite adopting Christian concepts such as *Chaw Dios* – 'God the Father' – people have done so in their own way (Sergio Carihuentro, personal communication, April 7, 2010). This is apparent in machi ceremonies where a ritual object, the *rewe*, will be in the shape of a cross, or in the way machi may invoke the Virgin Mary. However, these incorporations will depend on the needs of the community. It seems a Western mindset will always seek to find the equivalent of his 'god,' which is why the Spanish chroniclers seemed to think that Mapuche had no concept of a higher being. The Western and Mapuche concepts are just different. Sergio Carihuentro takes a "realistic" approach and accepts that everyone conceives of the divine family in different ways. He also offers a different perspective on how Mapuche view and interact with the divine family:

> Now, these four spirits in the Mapuche culture are like the intercessors for a specific force. These four spirits are in all the forces that exist in nature and they are intercessors. Then, if I want to petition water from a brook for rain, *witrunko* is brook. Then when there is a lot of drought Mapuche people are going to gather and perform a ngillatun for this. But, as I have already told you fücha, kuse, üllcha and weche are the intercessors of all the forces and so these also are going to be there. And when a Mapuche prays, when he petitions, he is going to say *witrunko fücha, witrunko kuse, witrunko üllcha, witrunko*

> *weche*. So that they will intercede and can make rain. So, from the point of view of a Christian, he is going to say, they are intercessors, so that is how they approach God. [The perspectives] are different. Now, if you want to petition the sun, sun is said *antü*, the same thing: antü kuse, antü fücha, antü weche, antü üllcha. Now if you want to petition the animals, for the animals, *küyin*. Küyin kuse, küyin fücha, küyin üllcha, küyin weche. Now if you want to petition the blue sky, you are going to say *kalfu wenu*, kalfu wenu kuse, kalfu wenu üllcha, kalfu wenu fücha, kalfu wenu weche.[81] (personal communication, April 7, 2010)

Ideals for "Being" Mapuche

The sixth element of the Epew of Xeg-Xeg and Kay-Kay is that of becoming the ideal person. Millalén suggests that the battle between the two opposing forces can be thought of as a natural cataclysmic event that came about when the Mapuche were not properly maintaining equilibrium. Those who were saved were not only saved because they climbed the mountain, but also because of their characteristics; in this way, the flood can be thought of as a selection process. (2006:25)

The process of becoming an ideal Mapuche person, or the internal personality development that aids in proper behavior or participation in society and with nature, is encompassed in the idea of *az che*. The term 'az' is actually quite profound and inclusive. Literally, it can be translated as "exterior form or aspect; the face of something; countenance; custom or rule" (deAugusta 1916[2007]:1; Lenz 1905-1910:123). Taken figuratively, it can

[81] "Ahora, eso cuatro espíritus en la cultura mapuche son como los intercesores por una fuerza especifica. Esos cuatro espíritus están en todas las fuerzas que existen en la naturaleza y son intercesores. Entonces si yo quiero pedir agua, si yo quiero pedir agua a un vertiente para que llueva, voy a decir, voy a, a ver, vertiente se llama…*witrunko* es vertiente. Vertiente es el agua cristalina que sale de un roto de la tierra. Esos son los vertientes. Entonces, cuando hay mucha sequía las personas mapuche se van a reunir y van a hacer un ngillatun para eso. Pero, como te he contado que los fücha, kuse, üllcha y weche son los intercesores de todas las fuerzas y entonces esos también van a estar aquí. Y cuando un mapuche le da ora, le va a pedir, va a decir *witrunko fücha, witrunko kuse, witrunko üllcha, witrunko weche.* Para que ellos intercedan y pueden hacer llover. Ahora, desde el punto de vista cristiana, van a decir estos son los intercesores entoneces para llegar a díos. Son diferentes. Ahora si que tú quieres pedir el sol, el sol se llama *antü*, la misma cosa, antü kuse, antü fücha, antü weche, antü üllcha. Ahora si que quieres pedir de los animales, para los animales, *küyin.* Küyin kuse, küyin fücha, küyin üllcha, küyin weche. Ahora si le quiere pedir a los, al cielo azul, va a decir *kalfu wenu*, kalfu wenu kuse, kalfu wenu üllcha, kalfu wenu fücha, kalfu wenu weche."

exemplify all that is or has the potential to be good (Queupumil V. 2007:25). It can mean the formation of self, as in this case. Az can be used to decide if something is beautiful or ugly. It can be used to determine whether something is culturally organized or unorganized. Generally, az is used to characterize something or someone (Rosa Huenchulaf, personal communication, January 21, 2010).

When az is combined with *che* or *mapu*, it takes on a slightly different meaning. *Az mapu* means "the custom or way of the land" (Course 2011:18, 98). It is understood to be "the individual and collective norms of conduct that a Mapuche should observe in order to maintain cosmic harmony" and is sometimes known as the Juridical System of the Mapuche People (Sánchez C. 2001:29). *Az che* has more to do with the individual and can be thought of as the identity or essence of a person (Rosa Huenchulaf, personal communication, January 21, 2010). Each person has a *kalül az*, which is the physical or biological self, and a *piwke az*, which is the internal, psychological self[82]. Examples of kalül az are having brown hair or being tall; examples of piwke az are being introverted or having aggressive tendencies. (Rosa Huenchulaf, personal communication, January 21, 2010)

The concept of becoming an ideal Mapuche is the development of a person's piwke az che. The ultimate aim is to develop and express *küme kimün*, or good knowledge, and *küme rakizuam*, or good thinking, as a way of protecting and proliferating the culture (Alchao S., Cariman D., Ñanculef C., & Saez S. 2005:23; Millalén 2006:25). For generations this way of developing one's character has been passed down from adults to children as part of the becoming a member of the family and the community. This process encompasses four essential models: *kimche, kümeche, norche,* and *newenche.*

[82] Literally 'kalül' means 'body' and 'piwke' means 'heart' (deAugusta 1916[2007]:75, 184).

Kimche is a term that is used a lot, especially in intercultural education settings, as the kimche is a central teaching figure in that setting. The kimche is the one who shows children how to walk a path in which they can learn and relearn their own wisdom and knowledge (Alchao S., et al. 2005:24). Being a kimche means that the person holds wisdom and knowledge, and is respectful, intelligent and creative (Carihuentro 2007:57; Marileo n.d.-a; Quilaqueo R. 2006:86n2). A kimche will have knowledge of her parental lineage, Mapuzugun, socio-cultural practices, beliefs, norms, and rules. Her knowledge will have been acquired through experiences with the natural, social and cultural environment and whose vocation is to bring that knowledge to the community (Alchao S., et al. 2005:23).

The concept of *kümeche* is related to the Mapuche concept of development – küme felen, but includes the idea of using ones' wealth and success to better the community that Nelson Mandela spoke of in regards to Ubuntu. Being a kümeche means being a successful and hard worker who is established economically (Carihuentro 2007::57; Quilaqueo R. 2006:86n2). A kümeche will also have the characteristics of being generous, loyal, just, considerate and cooperative in terms of the community (Marileo n.d.-a). The kümeche will practice a model of doing good and developing a permanent behavior of fellowship and support within the community (Alchao S., et al. 2005:24).

Norche has to do with uprightness and virtue. A norche will be honest, reasonable, transparent, just, moral and ethical (Carihuentro 2007:57; Marileo n.d.-a; Quilaqueo R. 2006:86n2). A norche is identified by the balance of his affectivity and passivity, which reflects his constant appraisal of what is good and just in his interpersonal relationships, as well as with other members of the community (Alchao S. 2005:25). Ñanculef calls the norche a "true judge,"

who is usually an elder, whose years of experience are solicited for advice and who, traditionally, was the one to exercise justice (2003:55).

Newenche has to do with strength of character. A newenche will be a person of mental, religious, and physical strength and capable of leading people (Carihuentro 2007:57; Quilaqueo R. 2006:86n2). She will be secure in her ways of acting and thinking so that she can make decisions in circumstances of conflict (Alchao et al. 2005:25). She will be perseverant, dynamic, efficacious and stalwart (Marileo n.d.-a). These four models of being – kimche, kümeche, norche and newenche – are used to teach children how to become people who will continue to maintain harmony and balance in the world.

Social structure

The last element of the Epew of Xeg-Xeg and Kay-Kay that relates to Mapuche identity is that of social structure and community history. Thus far, we have seen that the *kuyfikeche*, the elders, and *wünenkeche*, adults, transmit knowledge to the younger generation in a number of ways, including the telling of epew and piam, through Mapuzugun, by teaching about the world's complementary nature, striving to become 'ideal people' and participating in the environment through religiosity. The transmission of knowledge is also accomplished through *tuwün* and *küpan*. Just as the Epew of Xeg-Xeg and Kay-Kay relate the origins of the Mapuche people, tuwün and küpan refer to an individual's origin of identity. However, Mapuche identity is not just about the individual, as it often is in Western culture, it also depends on *lof che* – the socio-territorial space that corresponds to one of the smallest familial and communal organizational units[83]. Tuwün and küpan connect individual identity to ancestral origins through community socio-territorial identity.

[83] See chapters 6 and 9 for more information on *lof*.

Generally speaking tuwün refers to the geographical space where someone is born and raised. Küpan literally means 'to come or arrive from' – "to come from a place and arrive here" (Rosa Huenchulaf, personal communication, January 6, 2010). It refers to the blood tie that unites the family community, the social memory of a family lineage. Both tuwün and küpan are reflected in a person's *küga*, or surnames[84]. The basis of Mapuche social and political organization lies with the family. Originally, families grouped together and formed the *lof*, today's basic level of social organization as a people (Chihuailaf 1999:50-51). All Mapuche share a point of origin; a long time ago, they all lived in the same place and shared the same customs[85] (Rosa Huenchulaf, personal communication, January 6, 2010). All of this is expressed in the küga.

Mapuche surnames are highly distinctive and easily identifiable. However, most Mapuche have Spanish first names, because of social pressures and due to the fact that for a long time the Chilean government exercised strict regulations regarding what parents could name their children. Mapuzugun first names were often deemed "ridiculous" and therefore not suitable to give to a child. While some Mapuche surnames have been Hispanicized (from Kuriwentru to Carihuentro, for example), they remain distinct from Chilean surnames that have maintained European roots. Mapuche surnames, or küga, used to convey an enormous amount of information: where a person was born and raised, what a person's familial lineage was, the characteristics the family had affinities for, physical characteristics and the person's source of

[84] Technically *küga* has a more complicated meaning than simply surname. It can be defined more as a "domestic group that shares kinship, as well as shared characteristic traits of first groups / como grupo domestico que comparten parentesco, que tiene como características compartir rasgos de grupos primarios;" however, it has been suggested that this meaning has been lost to most people (Licanqueo S., Painemilla P., & Comulai A. 2004:17-18).

[85] Many Mapuche, regardless of whether or not they speak Mapuzugun, use the terms *lamgen*, sister and *peñi*, brother, with one another. This is a way of expressing the understanding that they are all related (R. Huenchulaf, personal communication, January 6, 2010).

origin (Rosa Huenchulaf, personal communication, January 6, 2010). Today, however, due to massive migrations to the cities, a Mapuche's surname does not convey the same information it did in the past.

Nevertheless, Mapuche surnames still remain relevant to Mapuche identity and even from afar will connect Mapuche with their lands of origin. Knowledge of one's tuwün and küpan is often considered basic knowledge and is necessary if Mapuche wishes to establish social relations with other Mapuche and expand their understanding of Mapuche kimün (S. Carihuentro, 2007:66). Some Mapuche will even say that a person who does not know his tuwün and küpan is not strong enough to opine (Quintriqueo y Quilaqueo 2006:86).

Mapuche surnames almost always describe some kind of environmental feature and are compound in nature. Some examples are Marimán (four condors), Kuriwentru (black man), Millapán (golden puma), and Kalfükura (blue stone). The natural elements that form these küga point to the origin of the family that is located back in nature (Rosa Huenchulaf, personal communication, January 6, 2010). These names characterize the land in which a person is from and describes the way the land was when it was settled. "Features of the local landscape are related to specific knowledge that people have built in direct connection with the natural environment that allows them to better understand the environment and develop socially and culturally as a community"[86] (Quintriqueo y Quilaqueo 2006:85). Therefore, the very meaning

[86] "Las características del paisaje local se relacionan con un conocimiento especifico que las personas han construido en relación directa con el entorno natural que les permite comprender mejor el medio y desarrollarse social y culturalmente como comunidad."

of a person's name describes the origin and the negotiation of his identity. Furthermore, this meaning is transmitted to children when the name is given to the child when he or she is born[87].

Not all Mapuche will have a Mapuzugun last name, however. José Contreras, for example, has a Spanish last name, but is nevertheless Mapuche. The name 'Contreras' still says something about his identity, though, because his Mapuche community is called Contreras. Other people from that community will also have the surname Contreras. He believes the reason for the name Contreras can be traced to the late 19th century when the Chilean government was parceling out land grants in an attempt to confine Mapuche to particular areas; some soldier attributed the land with the name Contreras and has been known as that ever since (José Contreras, personal communication, March 24, 2010).

Küpan has to do with a person's particular paternal lineage (Quilaqueo R. & Quintriqueo M. 2010) and can also be identified by a person's surnames. It implies a "descendance of blood by the ancestors who made you' (Rosa Huenchulaf, personal communication, January 6, 2010). A person's küpan provides the "psycho-sociocultural inheritance" from one's parents (Licanqueo S., et al. 2004:17). This inheritance is part of what determines a person's *piwke az che*, her character, personality and attitude towards life (Sepúlveda 2006:75). Carihuentro describes it as "the concrete manifestation of the spirit of one of the ancestors in the person…that determines the psychological characteristics of the person" (2007:63). Essentially, küpan determines not how someone is as an individual, but who they are thanks to their ancestors.

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[87] Mapuche surnames technically work the same way as Chilean surnames. Everyone has two last names; the first last name is the first last name of the person's father and the second last name is the first last name of the person's mother. However, Rosa Huenchulaf, a Mapuche professor of Mapuzugun, has suggested that Mapuche have four last names: the father's, the mother's, the paternal grandfather 's and the maternal grandfather's (personal communication, January 6, 2010).

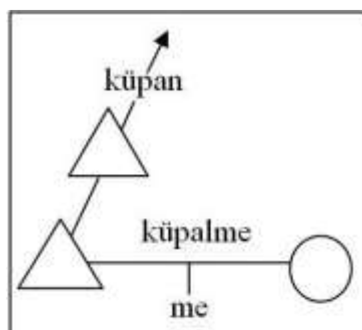

Figure 4.2 Küpan and Küpalme

Often people will use the term küpalme instead of küpan[88]. Technically, these are two related, but distinct concepts. Küpan traces the father's line back at least two generations; küpalme considers both the paternal and the maternal lineages (see Figure 4.2) (Quidel Cabral 2006:19). Therefore two paternal cousins will have the same küpan, but different küpalme. Küpalme is also what determines whether a person will be *elche*[89], gifted with a social role or function such as becoming a machi or a lonko. These social roles, therefore, cannot be filled by just anyone; the gift must be part of the küpalme lineage. If this is the case with a young person[90] they will be called when a *püllü*, or spirit, of the lineage searches for someone to serve the community by fulfilling the role they are called to (Carihuentro 2007:65).

The call to fulfill such a social role often comes in the form of sickness[91]. Carihuentro (2007) relates the story of Sergio Painemilla, who says that sometimes when a woman gets sick

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[88] It should be noted that these terms are often used interchangeably; küpan is often associated with both lines of descendency (Marimán, Caniuqueo, Millalén & Levil 2006:275; also see *meli folil küpan* in Carihuentro 2007:68).

[89] There are two categories of people in this regard: *reche* and *elche*. Reche are regular people, although de Augusta determined that this term can also refer to "any individual who is not a kalku / cualquier individual que no sea *kal-ku*" (1916[2007]:195). Elche are those who are chosen by spirits of the ancestors, based on their küpalme, to fulfill a hereditary cultural role within society (Carihuentro 2007:127; R. Huenchulaf, personal communication, January 6, 2010).

[90] Machi are generally chosen in their adolescence or young adulthood (R. Huenchulaf, personal communication, January 6, 2010).

[91] *Perimontun*, visions, and *pewma*, dreams, are also symptoms of being called to serve as machi (Bacigalupo 2007).

and cannot find a cure in Western medicine, she will go to a *pelon*, or diagnostician. Often the pelon will determine that she is being called to become a machi. "'Your küpalme has you so, you are descended from machi küpalme, your küpalme is searching for you'" (65). At which point she may be offered some medicine, but told that it would probably be best for her sickness to succumb to the calling. (65).

In summary, the Epew of Xeg-Xeg and Kay-Kay exemplifies seven important aspects of Mapuche culture and identity. That is a particular notion of time, oral tradition, duality & complementariness, particular notion of space, the divine family, ideals for 'being' Mapuche and social structure. Interestingly, these seven elements can all comfortably be subsumed within the five categories of Mapuche kimün that Carihuentro identified while researching Mapuche knowledge that should be included in formal intercultural education. Those categories are: the formation of the az che, tuwün and küpan, Mapuche feyentun, which relates to Mapuche spirituality and religiosity, Mapuzugun as the foundation of knowledge and finally kimeltuwün, which involves strategies and methodologies for such formation.

The epew unmistakably demonstrates that Mapuche have a clear and distinct understanding of their origin, of how and when their society and culture originated, based on a highly complex and developed worldview and knowledge system. It is a system that, in a holistic manner, encompasses all the different aspects of Mapuche culture: religion, social structure, language, history, etc. It is a system in which "everything is related with everything else" (Sergio Carihuentro, personal communication, April 7, 2010). Finally, a system in which balance and harmony in the world, both personally and collectively, is the ultimate aim in the endeavor of küme felen.

CHAPTER 5

MAPUCHE HISTORY

Armando Marileo states that "the Epew gives us feedback on our past history, and enables us to revisit our social, cultural, and religious history, so that we can orientate our conduct without losing touch with what we are" (n.d.-a). The epew provides a foundation from which Mapuche today can reassert their identity and revitalize their culture in the face of enormous adversity. Marileo identifies four cycles of Mapuche history. The first is that period between the creation of the first human and the great battle between Xeg-Xeg and Kay-Kay. The second begins at the conclusion of this fight and ends with the Spanish invasion. This is the period in which Mapuche developed their knowledge system and began transmitting it orally through the generations. Collective memory of this time still exists in Mapuche oral tradition and knowledge derived from this period aids in the renewal of Mapuche identity, necessary due to the colonization and domination experienced in the third and fourth cycles of history. The third cycle of history begins with European invasion and culminates with the domination of the Mapuche people by the Chilean and Argentine States. Currently, we are in the fourth cycle of history, which is where Mapuche are confronted with contemporary opposition to their right of self-determination. It is characterized by the reconstruction of Mapuche society, the struggle to recuperate Mapuche land, and the reestablishment of Mapuche self-determination. (Millalén 2006:24n18).

Third Cycle of History

Throughout this next chapter, I will explore part of the third cycle of history and the transition into the fourth. The implications of this period are far-reaching and influence the

current relationship between the Mapuche people and the Chilean State. The process of colonization has created a complicated situation in which the Mapuche people must struggle to maintain their indigenous identity, which represents a threat to the national project of the Chilean State. The Mapuche people claim the right of self-determination over their traditional territory, based on their continuous lineage with the indigenous people who were politically autonomous until the Chilean State, by force, denied them that right. If self-determination were granted today, it would weaken Chile's political and economic claims to the territory and taint the story of Chile's national identity that has been crafted over the past two hundred years. The Mapuche people respond to the legacy of colonial domination with claims of ancestral rights to self-determination; the Chilean State and certain sectors of Chilean society counter by attempting to de-legitimize those claims. These issues and their implications will be explored in this chapter, beginning with the decision by Chile and Argentina to subjugate instead of incorporate the Mapuche people into their newly created states.

For a period, after Chile and Argentina won their independence from Spain, at the beginning of the 19th century, these newly formed states tolerated the Mapuche people, with the exception of chipping away at their territory through settler colonization. In the period of Mapuche history that marks the end of the third cycle and the beginning of the fourth cycle, Chilean and Argentine representatives who had regular interactions with the indigenous peoples of the region presented proposals to Chilean and Argentine state authorities. These proposals introduced models that would have incorporated the indigenous populations into each respective state while allowing them to maintain some measure of autonomy. For reasons of fear, maintenance of already colonized territories and economic prosperity, these models were rejected. Instead, towards the end of the 19th century, the states of Chile and Argentina worked

together to forcibly subjugate the indigenous peoples of the region and bring the associated territories under control of each respective state. (Mallon 2011) In Chile this military action is known as "the Pacification of Araucanía[92]" and in Argentina, it is known as "the Conquest of the Desert"[93].

These military actions culminated with the redistribution of territory and forced settlement of Mapuche onto small tracts of land known as *reducciones*. This term literally translates to English as 'reductions' and refers to the 'reduction' of land that had previously been controlled by the Mapuche people. This policy involved the granting of *títulos de merced*, which can be translated into English as 'collective ownership titles.' According to historian Florencia Mallon, a título de merced is "a land title given by the Chilean government to each group of settled Mapuche, allegedly a lineage or extended family, designating the names of the participating settlers and the extension and boundaries of the land grant being provided" (2005:255). Each reducción became known by the name of the original head[94] of the lineage to

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[92] Mapuche traditional territory that falls within the borders of present-day Chile has historically been referred to as Araucanía (see Appendix C for more information). Today, the official Chilean region that, more or less, overlaps this historical territory is also called Araucanía. Those Mapuche that have not migrated to Santiago live in this and the surrounding regions, composing roughly 40% of the Mapuche population (Salazar 2004:152).

[93] Mallon suggests that 'desert' implies emptiness, which signifies that the existence of the victims – the Native peoples – "had already been denied even before they were defeated, eradicated, or exterminated" (2011:292).

[94] The name of this individual is often preceded with the title *cacique*, which translates to English as 'head' or 'chief.' However, the term originates from the Caribbean and was applied in the Inca Empire and other parts of the Andes. This term was likely more familiar to the Europeans and citizens of the new Chilean state than the Mapuzugun equivalent, which is *lonko*. Therefore, many Mapuche communities today that are derived from the reducción will have a name, such as 'Cacique Wete Rukan.' Additionally, many communities will have two different names and two different territorial delineations: the reducción and the traditional, or original, community known as the *lof* (see Chapter 9 for more information). The territory of a lof is generally greater than the territory of any given reducción, will have a Mapuzugun name that reflects the geography of the land and is often recognized by the Chilean state alongside the official reducción (M. Millapan, personal communication, March 24, 2010). For example, the reducción of Cacique Wete Rukan is part of Lof Ralun Koyam. 'Koyam' refers to a particular kind of deciduous tree common to the area, also known as Roble beech. 'Ralun' can mean either 'husked, stripped' or 'valley' (Zucarelli et al. 1999[2008]:106). Therefore, 'Ralun Koyam' can be translated as 'valley of the koyam' or 'husked koyam.' Cacique Wete Rukan, the title of the reducción granted by the Chilean state, refers to the name of

whom the land was granted and only direct descendants of this head retain land rights within this community. The reducción policy began in 1884 and ended in 1919 when the last title was given out; however, the law that instituted this process was not officially repealed until 1929 (Bengoa 2000[2008]:353).

The model upon which the Chilean State was originally based was that of "an abstract, generic 'one-size-fits-all' concept of citizenship rooted in European liberalism" (Mallon 2011:282). This philosophy did not allow for multiple voices or cultures within the newly established Chilean nation. According to Patricia Richards, sociologist and author of *pobladores, indígenas and the state* (2004), in 1991 Chilean President Aylwin put before the Congress a proposal to include in the Chilean Constitution recognition of the 'indigenous peoples'[95] that make up the nation. "In congressional discussions and consultations with constitutional experts, the amendment was opposed on the grounds that it violated the Constitution, in which the concept of 'people' is univocal" (136). Therefore, the model adopted at Chile's inception did not allow for and continues to, barring an amendment to the Constitution, disallow for the transformation of Chile into a pluri-national, multi-vocal state. Thus, the reducción system essentially became a way for the Chilean government to isolate the Mapuche population from economic, social and political interaction within Chilean society. The repercussions of this action culminated in what the Chilean government today calls the "indigenous problem."

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an individual, which emphasizes ownership; Lof Ralun Koyam, the Mapuche name for the area, reflects the natural environment and emphasizes stewardship over ownership.

[95] While the Mapuche make up the largest sector of indigenous peoples within the territory of present-day Chile, there are also Aymara in the northern-most part of Chile and Rapa Nui on Easter Island. In Argentina, the Mapuche are one among many indigenous peoples.

The "indigenous problem," sometimes known as the "Mapuche issue,"[96] refers to the hostile relations between the Mapuche people and Chilean society. The reducción system isolated Mapuche from participation in Chilean socio-economic life. The expropriation of most of their territory meant that they could no longer practice animal husbandry and the land that was left to them was insufficient for subsistence agriculture. In other words, the Mapuche people were impoverished and isolated, transformed into poor country-dwellers with no means or resources to improve their economic standing. The usurpation of Mapuche autonomy and the expropriation of their land were accompanied by intense discrimination. Mapuche were forced to adapt in order to function in a society that not only disregarded Mapuche worldview, but also sought to exclude them from the political and cultural life of the country. Over time, Mapuche access to territory continued to dwindle through the execution of Chilean development projects, involving the forestry and energy industries. In many communities today, political activism is met with police brutality and in some cases prosecution as terrorism. Essentially the Mapuche were transformed from a politically independent nation to a marginalized and oppressed ethnic minority. This resulted in the 'indigenous problem' of economic poverty, land disputes and social discrimination.

A look towards the past is necessary at this point to fully understand the legacy of Mapuche participation in the public sphere. It is interesting to note that, in some fashion or other, there has been continuous resistance to the colonizing efforts of the Spanish and then Chilean State. The first Mapuche organizations were formed in the early part of the twentieth century for the purpose of preserving Mapuche land and identity. This tradition continued through the period of land reform during the 1960s and 1970s. Various Mapuche organizations

[96] "La cuestión mapuche"

today continue these struggles, often with similarly contrasting ideas about the best way to address the issues confronted by contemporary Mapuche.

According to Bengoa, by the 1920s, Mapuche families, who had been part of the process of the reducción system, were already finding the land insufficient to support the needs of their children, and by the 1930s, with the growth of job prospects, especially in Santiago, there had been a major increase in migration to the cities (Bengoa 1985[2008]:384-385). In addition to reducing the territory of Mapuche communities, the reducción system also ignored and broke up ancestral lands and communities, as well as striping authority from lonko, who had been accustomed to being the ones to distribute land among their communities, by forcing everyone to live in equal conditions of poverty (Mallon 2009a:158; Mallon 2009b:71; Foerster and Montecino 1988:13). Manuel Manquilef, a Mapuche activist and politician of the early twentieth century, believes this was premeditated on the part of the Chilean government (Mallon 2009b:71) and during an address in December 1916 at the Congreso Católico Araucanista, he had the following to say about the change in their situation:

> Gentlemen: I come not to cry like a woman over what my grandparents were able to defend like men, but let me say to you that while the brave conquerors treated us honestly as enemies, we were able to defend our land; but when some evil governors of the Republic became our friends their friendship weakened our race by making us become alcoholics, and plunging us into misery by snatching our lands[97]. (*Diario Austral* December 23, 1916, as quoted by Foerster & Montecino 1988:22)

This period of time was also rife with discrimination, repression and violence perpetrated against Mapuche and their lands. All of these factors contributed to mobilization on the part of Mapuche and within the first few decades of the twentieth century three Mapuche organizations

[97] "Señores: no vengo a llorar como mujer lo que mis abuelos supieron defender como hombres; pero permitidme que os diga que mientras los valientes conquistadores nos trataron francamente como enemigos, pudimos defender nuestra tierra; pero cuando algunos malos gobernantes de la República se hicieron nuestros amigos, su Amistad debilitó el vigor de nuestra raza alcoholizándola, y nos sumió en la miseria arrebatándonos nuestras tierras."

become dominant in the public sphere. These were the Sociedad Caupólican Defensora de la Araucanía (founded 1910), the Sociedad Mapuche de Protección Mutua (formed in 1906, and in 1922 became known as Federación Araucana), and finally the Unión Araucana (conceived in 1926) (Foerster & Montecino 1988:16,36,53).

It is interesting to note that the composition of these organizations is mirrored in the urban Mapuche movements of today. According to Forester and Montecino, most of the activists involved in these first organizations did not emerge from the communities, but, rather, were educated Mapuche, who were "residents of the emerging towns of the Frontier" and who worked as teachers or in business (1988:14). One notable exception to this was Manuel Aburto Panguilef, who was from the country and maintained those contacts so that he was able to conserve a different perspective on the issue of Mapuche land, viewing it "not only as property or means of production, but also as a site for historical memory and cultural reproduction" (quote Mallon 2005:90; Foerster 1983:63). Many of the Mapuche activists today whose voices are reflected in this dissertation are similar in their position as educated, urban dwelling elites. Additionally, many of the same families involved in the initial movements of the turn of the century, through the agrarian reforms of the 1960s and 1970s, are the same ones who are involved in Mapuche movements today: the families Painemal, Curihuentro, Catrileo, and Chihuailaf, to name a few. To illustrate the connection, we can look to the Painemal family. Martin Painemal was a leftist labor leader, who had participated in some of the meetings of the earlier organizations (Foerster 1983). Melillan Painemal was active in the Communist Party and co-founder, along with Isolde Reuque and Mario Curihuentro, of "Centros Culturales Mapuches de Chile," the first "social and ethnic movement created by the Mapuche people during the

dictatorship," later known as "AdMapu" (Reuque 2002:146,160). And presently, Wladimir Painemal is co-founder of *Azkintuwe*.

The differences in the methods of these organizations from the early twentieth century is also something that can be compared with today's realities. According to Foerster and Montecino, the Federación Araucania asserted identity from the standpoint of culture and tradition. The Unión Araucana, associated with the Catholic Church, took an opposite approach that advocated the denial of ancestral culture and the pursuit of becoming more "white and modern." The Sociedad Caupolicán fell somewhere in the middle, recognizing the value of Mapuche culture, but also encouraging the incorporation of Western values. Nevertheless, for all of these organizations "the most important problems were the defense and expansion of indigenous territory, the non-payment of taxes, and later the credit assistance of the State for development of their economy.[98]" (Foerster & Montecino 1988:14)

Comparing the attitudes of two well-known activists of the early and mid-twentieth century, will provide an example of the ways in which approaches to these problems were handled. Manuel Manquilef was one of the original members of the Sociedad Caupolicán Defensora de la Araucanía and organization president in 1916 (Foester & Montecino 1988:16,22). Although, in 1925, he resigned his position to run for deputy on the Partido Liberal ticket, a candidacy the organization did not support (Foerster & Montecino 19888:23). Some of his work was devoted to denouncing the claim that Mapuche were less intelligent or advanced than those of European descent. In his address to the Congreso Católico Araucanista in 1916 he stated, "the inferiority of our race is only in the mind of the usurper, [that] we are a backwards

[98] "los problemas más importantes fueron la defensa y la ampliación del territorio indígena, el no pago de contribuciones y, posteriormente la ayuda crediticia del Estado para el desarrollo de su economía"

people; but we are not an inferior race, but rather a miserable one[99]" (*Diario Austral*, December 23, 1916, as quoted in Foerster & Montecino 1988:22). Both of his books *Comentarios del pueblo Araucano: La faz social* (1911) and *Comentarios del Pueblo Araucano II: La jimnasia nacional – Juegos, ejercicios y bailes* (1914) devote themselves to this cause.

Manquilef "strongly believed in the importance of individual Mapuche participation in Chilean society" (Mallon 2009b:7) and "repeatedly denounced the deceit, violence, preditoriness that accompanied the discourse of tutelage and protection with which the Chilean government approached the Mapuche[100]" (Mallon 2009a:159). Manquilef advocated for education for Mapuche and for the government to grant settlements for Mapuche who had not previously been included. He argued against the payment of taxes on these lands, reasoning that since they are not technically owners of the land they should not be required to pay, because until the land was divided, they did not know how much each person should pay (Foerster & Montecino 1988:21). In 1925, he was elected to office, becoming one of the first indigenous people to be a member of the Chilean Parliament[101]. While in office he wrote and introduced a bill intended to subdivide indigenous land, thereby privatizing it. The Indigenous Lands Division Law (Law No. 4,169) was approved by Congress in 1927 and was enacted the following year (Mallon2005:4). At the time support of this position was considered progressive (Mallon 2005:89), and Manquilef honestly thought this route was the best way to protect Mapuche land and society.

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[99] "la inferioridad de nuestra raza está sólo en la mente del usurpador, seremos un pueblo atrasado; pero no somos raza inferior, sino desgraciada"

[100] "denuncia repetidamente los procesos de engaño, violencia, rapiña que acompañaban el discurso de tutelaje y protección con el cual el gobierno chileno se acerca al mapuche"

[101] Fransisco Melivilu became the very first a year before, in 1924 (Foerster & Montecino 1988:38).

Manuel Aburto Panguilef held a different perspective. As opposed to integrating into Chilean society, Aburto Panguilef always had in mind the establishment of an "Indigenous Republic" (Foerster & Montecino 1988:15, 150). He held a more collective and autonomous concept of Mapuche culture and society (Mallon 2009b:7). According to Mallon, not only was he the only Mapuche leader to consistently oppose the idea of subdividing and privatizing Mapuche land, but he was imprisoned and internally exiled twice, and was the "focus of criticism from more integrationist Mapuche organizations" (2011:295). He had a very charismatic nature. He has been called a "mystic" and a very religious man (Bengoa 1985[2008]: 389). He had a particularly Mapuche way of approaching things, including incorporating traditional elements, such as song, dance and dreams into his meetings (Foerster and Montecino 1985:85). It has also been said that while the older Mapuche were taken with him, that he was not very popular among the younger generation (Foerster 1983:64). During the 1930s, Aburto Panguilef temporarily aligned with the Chilean working-class and leftist movements, as it seemed they had common cause in regard to land reconstitution. They worked to get Pedro Aguirre Cerda elected in 1938, the leftist candidate who had seemed to be an ally for land reform; however, after he was elected he made concessions and set aside the issue of land reform. It was at this point that he began focusing more on Mapuche cultural and traditional forms of expression. (Mallon 2011:295).

Manquilef and Aburto Panguilef agreed on two points. The first was that the there was premeditation behind the consequences to Mapuche culture and society as a result of the reducción process of the turn of the twentieth century. The other point of agreement was that there was an "urgency in reconstituting indigenous property" (Mallon 2009a:159). Often they were present at the same meetings to discuss issues and attempt to find solutions (Foerster &

Montecino 1988). What the examination of these two figures shows is that both were dedicated to preserving Mapuche land and culture; they simply had different ideas about the best ways in which to go about accomplishing their goals.

Turning now to the 1960s and 1970s, the land reform movement saw the making of alliances between poor country farmers, Mapuche and non-Mapuche alike. In her 2009 article about decolonizing the history of the Unidad Popular period of Chile's history, Mallon mentions two organizations in particular: the Movimiento Campesino Revolucionario (MCR) and the Movimiento de Izquierda Revolucionaria (MIR). These organizations, along with Mapuche farmers, worked towards land recuperation and redistribution. There were often meetings to discuss the ways in which the Mapuche and their compatriots could deal with this issue, which resulted in various strategies. One of which was running fences along the country estates that had years ago usurped land from Mapuche, essentially redrawing these boundaries (Mallon 2005:107-108; Mallon 2009b).

In her 2005 book on the community of Nicolás Ailío, Mallon recounts the story of another one of these strategies. One evening in December 1970, Don Heriberto Ailío, along with forty families and a couple supporters from MIR, arrived at the Landarretche estate and their leader, Ricardo Mora, informed the woman who answered the door that they were now occupying the farm. According to Don Heriberto's testimony, a few of their supporters had guns, but most of them arrived with sticks and they were fairly congenial about it all. Of course, the landowners remember the situation differently, in that they were surrounded by a hundred men with shotguns and machine guns, were forced from their house with little time to pack and had all their belongings searched. (Mallon 2005:92-96) This method of occupation was not

uncommon, and it is important to take away from this the fact that the impetus was largely Mapuche driven.

The late 1980s and early1990s saw the establishment of one of the first Mapuche organizations to define land in terms of national territory: *Aukiñ Wallmapu Ngulam*, otherwise known as the Consejo de Todas las Tierras. The approach of this organization was different from previous ones in a few important ways. First of all, "it was no longer a demand for political participation, and access to land or resources but that of a project of fundamental reorganization of the State so they may coexist under its wing, and on equal terms, as distinct peoples and nationalities[102]" (Mallon 2009b:11). There was also a shift in viewing what kind of consciousness was more advanced – that of class as with the movements of the 1960s and 1970s, or of that of the Mapuche as a people, as with the Consejo (Mallon 2009b:13).

In other words, the Consejo offered an alternative proposal of society consisting of political autonomy and "co-governance" (Saavedra 2002:129; Tricot S. 2011:141). In an early edition of their newspaper, *Aukiñ Voz Mapuche*[103], they emphasized the need "to build a Mapuche movement with real autonomy from the State or any other body which has unleashed its colonialist policy toward our people[104]" (*Aukiñ Voz Mapuche* March 1991:5, as quoted in Martínez Neira 2009:612). They established this model by stressing three elements: the re-

[102] "Ya no se trataba de una demanda de participación política, ni de acceso a la tierra o a los recursos, sino que de un proyecto de reorganización fundamental del Estado para que pudieran coexistir bajo su alero, y en igualdad de condiciones, distintos pueblos, y nacionalidades."

[103] This translates to the *Aukiñ Mapuche Voice,* or possibly the *Resounding [or Echoing] Mapuche Voice*. "Aukiñ" is Mapuzugun for "to echo, to resound" (de Augusta 1916[2007]:12; Zucarelli, Malvestitti, Izaguerre & Nahuel 1999[2008]:44). The first issue of this paper was published in October 1990 and there were at least 26 issues printed (Aukiñ Wallmapu Ngulam 1995, November).

[104] "construir un movimiento mapuche con real autonomía de parte del Estado o cualquier otro organismo que ha desencadenado su política colonialista hacia nuestro pueblo"

establishment of traditional authority (as in the lonko, the machi, the weupin and the werken), the construction of a Mapuche nation based on the right of self-determination, and the recovery of territory (Martínez Neira 2009:615-616). Framing culture in terms of national identity, as opposed to a "folkloric activity" was a different approach than what movements of the past had attempted (Pairican 2012:28-29)[105]. Establishing the international right of a nation inhabiting a territory also allowed the Consejo to frame relations between the Mapuche and the Chilean State based on interactions between two political collectives, instead of between a state and an ethnic minority (Martínez Neira 2009:610-611).

Nevertheless, according to Mallon, the methods of the Consejo were similar to those of the 1960s and 1970s. In March 1992, during that period of transition from the Pinochet dictatorship to democracy, the Consejo held a trial regarding the lands that had been usurped from Mapuche communities throughout the twentieth century. They ruled in favor of the communities and set about to recuperate lands in nine areas in the central-southern portion of the country. Their tactics were technically illegal and many of these activists ended up in jail. In some ways, this method of occupation was similar to before, although the newly established Concertación administration was swift to deal with these illegal actions. (Mallon 2009b:12).

Today, the Consejo, along with another radical organization, known as the Coordinadora Arauco-Malleco, still persist in many of these activities. Many Mapuche feel their tactics are uncalled for and actually detract from moving the Mapuche forward as a people. Focus on the Consejo has also been stifled by other Mapuche organizations in recent years in part due to "their tendency 'to go it alone and not work with other groups" (Ray 2007:136). The belief that the

[105] A project of automy was not quite unique to the Consejo, as it had been present in the discourse of activists through the twentieth century; however, the Consejo explicitly framed this idea as a national political project based in the rural communities (Martína Neira 2009:613)

rural communities should be the "protagonists in the destiny of the whole of the Mapuche people," as well as the idea that Mapuche organizations should not be formed from the cities looking towards the country communities, may have contributed to this tendency for the Consejo to work alone (Martínez Neira 2009:613). Additionally, Pedro Cayuqueo notes that the Consejo represents another generation. He claims they are very fundamentalist and has called them the "Taliban of the Mapuche world" (Ray 2007:263). According to Cayuqueo, these organizations are anti-rock (an important element of the Mapurbe movement) and anti-Internet. He claims there is a "generational change taking place," that his generation bases their vision more on libertarian ideas, and that within this new generation there is room for everyone, saying that "it is not possible for the whole of a people to think the same way, as that would be fascism" (Ray 2007:263). Nevertheless, it is important to be aware of the Consejo's contribution to modern Mapuche movements. It is largely due to the Consejo's project that there was a break with the politics of the past, as henceforth, Mapuche movements organized themselves around land claims and notions of autonomy from a particularly Mapuche perspective (Mallon 2009b:11, 13).

The examination of these various periods of Mapuche presence in the public sphere serves two purposes. The first is to show that there was tremendous variation in the ways Mapuche organizations go about seeking fulfillment for their endeavors. The second is to reiterate the fact that this variation in perspective still exists today. Some of the loudest voices in the self-determination movements are those of educated, urban elites, which certainly raises some questions about representation: who exactly is being represented and who has the authority to represent. However, whether the perspective is more inclusive and progressive, such as that of Pedro Cayuqueo, or more traditional and exclusive, such as the Coordinadora and the Consejo, it

is apparent that, despite the interests given to particular communities, these organizations at the base share a common investment in the future of Mapuche culture and territory recuperation.

Turning now to a particular voice from these modern movements, I will now explore his perspective on participation in the public sphere. José Marimán, Mapuche political scientist, calls attention to the Chilean State's attempts to address this 'indigenous problem' in his 1992 article "Cuestión Mapuche." This article was written around the same time that the 1992 Indigenous Law was being developed; a piece of legislation meant to be a step towards restoring democracy after the Pinochet dictatorship. Marimán criticizes this law for being just another way of colonizing the Mapuche people. "For the State, the solution to the 'indigenous problem' – that is to say, to the problem that represents for the Chilean Nation-State a colonized, ethnically differentiated population – will be, obviously, 'national integration'; in other words, assimilation"[106] (1992). In response to a 'problem' created through state policy, the proposed solution derives solely from the State with very little, if any, participation by Mapuche. The 'solution' is addressed *by* the State and *through* the State. It creates a framework that Mapuche have to negotiate, which has been defined by the State and not Mapuche worldview. Despite the progressiveness for its time, the Indigenous Law nevertheless presents a situation in which Mapuche have to submit themselves to the State, which continues to dominate them by defining for them how they are allowed to exercise their 'rights.' (Marimán 1992)

Mapuche Views of Autonomy

The way Mapuche conceive of solutions to this 'problem' are varied. There is a Mapuche political party, Wallmapuwen, which seeks to effect change through the current

[106] "Para el Estado, la solución del 'problema indígena' – es decir, del problema que representa para el Estado-nación chileno una población colonizada, étnicamente diferenciada – será, obviamente, la 'integración nacional'; en otras palabras, la asimilación."

political system[107]. Many communities seek to regain land rights over traditional territory. There are organizations such as the Coordinadora Arauco-Malleco and the Consejo de Todas las Tierras which have adopted very aggressive and confrontational tactics. Enormous efforts have been poured into establishing intercultural schools and hospitals that aspire to foster understanding and reciprocity between Mapuche and Chileans. Others would like to simultaneously be left alone, to pursue their lives without interference from the State's neo-liberal agendas, and at the same time, be treated with dignity, not as second-class citizens whose health and well-being are less important than the economic 'prosperity' of the country[108]. However, all of these perspectives recognize the importance of autonomy as an essential element in the 'solution' to the 'indigenous problem.'

Self-determination[109] and autonomy are often used interchangeably, but within the Mapuche movement, the emphasis is usually on collective rights. Individual rights are

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[107] Some Mapuche would construe this as another method of colonization. In the past, Mapuche have tried to work from within the contemporary political system with very little success (Mallon 2009, 2011). José Marimán claims that participation in the State political system is a form of cultural integration. He states that "Mapuche political and ideological dependence expresses itself on the level of individual political compromise…[which] transforms them [Mapuche political party members] into agents of the national-state parties in the practice of controlling the Mapuche movement / la dependencia política e ideología Mapuche se expresa también a nivel del compromiso político individual…se transforman en agentes de los partidos estado-nacionales en el manejo del movimiento Mapuche" (1992). Essentially, working from 'within' by creating an official political party is simply another way of being colonized because those party members are submitting themselves to a specifically Chilean political ideology, which results in the Mapuche party becoming a tool the State uses to "control" the Mapuche movement.

[108] Danko Marimán, Mapuche filmmaker, created the 2010 documentary entitled *En el nombre del progreso*, in which the plight of several Mapuche communities are presented. In each case, a development project has been executed via state concessions, which have lead to degradation and even death within associated Mapuche communities. For example, in 1991, a landfill for Temuco was placed next to the community of Boyeko and since that time, Mapuche living in the community have complained of illness and suspect landfill-related deaths. In 2005, the Spanish company CINTRA finished making the Ruta Longitudinal Sur toll-way. Completion of that project succeeded in dividing the Mapuche communities of Likanko and Rofuwe. Since then members of these communities, which historically have had regular contact and interaction with each other, have had to cross this busy and dangerous roadway in order to maintain those relationships. The middle dividers make it difficult for older people, which mean they must crawl underneath them to cross the highway, and since completion of the highway project there have been several Mapuche killed at that crossing.

[109] This concept is expressed in Spanish in various ways, including 'auto-determinación,' literally 'self-determination' and 'libre-determinación,' literally 'free-determination.'

understood to be those that are granted to any Chilean citizen[110], whereas collective rights belong to the Mapuche as a people. These collective rights can be expressed in a variety of ways, including the right to their own language – Mapuzugun –, the right to their unique education system, the right to their own religiosity, the right to their own system of justice and self-governance, the right to cultural integrity, free from discrimination and, finally, the right to lands, territory and natural resources (Sergio Carihuentro, personal communication, April 7, 2010; Seguel 2010).

From a Mapuche perspective, political autonomy is one of the most popular solutions to the "indigenous problem." José Marimán (1992) suggests constitutionally recognizing the "pluriethnic"[111] character of the country and guaranteeing the right of autonomy to the Mapuche people, by creating a statute that gives regional, territorial, and political authority to the Mapuche inhabiting the Region of Araucanía. He says this statute should guarantee "in a territorial space, all the political, economic-material, social, cultural and ideological conditions for the full development of the ethnicity and culture"[112]. He stresses two important aspects of this type of authority. The first is that while it would necessitate decentralization of the State[113], it would not be separate from the Chilean State. Additionally, it would benefit all the inhabitants of the

[110] Many Mapuche do not view themselves as Chilean. This is not a denial of the individual legal rights afforded to them, but a statement on their primary identity and how they view themselves fitting into mainstream society. Mallon (2011) alludes to this when she mentions the possibilities of "full citizenship" in contrast to the exclusionary political practices that are in place today (282, 298). See Chapter 6 for more information.

[111]"Pluriethnic" is a common term in Latin American Indigenous politics. It refers to a composition of more than one ethnicity, but unlike the term multiethnic, which implies an appreciation of multiple ethnicities, pluriethnic implies the process of actively exercising those identities. The assumption with this use of the term 'ethnic' is that the ethnic identity has been accepted and internalized by those to whom it refers.

[112] "En un espacio territorial, todas las condiciones políticas, económico-materiales, sociales, culturales e ideológicas para el pleno desarrollo de la etnia y su cultura."

[113] The Chilean State is highly centralized on a federal level. While there are designated regions within the boundaries of Chile, political (and economic) activity is largely filtered through the capital of Santiago.

region, because it would function at a local level, where the interests of the local population could be addressed. The second aspect he stresses is that it would not *simply* be a regional government, but would retain a clearly defined Mapuche character. By this, he means things such as incorporating a bilingual, intercultural education system across the region, officially recognizing Mapuzugun as a regional language, and particularly having control over the way the natural resources of the region are utilized.

It is important to understand the concept of autonomy from a Mapuche perspective. Regional Mapuche authority would be far from exclusionary. In fact, a story recounted by Elicura Chihuailaf, Mapuche poet, does well to illustrate this point. "Our people say, for us the color blue is the main color. Therefore, we like blue flowers, but what would a garden be with only blue flowers, when the world is like a garden? The most beautiful garden is the one that has diversity of color"[114] (personal communication, March 31, 2010). Diversity is common in Mapuche culture and extends to political opinions on the importance of autonomy as well. For example, the aspiration of regional authority is viewed by some as radical and there are those that believe the Mapuche people are not ready for it (J. C., personal communication, May 20, 2010).

The authors of *¡Escucha, winka!* elaborate on the idea that regional authority would not be exclusive. In their conclusion, they break down the concept of 'self-determination' into a series of rights: self-affirmation, self-definition, self-delimitation, internal self-disposition, and external self-disposition. Self-affirmation involves a consciousness as a people; however, the 'winka' that live in those regions should also be included in this consciousness. Therefore, the

[114] "Nuestra gente dice, para nosotros el color azul es el color principal. Y por lo tanto, si queramos que las flores fueran azules, pero ¿qué sería de un jardín solo con flores azules cuando el mundo es como un jardín? Y que, un jardín es maravilloso lo hace la diversidad de colores."

territory should be recognized as multi-ethnic. The Chilean constitution allows for recognition of multiple ethnic groups; however, in Argentina, where the indigenous peoples are recognized in the constitution, they still deny the fact that Argentina is multinational country. Self-definition embraces the concept of the political participation of all sectors of the population, including the winka. Self-delimitation means identifying the territory and re-establishing the borders according to those recognized in parliaments with the Spanish and in negotiation with the Chilean and Argentine States. Internal self-disposition relates to decisions regarding the kind of power structure that should be established. There is an understanding that non-Mapuche also live within the territory and there should be a kind of 'co-governance' in which both Mapuche and non-Mapuche help to establish these structures of political power. Finally, external self-disposition involves building relationships outside the territory, especially with the international community. And so, this conception of regional autonomy takes into consideration what the states of Chile and Argentina do not: that this territory is multi-national and a regional autonomous government needs to recognize and accommodate that. (Marimán, Caniuqueo, Millalén and Levil 2006:254-255)

The authors also point out that there is a difference between an "autonomous movement" and an "ethnonational movement" (Marimán, Caniuqueo, Millalén and Levil 2006:258). The first is more of a political movement and the second is more of an ideological movement. At the moment, they feel that most movements are of the second type. They also point out that an ethnonational focus necessarily is exclusory in nature, because it limits participation based on ethnicity (258). They also talk about a "national liberation movement," which they see as claiming nationhood in a state of colonization (259). "Therefore, as Mapuche we have the right and the obligation to talk about national liberation, which implies demanding the rights of self-

determination that at some point had been suspended[115]" (259). Despite the need, they see an absence of a clear politics of unification (260).

However, currently, there has been a process of reconstruction of "territorial identity," which is driven by the young people and older adults (Marimán, Caniuqueo, Millalén and Levil 2006:268). This refers to a process of "repositioning traditional mapuche leadership, generating a process of cultural reconstruction, returning the ceremonies to their more original sense, as a public space in which Mapuche express their religiosity and returning to their social learnings as a People[116]" (268). This also serves as a method of recruitment, a kind of repatriation and an effective 'formula' that can handle managing autonomy under different conditions, because it supports the capacity for collective decision making (268, 270). This process can also be inclusive of non-Mapuche because it focuses on the communities. They conclude that this is part of a national Mapuche unification, because that only occurs in a particular "historical moment and in a given space," which at this moment is that very reconstruction of territorial identity (271).

Regardless of the specific ways in which Mapuche think about autonomy, many of the demands stipulated by Mapuche communities have historically and are currently related to regaining traditional land lost during the implementation of the reducción system. In the case of Comunidad Contreras of Traiguén, the community is in the difficult process of recovering the lands to the north and east[117], which is part of a larger area of land that helped to make up their

[115] "por lo cual nosotros los Mapuche tenemos el derecho y la obligación de hablar de liberación nacional, lo que implica exigir los derechos de autodeterminación que en algún momento se nos suspendieron."

[116] "reposicionar los liderazgos tradicionales mpauche, generando un proceso de reconstrucción cultural, retomando sus ceremonias con un sentido más original, como un espacio público en la cual los mapuche expresan su religiosidad y retoman sus aprendizajes socials como Pueblo"

[117] El Huadaco and El Panal respectively.

traditional lof. As a result of extensive historical and archeological research, as well as immense effort on the part of the community, the land was proven and acknowledged to traditionally belong to their community. At that point, CONADI, the organization intended to protect indigenous rights, established by the 1993 Indigenous Law, had bought the land from the owners. However, instead of transferring the title to Comunidad Contreras, the eastern estate of El Panal was transferred to the distant Comunidad Paillacoy. The implications of this are numerous, but the essence is that despite all the effort on the part of Comunidad Contreras, they are still not in possession of the land[118].

Other cases of land rights are usually not quite that complicated, but still present challenges. The Comunidad Cacique Wete Rukan has been waiting ten years for the land deed to their cemetery. Ten years ago, the land was officially recognized as belonging to their community and they were told that the title would be transferred over in about three months[119]. Ten years later, they are still waiting. The president of the community, Magno Millapán, says that they have done everything short of violence to resolve the situation and their only option now is to wait (personal communication, March 24, 2010).

However the claim of autonomy is expressed, the basis for these rights are usually established on the idea that the Mapuche as a people, before they were subordinated by the Chilean State, were a nation with all the rights of self-determination and autonomous governance to which any other nation is entitled. Essentially, the Mapuche people have never renounced those rights and therefore they still maintain them, even if they are being restricted by the Chilean State. Put succinctly, Marcos Váldes, Mapuche sociologist, says "we have not

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[118] At the time of this writing, this was still the case (Curinao 2012)

[119] In this case, the land is publically owned.

renounced our ancestral rights and we will never do so, the rights are inalienable, nontransferable and perpetual"[120] (2000).

The Mapuche people have never *maintained* a centralized government nor a centralized understanding of themselves as a nation; indeed, the concept of Mapuche *nationalism*[121] is relatively new. However, over the past twenty years, through activism and revitalization the idea of loyalty to a distinctly Mapuche *nation* has gained a stronger hold among Mapuche and has become the basis upon which Mapuche activists, academics, journalists and advocates establish an argument for their rights. The Chilean State and apologists for Chilean nationalism challenge this affirmation in a variety of ways. When Mapuche frame their national rights in terms of ethnonational connections to the indigenous people that first encountered the Spanish, it allows two arguments to undermine their claims: the concept of mestizaje, or miscegenation, and the idea of ethnogenesis, or the creation of a brand new ethnicity. One of the challenges is that if those who claim to be Mapuche today are 'mestizos', or of mixed descent, something which can be claimed by many Chileans, then all citizens are equal and there can be no more indigenous people. If those who claim to be 'Mapuche' can only trace their ethnicity back to a time *after* contact with Europeans, then the people claiming indigeneity are not the same as those who composed the nation before the Spanish invasion. In either case, the claim to self-determination is challenged, which allows for the continued appropriation of Mapuche land and violation of their rights. In this next section, I will explore these two concepts, beginning with the idea that today Chile is composed entirely of mestizos.

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[120] "No hemos renunciado a nuestros derechos ancestrales y nunca lo haremos, los derechos son inalienable, intransferibles y perpetuos."

[121] See Chapter 8 for more information.

Mestizaje

The cultivation of the story of *mestizaje*[122] works to de-legitimize claims of Mapuche self-determination because it collapses non-indigenous Chilean identity with the political indigenous identity upon which the claim is made. If everyone is mestizo, there can be no indigenous people to claim territorial rights. This story has a strong hold in the Chilean national imagination, in part due to the dedication of a prominent and charismatic Chilean historian, named Sergio Villalobos. He has written many books and articles during his long tenure as historian, and occasionally writes for *El Mercurio*, a national, conservative newspaper with wide readership. Villalobos, combined with a concerted emphasis on Chilean national identity due to the country's bicentennial in 2010, have contributed to upholding this narrative of mestizaje. While many of his arguments are viewed by other academics as uncritical and, quite frankly, absurd, in a way Villalobos' voice mirrors the popular sentiment of many Chileans regarding the position they believe Mapuche should hold within society. Therefore, it is necessary to examine the ways in which Villalobos argues against a Mapuche national identity, particularly through his construction of commonplace mestizaje. That said, it is important to keep in mind that many of his arguments have successfully been abrogated within academic circles.

The philosophy that Villalobos has adopted regarding the study of history is what allows him to come to many of his conclusions. His approach involves looking beyond the "eminently analytical character" of frontier[123] historical literature to "interpret the essence" of that frontier

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[122] *Mestizaje* is literally translated as 'miscegenation,' but colloquially means something like 'mestizo-ness.' Florencia Mallon, in her 2011 article in *The Oxford Handbook of Latin American History*, describes it more specifically as the "racial mixture between people of indigenous and of European descent, [which] emerged as a discourse of equality" (298).

[123] The Chilean frontier is understood to be the border between Chilean and Mapuche settlements in which contact most often occurred. This land corresponds roughly to the land between the Bío Bío River that empties into the sea

experience during the period of Chile's history right after Independence in 1810, through the Republican nation-building era, to the end of the nineteenth century and beyond (Villalobos 1995:10). He seeks to understand the "spirit of the nation"[124] and to "avoid the studious approach of the past which loses itself in the tangle of events without discovering the line of fundamental processes"[125] (1995:207). He feels that to focus exclusively on the military nature of the economic, social, cultural and political processes of the history of the frontier is "an aberrant limitation that falsifies reality and makes it incomprehensible" because "bellicosity and heroism by themselves explain nothing"[126] (1995:207). It is to be unable to see that "fundamental process" of "the contact of peoples and cultures, that in actions and reactions gives rise to a new reality"[127] (1995:12). That "new reality" completely upsets the common understanding of Chilean history and transforms it into a romantic story of mutual and peaceful cultural exchange, much like the original story of the United States' Thanksgiving holiday.

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at Concepción and the Toltén River that rises at Lake Villarrica and empties to the sea by the town of the same name.

[124] In October 2010, the Universidad de Bernardo O'Higgins (UBO) in Santiago, Chile held a series of lectures marking the Bicentennial of the country, which included a lecture by Sergio Villalobos. The purpose of the seminar was "a reflection and historiographic analysis of Chile/una reflexión y análisis historiográfico a Chile." In Villolobos' lecture he emphasized that Chile "has a spiritual life/ tiene una vida spiritual." In discussing the talk with an UBO reporter, Villalobos had the following to say: "The thinking, the ideas of the people, the feeling – that which is so difficult to detail and specify, right? But one can imagine there is a spirit to the nation. And to that, the first generations contributed / El pensamiento, las ideas de la gente, el sentimiento – esto que es tan difícil de detallar y especificar, ¿no? Pero uno piensa hay un espíritu de la nación. Y a eso contribuyeron las primeras generaciones a formares." (UBOTV 2010, retrieved from http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=lu8Ty6h2W68, February 5, 2012)

[125] "Evitar que el estudioso del pasado se pierda en la maraña de los sucesos sin descubrir la línea de los procesos fundamentales."

[126] "Una limitación aberrante que falsifica la realidad y la hace incomprensible" because "la belicosidad y el heroísmo no se explican por sí mismos."

[127] "El roce de pueblos y culturas, que en acciones y reacciones van dando origen a una nueva realidad."

With this perspective, Villalobos rewrites Chile's history, by suggesting that the "araucanos[128]" were not forcibly subjugated, but rather through "spontaneous" (1995:210) assimilation over time lessened their resistance and eventually accepted the Spanish/Chilean[129] "intrusion" (1995:210). This is how he explains that the original indigenous peoples were "protagonists of their own domination" (2000). They submitted themselves to the domination of the Spanish and Chileans, became part of the mechanism of their own assimilation and the result was miscegenation, or mestizaje. "From that point and until today, those called araucanos – euphemistically mapuches – are nothing more than mestizos, even though old traces are noticeable"[130] (2000). Some components of his argument include the appeal to 19th century evolution, the assumption of the "universal fact" of absorption into a dominant culture, the inevitability of "sexual contact" leading to the extinction of the "pure" Mapuche and the lack of a "united military front" (2000). According to Villalobos, today there are no indigenous peoples in Chile, just "descendants of araucanos" (2000).

Mapuche respond to his claims in a variety of ways. First of all, it is necessary to mention that the Spanish were not the first invaders that confronted the Mapuche people. They had already experienced the imperial forces of the Inca from the north, who were the first

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[128] "Araucano" is an older term for the "Mapuche." See Appendix C for further discussion of this term.

[129] With some frequency Villalobos does not distinguish between the time period of Spanish invasion or settlement, Chilean Independence (early 19th century), the Republican era of nation-building, and the time of Chilean-Mapuche struggle known as "the Pacification of Araucanía." I believe he does this for a two-fold reason: 1) to present a whole or continuous image in an attempt to identify the essence of Chile's history and 2) to confuse the historical differences of the periods in order to demonstrate that the Mapuche process of assimilation began almost immediately upon initial contact with Europeans. This changes the time period of assimilation from the 100 years since forced settlement, which involved elements of what can be construed as *compelled* assimilation (such as language, economic deprivation, privatization of land, etc.) to the 450 years since first contact with the Other. An uncritical eye could view the long length of this time frame as strengthening Villalobos' claim that Mapuche are not indigenous, but mestizo.

[130] "Desde entonces y hasta el día de hoy, los llamados araucanos – eufemísticamente mapuches – no son más que mestizos, aunque sean notorios los antiguos rasgos."

invaders to challenge the Mapuche in an organized fashion. According to Bengoa, these interactions resulted in the concept of "mapu," or "land," becoming more associated with collectivity. They also came to understand frontier limits in a way that differed from those that separated families. Despite not having a centralized state to help combat the Inca invasion, Mapuche conceptions of military and social organization aided in deflected these advances. (Bengoa 2003[2008]:40)

José Mariman points out that social scientists today are not interested in ranking civilizations, for this reflects shallow examination that does not account for geography, climate, diversity of population, or any other of the enormously complex interactions that help define a culture (2000). Mariman also points out that "the tendency to want to know or possess something new or unknown is quite human and widespread in all cultures and at all times"[131] (2000). He further points out that there is a distinction between the *free* adoption of material culture and their introduction by *force*. In the first case, the adoption involves "mapuchization," or the modification based upon Mapuche needs, in order to better serve their society. This process transformed those objects from elements of Spanish culture to elements of Mapuche culture. Chihuailaf (personal communication, March 31, 2010) has also pointed out that, even today, many of the material objects utilized by people have come from a foreign culture. The Internet and computers, for example, are used by Chileans, but did not originate in Chile. Does this mean that Chileans are becoming more like the Japanese? Of course not; each culture takes those elements and uses them in ways that make sense according to their own culture. In the second instance, when objects are introduced by force, it is clearly a colonial situation and there

[131] "La tentación de querer conocer o poseer algo nuevo o desconocido es bastante humana y generalizada en todas las culturas y en todos los tiempos."

is often an ideology of contempt attached to those objects. This situation includes the colonization that occurred before Chilean Independence, as well as the "internal" colonialism[132] that persists today.

Villalobos' suggestion that "sexual contact" with the Spanish led to "mestizaje," which in turn means there are no "pure" Mapuche left in Chile today, equates biological mixing with cultural assimilation. While it is true that through interaction two different cultures are bound to be influenced by one another, the implications of this "sexual contact" were much more complex than Villalobos' assertion implies. Setting aside instances of sexual violation that can be common during war, the "sexual contact" to which Villalobos refers was much more than simple propagation.

According to Bengoa, before the arrival of the Spanish, Mapuche marriages followed very few rules. A Mapuche male only had to look outside his own family for a wife, who then came to live with him (1985[2008];29,71). Patrilocal residence patterns are still in practice today (Rosa Huenchulaf, personal communication, January 21, 2010). This liberal set of criteria, along with the prevalence of polygamy[133], created the potential for rich lonko to be related to twenty or more families across a large region (Bengoa 1985[2008]:71). As the war with the Spanish dragged on and *malones*, or raids, became increasingly more important for the Mapuche, Bengoa notes certain aspects of the marriage relationship took on different meaning. First of all, by the end of the eighteenth century, women had become the "principal symbol of wealth" and as

[132] Florencia Mallon defines internal colonialism as "the inequalities and hierarchies that have their origin in colonial processes – as for example those of race, region and national oppression – that persist into society after decolonization / las desigualdades y jerarquías que tienen su origen en procesos coloniales – como por ejemplo las de raza, región u opresión nacional – que perduran al interior de una sociedad después de su descolonización" (2009:156)

[133] Bengoa states that this practice of polygamy has been defended, for it secured two important things for Mapuche society: high levels of reproduction and more possibilities for military alliances (Bengoa 1985[2008]:129).

power was consolidated in succeeding years, marriage became increasingly used to build alliances (1985[2008]:61).

Bengoa also notes that the practice of stealing women was only a part of malones perpetrated against the Spanish and later the Chileans. He identifies the logic of this phenomenon in that, among Mapuche, there was already an established system of exchange through marriage alliances. The installation of a parallel method of exchange would have caused a breakdown in the kinship system (1985[2008]:133). The winka women who were taken as captives to be wed to lonkos were integrated into Mapuche society. For example, both Manuel Manquilef's mother, Trinidad González, and paternal grandmother, María La Vaca Riveros, were captives (Manquilef 1911:5; Guevara & Mañkelef 1912[2002]:134). What is interesting about this network of relations is that he was raised by his grandmother, whom he affectionately called "*ayin kuku*," or "beloved grandmother" (1911:5). It was through her that he learned Mapuzugun and participated in Mapuche culture. This raises interesting questions about the nature of identity, but far from shows that "sexual contact" equated simply to cultural homogenization.

Villalobos has also suggested that the fighting between Spanish and Mapuche, as well as between Chileans and Mapuche, was not as intense or extensive as people have come to believe. His evidence for this is the lack of a "united front" when confronting these opposing forces. He suggests that many "araucanos" were actually working *for* the Spanish and later the Chileans. According to Mallon, there are two obvious moments when Mapuche cooperated with the newly formed States of Chile and Argentina. In Chile, there were two civil wars during the middle of the 19th century. "Bernardino Pradel, a liberal merchant with quite a bit of influence among Mapuche caciques, had convinced an alliance of Mapuche lineages to participate in the two

conflicts with the goal of stopping the infiltration of Chilean colonists into indigenous territory" (2011:289). In 1825, in Argentina, the governor of the province of Buenos Aires, Juan Manuel de Rosas, developed a series of territorial and military alliances with the leaders of the area. What Villalobos fails to note is the reasoning behind such cooperation. Bengoa notes that quite often the war with the Spanish and later the Chileans played a less significant role in Mapuche politics than their internal conflicts. As noted above, it is true that Mapuche often worked with the invading and colonizing forces; in fact, it is entirely likely that the Chilean army never faced all Mapuche factions and warriors at the same time (Bengoa 1985[2008]:134. However, these temporary alliances with outsiders had a lot less to do with supporting this colonial agenda than it did with ensuring success in internal struggles of one Mapuche leader over another (Bengoa 1985[2008]:133). Additionally, in response to the claim of a lack of "united front" Valdes has also stated that "we have always been criticized for poor judgment on the basis of lack of representatives with whom to negotiate, the lack of 'one voice,' but Mapuche, never accepted (nor will ever accept) this hegemonic principle"[134] (2000).

One of the most compelling arguments against the idea of mestizaje is that of the consequences of the reducción system itself. While at certain points in the history of interactions between Mapuche and those of European descent there may have been biological mixing, the reducción system created a situation of such isolation that it actually served to help maintain a specifically Mapuche identity. "In order to free up land for settlement they had to proceed, after the 'pacification,' with the concentration of a good part of the Mapuche population on reducciones, where the level of geographic isolation was on par with the level of economic and

[134] "Siempre se nos ha criticado por la falta de criterio único, por la falta de representantes con quien negociar, por la falta de 'una sola voz,' pero los mapuche, nunca aceptaron (ni aceptarán) el principio hegemonizador."

social isolation"[135] (Marimán 2000). The tracts of land granted through the reducción system were so geographically isolated that speaking Spanish was not absolutely necessary, which helped to preserve the usage of Mapuzugun. Mapuche were placed in a situation, geographic, economic and social, where even if integration and assimilation had been desirable, it would not have been possible. Marimán says that only now, since parents are not speaking Mapuzugun with their children and since there has been such population attrition due to emigration because of lack of land and resources, are Mapuche on the verge of losing their identity.

José Marimán sums up what he believes to be the ultimate intention of Villalobos' body of work regarding Mapuche, which, unfortunately, also represents a strong sentiment for many other Chileans as well:

> In reality, what he seeks is to convince an uncritical Chilean audience, that their ancestors are not guilty of the current Mapuche problems, but rather by Mapuche ancestors. In other words, the fault over the situation of dominance in which the descendants of araucanos live, lies in they themselves, because their ancestors decided so, and there is nothing else to do but turn the page and sleep peacefully and without the burden of conscience.[136]

Ethnogenesis

The other strategy often used to oppose Mapuche claims to self-determination has to do with ethnicity, specifically, ethnogenesis[137], which is derived from a Western perspective of history. Ethnogenesis can have a variety of implications: the construction of a new *ethnicity*, the

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[135] "A fin de liberar tierras para la colonización debió proceder, luego de la 'pacificación,' a la concentración de una buena parte de la población Mapuche en las reducciones, donde el grado de asilamiento geográfico iba a la par con el grado de aislamiento económico y social."

[136] "En realidad lo que él busca es convencer a una audiencia chilena acrítica, de que sus antepasados no son culpable de los problemas mapuche actuales, sino los propios antepasados de los mapuche. En otras palabras, la culpa sobre la situación de dominación en que viven los descendientes de araucanos recae en ellos mismos, por cuanto sus antepasados lo decidieron así, y ya no hay nada más que hacer salvo dar vuelta la página y dormir tranquilos y sin cargas de conciencia."

[137] Ethnogenesis, meaning the creation of a new ethnicity; sometimes taken to mean the birth of a people.

realization of a new *people,* or the *transition* of a people based on interactions with the 'other.' Depending on the point of view, ethnogenesis can be construed as a cultural fact, or as evidence that the Mapuche are not related to the indigenous people who originally inhabited the land that the Spanish colonized. Sometimes the way Mapuche frame their national rights creates a situation in which supporters of those rights much argue *against* ethnogenesis. In other words, if a qualification of claiming an ethnonational connection to those original inhabitants means there can be no change over time, it allows the possibility to argue that contemporary claims are invalid. Culture is not static; it adapts and changes based on interactions with environment and other cultures. Therefore, claiming that Mapuche culture has not changed at all in the past few hundred years is not theoretically sound. This raises questions for contemporary Mapuche of what it means to be 'related to' or 'connected' to their ancestors. In this next section, I will examine this concept of ethnogenesis and explore some of the ways in which scholars discuss Mapuche ethnogenesis.

For some scholars, the story of the Mapuche 'transformation' begins by identifying their ancestors as disparate groups of hunter-gathers that populated the southern cone of South America before the Europeans arrived. It can allude to 19th century evolution as well, by implying that these hunter-gatherers were 'primitive': small, distinct groups of people, wandering around without much recognizably cohesive or advanced society. This story assumes that these people were not a nation, just separate ethnic groups that only developed a unifying identity as a result of their resistance to and interaction with invading colonial forces. In other words, they developed a *different* identity in response to defining themselves in opposition to the colonial 'other.' They entered into a belligerent and complex relationship with Spanish invaders. As a result of this interaction, cattle, horses and sheep were introduced and Mapuche

animal husbandry began. Some also claim that agriculture developed because of this cultural contact and through these new elements, the native peoples who had been hunter-gathering distinct groups became a sedentary nation. While elements of this story may be true, it does not mean that *everything* about who they are was changed as a result of European-Mapuche interaction. Cultural adaptation is to be expected and the construction of a Mapuche identity does not necessary preclude continuity of certain core elements of Mapuche worldview.

French anthropologist, Guillaume Boccara, has published ideas on Mapuche ethnogenesis (1999) that, while somewhat controversial, are necessary to consider. The main thrust of his argument is that the indigenous socio-political structure that existed in Araucanía during the early colonial period went through significant transformations in response to interactions with Spanish colonizers. As a result of these transformations, indigenous identity shifted from a collection of disparate groups to a unified socio-political entity. He identifies these moments of transformation in three areas: the centralization of authority, war as a vehicle of assimilation and a shift in Mapuche economy.

According to Boccara, the transformation from localized to centralized authority is one example of how Mapuche identity formed. According to Spanish chroniclers, the indigenous population during the colonial period seemed to be scattered around in diffuse groups, without any recognizable authority. Boccara states that "the principal characteristic of the spatial distribution of these groups was dispersion; their socio-political organization was acephalous[138],

[138] An interesting note is the linguistic connection between acephalous and lonko. Acephalous literally means 'without a head' or 'headless.' The Mapuche word meaning 'chief' or 'leader,' that is *lonko*, literally translates as 'head.' *Lonko* is also the word used to refer to the actual body part, head.

that is, characterized by the absence of obedience to a political figure, that of chief"[139] (1999:427). Territory was organized in much the same way it is today[140], but in response to conflict with the Spanish, the two largest territorial units, the *ayllarewe* and the *futamapu*[141], which were only associated with periods of warlike conflicts during the earlier colonial period, became permanent structures during the late colonial period (Boccara 1999:434). Initially, the lebo, or smaller territories, that made up the ayllarewe maintained their political autonomy, but as the greater socio-political entities became permanent, some of that autonomy was lost.

Boccara also identifies associated practices of war as part of an assimilation process that helped to transform indigenous identity. The permanence of the sociopolitical territories was accompanied by importance placed on conflict. As war produced leaders in the greater political spaces, the image of the ideal warrior could be found in all facets of life and the act of reciprocal gift-giving created an obligation that could only be fulfilled by war. The accumulation of trophies became necessary, which could be heads, captives (dead or alive), horses or clothes. Additionally war, "played a fundamental role in the elaboration of their own identity and in the production of the 'self and the 'other'"[142] (Boccara 1999:437). Basically, through the act of capturing the different, the 'self' was constructed. Through the practices and representations of war there was a tendency to assimilate the qualities of the enemy. According to Boccara, this

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[139] "La característica principal de la distribución especial de esos grupos era la dispersión; su organización sociopolítica era acéfala, esto es, caracterizada por la ausencia de obediencia a una figura política, la del jefe."

[140] See Chapter 9 for more information.

[141] Boccara identifies the *ruka*, literally 'house' as the smallest socio-political unit. Several ruka make up a *quiñelob*, or *kiñe lof*, today usually referred to simply as *lof*. The lonko is leader of a lof. The *lebo* or *rewe* is made up of several lof. Several lebo compose the *ayllarewe*, several of which make up a few *futamapu*, the whole of the indigenous people. According to Boccara, there is some doubt about the pre-Hispanic existence of the futamapu level of spatial organization as it was only mentioned for the first time at the beginning of the 17th century.

[142] "Jugaba un papel fundamental en la elaboración del 'si-mismo' y del 'otro.'"

was accomplished, both literally and metaphorically, through the consumption of the enemy, which included things such as playing the 'other' in ceremonies accounting a war expedition and the "symbolic capture of the vital substance of the body of the captive"[143] (1999:439).

Finally, transformation also occurred in the economy of the indigenous people. While Boccara acknowledges that the Mapuche practiced horticulture and animal husbandry, he says that by the 18th century there were three important changes: 1) the breeding of livestock to include non-indigenous animals, such as cattle and sheep, 2) the increase in "*maloca*," or the activity of pillaging, largely to accumulate more livestock, and 3) a shift in trading patterns (1999:441). These changes had two important impacts on indigenous society. The first was that division of labor shifted. Women took on more responsibility and spent time weaving the ponchos used in trade; men spent more time away from their communities, acting simultaneously as pillager and merchant. Boccara suggests this shift in economic focus could be one of the reasons for the "Araucanization of the Pampas"[144] during the second half of the 17th century. As a result of this expanding economic model Mapuche were traveling across the cordillera of the Andes into Argentina. According to Boccara this was partly to trade with and gather resources from those on the other side of the mountain range. The transformation of Mapuche economy made it necessary for the larger sociopolitical territorial structures to be made permanent.

The theory of "Araucanization of the Pampas" assumes the peoples inhabiting the territory that is present-day Argentina were of a distinct cultural group from the indigenous

[143] "La captación simbólica de la sustancia vital del cuerpo del cautivo."

[144] This is a commonly proposed theory that Mapuche culture expanded into Patagonia and that the indigenous people living there, such as the Puelche and Tehuelche, were absorbed into Mapuche culture. What had been distinct cultural groups became one. Boccara suggests that other reasons for this expansion into present-day Argentina could be attributed to people fleeing the Spanish, an attempt to rout Spanish forces, expeditions looking for wild sheep or salt, from mines. It could have also been from a desire to create networks of political, matrimonial and economic relationships (1999:441-442)

peoples who inhabited the region of Araucanía[145]. However, the interactions between the indigenous people on either side of the cordillera is not that simple. According to Bengoa, the theory was first developed by Salvador Canals Frau, a Spanish anthropologist who settled in Argentina. He based this theory, in part, on documents that claimed that the language of the Pehuenche was different from Mapuzugun even up until the seventeenth century. However, more contemporary linguists, such as Gilberto Sánchez, have not found any evidence to suggest that the Pehuenche spoke a different language. This casts doubt on the theory that they were "araucanicized" during the period of Mapuche expansion. On the other hand, the Tehuelche of the southern pampas, according to Rodolfo Casamiquella, did most likely speak a different language. This supports the theory of "araucanization." (Bengoa 2003[2008]:513, fn21).

Information from Spanish chronicles also provides us some information about this period. First, even before the meetings at Quilín in 1641, where a peace was negotiated, Mapuche had been using the southern pass that leads to Lake Nahuelhuapi and modern-day Bariloche, to traverse the cordillera (Bengoa 2003[2008]:514). The pampas were rich with animal herds, particularly wild horses; however, the economic exchanges that are evident much later do not seem to have taken hold yet. This does not mean that there were no other indigenous peoples who also inhabited this region. The chronicles also talk about the Poyas and Tehuelche, identified in part by their "honorable noses" that resembled those the indigenous people who inhabited Amazonian Peru, as well as the Ona that inhabited Tierra del Fuego (Bengoa 2003[2008]:514-515).

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[145] In his dissertation, Victor Tricot points out that scholars often propose theories suggesting that Mapuche origins can be found in territories other than that which they claim. The Araucanization of the Pampas states that Mapuche emigrated from Chile to Argentina, and as a result transformed the cultural identity of the indigenous people who were already living there. However, the other prominent theory, supported by Ricardo Latcham, suggests the contrary; that emigration happened in the opposite direction from Paraguay, through Argentina and finally settling in Chile (Tricot S. 2011:23).

Additionally, until the middle of the seventeenth century there seems to have been little contact across the cordillera in the northern part of Araucanía (Bengoa 2003[2008]:517). The northern pampas of Argentina were populated by many different peoples, most notably those belonging to the "Het" family, as identified by Thomas Falkner: the Taluhet could be found in the expanse between Mendoza and Buenos Aires, the Diuihets were further to the southwest and the Chechehets to the southeast (Falkner 1774:99-101). Bengoa suggests that after peace was established along the frontier zone in Chile, instead of returning to agriculture, many of the Mapuche "border guards" continued to use their skills learned as soldiers and turned towards economic pursuits on the other side of the cordillera (Bengoa 2003[2008]:511). Horses facilitated these trips and the increasing importance of herding encouraged these economic pursuits.

The theory of the "Araucanization of the Pampas," is not quite as unambiguous as Boccara would have us believe. By the eighteenth century, there were a number of different peoples inhabiting the Argentine Pampas. While not all of them were Mapuche, there seems to be evidence that in certain parts along the cordillera, they had already established travel and settlement by at least the turn of the seventeenth century. However, the economic growth and the increasing focus on herding in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries did create a situation where by the nineteenth century the Mapuche had expanded their control all the way to the Atlantic Ocean (Bengoa 2003[2008]:518). However, it is important to remember that our knowledge of this region is incomplete and before the seventeenth century we know practically nothing about the interactions between the peoples on either side of the cordillera.

Therefore, the story of Mapuche history told from a Western perspective suggests that at the beginning of the colonial era the indigenous population was dispersed and composed of

nomadic, hunter-gatherers. Identity was primarily managed on a local level. Through repeated interaction with Spanish colonial forces, first with warlike combat, then with economic trade, the indigenous people gradually expanded their territory, permanently instituted the larger realities of spatial and associated authority, and the driving sociopolitical force shifted from war to economics. According to Boccara, it was in 1760, precisely at the time these changes were noted, that the term *Mapuche* appears for the first time. He attributes this to a new, unifying identity, which only came about over time through changes in indigenous mentality, social structure and their understanding of the Spanish 'other.'

As early as the 16th century, there is documentation which suggests that the indigenous peoples practiced horticulture, gathering and llama breeding. José Bengoa, foremost Chilean scholar of Mapuche history, also points out that common estimates of the population of these indigenous people at the time of the Spanish arrival would have been around one million people. He suggests that this is a significant level of inhabitants and that it would have been rather densely populated (1985[2000]:20). This does not necessarily mean that the population was not evenly dispersed about the territory, but it does suggest that communities would have been fairly settled in their place. Bengoa states that there would have been little room for nomadism or migration, nor would these settlements have been isolated from one another (1985[2000]:20). However, he does mention that the family was the primary political and economic unit before the Spanish arrived and that families, which could be composed of a hundred people or more at times, tended to live apart from one another (1985[2008]:29).

Most of the details of this Western perspective come from the writings of Spanish chroniclers, who may not have had a good grasp of indigenous identity to begin with, but also filtered their writing through their particular cultural understanding and perspective. José

Millalén, Mapuche historian, has pointed out that when scholars are lax in their approach to Mapuche epistemology it can lead to errors in meaning and the distortions of results regarding Mapuche culture (2006:17-18). Tom Dillehay, a well-known archaeologist, has also criticized some scholars for relying too heavily on the accuracy of observations made in the Spanish and Chilean chronicles (2007).

Another response to the concept of ethnogenesis, as well as mestizaje, is that there are elements that have been incorporated into Mapuche culture that have their origin in the culture that the Spanish brought with them, but these elements are adopted and transformed according to a Mapuche understanding. For example, there has been religious syncretism with Christianity, but Mapuche religiosity remains highly complex and diverse today. Examples of Mapuche interpretations can be found in the incorporation of certain symbols or ideas into their practice, such as using the term 'Chaw Dios,' which combines the Mapuzugun word 'Father[Chaw]' with the Spanish word for 'God[Dios].' It has also been pointed out that, despite all that "has occurred 450 years since the Spanish conquest, 190 [years] since Independence and 118 years since the violent Chilean occupation of Araucanía,…there still remains a proud people with the physical features of Mapuche"[146] (Salcedo 2000).

Despite there being some phenotypes that are still identifiable as 'Mapuche,' in some ways, discussing mestizaje seems outdated, since it implies 'race,' which, as an objective concept, has been largely discarded by social scientists. Race, as a social construct, has a lot to do with culture and ethnicity. Yes, there were intermarriages that resulted in mixing, but if anything these occurrences tend to raise complicated questions regarding identity rather than to suggest cultural reduction or simplification. Through this examination of the ethnogenesis of the

[146] "Han transcurrido 450 años desde la conquista española, 190 desde la independencia y 118 años desde la violenta ocupación Chilena de la Araucanía…sigue altivo un pueblo con rasgos físicos de mapuche."

original indigenous inhabitants, we may have a clearer idea of how a Western perspective understands the inception of a particularly Mapuche identity, but this will not tell us the whole story behind the Mapuche perspective. If, as I expound on in Chapter 2, we are to understand that ethnicity is an identity that is mutually negotiated based on recognized cultural boundary markers, but that ultimately it is externally imposed, then yes, those indigenous people have gone through a process of ethnogenesis. This would be true, in the sense that they went from being understood as one kind of *ethnic* identity to another kind of *ethnic* identity. However, ethnogenesis can also mark the beginning of a cohesive and collective identity; through these noted exchanges with the European colonizers, the indigenous people came to an understanding that there were distinct differences between the 'us' and the 'them.' Through the bonds of common language, common culture and common purpose, they became 'Mapuche.' However, it is necessary to keep in mind that understanding the development of a Mapuche identity in this way is not necessarily reflective of the Mapuche understanding of their identity, and in fact can tend to complicate and contradict it.

A deeper examination of the changes European chroniclers noted will show that the boundary markers between cultures may have been mutually recognized but were likely understood as different signifieds and therefore interpreted accordingly. Where the external perspective may have seen a shift in the markers that represented that boundary, the internal, or indigenous, perspective may not have experienced the same shift. For example, when the Spanish arrived, a boundary marker may have been mutually recognized regarding the fact that Spanish used certain cultural artifacts, such as sheep, mirrors or horses, where the indigenous people did not. However, later, the Spanish may have understood a shift in those markers, when those artifacts were appropriated by the indigenous people. Now, both the Spanish and the

indigenous people use the same cultural artifacts, so the Spanish may have interpreted that as an *ethnic* shift, or the beginning of a new *ethnicity*.

However, the indigenous people would have interpreted it differently. Instead of seeing the use of the same material artifacts as a *common* cultural marker, they may still have viewed it as a *boundary* marker. Yes, they both used sheep and mirrors, but the boundary marker was in the *way* these cultural artifacts were used. In fact, Manuel Manquilef has stated that the ways in which the Mapuche incorporated certain elements of Spanish culture are actually evidence of Mapuche intelligence and superiority. For example, in *Comentarios del Pueblo Araucano: La Jimnasia Nacional*, he states that in the beginning Mapuche thought that the horses and their Spanish riders were one monstrous entity. Through observation and interaction, this idea was dispelled. When the horse was adopted by the Mapuche and they learned to ride without the aid of rein or saddle, they became more proficient riders than the Spanish and posed quite a challenge to them using this new technology (1914:121-122). For the indigenous people, there was no shift in identity. There was an incorporation of some material artifacts that became culturally appropriated and used in particularly Mapuche ways. They were simply incorporating new experiences, interactions and material artifacts into their already well-developed identity. Certainly, there was an adjustment to their identity, but not necessarily a wholesale transformation. Nevertheless, these types of exchange did influence the transformation of their culture.

Mapuche identity has continually faced challenges by outside forces, and has had to evolve to survive, but remains essentially constant. By this I mean that, regardless of the accommodations Mapuche have made to incorporate the realities of colonization, an investigation into Mapuche identity today has revealed that many understand their worldview,

passed on through the generations, to have persisted throughout these accommodations. Many indigenous peoples tend to view their cultures as something fixed (Tobin 1994:121). This is how discussions of ethnogenesis can seem to disrupt or delegitimize Mapuche claims. Where once the indigenous family units of southern Chile could live relatively autonomous existences, the colonizing forces of the Inka first and later the Spanish created a situation where they began to understand themselves as part of the same collective. This is the moment Boccara says they 'became' Mapuche. However, this does not have to mean that they are entirely different and no longer related to their ancestors. In his discussion on Native nationalism, Taiaiake Alfred explains that indigenous culture has a stable core, with peripheral elements that are more malleable (1995:14,188). This allows for the obvious shifts in identity and culture, but does not have to mean that the reality is an all or nothing situation. Some elements of who the Mapuche were have been preserved, even when those elements are expressed through contemporary culture.

Bengoa has noted that despite the changes that war with the Spanish brought to Mapuche society, many of the ancestral institutions remained, including the tendency for families to live away from one another and the lack of a centralized authority (1985[2008]:31). Today, some Mapuche communities, as far as is possible, continue to follow the tradition of establishing their houses away from one another and not to gather into village-like communities. Additionally, while there have been moments in Mapuche history where political and social hierarchy dominated, this has reverted somewhat today. Even though the role of the lonko, now mainly hereditary, has been transformed, the concept of decentralized authority is prominent in much Mapuche political rhetoric.

Mapuche understand the invasion into their territory by the Spanish, the colonization by the Chilean State and the oppression by contemporary society to be different stages in their collective history; the history of a continuous people. The people in both Argentina and Chile, the Huilliche, the Puelche, the Pewenche[147] and others, who met the first Europeans, are direct ancestors, both biologically and culturally, of those who identify themselves as Mapuche today (Cristina Marin, personal communication, April 12, 2010). Interaction with outsiders has surely influenced the direction their society has been forced to adopt; however, this is the natural course of human history. Culture is not stagnant, but dynamic, and the Mapuche should not be held as an exception.

Knowledge of events before the Pacification of Araucanía is limited to Spanish and Chilean chroniclers, which means we must interpret history through their lenses. In cases when Western scholars attempt to speak for Mapuche by defining them according to information recorded in a European chronicle, we must examine this against what Mapuche today have to say about themselves.

For example, one element of Boccara's analysis of ethnogenesis is the apparent switch in signifiers from *reche* to the term used to day, *Mapuche*. According to Boccara, 'reche' is the only term used in a general way to refer to the indigenous people of Araucanía before the second half of the 18th century (1999:427). However, his evidence for the use of 'reche' as a native term referring to the indigenous people as a whole derives from one source; that is, the 1606 work of Luis de Valdivia, a Jesuit priest (Foerster 2001:1). Nevertheless, the use of this term to refer to pre-18th century Mapuche is replicated throughout contemporary work on the Mapuche (Bacigalupo 2004b; Foerster 2001; Saavedra 2002). The term 'reche' literally translates to 'pure

[147] See Appendix C for more information on these terms.

person,' or possibly 'sole person;' "in the absence of a common concept to designate the whole of the pre-Hispanic Mapuche population, they [Western scholars] have posited that name to be reche, probably relating it with an historic period of 'cultural purity,' without external influences"[148] (Millalén 2006:33). However, according to Mapuche, the term 'reche' is used today to distinguish an ordinary person from an extraordinary one, 'elche' (Rosa Huenchulaf, personal communication, January 6, 2010; Millalén 2006).

José Marimán denounces uncritical explanations such as this by questioning the fact that how the Mapuche view themselves today is debated at all. "There is no point in arguing about when the Mapuche started calling themselves Mapuche…because if they did not have a name before, or we do not know it, that is due to colonial history's own subversion"[149] (2000). Nevertheless, Western perspectives continue to provide the 'official' story, which contributes to the Mapuche struggle to gain recognition of who they understand themselves to be and what their place is in the world. The next chapter will delve further into these issues beginning with an investigation of their understanding of the encompassing term they label themselves today: Mapuche.

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[148] "Ante la no existencia de un concepto común para designer al conjunto de la población *mapuche* pre hispánica, han planteado que su denominación es el de *reche*, probablemente haciendo relación con un periodo histórico de '*pureza cultural*,' sin influencias externas."

[149] "No es el punto discutir desde cuando los mapuche se llaman así mismo…porque si no tuvieron un nombre antes o lo desconocemos se lo deben a la historia de colonización que trastoco la suya propia."

CHAPTER 6

MAPUCHE IDENTITY & REVITALIZATION

The term Mapuche has been commonly used for at least the last hundred years[150] and refers to a unified indigenous people. In order to understand why the name they have chosen for themselves is important, one must understand the depths of meaning the name contains. On a basic level, "Mapuche" literally means "person of the land" ("mapu" = "land," and "che" = "person"); however, to leave the translation there is to ignore the deep and complex connotations of what this word actually conveys to a native speaker. I will begin with a brief discussion of some of the meanings of "mapu" and the ways in which the word is used. Then I will move on to the concept of "che."

"Mapu" + "Che"

Some people try to capture the meaning of "mapu" by defining it as "territory" because that conveys a better sense of the identity found in the term; however, even that explanation does not begin to address the depths of meaning contained within that small word. The idea of the "mapu" has much more to do with spatial dimensions than simply physical land area. These spaces are part of the social construction that can be found within the everyday reality of Mapuche experience (Rosa Huenchulaf, personal communication, January 21, 2010).

Generally, when the meaning of "mapu" is explored this idea of spatial dimensions is a common theme. The authors of *¡Escucha winka!* define the word as "material and immaterial

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[150] Evidence of common usage can be found in Rudolf Lenz' *Diccionario etimolójico* (19005-1910) where he identifies it as the word the indigenous people of Chile use for themselves. 'Mapuche' also appears in the work by Mapuche author Manuel Manquilef in *Comentarios del pueblo Araucano* (1911), as well as the testimony of Mapuche lonko Pascual Coña, *Testimonio de un cacique mapuche* (1930[2006]).

space where the diverse dimensions of *Mapuche life* are manifested"[151] (2006:275). Armando Marileo (n.d.-a), a well-known Mapuche writer and ngenpin, describes "mapu" as "not limited to the nourishing cultivated soil. It encompasses everything that exists or lives on that soil: trees, animals, insects, birds, water courses, fountains, volcanoes, rocks, mountains, persons, spirit, air. The mapu is all of them together." He also incorporates the idea of material and immaterial into his discussion by saying that the space of mapu is both soil and spirit.

Thus far, the common elements of "mapu" include the ideas of everyday life, the material and immaterial, and a diversity and inclusiveness of every aspect of the environment. Rosa Huenchulaf, a native speaker and teacher of Mapuzugun, brings these elements together by explaining how they are all related to Mapuche worldview:

> This term [mapu] names the spaces that are proximate and functional in regard to the social construction that is found in everyday Mapuche reality. Spaces also exist that have an abstract and imaginary dimension. Even though both have a spiritual and religious sense, the abstract and imaginary spaces are what constitute the basic philosophy that gives a spiritual and transcendent sense to the material Mapuche life.[152] (personal communication, January 21, 2010)

So, the word, "mapu," in relation to Mapuche identity communicates a complex interaction between the entirety of the visible and invisible inhabited spaces of Mapuche everyday life and the constructed reality of how Mapuche individuals situate themselves within their world. The "mapu" *is* their world, as well as their worldview. It is a comprehensive conception of their relation to the universe, which has an immediate influence on how they conduct their daily lives.

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[151] "espacio material e inmaterial donde se manifiestan las diversas dimensiones de la *vida mapuche*"

[152] "Bajo este término [mapu] se denominan los espacios que son próximos y funcionales a la construcción social que se encuentran en la realidad cotidiana Mapuche. También existen los espacios que tienen una dimensión abstracta e imaginaria. Aunque ambas tiene un sentido espiritual y religioso, los espacios abstractos e imaginarios son los que constituyen la base filosófica que dan un sentido espiritual y transcendente a la vida material Mapuche."

To further understand how this idea of "mapu," and the worldview attached to it, is integral to Mapuche identity, one need only turn to the *kultrun*, which is the fundamental symbol used to communicate this concept (see figure 6.1). The kultrun is a drum used in machi ceremonies, but is also a valuable visual aid in explaining the *miñche mapu* (also spelled *müñche mapu*), the *nag mapu* or *püllü mapu*, and the *wenu mapu* (Marileo n.d.-a; Marileo 1995[2000])..

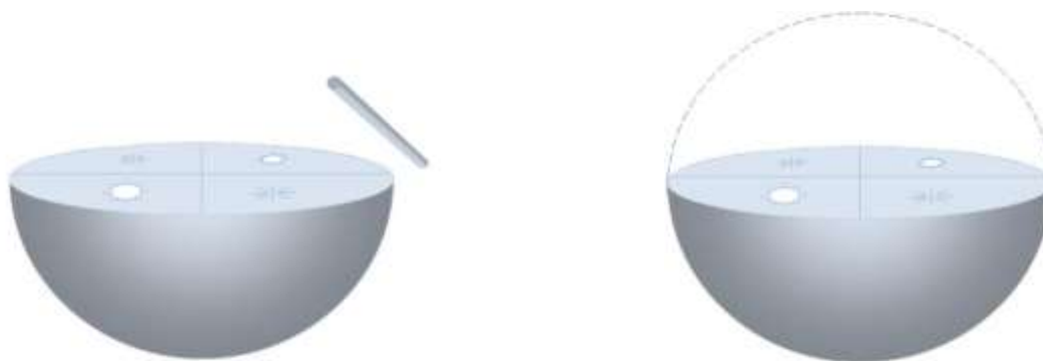

Figure 6.1 Kultrun and kultrun with imaginary dome

The kultrun is a fairly basic drum with a rounded bottom. Visualize an imaginary dome on top of the drum. This will create a shape very similar to a sphere. The lower half of the sphere is the miñche mapu, loosely translated as "the land below." Here, unknown beings that are different from the Mapuche live and this dimension can have negative connotations (Marileo 2000). The surface of the kultrun, which divides the sphere in half is the nag mapu, which is the dimension in which the Mapuche live. The upper half of the sphere is the wenu mapu, which is generally viewed in a positive way and is also sometimes described as a sacred space (Marimán, et. al. 2006). Each of these dimensions can be broken down into smaller spaces and each of these spaces represent complex realities and abstractions of the Mapuche world

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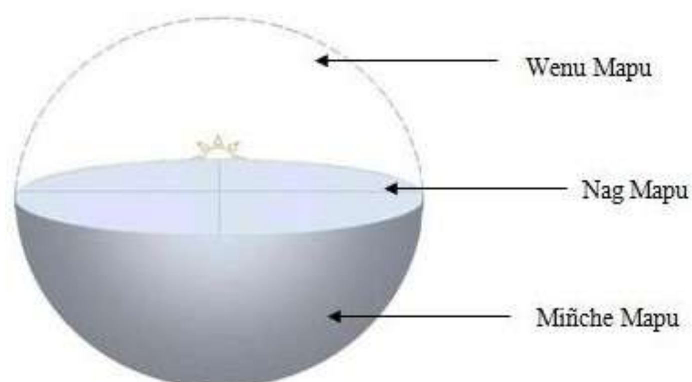

Figure 6.2 Three worldly dimensions

The surface of the nag mapu symbolized by the surface of the kultrun is often divided into four sections by a cross overlaid on the surface. The tip of each end of the cross corresponds to a direction: *puelmapu*, *pikunmapu*, *lafkenmapu* and *willimapu* (see figure 6.3). These directions can also be associated with the four winds, the four seasons, and the four persons of the Mapuche deity. The number four seems to be associated with many sacred concepts in Mapuche worldview.

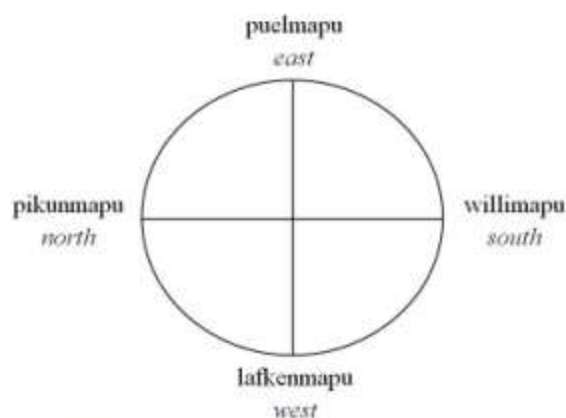

Figure 6.3 Cardinal directions on the nagmapu

These correlations to the universe that correspond with Mapuche worldview are numerous, varied and extremely complex. Suffice it to say that the concept of "mapu" and the relation it has to Mapuche reality and identity are intricately intertwined. However, I must point out here that it is possible to argue that this elaborate understanding of the world does not necessarily translate to contemporary Mapuche thinking, especially those who do not speak Mapuzugun or those that live in the cities. This argument can be expanded to say that both the model and the technique in which it is presented are simply part of the revitalization movement and that realistically they no longer represents how a *typical*, contemporary Mapuche will understand her world. This type of argument complicates the question, What does it mean to be Mapuche?, and will be dealt with in later sections.

"Che" or "person" is just as complicated a concept as "mapu," if not more so. Magnus Course (2005), lecturer at the University of Edinburgh, spent the better part of his dissertation examining the idea of *che* and how it relates to "construction of sociality." Throughout his dissertation he explores how personhood is being constructed in relation to social interactions. He also states that "there is a certain irreducibility of the Mapuche 'person' which makes it always more than the sum of its initial component parts" (64). The authors of *¡Escucha winka!* (2006) explain that "the *che* configures itself before being born, at the moment of birth and on separating from the mother, there comes the concrete beginning of the independence of being a person. From birth the che is in permanent construction, living to reach the fullness of *chegen* (becoming a person)."[153] (273).

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[153] "el *che* se configure antes de nacer, al momento de nacer y de separarse de la madre, allí se concreta el inicio de le independencia para ser persona. Desde su nacimiento el che está en permanente construcción, se vive para alcanzar la plenitud del *chegen* (hacerse persona)."

In both of the previous accounts of 'che,' the common thread is the idea of *constructing* the che, or the self. Sergio Carihuentro (2007), a Mapuche teacher devoted to intercultural education, continues this idea by saying that the construction of the che happens on a daily basis. Therefore, in a way, the concept of "Mapuche" connects the continual development of the individual person, "che," with the diverse levels of the environment, both concrete and abstract, "mapu," in which all "che" live. At the intersection of these concepts lies a clearer picture of what it means to be a "person of the land."

Today, "Mapuche" is the term that identifies an indigenous *people* whose traditional territory covers both sides of the cordillera. In using the term "Mapuche," the implication is that everyone who can claim that concept for their identity is related to one another through primordial and/or contemporary ties of common language, common culture, common beliefs and common rituals. However, Mapuche identity, related to their experience with the mapu, has often been localized. The levels of association progress from family ("rukache") to other members of their immediate community (the "lof"), to groups of communities ("rewe") and continue in an outward direction (ayllarewe, füxarewe, etc.). As such, the words they use to describe themselves are not always as all-encompassing as "Mapuche" – "people of the *mapu."* Both historically and today, communities identify more according to their immediate surroundings, as discussed in Chapter 4.

Being "Mapuche"

While the Mapuche people, through isolation or determination, have maintained an indigenous identity, not all *individual* Mapuche hold the exact same understanding of their identity. In a culture that prizes the diversity of their collective, naturally there is a diversity of perception regarding what it means to be Mapuche in contemporary Chilean society. Especially

considering the accusations of mestizaje and ethnogenesis, opinions on what it means to be Mapuche differ greatly and are not always represented when activists and journalists talk about the Mapuche people as a whole.

In the course of my interviewing, I asked two questions that I hoped to elicit some commentary about how different people understand their Mapuche identity. The first is 'For you personally, what does it mean to be Mapuche?' and secondly, 'Is it possible to stop being Mapuche?' The second question is particularly important for me, because I, along with so many other scholars, struggle with what characteristics should be associated with indigenous identity. One question that I feel has particular relevance to the Mapuche struggle today, especially when considering the mestizaje perspective previously discussed, is whether Mapuche identity can, in fact, be set aside or lost. What follows is a presentation of some of those voices; voices that come from a variety of places, that fill a variety of social roles and have had a variety of experiences. Therefore, like all other aspects of Mapuche culture the answers to the questions I asked varied tremendously, but what people shared with me provides some interesting perspective into the unity that binds these individual identities together.

> Before, I thought one was discriminated against for being dark-skinned, but no, the discrimination is because you are mapuche, you appear how you appear, even as a professional, you are mapuche, if you change your last name it is not a solution, because the face, in the shape of the face it is noted that you are mapuche. It is better to be mapuche and feel proud,…one is born mapuche and dies mapuche and it is never going to change, then it is better to ignore the discrimination. When we feel discriminated against, we should value mapuche culture even more.[154] (Ovalle Vergara 2009:157).

[154] "Yo antes pensaba que una era discriminada, porque era morena, pero no, la discriminación es porque eres mapuche, te vistas como te vistas, aunque seas un profesional, tú eres mapuche, si te cambias el apellido no es solución, porque la cara, en la forma de la cara se nota que eres mapuche. Es mejor ser mapuche y sentirse orgulloso,…uno nació mapuche y murió mapuche y no va a cambiar nunca nada, entones mejor hay que ignorar la discriminación. Cuando nos sentimos discriminados debemos valorar más la cultura mapuche. "

Above, Irene Weche explains her thoughts on being Mapuche. She grew up in a time when open discrimination was prevalent. For her that meant she held tighter to her Mapuche identity and it solidified for her that being Mapuche was not a choice. You "are born mapuche and you die mapuche." There are three ideas here that I heard repeated in both implicit and explicit ways. First, there is a connection between the discrimination and being Mapuche. Her identity is based on the confrontation in an unequal power structure; based on the remnants of settler colonialism and ongoing internal colonialism. For José Contreras, *werken*[155] of Comunidad Contreras, this is why it is so easy for some people to stop being Mapuche. For him, this is a choice. He relates that in "earlier times there had been a lot of discrimination, a lot of oppression…in school, when we did not speak Spanish very well, we were punished. So, it was shameful to be Mapuche…So, one would say, for what reason was I born indigenous?"[156] (personal communication, March 24, 2010).

For Irene Weche the answer was not to be ashamed that she was Mapuche, but the opposite. "It is better to be proud." This is the second idea, pride versus shame in the face of that discrimination. Juan Jacinto Huaniquin, a store clerk originally from Lof Remekobudi near Puerto Saavedra, has a similar perspective. He is proud to be Mapuche. He is proud to *look* Mapuche, which is the third idea presented in Irene Weche's statement. Mapuche *look* Mapuche. It is not about being dark-skinned or the way one dresses, but rather something in the face. Huaniquin said, "For me, I feel proud to Mapuche. There are people that tell me – you do

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[155] "Werken" can literally be translated as "messenger." The concept, like many in Mapuzugun, can be complex and will be discussed in further detail in Chapter 9.

[156] "Hubiera épocas anteriores en donde muy discriminados, muy martajados. En colegio, cuando no hablamos muy bien el castellano, éramos castigados. Entonces, era vergonzoso ser mapuche…Entonces, uno, se decía ¿para qué naciera indígena?"

not look mapuche. You do not have a mapuche face. – I tell them, yes. Yes, I do have a Mapuche face."[157] (personal communication, May 6, 2010).

For Juan Jacinto Huaniquin and Irene Weche being Mapuche is not a choice. One cannot stop being Mapuche. This is also the case for J.C., also originally from a community near Puerto Saavedra. One cannot stop being Mapuche. It is not a choice, it is just something that is. She says,

> Someone is Mapuche because he is not Chilean. That is the bottom-line. What happens is that we, or others like me, are born and we know we are not Chilean. So, it is weird. For example, when one leaves Chile for the first time and his passport says 'Chilean.' The thing that happens in his heart, because he knows he is not Chilean. And he is never going to be Chilean because he is not...He is born knowing he is not Chilean, that he has a distinct culture, hearing a distinct language, distinct cultural practices, distinct ways of understanding the world. Many times being Mapuche is associated with having to do certain cultural practices, that it has to do with…clothes. I believe that, perhaps, many times being Mapuche is closely linked to the soul. With language."[158] (personal communication, May 20, 2010)

For J.C., she is Mapuche because she is Mapuche. As Rúben Sánchez, the manager of a now defunct website, pointed out, "you cannot say, what does it *mean*? You can say, what is it *like*?...But to be Mapuche is not…There is not, like, a definition" [159] (personal communication, April 6, 2010). J.C. never does explain what it means to be Mapuche; just that she knows because she knows she is not Chilean. There is no explicit discussion of discrimination or

[157] "A mí siento orgulloso ser mapuche. Hay personas que me dicen que – no te ves mapuche. No tienes una cara mapuche. – Yo le digo que sí. Sí, tengo cara mapuche"

[158] "Uno es mapuche porque no es chileno. Eso es lo base. Lo que pasa es que nosotros, o muchos como yo, nacemos y…sabemos que no somos chilenos. Entonces, es como raro. Por ejemplo, cuando uno sale por la primera vez de Chile y su pasaporte dice chileno. La cosa que pasa en su corazón, porque uno sabe que no es chileno. Y nunca va a ser chileno porque no es…Uno nace sabiendo que no es chileno, que tiene una cultura distinta, oyendo una lengua distinta, prácticas culturales distinta, formas de entender el mundo distintas…Muchas veces asocia a que ser mapuche tiene que hacer ciertas prácticas culturales, que tiene que ver con … la ropa. Yo creo que quizás muchas veces ser mapuche está muy vinculado en el alma. Con la lengua."

[159] "Uno no puede decir ¿qué *significa*? Uno puede decir ¿cómo es?...Pero ser mapuche… No hay, como, una definición."

oppression in what she says. However, I believe it is in there implicitly. The way J.C. expresses herself makes it seem like there is a visceral understanding of what it means to *not* be Chilean. This comes with strong emotions that are often associated with compulsory, negative experiences.

J.C. ends her exposition with the idea that being Mapuche has something to do with the soul and with language. Language is a strong focus of many of the revitalization movements, and it is a very common theme when speaking about being Mapuche. As a linguist, she "postulate[s] that…a culture exists when its language is alive. Or rather a culture is while it transmits itself *in* its language. So, I do not need to learn mapuche history…we are going to learn it *from* the language…one communicates when one begins to communicate in one's own language"[160] (personal communication, May 20, 2010).

José Contreras might disagree about the history. For him, being Mapuche is about being indigenous:

> Thanks to being indigenous, I tell you, the history is ours. If we know it, if we study it, if we understand it, with more breadth and with more strength, we will regain it [the land]. This is it. It is different for Chileans…They do not have roots. The Mapuche, he has roots. And he knows his history and he knows where he is from, from where he originates.[161] (personal communication, March 24, 2010).

For Contreras, the history is both a benefit and a right of being Mapuche. "History is ours." It is through that history that the land that belongs to them will be recovered. J.C.'s discussion did not have a focus on land or territory. However, Comunidad Contreras has been in

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[160] Yo postulo que…una cultura existe cuando está vivo su lengua. O sea una cultura está mientras se transmita *en* su lengua. Entonces, yo no necesito aprender historia mapuche…la vamos a aprender *desde* la lengua…va a comunicar cuando empieza comunicar en su propia lengua"

[161] "Gracias a ser indígena, te digo, la historia es nuestra. Si la sabemos, si la estudiamos, si la entendemos, con más amplitud, con más fuerza, se recuperará. Eso es. Es diferente a los Chilenos…No tienen raíces. El mapuche, sí tiene raíces. Y sabe su historia y sabe de donde es, de donde proviene."

the middle of a protracted conflict over territory. José Contreras does not have land in his community, but for him, being Mapuche, being indigenous is about "having your own place." So, his understanding of what it means to be Mapuche is shaped by his experience. He understands the uneven relationship between Mapuche and Chileans as well, but for him this relationship has not shown him that Mapuche identity is inherent, but rather is something that needs to be fought for, and something that can be easily lost.

Experience shapes identity, as it does for everyone, as well as the role one plays in society and his understanding of the world. For Machi Luis Nahuel, of Lof Ralun Koyan on the outskirts of Temuco, being Mapuche means being able to do certain things: "healing people, communicating with elders, knowing more things, more knowledge…Chileans do not value these things"[162] (personal communication, May 17, 2010). As a machi, being able to heal is an integral part of his identity. It is what he does. The idea that language is essential to Mapuche is also stressed in his list. Being able to speak with elders and having knowledge are linked to language. Again, we return to the idea that Mapuche and Chileans are different. That distinction is part of what it means to be Mapuche. Chileans do not understand these things: knowledge, communication, healing. For Machi Luis, it does not matter whether a Mapuche sets aside these things; he will always be Mapuche, his spirit will always be Mapuche.

However, not all Mapuche consider themselves distinct from Chileans. Magno Millapán, president of Comunidad Cacique Wete Rukan, thinks of himself as Chilean. "To be Mapuche for me is also to be Chilean. There is a theme lately that many want to be Mapuche, they do not

[162] "Sanar gente, conversar con la gente mayor, saber más cosas, más conocimientos…Los chilenos no valorizan estas cosas."

want to be Chilean. I think not…We are all Chilean"[163]. Being Mapuche is being Chilean. Pablo Marimán might consider Millapán an integrationist. Although, there is an implication in the way he expressed that others *want* to be Mapuche. It marks this era of revitalization. It marks this time when Mapuche are refusing to feel shamed and stand back from their culture. Instead, more people are announcing their pride, through poetry, music, and video. Interestingly, the way Millapán suggests that, whether they want to or not, Mapuche are also Chilean, is much the same as when J.C., Irene Weche and Juan Jacinto Huaniquin say Mapuche are Mapuche whether they like it or not. Millapán sees Mapuche identity as linked to practice. Mapuche can stop being Mapuche, but they cannot stop being Chilean.

For Fernando Lemuñir Huechuqueo, who works for the Baha'i Radio located on the way to Labranza, just outside of Temuco, being Mapuche "is maintaining the culture, the language and saving it, and being able to transmit it, certainly, to the new generation. This is so it is not forgotten…today we know that the youth are not speaking the Mapuche language. Perhaps they know it but do not want to speak it too….the language – the idea is that we transmit this same knowledge to our new generation"[164] (personal communication, April 28, 2010). It is through the language that culture is transmitted and part of being Mapuche is ensuring that this happens; that knowledge is passed down to the next generation. One of the ways this knowledge is passed down is through the music that is literally transmitted over the radio. Poetry as well.

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[163] "Ser mapuche para mi es ser chileno también. Hay un tema de que de repente muchos quieren ser mapuche, no quieren ser chileno. Yo pienso que no...Somos chilenos todos."

[164] "Es mantener la cultura, el idioma y de salvarlo, y poder transmitirlo, cierto, con la nueva generación. Eso es que no se olvide…hoy en día sabemos que los jóvenes no están hablando el idioma mapuche. Quizás lo saben pero no lo quieren hablar también…el idioma – el idea es que es de este mismo conocimiento transmitamos a nuestra nueva generación"

Language, communication, and the soul. This is what it means to be Mapuche. Before I summarize the threads that connect all these Mapuche and their diverse ideas about being Mapuche, I would like to share what the Mapuche poet Elicura Chihuailaf has to say about being Mapuche, and about language, communication and the soul.

> A landowner will say, get this, I passed by here two hours ago and there were two Mapuche that were having a conversation. One was on his horse and the other had his oxen. So, I passed by here two hours ago and the oxen were over there grazing and the Mapuche were talking. I came back, they were still conversing…Why does he not understand? What is his vision of the world? Because these do not interest him, because he believes that his vision of the world is the only one that matters, that has any value. So, with that we are cultivating, cultivating, culture. What is culture?...Culture is precisely cultivation. To cultivate the spirit. So, what are our people doing? They say, when we find a good conversation, for this *nütram* exists, for this *weupin* exists, for this *pentukun*[165] exists. Above all nütram is permanent. The art of conversation. They say, when we find a good conversation, we cannot lose it, because we are cultivating our spirit. That is the best cultivation, because to be human, ultimately, life is short and we have to follow the path towards the infinite. And that is precisely what is needed to cultivate the spirit. So, the land can wait. But this conversation cannot because we will not find it again.[166] (personal communication, March 31, 2010)

Elicura Chihuailaf told this to me to illustrate the difference between Mapuche and Chileans. For Mapuche, there is nothing more important than conversation, or nütram, which feeds their soul. This is what Mapuche value. He says that the Chilean would give up this

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[165] These are different kinds of conversation (see Chapter 7).

[166] [In response to the idea that Mapuche are 'flojo' or 'lazy'] Entonces, cuando gente dicen, cuando la latifundista dice, mire, yo pasé por aquí hace dos horas y habían dos mapuche que estaban conversando. Uno estaba a caballo…el otro tenía sus bueyes…Entonces, dicen, yo pasé haces dos horas por aquí y los bueyes estaban ahí pastando y los mapuche conversando. Volví, todavía estaban conversando…¿Por qué no comprendes? ¿Cuál es la visión del mundo? Porque no le interesan, porque creen que la visión del mundo de ellos es la única la que vale. Entonces, y ahí, vamos a cultivo, cultivo, cultura. ¿Qué es cultura?...Cultura es precisamente cultivar. Cultivar el espíritu. Entonces, ¿qué está haciendo nuestra gente? Dicen, cuando nosotros lo encontramos con una buena conversación, por eso existe el nütram, por eso existe el weupin, por eso existe el pentukun. Sobre todo el nütram que es permanente. La arte de la conversación. Dicen, cuando nosotros lo encontramos con una buena conversación, no la podemos perder, porque estamos cultivando nuestro espíritu. Que es mejor cultivo, porque el ser humano, finalmente, la vida es breve y tenemos que seguir camino hacía lo infinito. Y precisamente lo que necesita el ser humano es cultivar su espíritu. Entonces la tierra puede esperar. Pero esa conversación no, porque no la vamos a encontrar nuevamente.

conversation because he has to tend to the land. For Mapuche, "the land can wait." Communication, language, the juxtaposition between Mapuche and Chilean beliefs, pride versus shame. Add to that territory or land and we have the common elements that run through these thoughts on what it means to be Mapuche. Yes, a person can stop being Mapuche. No, a person cannot stop being Mapuche. Yes, Mapuche are Chilean. No, Mapuche are not Chilean. Being Mapuche is about practicing the culture. Being Mapuche does not mean practicing the culture. All these different voices spoke out, but almost all of them had something to say about language and communication. Mapuche identity cannot be simplified to the sole element of Mapuzugun, but this discussion has shown that the people I interviewed feel that while it is not the only element, it is an important one[167].

Citizenship

It may seem strange that some Mapuche do not consider themselves Chilean citizens, but considering the realities of being Mapuche in Chilean society today, perhaps it is not so strange after all. Many Mapuche will recognize the legal, individual rights they are technically afforded as citizens; however, as they are not allowed to participate fully as citizens in the political, economic or cultural spheres, they will not consider themselves Chilean. In this regard, any sense of nationalism they internalize will relate to the Mapuche people and not to a Chilean nationality. In this next section, I will use a quote by Mapuche intercultural educator, Sergio Carihuentro, to explore the intricacies of Mapuche identity and Chilean citizenship.

> We, as Mapuche, do not consider ourselves Chilean. Now, they have imposed a nationality on us. They have imposed on us a Chilean nationality. Therefore, in this respect, we have rights like any Chilean citizen. And therefore we are legally Chilean but we as Mapuche have and had a nation, a language, people with

[167] This does not necessarily mean fluency. Practicing a ngillatun involves Mapuzugun. Talking about Mapuche worldview involves Mapuzugun words. Mapuzugun names are extremely distinct from Spanish ones. Music, poetry, prayers. Fluency is not necessarily required, but something is not Mapuche without Mapuzugun.

> territory which has been ... no longer than one hundred-odd years ago this territory was still controlled by Mapuche. Now the relationship that exists is a relationship of subordination. We are subordinated by the Chilean State. And by Chilean society. We have had to learn many things to be able to insert ourselves into Chilean society and to adapt to that reality. The Chilean has learned very little of us. Very little. There are many people that live in this region and know nothing of Mapuche culture ... Absolutely nothing. Not even Mapuzugun words. Or they speak a word that they do not know comes from Mapuzugun. So, the relationship has always been that of the subordinated Mapuche, the inferior Mapuche. And that has been the relationship. The imposition. The cultural imposition.[168] (Carihuentro, personal communication, April 7, 2010)

Carihuentro's statement touches on a variety of different issues. It began with a discussion of whether Mapuche are Chileans. He gives a well-thought out response. Yes, technically, they are legal citizens. They have the right to the same social services as any other citizen. The difference is they might not take advantage of some of those rights simply out of ignorance, because they do not fully participate in Chilean society. When that participation is absent or one-sided, as Carihuentro shows, the marginalization certainly makes it feel as though there is a distinct difference between Chileans and Mapuche.

Another element of Carihuentro's statement we can draw from is the sense that some Mapuche *do* identify as a member of a *nation*. Not in the modernist, Western idea of 'nation,' but rather in the older sense of 'nation,' as I discussed in Chapter 3. I believe there is an opportunity here for further research, as I have long thought that there is an important meaning lost in the translation of 'pueblo' to 'people.' Perhaps there is something we are missing in

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[168] "Nosotros como mapuche no nos consideramos chilenos. Ahora, a nosotros se nos han impuso una nacionalidad. Se nos han impuso una nacionalidad chilena. Por lo tanto, desde este punto, tenemos derechos como cualquier ciudadano chileno. Y por lo tanto somos chilenos legalmente pero nosotros como mapuche tenemos y teníamos una nación, una lengua, hay personas con territorio, que pasan más de…no más allá de cien y tantos años que todavía este territorio han controlado los mapuche. Ahora la relación que existe es una relación de subordinación. Nosotros estamos subordinado por el estado chileno. Y por la sociedad chilena. Nosotros hemos tenido que aprender muchas coas para poder insertarnos en la sociedad chilena y adaptarnos a esa realidad. El chileno ha aprendido muy poco de mostros. Poquísimo. Hay muchas personas que vive en esta región y no saben nada de la cultura mapuche…Absolutamente nada. Ni siquiera palabras mapuzugun. O hablan una palabra que no saben que proviene de mapuzugun. Entonces la relación siempre ha sido que del mapuche subordinado del mapuche inferior. Y eso ha sido la relación. La imposición. La imposición cultural."

English. Perhaps the term 'people,' has taken on a slightly different theoretical character from the term 'nation,' in the same way there is more than one theoretical category for the term 'indigenous.'

There are a couple of reasons that Carihuentro lists as reasons for why he identifies with a Mapuche nation. The first is that the outward nationality that most of the Western world would attribute to him is Chilean, but that is an *imposed* nationality. That imposed nationality works for some Mapuche and they either integrate or assimilate[169]. Secondly, that time when the Mapuche were an independent people is still in the memorable past. At the very least, there are still Mapuche alive today who have vivid stories in their minds about that time told to them by people who experienced it. In many ways, this memory is similar to slave memories in the United States. For African Americans in the United States today, chattel slavery is not a condition of which they have firsthand knowledge; nevertheless, that shared cultural experience continues to affect the psyche of many in African American communities today.

The subordination that began with the theft of territory and repression of self-governance is felt by Carihuentro in two different spheres: the public and the private. The Chilean State continually articulates to Mapuche the power dynamic of the relationship. The rights they *do* have as an indigenous people are determined by, granted by and enforced by governing agencies.

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[169] I use the term 'integrate' in much the same way José Marimán used it to categorize Mapuche organizations in his unpublished dissertation. An integrationist in the sense that they

> do not seek to renounce everything of theirs on the basis of a superior civilization, but rather, on the basis of recognizing that their own culture has some values worth conserving and even transferring to a larger culture, establishing a relationship of peace, respect and harmony in which the education system would permit the Mapuche elevated to status of Chilean / busca renunciar a todo lo propio en función de una civilización superior, sino por el contrario, sobre la base de reconocer que la cultura propia tiene también valores dignos de ser conservados y hasta traspasados a una cultural mayor, establecer una relación de paz, respeto y armonía en el que la educación permitiera al mapuche elevarse al estatus de chileno (cited in Sierra Soto n.d.:19).

I mean 'assimilation' in the traditional sense of leaving one's own beliefs, customs, language and worldview behind to become a fully participating and analogous member of mainstream society.

When it takes ten years or more to receive the deed to a cemetery that is public land and has long been acknowledged to belong to a particular community, the implication is that the government does not care (Magno Millapán, personal communication, March 24, 2010). When the rights to build a road or construct a dam through Mapuche territory are given to a foreign company without considering the inhabitants, despite a piece of legislation saying they must consult them, the message, again, is clear. In fact, some understand the 1993 Indigenous Law to obligate the government only to notify a territory, but that there is no requirement to listen to local opinions, let alone preserve the integrity of the territory.

Privately, Chilean society is also understood to support that relationship of subordination. As Carihuentro expresses, there is no sentiment that Chileans[170] understand the great lengths Mapuche have gone to in order to function in Chilean society. All the effort is on the part of the Mapuche, because their cultural worldview is not a valued perspective in Chilean society. So much so, that the only story most Chileans know of Mapuche is the one that is told by the mainstream media. During a later point in our conversation, Carihuentro addresses this very issue. When a contentious event occurs involving Mapuche it makes the paper. When there are Mapuche "demanding their land",[171] there will be a news story about it. However, when something positive happens – the successful establishment of an intercultural school or a peaceful We Tripantu[172] celebration takes place nothing appears anywhere. This is because the media tend to portray Mapuche in a conflictive and violent light. It is important to reiterate here Carihuentro's statement that "there are many people that live in this region [Araucanía] and

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[170] I used 'Chilean' here to refer to non-Mapuche citizens of Chile.

[171] "Reclamando por la tierra."

[172] We Tripantu, also called Wüñoy Tripantu, is commonly known as "Mapuche New Year."

know *nothing* of Mapuche culture ... Absolutely nothing" (personal communication, April 7, 2010).

Finally, Carihuentro reiterates the reality of imposition, by pointing out that Mapuche live with an *imposed* nationality. They live with *imposed* cultural practices, such as the Spanish language. When one considers all of these elements in the Mapuche experience, it is no wonder that many do not consider themselves Chilean. Nevertheless, there are those who reject this notion, such as Magno Millapán, the president of Comunidad Cacique Wete Rukan, who, for himself, understands that to be Mapuche is also to be Chilean. "There is an issue that suddenly many want to be Mapuche, they do not want to be Chilean. I think not…we are all Chilean"[173] (personal communication, March 24, 2010). Millapán's statement implies he believes that many Mapuche live with the illusion that they have a choice in their identity, but that in fact, this is not so. They can give up their Mapucheness[174], but whether they like it or not they are Chilean.

I think, considering Carihuentro's explanation of the situation, Millapán is right. Legally, Mapuche are Chileans by virtue of their internationally recognized citizenship whether they like it or not. This, however, does not necessarily speak to identity and it certainly does not stop Mapuche from disavowing that citizenship in informal, international situations. In a conversation (April 16, 2010) with Danko Marimán, the creator and director of the documentary film *En el nombre del progreso*, he told me that when asked in the United States where he is from he always replies with '*Wallmapu*'[175]. He does this intentionally, not only to claim

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[173] "Hay un tema de que de repente muchos quieren ser mapuche, no quieren ser chileno. Yo pienso que no…Somos chilenos todos."

[174] At a later point in the conversation he did in fact express the opinion that he believes it is possible to stop being Mapuche.

[175] Wallmapu is the term Mapuche use to refer to the entirety of traditional Mapuche territory, which includes *Gulumapu* (the part that resides in present-day Chile) and *Puelmapu* (the part that resides in present-day Argentina).

Mapuche nationality, but also to have people inquire what he means so that he can share the Mapuche story with that them.

Contemporary Chilean society works in unison with some of the forces that have been present since the introduction of the reducción system. In other words, the processes of colonization and discrimination have contributed to the loss of Mapuche culture and language. Some Mapuche react to these forces by trying to shed their Mapuche identity. They change their last names, they do not speak Mapuzugun and they hope they can escape that ethnicity to forge a better life for themselves. Some Mapuche have gone the route of integration and tried to maintain some semblance of Mapuche identity while submitting to a Chilean one. More recently, the reaction, especially in the cities, is for Mapuche to become more fierce about their identity. (Elias Paillán, personal communication, April 26, 2010) The consequences of some of these reactions, as well as the colonial process in general, has been the erosion of Mapuche culture. However, in today's atmosphere of democracy, there is more freedom to take action against this erosion and throughout Chile, as well as Argentina, a variety of revitalization projects have surface to help preserve and maintain Mapuche identity.

Revitalization

In this section we will examine some of the ways that Mapuche are negotiating their culture and identity today in the context of revitalization[176]. This can take many forms, although many of these efforts revolve around language and the dissemination of culture. Before I delve into a discussion of the revitalization efforts that are relevant to the discussion in this

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[176] Given the scope of this paper I must limit my discussion and have tried to provide a broad picture of the types of projects out there; however, it is important to understand that there are myriad efforts taking place. There are intercultural schools, intercultural hospitals, local events and lectures happening *all* the time, in Temuco as well as Santiago. There are quiet projects that happen on local levels, in the *ruka* and in the *lof*. There are national and international projects, some directed towards the state and some that happen via the Internet.

dissertation, I would like to provide some historical context as a way of demonstrating both the ways movements are transformed over time, and also to show that a look inside these movements can reveal internal conflict.

When Isolde Reuque first became involved in the Mapuche movement at the beginning of the Pinochet dictatorship, she was faced with criticism and discrimination by other Mapuche for not speaking Mapuzugun and for her lack of cultural awareness. "Some criticisms hit me hard, like when people asked how I could be the secretary of the Mapuche movement if I didn't speak the Mapuche language. Or how I could be the daughter of a cacique if I had no knowledge of the culture" (Reuque 2002:106). Her parents, although native speakers of Mapuzugun themselves, did not want their children to face the same kind of discrimination in school as they did; therefore, they did not speak Mapuzugun with their children (104). Reuque recalls this time very trying for her, and that it required her to really look inside herself to find a way to deal with it (106).

In 1978, Isolde Reuque, along with Melillán Painemal, helped to establish the Mapuche Cultural Centers of Chile, which was the first formal organization under the Pinochet regime (Reuque 2002:106). Their focus was largely cultural. The organization travelled around the region and helped organize functions such as palín tournaments. These tournaments served to gather communities together, reinforce cultural knowledge and traditions, such as the hospitality of sharing a meal, allow the communities to "gaug[e each other on] how well they've kept up their traditions" and to be part religious meditation (111-112). Due to the cultural focus of this organization, they were able to exist beyond the radar of the dictatorship for awhile.

In 1980, the organization legally became recognized as Ad-Mapu (Asociación Gremial de Pequeños Agricultores y Artesanos Ad-Mapu) (Reuque 2002:117-118). According to the rules

of the dictatorship, cultural organizations could only exist within the boundaries of a region. This would have served to fracture their organization, so they found a way to circumvent this rule by redefining themselves as a trade association (118). “Each local branch took the name and added it to their place name: Ad-Mapu Lumaco, Ad-Mapu Imperial, Ad-Mapu Freire, Ad-Mapu Pitrufquén” (119). The organization grew rapidly and once it began speaking out against the dictatorship’s call for a plebiscite to approve their new constitution, as well as a human rights conference they held, the government started to recognize them as a threat. One of the reactions to this was that leaders were spied upon and followed. There was also a government-supported organization called the Regional Indigenous Council, which was used as a way to discredit Ad-Mapu and to garner support for the dictatorship’s plebiscite. (120-123)

However, a few years later, Reuque experienced some things which made her become disillusioned with the organization. On a trip to Switzerland in 1983, she learned that internationally there was much misinformation about the status of the organization and of the NGO that had been funding them. First all, the Mapuche in exile and others were under the impression that she was receiving special treatment by the Catholic Church, that Ad-Mapu was overseeing many more projects than they were and that her salary was five times the actual amount. As far as the salary goes, she blames this on the sexism that is still a very real issue in Mapuche society, as male leaders, such as Melillán Painemal had actually been receiving a much higher salary than her. The other misinformation was indicative of the way funds were being mismanaged. (Reuque 2002:137-139)

Around the same time, the focus of Ad-Mapu had begun to change. Mapuche had different opinions on whether the division of Mapuche land was a good thing. Reuque says “we can’t deny that, today as in the past, there’s a strong collective desire among indigenous people

to know and to define what belongs to them. This private property bug eats away at the insides of many indigenous people, those who live in communities and those who don't" (Reuque 2002:126). In order to accommodate these differing of opinions, they began to move towards other sectors of society and make alliances with other organizations that were experiencing the same kind of "struggling and suffering" (126).

At some point, the Communist Party became very influential in Ad-Mapu. The rhetoric changed from 'brother' and 'sister' – *peñi* and *lamgnen* – to 'compañeros.' The social movement aspect of the organization ceased and "everything became more ideological" (Reuque 2002:144). The organization also became more militant, with the establishment of "defense groups" and "bodyguards" (149). Around this time, Reuque left the organization. Shortly thereafter, Aucán Huilcamán, former leader of Ad-Mapu, broke off to form Aukiñ Wallmapu Ngulam, otherwise known as Consejo de Todas las Tierras. Part of the reason for this split was that Huilcamán and his followers had political disagreements with the organization. "They were against the registration of political parties…They said no to registration, no to the plebiscite, they felt everything was fixed. They were against all forms of negotiation, they favored armed struggle against Pinochet" (186).

During the transition to democracy, the Consejo also refused to work with the new democratic government of Patricio Aylwin, who had agreed to an exchange of reciprocity if the Mapuche organizations supported his presidency. He agreed to "create an institution to struggle for the rights of the indigenous peoples of Chile," which was fulfilled with the establishment of the 1993 Indigenous Law (Reuque 2002:188). The Consejo did not participate in the drafting of this law.

The tactics of the Consejo were very confrontational. They occupied latifundio lands as a way of symbolically retaking that territory. Many leaders were incarcerated and the claim is that they were treated unfairly. Despite the disagreements in methodology, many Mapuche have and continue to demonstrate solidarity by protesting the conditions to which these leaders are subjected. As Reuque puts it, "we don't agree with the Consejo's methods, but we believe they must be granted the same respect accorded to any political leader" (Reuque 2002:189).

According to an article by José Marimán, the Consejo does not have a very formulated concept of what they want politically, in terms of 'self-determination' and 'self-governance.' He also claims that the Consejo's version of Mapuche worldview incorporates some allusions to the past that are misfounded or simply wrong. "The fundamentalism of AWNg [the Consejo] is not a defense of the truth, but an idea of the past that is constructed around the discourse of its leaders[177]" (Marimán, J. A. 1995). In other words, their defense of Mapuche tradition is rooted in a perspective of the past that supports their discourse and methodology. They construct Mapuche history in such a way as to "recover the myth of the noble savage" (1995). Marimán concludes his analysis of the Consejo by comparing their philosophy and methodology to "siren songs," and that while their organization made an impact in the beginning especially among the youth, it is unsustainable in the long term[178] (1995).

Therefore, revitalization movements have been varied in their approaches to culture, politics and history. While there is demonstrated solidarity, there is rarely unanimous agreement on interpretations of culture or the methodology with which to recuperate lands. With that

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[177] "el fundamentalismo de AWNg no es una defense e lo verdadero, sino una idea del pasado que se contruye sobre el pasado en el discurso de sus dirigentes"

[178] "Los cantos de sirena de AWNg que en principio lograraon tener un impacto hacia la sociedad mapuche y en especial hacia su juventud, comienzan a desvanecerse y se me presentan insostenibles a mediano y largo plazo"

history in mind, we will now turn to some modern examples of the especially those that have something to do with communication. On a fundamental level, most of these efforts are about the ability to communicate in their traditional language. There are classes, in person, over the Internet, in the home, even simply in naming practices. On a more complex level, these efforts stress communication through language, in poetry, in songs, in interviews, over the radio and in videos that highlight a unique element of a particular lof. There is "intracommunication" between individuals, among different lof, between Mapuche and their territory, between Guluche (Mapuche living in Chile) and Puelche (Mapuche living in Argentina), and from a Mapuche community to the Mapuche people as a whole. There is "intercultural communication[179]" that usually moves from the level of Mapuche to a local, national or international audience, although some projects have approximated a truly intercultural reality.

Rosa Huenchulaf, a teacher of Mapuzugun, explains the basics of communication from a Mapuche perspective:

> It is said that through nütram, which is conversation, flows communication, the relationship between people, because this is how they know one another, right? It is, if one does not speak, the other looks at him but does not know who he is, what he is like, what he thinks. For this reason, our ancestors, our elders always say that we must converse.[180] (personal communication, March 30, 2010)

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[179] I use "intracommunication" here to imply communication happening between and among Mapuche. I am tempted to use the term "intercommunication" to imply the communication that is happening between Mapuche and winka (non-Mapuche), but I believe "intercultural communication" may be more appropriate in this case. The use of *intercultural*, at least in the Latin American context, recognizes and challenges the power dynamism that exists between indigenous peoples and the State. It implies the existence of plural voices and aims at the mutual project of reciprocal understanding and equal participation in a contextualized setting. Only within the past few years has the term 'interculturality' entered the English vernacular and translating the concept from Spanish to English is not an easy task. (See Meyer and Maldonado Alvarado 2010 for further discussion of this idea.)

[180] "Se dice que a través de *nütram*, que es la conversación, fluye la comunicación, la relación entre las personas porque es como se conocen, ¿no? Es si no habla el otro lo mira pero no sabe quién es, cómo es, qué piensa. Entonces, siempre, nuestros antepasados, nuestros viejos dicen de que hay que conversar"

In order for this communication to take place, at the basic level, Mapuzugun is necessary. First language, then conversation. As José Millalén Paillal pointed out in his 2006 article, if non-Mapuche are not cautious in their approach to Mapuche knowledge, it can lead to misinterpretations. Most Mapuche cultural concepts cannot be easily translated from Mapuzugun. Guillermo Chen Morales, a Maya activist and journalist, clarifies this by explaining that language "preserves in every word the essence of the community, as well as the idea of unity in diversity" (2010:228). Unity in diversity is an important concept throughout this discussion. Communication, on all its levels, reflects this diversity, but at least in part, it is the language of Mapuzugun that threads its way through all of these revitalization efforts to reverberate the unity of these projects.

One of the most common expressions of revitalization is the renewed interest in both everyday and special ways of interacting with the mapu. In some cases, this is combined with a kind of ecotourism. In Padre de las Casas, just outside of Temuco, in the Comunidad Juan Antonio Hueche, there was a traditional Mapuche house, a ruka. The woman who grew up and spent her days in this ruka was Irene Weche or Hueche. She had visitors from all over spend time with her while she shared with them her ideas and a little bit of Mapuche traditional everyday life. She had a modern Chilean subsidized house where she slept, but most of her day was spent in the ruka.

Irene Weche (personal communication, August 10, 2007) received a grant from the government to restore her ruka (see Appendix D) as part of an ecotourism project in and around Temuco. She felt that rarely government projects were successful or that they benefited only a few people, but not the Mapuche as whole. The government talked a lot about tourism, but sometimes she would not receive a visitor for months and in the winter, the ruka would fall into

disrepair. The materials the ruka was made from used to be readily available, but today they are hard to find. When she did receive visitors she showed them how she spent most of her day inside the ruka. She would cook a traditional meal and share stories and knowledge. She even sang me a Mapuzugun song. Outside of her ruka were wooden *chemamüll*, which literally translates as 'person of wood' (see Appendix D). She said they were a form of remembering her ancestors and that was where she prayed.

The other side of this everyday existence includes the traditional ceremonies, such as the ngillatun and the machitun. The particular characteristics of these ceremonies change from community to community. In some cases, the impetus to revive these celebrations comes from the youth of the community (Magno Millapán, personal communication, March 24, 2010). In some cases, the practice has been continuous (Dillehay 2007). The terms for these ceremonies, the material objects used at them, the way their purposes are stated, and the prayers recited all involve the use of Mapuzugun.

Unfortunately the formal avenues towards learning Mapuzugun are limited if it is not regularly spoken in the household or the community; although, this does seem to be slowly changing. It is difficult to estimate how many Mapuzugun speakers there are. Despite many people, Mapuche and non-Mapuche alike, claiming that knowledge is being lost, I was surprised to find many more instances of native speakers than I expected. I think it is difficult to estimate how many native speakers of Mapuzugun there are, because historically many people who do speak will not acknowledge this outside of their community in order to avoid discrimination. Sometimes, due to embarrassment, this even happens inside the community with the younger generation (Lemuñir Huechuaqueo, personal communication, April 28, 2010).

In some cases, the elders in the community take it upon themselves to speak to their children or grandchildren in Mapuzugun, and there is a resurgence of Mapuzugun first names in the youngest generation (Irene Hueche, personal communication, August 10, 2007). There are independent teachers willing to give private lessons, although this can be expensive and is not always an option. Sometimes there is an introductory course at one of the major universities, although this is generally limited to the bigger cities, like Temuco. In Temuco, the Centro de Estudios Indígenas hosts classes at the Universidad de la Frontera. During the 2010 summer semester, Basic Mapuzugun was offered at the Universidad Católica in Temuco.

Rosa Huenchulaf, a teacher of Mapuzugun and co-author of *Gramática básica de la lengua mapuche*, is involved in a unique Mapuzugun project. She teaches the course at the Universidad Católica in Temuco, but is also one of the teachers that offer a course via the Internet at the Lonko Kilapang Society (http://www.lonkokilapang.cl/curso_portada.htm). This is rather unique as most of the Mapuche-run websites, despite the incorporation of Mapuzugun terms, are still written largely in Spanish. Huenchulaf says the reason they started this course was to disseminate the language, not just in Chile, but also throughout the world. Additionally, it is a way of saying that the Mapuche culture and the Mapuche language are still alive. This provides opportunities for Mapuche who have lost their language to become reacquainted, as well as providing the opportunity for Chileans living abroad, or foreigners who had visited Chile to learn more about Mapuche and Mapuzugun. They receive a fair mix of students from all over. She also adds that many people who have taken the class give their reasons for taking it as related to the erroneous belief that this knowledge and the language had been lost. (personal communication, March 30, 2010).

This project has a very broad scope. In contrast, Gerardo Berrocal (personal communication, May 7, 2010) facilitates a program with a more local focus, but one that also elaborates the diversity among Mapuche communities. He studied social communication and audio-visual production in Santiago and brought his knowledge to Araucanía. He organized a workshop of social communication. His initial idea was to start a community television station[181]. He had the “idea that the audiovisual tool could mean a way of saying or showing the Mapuche reality from their own perspective”[182]. Instead of a community television station, he trains Mapuche youth in communication and audiovisual techniques and sends them to their communities to film.

One of the results of this project is a DVD entitled *Mapuche Kimvn*, which translates as ‘Mapuche knowledge.’ The short documentaries on this DVD focus on communities of Lafkenche around Lago Budi and Nagche around Lumako. Some of the themes covered in these short documentaries are biodiversity, spirituality, scarcity of land, the role of the werken (literally ‘messenger’), and the traditional game of *awar kuzen* that uses beans. Initially the idea was that copies of this DVD be passed around as a way of communicating amongst Mapuche communities. That way they would have a better understanding about the realities of living in other communities, and all from a Mapuche perspective. These videos, however, have made

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[181] Community television in Chile is exceedingly difficult. There are only 30 community channels in the whole of the country. It is expensive, both in terms of equipment/space and in terms of fees charged by the government, who also impose many restrictions. The only law in place, as of 2010, governing radio and audio-visual media was passed under the Pinochet regime and was meant to control the mass media. There is a severe penalty for unauthorized radio or television transmissions: up to $25,000.00 U.S. and three years in jail. (Acevedo 2010)

[182] “Idea de que la herramienta audiovisual pueda significar una forma de decir, una forma de mostrar la realidad de la propia perspectiva Mapuche.”

their way to the Internet and can be found on the program's Adkimvn YouTube channel[183], as well as other websites[184].

Using the Internet as a forum to host video productions has become more prevalent. Kolectivo We Newen also has a YouTube channel[185], which hosts some of Pelon Producciones videos. Kolectivo We Newen and Pelon Producciones are initiatives started by young Mapuche. Together they put out *En el nombre del progreso*, an excellent full-length documentary by Danko Marimán, who is also a member of Kolectivo We Newen. Marimán showcases four different communities who have been severely affected by and caught in the middle of government projects that are often considered signs of progress by Chile and the Western world. This documentary differs from *Mapuche Kimvn* in the sense that it focuses on the conflict affecting those four communities. The voices in this documentary are of Mapuche who have been involved or directly affected by those projects. Originally, the film was shown at various universities around the country, but it is now available on Kolectivo We Newen's YouTube channel.

Featured in *En el nombre del progreso*, is a hip-hop song of the same name, by Kolectivo We Newen. The hip-hop group's name translates to 'New Strength Collective' (Danko Marimán, personal communication, April 16, 2010). Five young people from Araucanía, who had immigrated to Santiago, formed it about five years ago. In an interview with Daniela Estrada, of Inter-Press Service News Agency, Danko Marimán explains the following perspective.

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[183] http://www.youtube.com/user/Adkimvn?feature=watch

[184] http://ecossur.wordpress.com/2011/06/27/mapuche-kimvn-serie-documental-para-compartir-en-este-wetripantu/ and http://www.contenidoslocales.cl/buscador/results/kimvn

[185] http://www.youtube.com/user/Kolectivowenewen?feature=watch

> Hip-hop is a way of expressing our experiences, talking about important topics, but most importantly, we saw it as a political tool…When we talk about 'Mapuchifying' hip-hop and poetry, we mean incorporating them into our culture. Through both these art forms we bring to light our personal and collective struggles. We could also speak of ethno-poetry and ethno-hip-hop, connecting in this case with the Mapuche people. (Estrada 2006)

Jakob Rekedal, a U.S. ethnomusicology student currently living in Chile, points out that indigenous rappers from all over the Americas have used the genre to draw attention to "ongoing struggles for rights and equality" (2010). He suggests that a documentary study of Mapuche rap could be an "important tool for intercultural understanding" and may "demonstrate diverse micro-social realities and the heterogeneity of life circumstances" (2010). However, I believe one of the most poignant elements of such a study could be what it might tell us about oral tradition. Rekedal draws attention to the fact that rap and hip-hop by their nature are traditionally oral forms of expression and that a study of Mapuche rap could potentially shed some light on the nature of oral transmission within Mapuche culture.

"Mapurbe"

Often Mapuche rap arises out of urban situations, which is a good place to segue into the 'Mapurbe' movement. This is a newly coined term combining the words 'Mapuche' and 'urban/urbano' and is used by Mapuche who live in urban and generally poor areas, particularly Santiago. The reported number of Mapuche living in these urban centers varies and entirely depends on which definition of 'Mapuche' is being used to determine those numbers. There is quite a bit of controversy over those Mapuche living in urban areas, who do not speak Mapuzugun, but still claim indigeneity. The Mapurbe movement is a response to the denial of their identity and is manifested through music, poetry and visual art. There is very little scholarly

work regarding this aspect of identity. Walter Alejandro Imilan published *Warriache*[186] *– Urban Indigenous* in 2010[187]; however, this book focuses on the construction of an "urban indigenous" identity, and while the emphasis is on Mapuche society, he examines migration and negotiating difference within the city, but does not specifically focus on the "Mapurbe" movement. Further research into this movement, as well as the general experience of Mapuche urban society, could provide valuable detail about how urban identity is influencing the general Mapuche mobilization towards territorial autonomy.

One manifestation of this movement can be found in MapUrbe'zine[188], which is "fanzine" oriented towards Mapuche youth living in urban areas. It is part of a larger program that also includes video and radio. Their objectives are "to work in different media languages. Through experimentation, the workgroup intends to express Mapuche heterogeneity, in order to continue to encourage a conversation about identity in different rural and urban communities." The online magazine has a fair mix of articles, poetry and art.

David Aniñir Guilitraro is a Mapurbe poet who published a collection of his poetry in 2009. In an interview with Ramona Wadi (2011), a freelance writer living in Malta, Aniñir Guilitraro had some very enlightening things to say about the Mapurbe movement. He explains that it is "a half-open view to a world of identity reconstruction in urban Mapuche…Mapurbe poetics is an aesthetic concept in turn with the artistic movement in Chile. The revival of a culture that modifies to survive, adapting new forms of expression which are proposing a cultural and political reflection." Despite the many adaptations that the Mapuche people have

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[186] "Warriache" is Mapuzugun for "people of the city."

[187] To date, it seems this is the only scholarly book available that is devoted entirely to the Mapuche experience in Santiago.

[188] http://hemi.nyu.edu/cuaderno/wefkvletuyin/Mapurbe_eng.htm

incorporated into their culture over the past 450 years, their culture continues to shape itself in ways that are extremely reflective of a particularly Mapuche experience and identity.

There are many Mapurbe youth and Mapuche people living outside of Araucanía who most definitely consider themselves Mapuche. When questions of identity are related to an *indigenous* identity, discussions can become very heated. This is because of the implications attached to the political aspect of that identity, both from a subordinated perspective that has experienced a history of domination and discrimination and from the dominating perspective, which can see the indigenous claim to territorial autonomy as a serious threat to their dominant nationality and culture.

Mapuche revitalization projects and conceptions of identity are rather varied. However, one of the common elements running through the examples that have been discussed in this chapter is language. Language is emphasized in the practice of naming, as with "Mapuche," and "Mapurbe," as well as with projects that focus on Mapuzugun and related cultural practices. Many of these projects use communication technologies, such as the Internet, but they also focus on communication in general: communicating their identity both to one another and to the outside world. Communication has held a central place in Mapuche worldview and in the following chapter I will discuss this further.

CHAPTER 7

MAPUCHE COMMUNICATION

In exploring the cultural implications of the Epew of Xeg-Xeg and Kay-Kay, as well as Mapuche thoughts on their contemporary identity and the revitalization projects being implemented to preserve that identity, it is glaringly apparent that language and communication are central to what it means to be Mapuche today. In this chapter, I will begin with an examination of the formal structures of Mapuche communication and discourse, and look at how these structures are understood and implemented in Mapuche society. Then I will present a survey of the Mapuche presence in the mass media, with an emphasis on the Internet, and discuss the impact they have had on Mapuche society. These discussions will establish the context for the analysis of the intersection of Mapuche identity and media use advanced in the next two chapters.

7.1 FORMAL STRUCTURES OF COMMUNICATION

Mapuche communication emphasizes listening skills, relationships and conversation. Mapuche daily and formal interactions are constantly sending out messages; teachers transmit messages to students in the form of knowledge, nature transmits messages to Mapuche in relation to the land and their subsistence, and machi transmit messages to the ngen through ceremonies and prayers (Llanquinao 2008). Nütram, most often translated as conversation, in the general sense, is essential to every aspect of the Mapuche daily and ritual life. It is central to the process of becoming an ideal Mapuche person, it is essential to the maintenance and dissemination of Mapuche history and identity, and it is essential for the ability to live in harmony among society, with nature and amidst the divine (Llanquinao 2008).

Hilda Llanquinao, Mapuche professor at the Universidad de la Frontera in Temuco, identifies three categories of relationships that establish communication at the core of the formation of a Mapuche person: the social relationship, the relationship with nature and the relationship with the divine (2008:3). The social relationship is about communicating with respect. Elders are considered to be the bearers of wisdom due to their long life full of experiences. "Some Mapuche people say that the search for wisdom in the Mapuche culture is focused on the oldest ones" (2008:3). Communication in social relationships is also about preserving traditions, particularly language. Relationship with nature is about coexistence. Instead of the "unidirectional relationship of dominance by human society" (2009:191) that is common in Western society, Mapuche base their relationship with the natural world on reciprocity and communication. These establish a relationship of equality between humans and nature, in which the commodification of the environment is not a societal trait. In this way, "nature behaves like a generous mother, who worries to give the necessary elements for the life of the human beings" (2008:4). And finally, the relationship with the divine is also based on communication and coexistence, in the way that daily life intermingles with ngen, newen and other spiritual beings that inhabit the nag mapu. (Llanquinao 2008:3-4)

María Catrileo, Mapuche linguist, proposes a system of classification to identify the different types of discourse that arise out of these three relationships (1992). She recognizes that linguistic abilities are diverse depending on the context of a person's situation, but that everyone will have a linguistic repertoire that guides them in their interactions with others. These five types of discourse are 1) meetings and solidarity, 2) information, 3) social identity and power, 4) ritual, and 5) learning and fun (1992:63-68). Some of these are archaic and no longer used in society, such as those having to do with expressing relationships of power; however, most of

them are still regularly being practiced or currently being reincorporated into society through revitalization.

Greetings and Solidarity

The discourse of encounter and solidarity is about greetings and has traditionally been a very complex interaction, "reaffirming the relationship that was suspended since the last encounter with the speaker" and expressing "a genuine interest in the current state of being of the other conversationalist and her family" [189] (Catrileo 1992:64). This type of discourse begins with the *chalin*, handshake, and the *chalintukun*, or presentation. Every conversation begins with a handshake and the exchange of greetings: "Mari mari, lamgen," or "Mari mari, peñi"[190]. *Lamgen* means 'sister and *peñi* means 'brother'[191]. *Mari* literally means 'ten,' and said twice implies 'twenty.' This symbolizes the act of the *chalin* or the handshake, because traditionally this involved all four hands between two people (Rosa Huenchulaf, personal communication, January 6, 2010).

The chalintukun would also traditionally indicate a speaker's tuwün and küpalme. This is because there is a formal structure to the presentation. It begins with the chalin and then with the presentation of the name. After shaking hands, a person would give both of her last names, which indicate küpalme and say where she is from, which was traditionally always a *lof*, which indicated her tuwün. In the greetings between two known associates, the chalintuwun would not

[189] "…demostrar la relación interrumpida desde el último encuentro con el interlocutor" and "el verdadero interés por conocer el estado actual del interlocutor y su familia."

[190] This is true even of the most passive speakers of Mapuzugun, and it is probably the most commonly known phrase of the language.

[191] While this is technically true, the reality is that 'peñi' is only used among men. If a woman is greeting a man she will still call him lamgen. Peñi is only used in greetings between two men; lamgen is used in every other case. Additionally, these terms are only used amongst Mapuche or with non-Mapuche who have demonstrated respect for Mapuche culture. They would not be used with a non-Mapuche stranger.

be necessary. Instead, they would begin a *pentukun* which is a ritualized greeting asking after the health of the conversant and her family, and sometimes her neighbors and friends as well. Traditionally this greeting could last awhile, as it would only end when both participants had had a chance to discuss not only the physical health of everyone important to them, but the mental and spiritual health as well. The pentukun is not just about the exchange of information, but part of the purpose is healing through the communication; both participants should feel better about their situations at the end of the conversation (Rosa Huenchulaf, personal communication, January 6, 2010).[192]

Information

The second type of discourse is that of information and will vary depending on the social situation involved. This is usually characterized by nütram, which can be the narration of an historic circumstance, a ritual event, the happenings of the community, or the experiences of everyday life (Catrileo 1992:65). These narratives can be related to the present or the past. Nütram serves to explain the daily interactions between members of the community, but it can also be about acquiring knowledge, or *kimün*.

Social Identity and Power

Social identity and power characterizes the third type of discourse. These reflect the interactions between people, particularly community leaders, as well as between whole communities. A leader "demonstrated his power through mastery of oratory and knowledge about his community"[193] (Catrileo 1992:66). According to Catrileo, in the past these modes of

[192] The chalintukun and the pentukun can either be an informal interpersonal encounter as described here, or a formal encounter incorporated into a religious ceremony such as the ngillatun (Huenchumilla, et al. 2005:83-85).

[193] "demostraba su poderío a través del dominio de la oratoria y del conocimiento sobre la historia de su comunidad."

communication included *koyag, koyagtun, wewpin, wewpitun,* and *ngüfetun*. Contemporary use of these modes of communication will vary from community to community. Koyag is a competition between young men to show off their mastery of language and knowledge about their communities. Koyagtun is used in parliaments between 'chiefs'[194] who represent different communities. Wewpin[195] is an aggressive kind of speech used at assemblies in times of war or conflict. Wewpintun is formal, structured discourse used by 'chiefs,' involving pauses and intonation, used to relate past, present or future historical military events. Ngüfetun involves the defense of a violation perpetrated against property, such as damage caused in the fields by a neighbor's animal. (Catrileo 1992:65-66).

Ritual

Ritual discourse, the fourth type, occurs in a highly codified manner in which the participants have very specific roles. This communication is metaphorical in nature and involves the interpretation through shared cultural knowledge (Catrileo 1992:66). Examples of ritual discourse include *uldungun, ingkatun, llowdungun* and *pillamtun*. Uldungun has to do with the delivery of someone's message. The message is usually from a lonko, a family elder or a person preparing a ritual. Ingkatun involves finding volunteers to help out with household chores. Llowdungun is about the accurate receipt and response of a message involving an invitation to a ritual celebration or something similar that needs a decision. Pillamtun involves the prayer or song of a machi. This may relate to an analysis of the land or the exorcism of a sick person. (Catrileo 1992:66)

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[194] Catrileo is not specific about the meaning of 'chief." This is perhaps due to the fact that it could be the *lonko*, or a higher authority, such as *ñizol lonko*, who was an authority figured elected to represent multiple communities.

[195] In some communities, wewpin is currently observed today, but reinterpreted more like koyag in which the participants are practicing at constructing knowledge (Quilaqueo and San Martín 2008). In some communities, wewpin is known as a type of formalized funeral discourse (Course 2005:180).

Education and Entertainment

Finally, the last type of discourse has to do with education, as well as entertainment. This is probably one of the more commonly discussed types of communication since the institution of truly intercultural education programs is a highly valued project in the revitalization movement. This involves certain kinds of communication already discussed, such as epew and piam. Llanquinao (2008) identifies three main forms or methodologies of education: pentukun, nütram and *gülam*. Pentukun and nütram have already been discussed but it is important to emphasize the role of the family in all of these education strategies. “Traditional Mapuche education was rooted in the family daily routine” and acquiring knowledge was based on a “learning by doing” model (Llanquinao 208:2). The ngenpin, machi and elders of the community are ultimately responsible for the education of the younger generations so that they can “contribute to the community at the social and political levels” but the everyday responsibilities of imparting knowledge fell to the parents (Marileo n.d.-a).

In addition to participating in the social structure of the community, the pentukun is also a way for children to develop their memory and communication skills, as well as “qualities such as prudence, empathy, solidarity and respect among others” (Llanquinao 2008:4). This will have been practiced since very young childhood and was also a way of binding relationships between family members that do not live in the same house. This is also the beginning of training for the *werken*, or messenger, which in addition to referring to this informal social interaction, is also a formalized social role. Nütram is also a way for children to develop communication skills, which involves not only listening, but learning to dialogue and share their thoughts as well. Additionally, it is a way for parents to know their children and make sure they are constructing knowledge and acquiring kimün.

Gülam means giving advice and is usually dispensed by elders of the family and the community. It is about "guiding [children] regarding appropriate conduct, so that they become capable of assessing what is possible/attainable in given circumstances, and the consequences of action" (Marileo n.d.-a). Elders are the members of the community who hold the wisdom and so it is their responsibility to share the benefit of their experience with the younger generations. The lessons they have learned from their own reflections and experiences, the decisions they have had to make and the personal and collective life history of their family and community serves to orient children and give them a foundation from which to approach the world and live a good life (Llanquinao 2008:5).

Marileo (n.d.-a) further subdivides the approach to education into theoretical and empirical schooling. Theoretical schooling involves many of the communication strategies already discussed, such as gülam, epew, nütram and piam. He would also add *femaim, ül, peuma, perimontun,* and *yam* to that list. Marileo translates 'femaim' as the idea of "act[ing] in this way and not in that way." Ül means songs, which are used in ceremonies and yam refers to respect of "self-regulation and control of behavior" (Marileo n.d.-a). Peuma are dreams and perimontun are visions; both must be interpreted and belong in the realm of the machi. These methods are how machi communicate with and gain knowledge from ngen.

Empirical learning is reserved for when children are ready to "begin to take responsibility for their actions and develop self-respect and confidence" (Marileo n.d.-a). This involves committing themselves to tasks in the community. These involve helping out with daily chores, such as cooking, weaving or working in the fields; being trusted with minor responsibilities, such

as the care of an animal; participating in religious ceremonies, by dancing the *choike purun*[196] or helping to prepare and serve food; and taking part in social activities, such as pentukun, *mafün* (a wedding ritual) or taking on the role of werken.

The role of werken involves both the informal duty of carrying a message faithfully from one person to another, as well as the formalized role of messenger to the lonko or other community authority figures. The formal werken is trained as a child, first by visiting relatives and practicing pentukun, and later more rigorously. This role carried the responsibility of memorizing messages exactly and sometimes carrying them over long distances to other communities. These messages may involve tidings of the community, important information regarding community events or the formal act of inviting a neighboring community to participate in a ngillatun. The position of werken is a hereditary one, passed on to a person through one's küpalme.

Thus, communication was traditionally an axis of interaction in the family unit as well as the community. While some of these models have eroded due to the influences of hectic Chilean society, many of them remain important today and are the focus of revitalization projects. The communication models discussed here are important for relationships involving other members of society, involving the natural world and those involving divinity. They are essential strategies for acquiring and passing down knowledge, and are central to traditional modes of education.

7.2 MAPUCHE PRESENCE IN THE MASS MEDIA

These interpersonal communication models differ in form from the communication transmitted via the mass media, but both types of communication are essential to the preservation of Mapuche identity. Traditional communication models are vital for the transmission of

[196] A 'choike' is a kind of large bird indigenous to the Andes, similar to an ostrich. It is also a ceremonial dance, mimicking the bird's movements, that is performed at ngillatun.

knowledge and the maintenance of Mapuche society. However, if Mapuche are not allowed to cultivate these ways of interacting, either because of the negative effects of discrimination or the imposition of State 'development' projects, the Mapuche people will continue to lose that knowledge and that part of their identity. Online communication, especially, aids in preventing this by disseminating Mapuche knowledge and providing a forum for alternate or 'counter' information that is not presented in the mainstream press. This forum allows them to combat State development and neo-liberal projects that would have detrimental effects on the environment, as well as Mapuche culture. The online reality created by Mapuche activists, intellectuals, journalists and students reflects and helps shape the Mapuche reality offline.

However, some people believe the use of the Internet to be a double-edged sword. On the one hand, communication technologies in general aid in keeping communities in better touch with one another. On the other hand, this results in people not talking face to face as much, which means that those traditional communication methods of interacting are falling away. Juan Jacinto Huaiquin (personal communication, May 6, 2010) believes people are busier now than in the past; they are always hurrying around. They stay in their houses and do not visit one another; they no longer have time for pentukuwün. In addition, communication via the Internet, by nature, is truncated – emails, Facebook, twitter – which means the way people interact offline can be influenced by this shortened form of communication. (Juan Huaiquin, personal communication, May 6, 2010; Luis Nahuel, personal communication, May 17, 2010; Wladimir Painemal, personal communication, March 23, 2010). Machi Luis Nahuel would also add that the way young people use the Internet is affecting their mind; they are "losing their minds," because using a "machine" involves the development of the mind alone, and in only one

particular way. They can get headaches and neglect other important aspects of being (personal communication, May 17, 2010)

Conversely, the Internet is viewed as an essential tool in the political struggle for the Mapuche people to combat negative portrayals and aid in achieving political and cultural autonomy. Communication is largely what has fostered cooperation and connections between Mapuche living in Argentina and Chile. Given that the Chilean mass media fall very short of presenting a fair and balanced representation of their people, many Mapuche activists agree that the Internet is necessary. Stories in which Mapuche communities are encroached upon or positive stories about Mapuche culture, such as celebrations of We Xipantu, or the New Year, are noticeably absent from the mainstream press (Sergio Carihuentro, personal communication, April 7, 2010; Seguel 2010). However, stories portraying Mapuche as violent terrorists are fairly common. The day I arrived in Chile, *El Mercurio*, a national newspaper published out of Santiago, ran an article that described the armed attack on police while traveling on a contested stretch of highway along the Ruta 5 Sur. Two of the detectives were wounded when "an unidentified group of people" opened fire on the vehicle. According to the article the government assumed that the attack was in response to the detainment of five Mapuche activists (Bustos, Fredes & Durán 2009). In an accompanying column, this incident was used to justify the application of the Antiterrorism Law, which has been employed to incarcerate a number of Mapuche activists. Alfredo Seguel, manager of the popular Mapuexpress website, believes this type of reporting to be an insidious way for the State to systematically establish racism and exploitation (2010).

For these reasons, communication through mass media has become a focal point in the Mapuche movement. Along with the development of national and international networks and the

monitoring of humans rights abuses by supranational organizations, such as the United Nations, communication is a valuable tool of resistance (Seguel 2010). The history of this tool, however, is relatively short, due to the fact that media production in Chile has been restricted and tightly regulated for years, especially during the Pinochet dictatorship. Levels of state control over media production even today make the use of the Internet the cheapest and most reliable method of mass communication. There are no State controls over Internet use[197] and the cost is next to nothing[198].

Print Media

Print media are also relatively free from State regulations, although cost becomes a factor in newspaper circulation. The requirements of publishing a newspaper include writing a letter informing the regional governor of the intent to begin circulation. A copy of each edition must be sent to the national archives. The cost can be countered by selling advertisement space and setting a small price to each issue[199]. Some successful examples of Mapuche newspapers with a widespread audience are *Azkintuwe* and *Observador Ciudadano*[200].

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[197] This fact is fortified by the 2010 amendment of the Chilean General Telecommunications Law to include net neutrality protection, which ensures that Internet users' network access will be not be restricted by Internet providers or the government. Chile was the first country to write this concept into national legislation. (*El Mundo* 2010; Ministerio de Transportes y Telecomunicaciones 2010).

[198] While many Mapuche do not have a computer or an Internet connection, the proliferation of cybercafés makes the Web relatively accessible, at least in the cities, for very little cost.

[199] According to Alfredo Seguel, when starting a newspaper it is a good idea to underbid the price of other newspapers, but it is unwise to distribute the paper for free. If people have to pay for each issue, even a nominal fee, they are more likely to value the content and pass the paper along to other when they are finished with it rather than throwing it out (2010).

[200] Strictly speaking, *Observador Ciudadano* is not a Mapuche newspaper, as it is produced by the Observatorio Ciudadano, an organization dedicated to the defense of human rights, run by Chilean lawyer José Aylwin. However, many of the contributors are either Mapuche or non-Mapuche dedicated to the Mapuche movement.

Radio

Radio is a somewhat common form of Mapuche mass media in Chile, whereas Mapuche community television is non-existent[201]. These forms of media are subject to much more stringent regulations by the government. Despite the provision in the 1993 Indigenous Law which states that "respect and protection of indigenous cultures and languages would be assured through the promotion of indigenous programs in indigenous languages on regional radio and television" these forms of media remain hard to access[202] (Salazar 2003:22).

The legislation that controls audiovisual media production in Chile is the same law that was passed during the Pinochet dictatorship in order to control media messages. The penalty for the illegal transmission of radio or television programming is a fine of up to 14,000,000 pesos (roughly $25,000 U.S.) and up to three years in prison. According to Paulina Acevedo, prominent journalist and member of the Observatorio Ciudadano, Chile and Brazil are the only countries in South America with the penalty of prison time for illegal transmission (2010). She has also spoken on the "notion of thirds," an idea that influences the regulations on media production. This concept would have media production divided into three categories: 1/3 commercial, 1/3 non-for-profit, and 1/3 community. This limits the opportunities for Mapuche media production who have to share space with other community projects[203]. Additionally, radio, and especially television, production can be an expensive undertaking, both in terms of equipment as well as fees. As of April 2010, there were only 30 community television stations in the whole of the country, none of which were Mapuche owned.

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[201]I am not aware of any specifically Mapuche television stations anywhere in Chile.

[202] Even in Argentina, where the telecommunications law is more progressive with regard to indigenous media production, there remains a dearth of Mapuche media (Benjamin Ancán, personal communication, April 14, 2010).

[203] Mapuche media falls under the concept of "community" or "comunitario." There is no separate distinction for indigenously produced media.

Nevertheless, there are various Mapuche radio programs and stations throughout the country and radio remains an important medium in rural areas as it is often the only type of communication available. In many places in the country even cell phones are useless because infrastructure in these poor communities was never made a priority. Radio also proved to be tremendously valuable after the earthquake of 2010 as it was the only mass medium reliably working right after the quake and for several days thereafter.

According to Salazar (2004), Mapuche involvement in radio can be traced to FEDER of the late 1960s. FEDER, or the Foundation of School Radios for Rural Development was created by Dutch missionaries and included programming in Mapuzugun. However, this was largely an evangelical tactic and was not representative of a Mapuche perspective. Until the 1990s the only radio programming directed towards a Mapuche audience was religious and evangelical in nature. It was not until the early 1990s that there was Mapuche programming produced by Mapuche, for Mapuche. Wixage Anay, aired on Radio Nacional out of Santiago and directed by Mapuche activist Elías Paillan, is one the best examples of these. It originated in the efforts of a Mapuche collective called Jvken Mapu that produced Mapuche programming on other stations as well. (Salazar 2004:154) According to Paillan, there were multiple objectives envisioned for Wixage Anay, including aiding in the process of strengthening Mapuche identity of those living in the city (personal communication, April 26, 2010).

Today there are numerous Mapuche programs and stations all over the country. In Region Araucanía, in Lican Ray, there is Radio Wallon[204] directed by Francisco Kakilpan; in Isla Huapi, there is Radio Werken Kvrvf, directed by Andrés Coniuñir, as well as La Voz de Budi,

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[204] Radio Wallon is the first completely Mapuche radio *station*. Unfortunately, the earthquake of 2010 devastated the station's building and equipment; as of this writing, it has not recovered.

directed by Nestor Chavez; in Carahue there is Radio Werken of Comunidad Koliko; and Radio Rakiduam Lafkenche and Radio Newen Lafken, both out of Tirúa (Alejandro Herrera, personal communication, December 3, 2009; Elías Paillan, personal communication, April 26, 2010). Much of the programming on these stations involves music; however, there are usually a few hours every day devoted to Mapuzugun and programming that focuses on culture and interviews of prominent Mapuche community members. With some stations, a person from one community may send a birthday message to a person from another community. (Juan Huaiquin, personal communication, May 6, 2010; Fernando Lemuñir, personal communication, April 28, 2010). Of note, two of these stations have the term 'werken' in their name, one uses the term 'rakizuam,' and the others involve elements of nature: 'kürüf' and 'wallon'[205]. This reflects the intended purpose for many of these stations, which is to facilitate the flow of information between communities, to disseminate Mapuche language and culture, and in many ways to act as an extension of oral tradition.

Internet

Today, there are a number of Mapuche websites, blogs and YouTube channels. Over the past 15 years, some websites have not persisted, but more often than not, they have evolved into extremely useful resources, such as ÑukeMapu (mapuche.info) and *Azkintuwe* (azkintuwe.org). Most of the websites are political in nature and focus on presenting information that is suppressed or ignored by the mainstream Chilean media. Certain websites produce original material, as in the case of ÑukeMapu and *Azkintuwe*, but often the same story or video will appear on various sites. Usually there is an emphasis on the Mapuche people as a whole, and with the exception of certain blogs, such as Comunidad Autónoma Temucuicui

[205] 'Kürüf' means 'wind,' and 'wallon means 'the trajectory the sun travels from dawn until sunset.'

(comunidadtemucuicui.blogspot.com), the stories presented cover a variety of communities; however, many of the websites give preference to articles covering either Chile or Argentina, but not both. On the other hand, some websites, such as Mapuexpress (mapuexpress.net), Avkin Pivke Mapu (avkinpivkemapu.com.ar), or *Azkintuwe*, not only attempt to include stories that are representative of Mapuche in both Chile and Argentina, but also provide stories about indigenous peoples in other Latin American countries as well.

ÑukeMapu, Mapuche International Link (mapuche-nation.org), and Mapuche Foundation FOLIL (mapuche.nl) are all websites maintained by diasporic Mapuche now living in Europe; in Sweden, the United Kingdom and the Netherlands respectively. The content of these sites is multilingual; however, Spanish is still the predominant language. ÑukeMapu and Mapuche International Link (henceforth, MIL) were both founded in 1996 and Mapuche FOLIL (henceforth, FOLIL) in 2000. The main purpose of these sites is to inform and raise awareness in the international community about the Mapuche realities and struggles. MIL encourages participation and FOLIL has organized lectures and exhibits. Ñuke Mapu, whose full name is ÑukeMapu: Mapuche Documentation Center, has a unique design. These two sites go beyond the news article and strive to provide a place for academic publications by Mapuche researchers who may lack the opportunities for publication in Chile and Argentina. While today there are more opportunities, such as through the Instituto de Estudios Indígenas, the Internet has remained a valuable resource for academics and non-academics alike.

Websites, such as Mapuexpress, Avkin Pivke Mapu and Pais Mapuche (paismapuche.org) focus on providing Mapuche news information from many different

communities. They all have a fairly wide readership[206] and upload news, announcements, and videos on a regular basis. The primary objective of such websites is to provide a source of "counter-information" to combat the negative and discriminatory information they perceive to be prevalent in Chilean sources. Mapuexpress emphasizes the desire to create a network of plural voices and an open forum that promotes unity. The team that runs Mapuexpress also creates offline opportunities to promote a culture of communication among Mapuche communities.

There are some websites whose purpose is more focused or represents the specific efforts of organizations, such as Fundación Chol-Chol (cholchol.org), Lonko Kilapang (lonkokilapang.cl), and Meli Wixan Mapu (meli.mapuches.org). Fundación Chol-Chol is a non-profit organization that contributes to the sustainable development of Mapuche artisans. Most of the handicraft markets in Chile sell crafts and artwork with Mapuche motifs or representing Mapuche material culture, such as the kultrun or *trarilonko* (traditional silver head ornament); however, rarely do the majority of the profits reach Mapuche artisans. More often than not, although the art is representative of Mapuche culture and worldview, it is not created by Mapuche. Fundación Chol-Chol exists to help create opportunities for Mapuche artisans to be fairly compensated for their work and to help them develop successful business models. The website has a history of the foundation, information on Mapuche artisans and promotes the products.

Lonko Kilapang is an NGO run entirely by indigenous people that works in Mapuche communities and with other organizations to create programs that promote different aspects of Mapuche identity, support proposals for territorial self-management and create networks to help generate dialogue. The majority of the website is dedicated to the projects run by the

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[206] This is determined by personal communication with a variety of people, as well as the number of Facebook 'fans' or subscribers.

organization, one of which is the online Mapuzugun language course discussed in Chapter 6. However, there are a few articles and valuable links to other sites that serve as useful resources. Meli Wixan Mapu also has a specific purpose but remains broader in its presentation. The organization behind Meli Wixan Mapu started in the 1990s and launched the webpage in the 2006 to promote its efforts. The purpose of the organization is to construct and recover Mapuche identity in urban spaces; the idea is that Mapuche living in cities, particularly Santiago where the organization is based, have the right to be considered in the process of the Mapuche Nation establishing its freedom and self-determination. While the website does promote the activities of Mapuche living in Santiago, it is also an excellent source for other, more inclusive, information. There are news stories from throughout Wallmapu, publications and book reviews, poetry by Mapuche authors, information on political prisoners and links to videos, both shorts and documentaries, being produced by Mapuche.

Werken (werken.cl) and *Mapuche Times* (mapuchetimes.cl) follow a journalistic model, like *Azkintuwe*. That is, the articles produced on these websites do not come from a variety of sources, but rather, are produced by the Mapuche journalists that maintain the website. In the case of Werken, the stated objective is to cover the activities of a variety of communities and to produce thematic content. So far, the articles seem very similar to what is already being produced on other sites. *Mapuche Times*, however, takes a unique approach towards content produced for this paper, which is also circulated in physical form. *Mapuche Times*, a predominantly Spanish-language newspaper, is the conception of Pedro Cayuqueo, who is also one of the major forces behind *Azkintuwe*. In an interview with Sabine Drysdale, he jokingly claims he gave the paper an English name so he could "skip the Spanish" (Drysdale, 2012). In an article he wrote for *The Clinic* in November 2011, Cayuqueo relays something his mother said

regarding *Azkintuwe*: "Your paper is very nice, son, but you know, I read it and the truth is I get bored. Other times I get depressed"[207] (Cayuqueo 2011, November 3). His mother's admonitions inspired him to create a new paper in which the content portrays the positive side of being Mapuche; one that magnifies living in a region that is characterized by linguistic and cultural diversity and one that his mother would enjoy reading. After release of the second issue, the paper seems very much characterized by a variety of different, positive aspects about Mapuche culture, including art, tourism, health, music, and a variety of other cultural elements. Since the website went live on February 7, 2012, it has had over 1,600 visitors (http://webstats.motigo.com/s?tab=1&link=1&id=4884386, March 19, 2012).

One of the most commons ways the Internet has seen a growth in Mapuche voices is through blog pages, some of which are run by individuals and others that represent organizations[208]. Many of them, such as Jvfken Mapu Informa (comunicacionesmapuchejvfkenmapu.blogspot.com) or Informativo Mapuche Werken Kvrvf (werkenkvrvf.blogspot.com) use the political news story and community events format based similarly on the major website models. In some ways, however, there is more variety with these blogs as many of them were created as a way to convey information about a particular theme or happening. For example, the Women's Coordinating Committee for a Free Wallmapu (wccctoronto.wordpress.com), which represents an organization based in Toronto, Canada, tends to focus on local Canadian events and women's issues. Newen liwen (newenmapu.blogspot.com) includes news articles, but also contains interesting language posts, such as the meaning of Mapuche last names, or basic Mapuzugun questions.

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[207] "Sabes hijo, bonito tu periódico, pero lo leo y la verdad me aburro. Otras veces me deprimo."

[208] There are many more Mapuche websites, blogs and YouTube channels that are regularly maintained, but due to the scope of this chapter, I have limited my discussion to a brief overview of the more prominent ones.

The most common themes that appear on these websites include highlighting the violence perpetrated by police on Mapuche, as well as other forms of discrimination, the destruction of the natural environment by 'development' projects, the implications of urban Mapuche identity, and issues regarding autonomy and self-determination. Generally speaking, these themes are indicative of a common thread running through most of these websites; that of creating an alternate space where Mapuche voices can be heard and where the framing of mainstream press can be challenged. Juan Francisco Salazar, one of the few academics studying Mapuche online media production, calls this space a "counter public sphere" (2003:20). After twenty years "Mapuche web sites have *continued* to bare [sic] witness to the legacies of the military dictatorship…Examples of this are the neo-liberal policies impacting negatively on indigenous peoples and the environment, or the infliction of the anti-terrorist law" to imprison Mapuche activists (2007:24, emphasis added). The Internet has allowed the Mapuche to intrude on these Chilean policies from which they continue to be excluded since the redemocratization that began after the dictatorship ended in 1990.

The development of this alternate space, or 'counter public sphere' has already accomplished two very important achievements. The first is that it has given a voice to those who the Chilean government and press have characterized as 'terrorists.' Labeling Mapuche activists as 'terrorists' allows the government to detain them without trial, or try them without access to the evidence presented against them[209]. It allows the government to arrest activists preemptively (Salazar 2003:27). It also creates the picture of a violent and dangerous indigenous population, which not only harms territory claims, but also perpetuates the divide between

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[209] This includes the use of 'anonymous witnesses' whose identities are never divulged and the defense is not allowed to interview.

Mapuche and other Chileans. The mainstream press does not allow for a Mapuche perspective despite running negative articles about Mapuche and Mapuche 'terrorism' on a regular basis[210].

The second success lies in the area of images. One of the most noticeable aspects of many of these websites, and even the online newspapers, is the use of color photography. These photos represent original work done by activists and journalists in the field. They are full of vibrant colors and often depict graphic scenes of violence against Mapuche that would never appear in the mainstream press. This photography "provides graphic material on the militarization of the areas in conflict, the abuse of power by the police and the logging activities" (Salazar 2003:27). It provides an immediate and powerful counter-story to that presented by the mainstream media that would have the Chilean public believing all the violence is derived from Mapuche.

In addition to the balance these photographs provide regarding violence in the region, they also succeed in combating other stereotypes: Mapuche as '*Chilean* Indians' and the noble savage. First of all, NetMapu, a website which is now defunct, was started in the 1990s specifically to counter the appropriation of Mapuche symbolism by mainstream society. The Mapuche resent the notion that Mapuche represent the noble past of Chilean history, where Mapuche of the 17th and 18th century are valorized. They question the Chilean sense of pride that "*our* Indians were never conquered." It seems as though every town in Chile has a natural history museum and in every single one I visited there are Mapuche artifacts representing the beginnings of *Chilean* history. From an anecdotal perspective, this attitude in general seems to have lessened somewhat, which may, in part, be due to the combination of the efforts of

[210] See any number of *El Mercurio* articles by Sergio Villalobos, as well as the Pedro Cayuqueo's April 9, 2011 article on *el post* entitled "Mapuches y mapuchólogos" (http://elpost.cl/content/mapuches-y-mapuch%C3%B3logos, accessed March 15, 2012).

Mapuche revitalization, as well as the perpetuation of the Mapuche-as-violent stereotype in the media.

Nevertheless the concept of the Mapuche-as-noble-savage persists. All too often Mapuche are thought of as living in the country, working at a loom or in the field, all while dressed in traditional clothing. This disregards the fact that 70% of the Mapuche population live in cities and that only 40% still live in the region of Araucanía (Salazar 2004:145, 152). This does not negate the fact that they may still identify with all the cultural elements described in Chapter 4; however, it does mean that this stereotype of the country-dwelling peasant-native is not accurate.

An ironic example of the perpetuation of this stereotype through media photos can be found in an article Pedro Cayuqueo wrote for El Post (elpost.cl). El Post is a cooperative website that proposes to decipher "the construction of reality" while providing a place to research and analysis it in order to develop a "new concept map." On April 9, 2011, Cayuqueo published an article on the site called "Mapuches y Mapuchólogos" in which he criticized academics and journalists who did not seem interested in "interethnic dialogue;" that is, those who present a negative, stereotyped image of Mapuche in the media on a regular basis. The photograph that was chosen by El Post to introduce the article was that of a field with a group of Mapuche in the background and a man in the foreground, dressed in a traditional poncho carrying a stick meant to represent a spear. The photograph itself is contemporary and was probably taken during some ceremony or festival. However, it did not accurately reflect the content of the story it was introducing and it helps perpetuate the stereotype that Mapuche all live in the country performing "primitive" ceremonies. About a week later, Cayuqueo (2011, April 18) published an article

criticizing the decision to include that particular photo. The article also ran on the *Azkintuwe* website, in which a picture with young women holding a Mapuche flag was attached to the story.

Despite the prevalence of websites, issues of accessibility and representation must still be addressed. Internet access has become increasingly more available over the past decade and most likely will continue to become so. This may, in part, be responsible for the growth in websites and blogs[211]. However, in many cases rural Mapuche, elders and poor urban dwellers do not have ready access, which begs the question of audience and representation. In general, with the exception of European websites, the audience seems primarily to be other Mapuche, followed by Chileans and Argentines, with an international audience being of tertiary concern. Nevertheless, the purpose of many websites is to disseminate Mapuche knowledge, and this is accomplished despite accessibility issues. Young people who live in rural communities often travel to the city centers for work or school, where access is easier. They then take the messages found online back to their communities. This is a part of the network system elaborated on in Chapter 9, and has become a way to extend the reach of websites beyond the space of cyberspace.

Additionally, most websites, when invoking the idea of "Mapuche" do so in a way which is meant to represent all Mapuche, or a Mapuche Nation as a whole. While this will be addressed in more depth in the following chapter, generally speaking, this may be the result of an underlying objective by many Mapuche organizations; that is, to create a sense of national identity or solidarity among Mapuche with the intent of furthering the Mapuche claim to self-determination.

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[211] In 2003, Salazar estimated around 25 active Mapuche websites. This number has, without doubt, at least doubled in the past ten years.

Discussions of representation are difficult: who speaks for whom and who has the authority to speak for whom? At this point, I would like to address the heritage of some of those who claim to represent Mapuche concerns. First, the movements and voices that exist today were not born during the 1990s; in fact, there is a heritage of Mapuche activism that extends all the way back to the turn of the twentieth century. Some of these influences, which have persisted from the agrarian reform movement of the 1960s and 1970s, as well as the activities of during the dictatorship, have been addressed elsewhere in this dissertation, but they bear some repeating.

For example, the Painemal family, of which Wladimir Painemal, co-founder of *Azkintuwe*, is a part of, has ties that go back to the Sociedad Caupolicán and the Federación Araucana of the early twentieth century. Martín Segundo Painemal Huenchual attended some of the meetings held by the Federación Araucana to discuss the problems of Mapuche unity and defense of the land (Foerster 1983:64). Later he helped to form the Asociación Nacional Indígena (ANI) in 1953. At one of the first conferences they held, a declaration was drafted in which their goals were established.

> 'The National Indigenous Association of Chile [ANI] will work to organize one Center for all Mapuche of the country…will fight to abolish all racial discrimination; for the preservation of culture, language and art, and for the reconquest of lands; it will strive to raise the economic, political, social and cultural level of its associates. Along with the People and the organized working class it will fight for the recovery of public freedoms, for the improvement of the democratic regime; for the defense of national sovereignty; for the liberation of Chile from foreign domination, against the landowning oligarchy and its servants; for peace and antiwar… '(Declaration of Principles of the National Indigenous Association [ANI])[212] (Foerster 1983:79)

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[212] "'La Asociación Nacional Indígena de Chile trabajará por organizer en una sola Central a todos los mapuches del país, a fin de lograr su complete emancipación en su calidad de Minoría Nacional, luchará pro abolir toda discriminación racial; por la conservación de su cultura, de su lengua y de su arte, y por la reconquista de sus tierras; luchará por elevar el nivel económico, político, social y cultural de los asociados. Junto al Pueblo y a la clase trabajadora organizada luchará por la recuperación de las liberatades públicas; por el perfeccionamiento del régimen

Take note of the similarities between the goals of this organization and those of many of the organizations of today. Recovery of Mapuche lands has been one of the most consistent goals since the reducción system was instituted. As Manquilef demonstrated in the beginning of the twentieth century, there have been many philosophies as to the best way to accomplish this, include privatizing the land and redividing it among Mapuche individuals. The desire to work with other marginalized groups has been fairly consistent as well. Occasionally, there are exclusive attitudes, but generally there is a desire to include Chileans of the region in the national projects (Mallon 2009b:9; Marimán, P., Caniuqueo, Millalén & Levil 2006:253-271; Cayuqueo interview in Ray 2007:263). Additionally, the desire to unite the Mapuche people has also been a consistent goal. As demonstrated by ANI's declaration, rhetoric of sovereignty has also been something associated with this goal of unification. Despite the difficulties in achieving this unity of vision, the solidarity shown between organizations with differing perspectives is indicative of the collective identity of Mapuche, while maintaining their diversity.

It has also been noted that the Painemal family comes from a line of educated people who descend from caciques (Guevara & Mañkilef 1912[2002]:183-184). The Marimán family has a similar history. José Marimán is an educated intellectual currently living and lecturing in the United States. He was a part of Ad-Mapu in the late 1980s (Reuque 2002:354-55,fn5). He and Pablo Marimán, as well as Melillán Painemal, have all been associated with leftist and socialist political movements. Many of the voices in this dissertation and those found online are those of

democrático; por la defensa de la soberanía nacional; por la liberación de Chile de la dominación extranjera, contra la oligarquía terrateniente y sus sirvientes; por la paz y contra la guerra, y luchará por sacar a Chile de su postración económica junto a todos los países democráticos del mundo.' (Declaración de Principios de la Asociación Nacional Indígena)"

educated, urban elite. These are the leaders of many of the movements to recuperate territory and achieve self-determination.

This raises the issue of representation. These people are mainly urban dwelling professionals, many of whom are only "passive speakers" of Mapuzugun. Today, many of these activists also represent the younger generation. Critics would question their relationship to their issues and their ability to speak. However, the authors of *¡Escucha, winka!* would respond to that by stating that "those who see the urban Mapuche as outsiders in this process, we can say to them that that corresponds to a prejudice, for the majority of those [urban] Mapuche continue to be in contact with their communities of origin, collaborating with them"[213] (Marimán, P., Caniuqueo, Millalén & Levil 2006:270). Indeed, many of the people with whom I spoke still lived in their communities, travelled back and forth, or maintained some sort of contact with them. There are Mapuche movements that are developing their own traditional communities in non-traditional areas, namely the cities. Sometimes these Mapuche have little contact with the communities of the traditional regions.

However, the opposite side of that claim is that the rural perspective is not always accurately represented. According to Magnus Course, British anthropologist, "for many urban people, rural Mapuche people appear a distant anachronism with little relevance or value to the future" (2011:xi). The assumption can often be that the image of rural dwelling Mapuche is stereotypical (Cayuqueo 2011, April 9; Cayuqueo 2011, April 18), or simply that most Mapuche live in the cities now.

Another aspect to this question of representation is demonstrated in the claims that Mapuche ngenpin, Armando Marileo, has made against Magnus Course. Apparently, Marileo,

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[213] "para los que ven a los mapuche urbanos ajenos a estos procesos, les podemos decir que eso corresponde a un prejuicio, pues la mayoría de estos siguen en contacto con sus comunidades de origen, colaborando con ellas"

along with other Mapuche ngenpin, feel that the approach Course took in his anthropological ethnography reflected Western colonial practices in the sense that he stole sacred knowledge without asking permission from authority figures or being sensitive to the fact that the knowledge Course has published is "sacred and intimate" in nature (Colihuinca, et al. 2012, October 22). Course has responded by explaining that he got permission, not only from the lonko and president, but from "every single household in the community" (http://answerpot.com/showthread.php?4046830-FW%3A+Debate+Between+Ngenpin+(mapuche+Ancestral+Authority)+Armando+Marileo+And+British+Anthr, retrieved November 20, 2012). In addition to claiming that Marileo himself does not have the authority to speak for the community in question, Course has suggested that the accusations leveled against him have more to do with struggles for representation, not only between Mapuche and non-Mapuche, but also between rural and urban voices. There remain no easy answers to the questions of representation and debates such as these are necessary to remind us of these issues.

Finally, the question of effectiveness must be addressed. Providing an alternate forum for the negative stereotypes of Mapuche presented in the mainstream media through photography and news articles is one immediate example. The fact that these forums have persisted over the past ten years or more shows that, at the very least, users and producers find these forums to be valuable. Based on a comparison with Juan Francisco Salazar's assessment of the state of Mapuche websites towards the beginning of this century, I would conclude that, as a source of counter-information, many of these websites have succeeded. *Azkintuwe* and Mapuexpress are extremely well-known, established websites that people rely on for information. *Azkintuwe*, for example, has received over one million hits since 2006. Many people visit these sites on a regular basis (Elías Paillan, personal communication, April 26, 2010; Rúben Sánchez, personal

communication, April 6, 2010; José Vargas, personal communication, April 6, 2010). They have succeeded in keeping different parts of Wallmapu informed on what is happening in other local communities. Some of the websites have fallen away, such as NetMapu, but more often than not the websites Salazar examined in the early 2000s are still around. ÑukeMapu is no longer hosted on the University of Uppsala site, but has moved on to its own website. Kolectivo Lientur has transformed itself into *Azkintuwe* with a print format as well as online articles.

Some people have expressed the doubt that Mapuche websites are thriving (Rúben Sánchez, personal communication, April 6, 2010), but the fact that many of them have survived over the last decade, as well as the appearance of new sites every day, seems to prove otherwise. In some cases, these websites persevere through the efforts of just a handful of people. As the college students who started these movements and projects grow up and have families there is less time to devote to cyberactivism (J.C., personal communication, May 20, 2010). However, with the accessibility of the Internet and through projects that train young Mapuche in video production (Gerardo Berrocal, personal communication, May 7, 2010; Horacio Meliñir, personal communication, May 7, 2010; Ariella Orbach, personal communication, April 30, 2010), the younger generation of Mapuche are encouraged to express their voices and identity. Even if those who started the projects of the early 2000s grow up and are beset with other life responsibilities, the culture of Mapuche websites seems to have taken hold. As new media technologies continue to advance, there is no evidence to suggest that use of the Internet by Mapuche organizations and activists will subside.

Finally, these websites seem to have created an Internet culture that reflects an enormous amount of intellectualism. In addition to the research papers and book drafts ÑukeMapu makes available, the caliber of much of the writing found on these websites is rather high. Regardless if

this is due to the fact that the originators of many of these websites were students, it encourages the creation of critical works that produces reliable sources of information. It also reinforces a positive online collective identity and bolsters the movement towards autonomy and self-determination.

CHAPTER 8

NATIONAL IDENTITY

In this chapter, I will delve into a focused study of one website in particular, azkintuwe.org, and more specifically, the newspaper this organization publishes. This study is composed of a content analysis of the available editions of the publication. As stated above, *Azkintuwe* is an online, Mapuche-run newspaper that has been in publication since 2003. The approach the editors have taken towards its reporting is one of journalistic integrity that provides a balanced view of events. In the discussion that follows I will provide a brief history of this publication and the ideals from which it was born. I will reiterate the reasons why I chose to perform the analysis on this particular newspaper. Then, through my discussion of the results of the study, I will explore how this publication has been part of the effort to encourage a national identity among Mapuche.

Azkintuwe Background

Azkintuwe has its roots in Colectivo Lientur de Contrainformación, a website established in 2000 in Temuco with the objective to "denounce before public opinion the multiple abuses suffered by communities and organizations of the Mapuche People in Chile[214]" (*Azkintuwe*, n.d.). In 2003, Colectivo Lientur underwent internal reorganization and, with a slight change in orientation, established *Periódico Azkintuwe*. This was transformed into *Azkintuwe* - Agencia Mapuche de Noticias[215] in 2008, although the focus of the newspaper remained the same. Today, *Azkintuwe* is both a non-profit organization that does not accept paid advertisement, as

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[214] "denunciar ante la opinión pública los múltiples atropellos de que eran víctimas comunidades y organizaciones del Pueblo Mapuche en Chile."

[215] Mapuche News Agency

well as a print newspaper. The website azkintuwe.org posts numerous articles over the course of a couple of months. Bi-monthly a selection of these articles are collected, edited and published in the newspaper of the same name, *Azkintuwe*.

The newspaper's initial objective was similar to Colectivo Lientur's devotion to disseminating "counter-information." That is, it combated the "inaccurate information, speculations and even falsehoods that occur today regarding the struggle of our people for their rights[216]" (*Azkintuwe* 1[1]:2). *Azkintuwe* was an answer to the misrepresentation perpetrated by the Chilean mainstream media. Pedro Cayuqueo, co-founder and director of *Azkintuwe*, recalls that they were "indignant above all by the Austral and their holy editorial where the Mapuche appeared either as 'terrorists' or as the hottest of the 'ají merquen[217]'" (Cayuqueo, 2011, November 3). Cayuqueo points out that stories about the Mapuche appeared either in the crime reports or as curious footnotes. *Azkintuwe* was the response to this portrayal and intended to set the record straight. "If the Austral talked of 'taking the country estates,' we talked of 'territorial recuperation.' If La Tercera spoke of 'violence,' we spoke of 'self-defense.' If the Mercurio talked about the 'incarcerated,' we talked about 'political prisoners.' If the Nación spoke of Araucanía, we spoke of 'Wallmapu[218]'" (Cayuqueo 2011, November 3).

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[216] "informaciones imprecisas, especulaciones e incluso falsedades, como ocurre hoy en dia en el caso de la lucha de nuestro pueblo por sus derechos"

[217] El Austral is a Chilean, regional newspaper for La Araucanía, the region where the Chilean half of Wallmapu can be found. Ají merquen is a spice indigenous to Chile and used in traditional cuisine. "Nos indignaba sobre todo El Austral y su bendita línea editorial, aquella donde los mapuches figurábamos o bien como 'terroristas' o como el más picante de los 'aji merquen.'"

[218] The Austral, La Tercera, the Mercurio and the Nación are all mainstream newspapers in Chile. "Si el Austral hablaba de 'toma de fundo,' nosotros de 'recuperación.' Si La Tercera hablaba de 'violencia,' nosotros de 'autodefensa.' Si el Mercurio hablaba de 'encarcelados,' nosotros de 'presos políticos.' Si la Nación hablaba de La Araucanía, nosotros de "Wallmapu.'"

The Mapuzugun meaning of the name "*Azkintuwe*" in some ways reflects this objective. Literally, "azkintuwe" means "the lookout." Wladimir Painemal, co-founder and contributor to *Azkintuwe*, describes the word as traditionally meaning a place on a hill or somewhere high up where people could come and look out onto the entirety of the territory or lof (personal communication, March 23, 2010). However, like many Mapuzugun concepts, he says it is really a much more complex idea. Like people, land has an az and the azkintuwe allowed people to observe that aspect of the land. The newspaper "*Azkintuwe*" reflects this meaning by allowing people to see the az of today's society (personal communication, March 23, 2010).

As part of the desire to counter the misinformation of the mainstream media, *Azkintuwe* privileges an objective and journalistic approach. The intention is to present "true, intelligent, contrastive and quality journalism" (*Azkintuwe* 1[1]:2). To this end, the authors and directors of the newspaper put a great deal of emphasis on offering plural and balanced viewpoints. According to Wladimir Painemal, they do this for various reasons. This approach provides a broad base of information. It aids in representing the diversity of Mapuche society and their experience. It also helps prevent the newspaper from falling into discrimination (i.e. privileging one viewpoint or community over another), stereotyping or perpetuating stigmas regarding Mapuche identity and culture (personal communication, March 23, 2010).

Aspiring to the most pluralism as possible has resulted in criticism from some of their readership. One of the newspaper's contributors, who wishes to remain anonymous, says that their critics are bothered that they cannot pinpoint *Azkintuwe*'s editorial opinion. Sometimes this leads to people believing that the organization supports certain events. For example, in 2007 when Mapuche Ceferino Namuncura from the Río Negro Province of Argentina was beatified by the Roman Catholic Church, *Azkintuwe* ran several articles covering the event. Some assumed

this meant that *Azkintuwe* supported this action, when in reality contributing journalists were more or less indifferent about the occurrence (personal communication, May 2010).

Nevertheless, *Azkintuwe*'s goal has always been, in addition to countering the misinformation of the mainstream media, to reflect the diversity of the Mapuche world. In order to do this fairly, personal politics are set aside. For example, a personal disagreement with a new director of CONADI would not interfere with one of the reporters conducting an interview if given the opportunity. This also means that declarations from communities are not directly published in any of the editions. Instead, a reporter is sent to the community to investigate, in order to present a full and balanced view of the story. *Azkintuwe* attempts to avoid left or right political leanings. The contributor to *Azkintuwe* who wishes to remain anonymous relates Pedro Cayuqueo's perspective on the matter: "We, before all else, before being on the left or the right, we are Mapuche[219]" (personal communication, May 2010).

Another aspect of the pluralist approach adopted by the organization is their multicultural perspective. Topics found in the newspaper are about Mapuche in particular, but also about indigenous peoples in general. Stories about other indigenous people are not restricted to Latin America, but can also include articles on those such as the Basque of Spain or the Maori of New Zealand. *Azkintuwe* seeks to better communication and access to mass media among indigenous communities and social organizations. The solidarity expressed for other indigenous peoples is part of this goal.

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[219] "Nosotros, antes todo, muchachos, antes de ser de la izquierda ni de la derecha, somos mapuche."

Azkintuwe was also the first Mapuche print media with "supranational" coverage (*Azkintuwe* n.d.) [220]. This means that the contributors and the articles regarding Mapuche are from and about both Chile and Argentina. The newspaper covers "the four points of Mapuche territory. Puelmapu and Gulumapu, Pikunmapu and Huillimapu[221]" (*Azkintuwe* 1[1]: 2). The inclusion of Mapuche and Mapuche communities from both sides of the cordillera reflects Cayuqueo's sentiment that "we are Mapuche," regardless of political disagreements, geographic location or differences in local traditions. This viewpoint reflects the desire for a "national newspaper" (*Azkintuwe* 1[1]:2).

In the very first edition of the newspaper, an editorial introduction stated that "within these pages we try to reflect the visions of all of those today with a stake…in the reconstruction of that old utopia of the Mapuche country[222]" (*Azkintuwe* 1[1]:2). The intention was to create a newspaper that reflected a national character of the Mapuche in a natural way, similar to how this is accomplished in mainstream Chilean newspapers. Increasingly throughout the newspaper's life, the emphasis on this vision of Mapuche nationality became stronger (Cayuqueo, 2011 November 3). Additionally, the contributors maintained the idea that Mapuche nationalism was not based on blood relations, but related to language, living within the territory and the feeling of belonging to it (anonymous, personal communication, May 2010).

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[220] Nevertheless, Azkintuwe was not the first to recognize the importance of organizing and integrating voices and representatives from both sides of the cordillera. As early 1990 this was happening through the efforts of the Comisión Quinientos Años, an early incarnation of the Consejo's organization while they were still part of Ad Mapu (Martínez Neira 2009:610).

[221] Puelmapu – land to the east or Argentina, Gulumapu – land to the west or Chile, Pikunmapu – land to the north, and Huillimapu – land to the south.

[222] "Al interior de estas páginas trataremos de reflejar las visiones de todos aquellos que hoy apuestan…por la reconstrucción de aquella vieja utopía del país mapuche."

Ultimately the mission statement of the organization as described on the website is "to promote the national rights of the Mapuche People and the value of multiculturalism in the treatment of information, in order to influence the mass media, other sectors of society and public opinion in general[223]" (*Azkintuwe*, n.d.). Therefore, the importance placed on counter-information, objectivity, pluralism, and solidarity were intended to affect societal change. Promoting a collective, national Mapuche identity is rooted in the desire for a return to the "utopian" ideal of pre-contact Mapuche society as a way of moving forward politically in today's world (Ancán Jara and Calfío Montalva 2002; *Azkintuwe* 1[1]:2; Salazar 2004).

The content of the newspaper reflects the philosophies and objectives discussed above. As a counter-information measure, many of the articles reflect and react to current events. For example, after the death of Matías Catrileo in 2008 during a confrontation with a special operations unit of the Chilean police force, the following edition of *Azkintuwe* published multiple articles regarding this event, which was highly polarized. Additionally, there was commentary regarding the unnecessary force, violence and physical abuse which Mapuche communities perceive Chilean authorities to use in response to situations in which Mapuche are exercising their right to protest and public dissention.

Land recuperation, political prisoners, power abuses and cultural colonization are all common themes that recur throughout the editions of the newspaper. While Mapuzugun words pepper every page, very few articles are written entirely in Mapuzugun, presumably because this would limit potential readership. Occasionally there are articles regarding cultural events and humor incorporated; however, while it does not privilege one philosophy over the other, the

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[223] "promueve los derechos nacionales del Pueblo Mapuche y los valores de la multiculturalidad en el tratamiento de la información, para influir en los medios de comunicación masivos, en otros sectores sociales y en la opinión pública en general."

focus is largely political. Pedro Cayuqueo stated that almost immediately the newspaper took off and received wide-spread renown, particularly in academic and professional circles. However, in a recent conversation with his mother, he realized that while he may be disseminating ideas of national self-determination he was only reaching a portion of the Mapuche people (Cayuqueo 2011, November 3). For this reason, he began *Mapuche Times*, which is another online newspaper that has a lighter, more cultural approach to reporting on the Mapuche world. Since this time and likely due to the establishment of *Mapuche Times*, there have been no online pdfs of *Azkintuwe*; the last edition was the 2010 Anuario, which covered a summary of events from that year. However, while it is not always an everyday occurrence, the website for the organization is still updated on a regular basis[224].

The articles as well as the authors are both Chilean and Argentine. The authors are also composed of non-Mapuche, as well as Mapuche. In addition to journalists, they are also social scientists and historians. Adrian Moyano, author of *Crónicas de la resistencia mapuche*, is one of the non-Mapuche, Argentine contributors to *Azkintuwe*. He works for a radio program and two different publications. Several years ago, he started writing notes based on his radio show and distributed them via email. Not long after, he was invited to participate in *Azkintuwe*, which is how he became involved in the project. He said he went for many years being a part of the *Azkintuwe* collective before he met them face to face. (personal communication, April 13, 2010).

According to Pedro Cayuqueo, very quickly after its inception Azktinuwe became a principal journalistic force covering events that involved Mapuche. He states that "renowned academics were requesting to be published; Mapuche leaders across the political spectrum were

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[224] However, readership of the website has fallen off. The number of hits of azkintuwe.org by the middle of October 2012 was only 82,324 compared with 210,255 hits total from the year before, and 385,704 from 2010. Data provided by Motigo Webstats (retrieved from http://webstats.motigo.com/s?interval=day_peryear&tab=1&link=2&id=4086943#d on October 18, 2012)

demanding coverage and interviews: and on more than one occasion, we enjoyed the praise of the most radical activists in the bunch[225]" (Cayuqueo, 2011, November 3). Since 2006, the website has received over one million hits and a yearly average of over 90,000 unique visits[226]. Azktintuwe's readership, while not limited to Mapuche audiences, nevertheless has a narrow focus. Wladimir Painemal points out that their readers are more concentrated on "Mapuche leaders, organizations, students, professionals, Mapuche and non-Mapuche, and Chilean people who sympathize with our struggle[227]" (personal communication, March 23, 2010). Cayuqueo has pointed out that *Azkintuwe* only reached a portion of the Mapuche people, but Painemal calls attention to one of the ways their project has helped those with identity issues. "This is a space where one can recognize oneself…Argentine and Chilean people who do not have a clear identity or who have a Mapuche last name can say, ah, that is who I am[228]" (personal communication, March 23, 2010).

Content Analysis

The philosophy behind the organization, their approach towards journalism and the accessibility of the newspaper are all reasons why I chose *Azkintuwe* as the focus of my analysis. In talking to Mapuche activists, journalists and media consumers, it was the most commonly referenced Mapuche Internet website. The newspaper contains original articles intended to be

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[225] "Académicos de renombre nos solicitaban ser publicados; dirigentes de todo el espectro político mapuche demandaban coberturas y entrevistas; y en más de una ocasi'on disfrutamos del aplauso de los más radicales activistas de la plaza."

[226] Data provided by Motigo Webstats (retreived from http://webstats.motigo.com/s?interval=day_peryear&tab=1&link=2&id=4086943#d on October 18, 2012)

[227] "Nuestros lectores están más concentrados en el ámbito de la dirigencia mapuche, las organizaciones, estudiantes, profesionales, Mapuche y no Mapuche, y la gente chilena que también tiene, sienta simpatía por nuestra lucha."

[228] "Y encuentran en esa lugar un espacio en dónde puedan reconocerse incluso a sí mismo…gente Argentina o Chilena que no tienen muy clara su identidad o que incluso tiene un apellido mapuche dice, ah, pero entonces yo soy."

democratic and representative. The newspaper *Azkintuwe* is also the culminating product of what started as an offline organization and grew into an activist movement that utilizes the Internet in a central fashion. The original Colectivo Lientur organized with the objective of countering the negative messages perpetuated by the Chilean mainstream press. This project developed into Azkintuwe, the organization, the website and the newspaper. Like other organizations of the late twentieth and early twenty-first centuries, they placed the development of a Mapuche national identity as one of their central goals. The manner in which they pursued this involved the usage of communication technology in bringing together voices from all parts of the proposed territory of the Mapuche nation; that is, Wallmapu. This collective effort offers an excellent case study in which an examination of how Mapuche identity is represented as a means of establishing a particularly Mapuche identity, and specifically how the Internet is utilized in this process. The newspaper itself is indicative of the central effort of what the organization attempts and the PDF versions of most of the editions, available through azkintuwe.org, make *Azkintuwe* accessible for this study. I used all of the editions published from its inception in October 2003 through the annual from December 2010. Nine editions published between March 2008 and August 2009 were not available on the website and despite enormous effort, I was unable to procure copies via other routes; therefore, these nine editions were not included in the analysis.

Before I continue, it is necessary to examine the concept of "content analysis," as there is some debate regarding its nature. According to Bernard Berelson, an oft-referenced scholar on this subject, content analysis is "a research technique for the objective, systematic, and quantitative description of the manifest content of communication" (1952:18). Kimberly A. Neuendorf, a contemporary expert on content analysis, upholds Berelson's definition and

reiterates at the beginning of her book, *The Content Analysis Guidebook*, that the term "does not apply to every analysis of message content, only those that meet a rigorous definition" (2002:4). Her rigorous definition[229] emphasizes the scientific method, the quantitative nature of the analysis and the fact that it is not limited by context. According to Neuendorf's assessment, my analysis of *Azkintuwe* is more of an *interpretative analysis*[230], which focuses on the observation of messages through coding, and its qualitative and cumulative nature.

However, not all scholars who work in this area feel that content analysis must necessarily be quantitative in nature. Klaus Krippendorf, author of *Content Analysis: An Introduction to Its Methodology*, is one such scholar. Krippendorf defines content analysis as "a research technique for making replicable and valid inferences from text (or other meaningful matter) to the contexts of their use" (2004:18). He substitutes Berelson's "systematic" and "objective" for "replicability" and "validity," for, he states, "replicability is measurable and validity is testable, but objectivity is neither" (2004:19).

Krippendorf criticizes Berelson's definition for its reliance on quantitative data and for his treatment of the concept of "content." Firstly, Krippendorf points out that "reading is fundamentally a qualitative process, even when it results in numerical accounts. By including the attribute 'manifest' in his definition, Berelson intended to ensure that the coding of content analysis be reliable; this requirement literally excludes 'reading between the lines,' which is what

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[229] Neuendorf's rigorous definition is as follows: "Content analysis is a summarizing, quantitative analysis of messages that relies on the scientific method (including attention to objectivity-intersubjectivity, a priori design, reliability, validity, generalizability, replicability, and hypothesis testing) and is not limited as to the types of variables that may be measured or the context in which the messages are created or presented" (2002:10).

[230] Neuendorf defines *interpretative analysis* as follows: "The focus of this technique is on the formation of theory from the observation of messages and the coding of those messages. With its roots in social scientific inquiry, it involves theoretical sampling; analytical categories; cumulative, comparative analysis; and the formulation of types or conceptual categories. The methodology is clearly spelled out, but it differs from scientific inquiry in its wholly qualitative nature and its cumulative process, whereby the analyst is in a constant state of discovery and revision. The researcher is assumed to be a competent observer" (2002:6).

experts do, often with remarkable intersubjective agreement" (2004:19-20). He recognizes that texts hold no reader-independent meaning or even singular meaning, and that excluding qualitative approaches to content analysis excludes important tools for deriving meaning from texts. Krippendorf identifies Berelson's lack of concern over the concept of "content" as part of the failing of his definition. Calling it "the manifest content of communication," "implies that content is *contained* in messages, waiting to be separated from its form and described…[That Berelson believed content] to reside *inside* a text" (2004:20).

Krippendorf recognized that while quantitative data has its value, reading is a qualitative experience, and that *content*, what it is and what it means, must "*emerge in the process of a researcher analyzing a text* relative to a particular context" (2004:19, author's emphasis). The analysts' contribution cannot be minimized. He said the key "lies in the operations that define the nature of content analysis data" (2004:22). Therefore, while my analysis is not quantitative in nature, I continue to use the term "content analysis" as opposed to something more along the lines of what Neuendorf proposes. I have adopted Krippendorf's definition of content analysis as my own and in the followings pages I will describe how I strived to the standards of reliability, validity and how I operationalized my definitions of content throughout my analysis.

Reliability can be defined as "the consistency with which a measuring instrument yields a certain result when the entity being measured hasn't changed" (Leedy & Ormrod 1989[2005]:29). An important aspect of reliability is that the study be replicable, meaning that "the research should be repeatable. Any other competent researcher should be able to take the problem and, collecting data under the same circumstances and within the identical parameters that you have used, achieve results comparable to those you have obtained" (Leedy & Ormrod 1989[2005]:88). Therefore, I utilized an outside coder to ensure the reliability and replicability

of my analysis. My outside coder was a recent doctoral graduate from the University of Wisconsin who has a background in Latin American history and culture, and who is also fluent in Spanish. I provided her with the glossary of Mapuzugun terms found in Appendix A, as well the operationalized definitions of the codes I used, found in Appendix E. After a brief training in which I clarified my instructions to her, she evaluated 11 percent of the articles chosen for inclusion in this content analysis. Our overall agreement rating was 91.3 percent. In comparing just the dominant frames and themes determined to be present in articles, the agreement rating was 90.5 percent, which falls within the acceptable range for intercoder reliability (Miles and Huberman 1994:64).

Validity can be defined as "the extent to which the instrument measures what it is supposed to measure" (Leedy & Ormrod 1989[2005]:28). The factor I was most concerned with throughout my content analysis was Mapuche identity and how it was communicated through the media messages found in the print version of *Azkintuwe*. First, I determined that my unit of measurement is the article. Each article can be construed as conveying a specific and independent message. A quantitative evaluation of word frequency may have skewed the importance placed on certain concepts. For example, the term "pueblo" or "people" may have occurred ten times or more in one edition than another, but each edition may have had the same number of articles that focused on the idea of the Mapuche as a "pueblo." For this reason, I felt a qualitative analysis of the concepts present in the articles was a more valid approach. Additionally, in order to ensure the validity of the categories I developed to evaluate these concepts, I employed my understanding of Mapuche culture and concerns gained through my field research and interviews in the operationalization of my definitions, which I discuss in more depth below.

Utilizing inductive reasoning, I also drew upon my knowledge gained from interviews and archival research, as well as my observations at conferences and presentations, to determine how to narrow these articles for analysis. This method is modeled after David Althiede's "progressive theoretical sampling" in which "the selection of materials [is] based on emerging understanding of the topic under investigation. The idea is to select materials for conceptual or theoretically relevant reasons" (1996:33-34). Therefore, the narrowing factor I chose was language because it is central to understanding Mapuche identity. As discussed in the previous chapter, language and communication is also often a central focus of revitalization efforts. According to Mapuche linguist Jaqueline Caniguan, "language is a unifying element…because only through language do we transmit the profoundness of our culture[231]" (Cayuqueo 2010, February 5). As a unifying agent, language can be more representative than articles about land recuperation or misuse of traditional territory, which tend to focus on conflict above other aspects of identity. Articles that incorporate language are not necessarily without a political focus. Donald Horowitz (1985) has shown that language can be a symbol of autonomy in the face of political and cultural suppression. Finally, language as a feature of Mapuche identity can serve to link cultural indigeneity with political indigeneity, as the foundation of the latter is often based on elements, such as language, from the former.

Limiting the articles to those that incorporate language does not mean that only those articles in Mapuzugun or specifically about Mapuzugun were chosen. Rather, I defined "language" broadly and in addition to articles in and about Mapuzugun, I also included articles about language in general, articles about other indigenous languages, and articles that either utilized Mapuzugun words or were about concepts expressed in Mapuzugun, such as ngillatun,

[231] "la lengua es un elemento unificador, donde nos distinguimos, porque sólo a través de la lengua transmitimos la profundidad de nuestra cultura."

werken or We Tripantu. I included this category in my coding (see Appendix E), but did not utilize these distinctions in my analysis. Using this criterion to narrow the articles in my sample led to a sample size of 23% of total articles over the thirty-six editions included in this study.

The method by which I first ensured that narrowing the articles according to language would produce a sufficient sample size involved reading 10% of the editions of the newspaper. Using a random number generator, I selected four editions and read every article in these editions. Narrowing according to language produced a selection of about 25% of all articles. During this process I also refined the other categories for my coding. As a result of the interviews I had conducted with Mapuche activists, journalists and media consumers, as well as the archival research I had conducted, I already had an idea of the kinds of themes and frames I would find in the newspaper. This knowledge, as well as reading through 10% of all the articles, helped to finalize the categories I would use for the analysis. In addition to the first four categories, which include basic information, such as in which edition the article appears, what kind of article it is (ex. news, interview, culture, etc.), its authorship and its relevance to language, I developed twenty-five categories. I made these categories as discrete as possible, while at the same time allowing for the possibility to collapse and combine some of them, if needed.

Initially, I was interested in the demographics of the authors of the chosen articles, but throughout the coding process it became apparent that I could not reliably identity whether an author was Mapuche. In some cases, I either knew first hand that the author was Mapuche or could easily identify this based on the author's surname. However, a Spanish surname does not necessarily mean the author is not Mapuche, and there were simply too many authors whose

backgrounds were impossible to determine with any degree of certainty. Therefore, I did not consider this category in my final analysis.

Despite being unable to identify author demographics, information regarding the settings and subjects of the articles was still important in evaluating how representative the articles actually were. Therefore, I developed two categories to record this information. The first one determined geographical setting, which records whether the article covered events on one side of the Andean cordillera or another, or whether the events were relevant to both sides, which corresponds to Wallmapu, or whether the article covered events in places other than Chile and Argentina. The second category is territorial identity of the subject(s) of the article. This category corresponds to the manner in which Mapuche worldview divides the Wallmapu into socio-political units (see Figure 9.6). For example, if the article's subject is an individual, this would be coded as "che" or "person." If the article's subject was a large group of smaller communities or related to all Mapuche communities within a large region, such as the area surrounding a Chilean city, the article was coded as "ayllarewe/futamapu," which corresponds to one of the larger, traditional territorial divisions. The geographic setting and socio-politically defined subject do not necessarily correspond. For example, coverage of an event or topic that takes place in Chile may be presented as having implications only for a small community, or lof, or it may be presented as having implications for the Mapuche people as a whole.

In developing the remaining categories, I realized that there were two concepts to which I needed to pay particular attention as I am interested in the collective cultural, as well as political, identity represented in the newspaper: self-determination and the nation, or nationalism. These two terms are extremely relevant for claims to political indigeneity. Assertions of nationhood and self-determination are defined by their revocation through the process of colonization.

Political indigeneity was born of this phenomenon and the relationship between the state and Mapuche during the colonial era. Therefore, use of these terms specifically evokes a *political* identity. Coding of these concepts applied when they were *explicitly* stated in an article; "1" was coded when the concept was present, and "0" was coded when the concept was absent. The explicit mention of the concept of "self-determination" was identified by looking for terms such as "self- or free-determination," "autonomy," "regional autonomy" or "political autonomy." The explicit mention of the concept of the nation or of a national identity (abbreviated as "nation/nationalism") was identified by looking for terms such as "nation," "people," "Mapuche People," "one people," or "articulated people."

Frames	**Themes**
Political Cultural Spiritual Historical Legal Development Environmental Intercultural Health Health Intercultural Education	"We are unjustly labeled terrorists." "Non-Mapuche prosper economically off Mapuche culture." "We have no voice; what other choice is there?" "We are united in our diversity." "The 'Mapuche Problem' is a result of colonization." Internal colonization: "We are still being colonized." "*Marichiwew* – We are still here." Combating stereotypes: "We are not ________." Identity: "The land is who we are." Mapuche "development"

Table 8.1 List of Frames and Themes used to code Azkintuwe articles

The following twenty coding categories can be divided into two broad classes: frames and themes (see Table 8.1). The framing categories identify articles that emphasize the corresponding attributes, but do not address the specific themes listed in another class of categories. The thematic categories are based on common tropes or motifs that appear in Mapuche media and in conversations with Mapuche activists and media consumers. Both frames

and themes are separate and distinct categories, which are clarified through their operational definitions (see Appendix E for detailed definitions). For example, the health frame includes articles about Mapuche health practices or cultural approaches to health, such as the role of machi; however, articles that discuss the intersection of a Western approach with a Mapuche approach, such as intercultural hospitals, are subsumed under the frame intercultural health. Articles about Chilean development projects that emphasize economics are included in the development frame; however, articles about küme felen and developing good rakizuam fall under the theme of Mapuche "development." Additionally, Chilean development projects which lead to experiences of modern colonialism by Mapuche communities fall under the theme of internal colonization.

For each article, one of these frames or themes was identified as reflecting the dominant message and coded with a "2." All other frames and themes that appear in the article, but do not reflect this primary message were coded with a "1." Frames and themes that did not appear in the article were coded with a "0." In some instances, none of these frames or themes reflected the reality of the article, in which case the final category, "Information," was coded with a 2 and all other categories received a "0." In these cases, the article was largely informational and value-free; the articles reported event announcements or stated brief facts, and were not intended to create any type of emotional or intellectual reaction in the reader.

Results

The analysis began with an examination of the geographic settings and territorial identities of the subjects of the articles, the importance of which will be discussed in the next chapter. As *Azkintuwe* was the first supranational, Mapuche newspaper, I was interested in determining just how representative the articles were in featuring events of both sides of the cordillera, as well as whether or not there was an emphasis on the physical area of Wallmapu, which subsumes both sides of the cordillera.

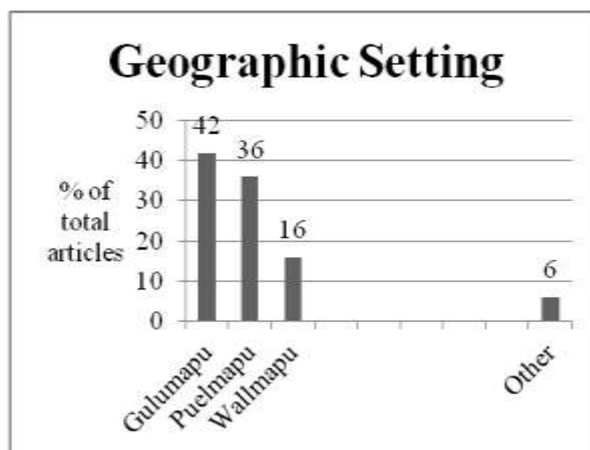

Figure 8.1 Geographic Setting

Not surprisingly, the setting of a majority of the articles took place in Chile (see Figure 8.1), presumably because the organization's headquarters and director are established in Temuco. However, the prevalence of Chile as the setting over Argentina as the setting was not great, resulting in a difference of only six percent of total articles[232]. This suggests a rather balanced representation of events from both sides of the cordillera. While the setting of Wallmapu was surprisingly only reflected in 16 percent of total articles, perhaps this simply suggests the reality of the cordillera in preventing events from taking place in both Argentina and Chile at the same

[232] From this point forward, "total articles" should be taken to mean all the articles that were included and analyzed in this study.

time. Finally, a significant, but far from overwhelming number of articles reflected settings other than Argentina and Chile, which is evidence of the pluralist approach of the newspaper.

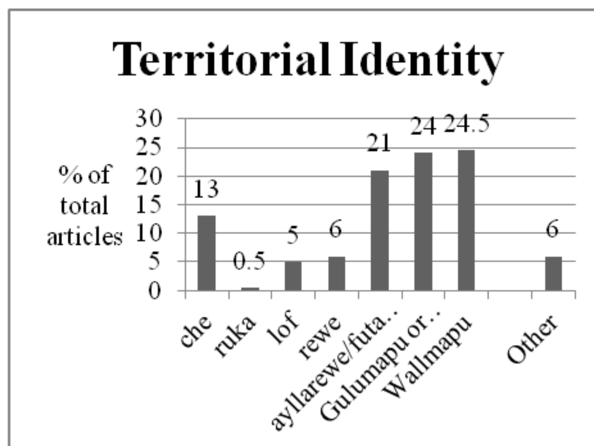

Figure 8.2 Territorial Identity

The subject of each article was defined by territorial identity in which a person corresponds to “che,” a family corresponds to “ruka,” a single community corresponds to “lof,” a collection of communities or area of a town corresponds to “rewe,” a large collection of communities or the surroundings of a town or region corresponds to “ayllarewe/futamapu,” the Mapuche of Chile or Argentina correspond to “Gulumapu or Puelmapu,” the Mapuche of both Chile and Argentina correspond to “Wallmapu,” and non-Mapuche subjects correspond to “other.” Subjects corresponding to the family, or ruka, were negligible, followed by small numbers of subjects corresponding to the lof, the rewe and non-Mapuche (see Figure 8.2). Considering the multicultural approach of the paper, a small percentage of non-Mapuche subjects are to be expected, but, as the analysis shows, this was not the focus of the newspaper. A significant percent of subjects correspond to che, which is most likely due to the inclusion of interviews in the newspaper; “che” subjects and the proportion of interviews both individually represent 13 percent of total articles. However, the majority of articles had subjects that corresponded to the larger units of territorial identity. The majority and nearly a quarter of all

articles related stories that have to do with Wallmapu, which represents the entirety of the Mapuche people. This reinforces the idea that the newspaper is intended to reflect a "national character" of the Mapuche people.

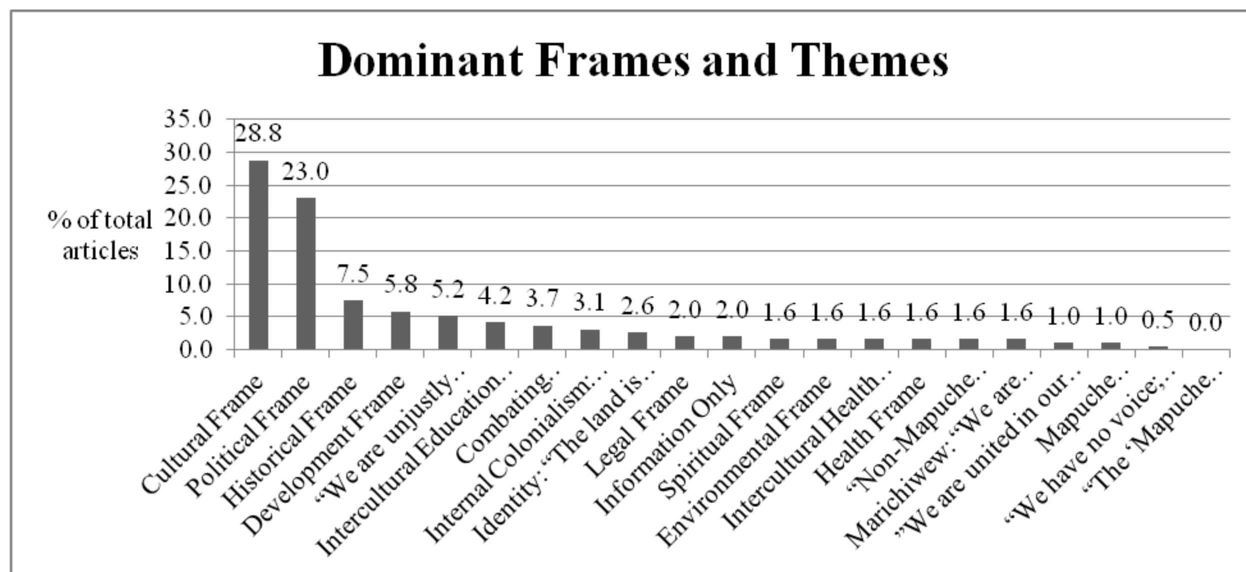

Figure 8.3 Dominant Frames and Themes

The next step in the analysis was determining which frames and themes were dominant throughout the articles (see Figure 8.3). The findings during this stage were rather surprising. Over half the total articles were dominated by either a general cultural or political frame; the other nineteen categories, including the information only code, made up the remaining 48.2 percent of articles. This finding defied my expectations in two ways. First, based on the conversations and readings I used to inform the development and definitions of the coding categories, I expected a more balanced dominance across the board. For example, I would have expected to see more prevalence of the theme "We are unjustly labeled terrorists…" since this topic seems very common and is reinforced by visuals, largely graffiti, in many parts of the city of Temuco. Perhaps this was not the case because, even though there is solidarity with the Mapuche being held as political prisoners, the organizations which are largely the focus of these

labels are those such as the Coordinador Arauco-Malleco and the Consejo de Todas las Tierras and many Mapuche strongly oppose their methods. However, as Reuque points out, regardless of disagreements regarding the philosophy and tactics of these kinds of groups, there are shows of solidarity because they are still Mapuche fighting for a common cause (2002:189). Secondly, in lieu of a more balanced distribution, I would have expected a political frame to dominant the articles, since an uncritical reading of the newspapers returns the sense that the majority of the articles are highly political in nature; instead, a cultural frame emerged as the most dominant category.

While this finding was unexpected, it was not entirely surprising. Many of the thematic categories promote *specific* cultural and political frames. For example, the belief that becoming a whole person involves social reciprocity, which corresponds to the category "Mapuche 'development,'" can be construed as relating to Mapuche culture, or worldview. Therefore, the fact that the majority of articles were dominated by cultural and political frames suggests not that the other categories are insignificant, but rather that, within these two frames, the themes and matters covered in the articles are simply representative of the myriad cultural and political features of contemporary Mapuche society. Nevertheless, these results suggested two avenues of analysis: the first, an examination of all the categories represented in the articles regardless of dominance (see Figure 8.4), and second, an examination of the dominant frames and themes when the codes have been collapsed to represent slightly broader categories (see Table 8.2 and Figure 8.5).

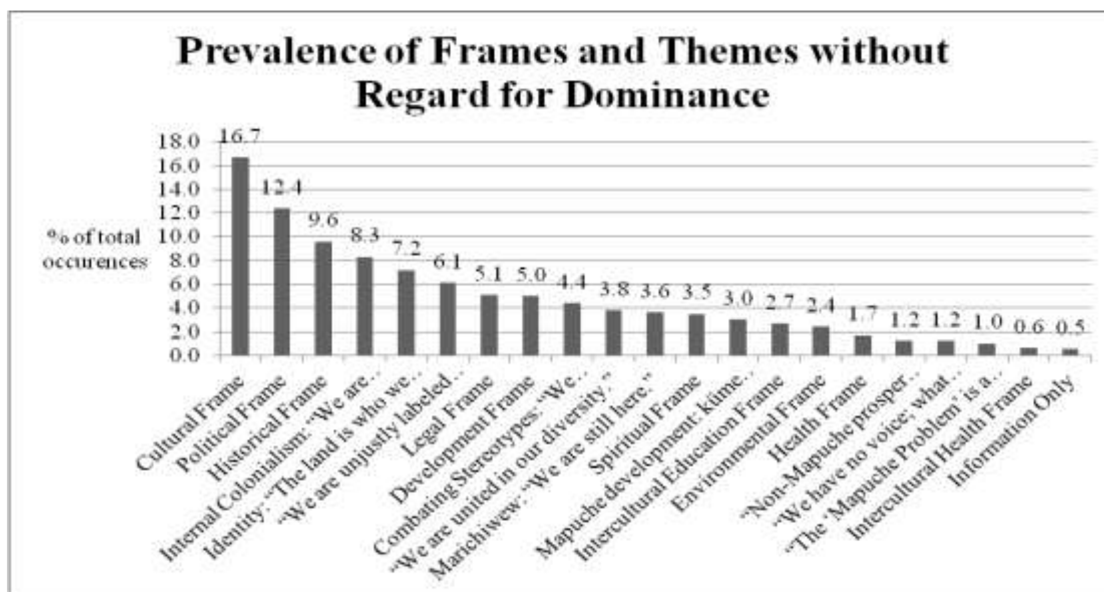

Figure 8.4 Prevalence of Frames and Themes without Regard for Dominance

In evaluating the occurrence of frames and themes without regard for dominance, the results find that there is slightly more varied representation amongst the categories; however, the cultural and political frames continue to govern the character of the articles. Of note, the categories that occur in more than 5 percent but less than 10 percent of the time change slightly when dominance is ignored. The legal frame and the themes of internal colonialism and identity based in the land become more prominent than the development and intercultural education frames, as well as the theme of combating stereotypes when dominance is ignored. In fact, the intercultural education frame drops from 4.2 percent to just 2.7 percent of total occurrences; however, when this frame is collapsed into an interculturality category with the intercultural health frame (see Table 8.2) and adjusted for dominance, it becomes more prominent again at 5.8 percent of total articles (see Figure 8.5). Nevertheless, considering the preponderance of discussion and scholastic theses related to interculturality, it is somewhat surprising that this category was not even more dominant.

Dominant Frames & Themes Collapsed into Broader Categories		
New Name of Category	***Frame or Theme + Frame or Theme***	
Cultural Frame	Cultural Frame	Mapuche development: *küme felen* and *küme kimün*
Political Frame	Political Frame	---
Historical Frame	Historical Frame	---
Legal Frame	Legal Frame	"We are unjustly labeled terrorists…"
Economic Development Frame	Development Frame	"Non-Mapuche prosper economically off of Mapuche."
Interculturality Frame	Intercultural Education Frame	Intercultural Health Frame
Solidarity	"We are united in our diversity."	Combating Stereotypes: "We're not..."
Environment and Identity	Environmental Frame	Identity:"The land is who we are…"
Spiritual Frame	Spiritual Frame	Health Frame
Modern Colonialism	Internal Colonialism: "We are still being colonized…"	"The 'Mapuche Problem' is a result of colonization"
Marichiwew	*Marichiwew*: "We are still here."	"We have no voice; what other choice is there?"
Information	Information Only	---

Table 8.2 Dominant Frames and Themes Collapsed into Broader Categories

In order to evaluate the categories based on broader definitions of the associated frames and themes I had to decide which ones were more related than others. In order not to confound the data, I did not want to narrow the 21 dominance categories too much; therefore, I established 12 new categories (see Table 8.2). The only categories I felt had no corresponding frame or theme were the political and historical frames (the second and third most dominant categories) and the information only category, which by its nature does not correspond to any other frame or theme. The other categories fit nicely together into pairs in a manner exemplified in the following examples and laid out in Table 8.2. The legal frame, which deals with the passing of laws and specific court cases, is related to the theme "we are unjustly labeled terrorists," because this theme deals with incarcerated political prisoners and rhetoric used to prosecute Mapuche

activists. The development frame, which deals with Chilean projects meant to facilitate "progress," corresponds to the theme that "non-Mapuche prosper economically off of Mapuche culture," since those projects often exploit the resources of Mapuche territory.

Evaluating the dominance of these collapsed categories results in the elevation of the legal frame and the economic development frame to third place, alongside the historical frame (see Figure 8.5). However, this manipulation of the data does not provide much additional information regarding the dominance of the frames and themes of the articles. Therefore, one of the last evaluations of categorical dominance that was considered in this study was the determination of secondary categories that are most prominent in articles with a dominant cultural or political frame.

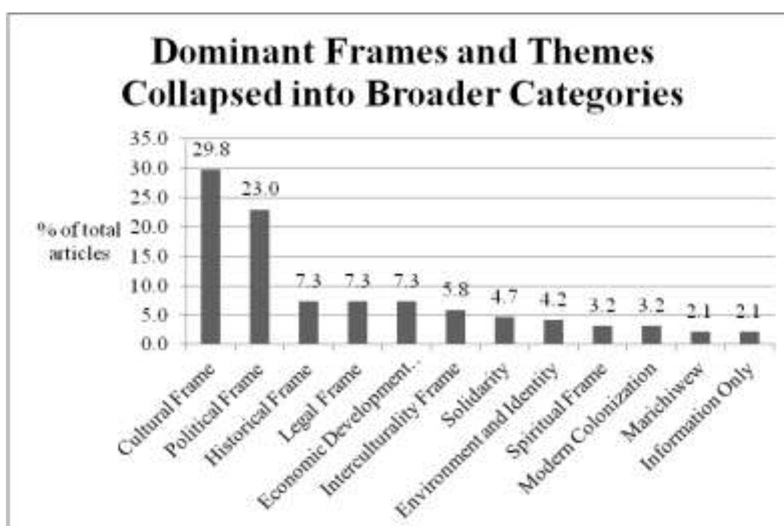

Figure 8.5 Dominant Frames and Themes Collapsed into Broader Categories

The three most common secondary frames and themes in articles with a dominant cultural frame are the historical frame, the "identity: the land is who we are…" theme and the political frame (see Figure 8.6). The three most common secondary frames and themes in articles with a dominant political frame are the cultural frame, the historical frame and the "internal colonization" theme (see Figure 8.7). This illuminates a few interesting points. First,

while the historical frame is not as dominant as the cultural and political frames, it seems that regardless of whether it appears as a dominant category or a secondary category it holds a close third in relevance when evaluating the news articles. There are several potential reasons for this, but it seems likely that, at least in part, this has to do with the fact that history plays a huge role in the formation of Mapuche identity, as well as the articulations of cultural and political indigeneity. Both from a Chilean perspective and a Mapuche perspective, history of Mapuche society and interactions between them and Westerners helps to define today's social reality. History is used in attempts to both authenticate and delegitimize claims to regional autonomy.

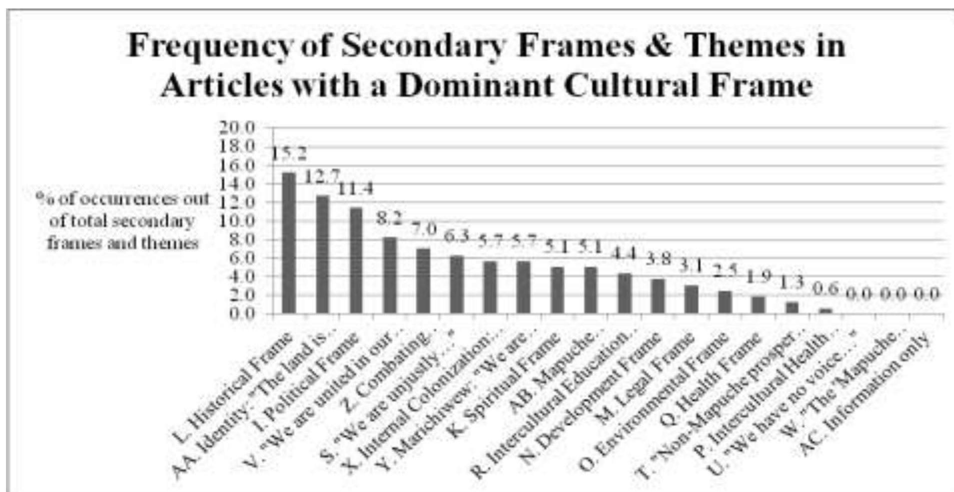

Figure 8.6 Frequency of Secondary Frames & Themes in Articles with a Dominant Cultural Frame

Additionally, it is interesting to note that in articles with a dominant cultural frame one of the most common secondary categories is the theme "Identity: 'The land is who we are – we take care of it and it takes care of us.'" While a reciprocal relationship with the land is not the only element of Mapuche identity, as discussed in Chapter 3 this attitude towards the natural world is often something that distinguishes indigenous cultures from Western cultures. In a newspaper that has established a desire to reflect a national identity, the emphasis on this cultural aspect is intriguing as it highlights a particularly indigenous character.

In similar fashion, one of the most common secondary categories in articles with a dominant political frame is the theme “internal colonization: ‘we are still being colonized.’” This theme encompasses ideas related to policies and economic decisions that are either coincidentally or purposefully designed to perpetuate Mapuche marginalization and expropriation of territory and resources. As discussed in Chapter 3, colonization has played a huge role in defining the political relationship between Western states and indigenous peoples. It remains a common element of political discourse especially when discussing the political rights that are derived from a politically indigenous identity.

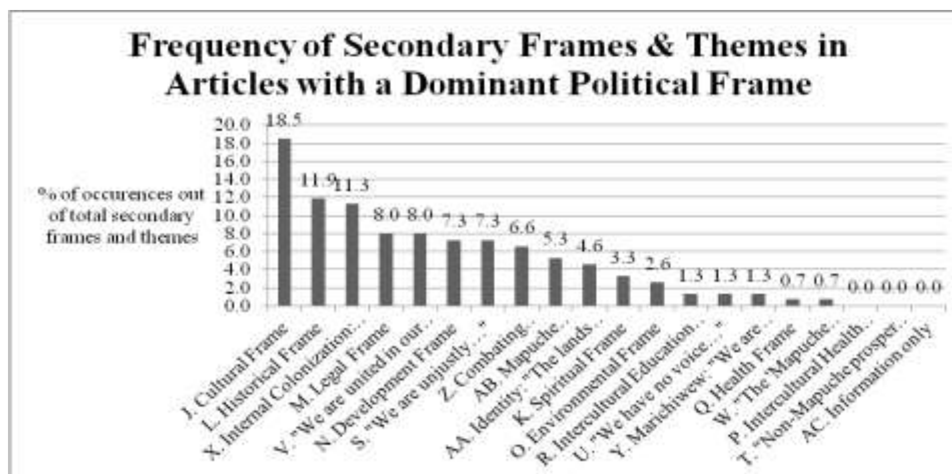

Figure 8.7 Frequency of Secondary Frames & Themes in Articles with a Dominant Political Frame

Finally, considering the prevalence of the two most dominant frames and the potential significance the concepts “self-determination” and “nation/nationalism” bear on a politically indigenous identity, it was necessary to evaluate how these concepts correspond to the dominant frames within the context of the newspaper articles. The concept “self-determination” is explicitly mentioned in 20.4 percent of total articles. Generally speaking, this occurred more frequently in earlier editions of the newspaper, rather than later editions, which can potentially contradict Pedro Cayuqueo’s charge that the emphasis on Mapuche nationality increased with the

life of the paper (Cayuqueo, 2011 November 3). However, there seems to be no comparable drop-off in the frequency of explicit mentions of “nation/nationalism” throughout the life of the paper. In fact, when correlating the frequency of explicit mentions of “self-determination” with the dominant frames, it becomes apparent that the concept of “self-determination” was largely limited to news articles with a dominant political frame, while the concept of “nation/nationalism” was consistently a part of articles with both a dominant political and cultural frame.

“Self-determination” was explicitly mentioned in 52.3 percent of the articles with a dominant political frame and 59 percent of all articles in which the concept of “self-determination” was mentioned correlate to articles with a dominant political focus. On the other hand, it was only explicitly mentioned in 12.8 percent of articles with a dominant cultural frame and only in 18 percent of explicit mentions in all articles did the concept of “self-determination” correlate to articles with a dominant cultural frame. In contrast, the concept of “nation/nationalism,” which appeared in 51.8 percent of total articles, was explicitly mentioned in 63.6 percent of articles with a dominant political frame, but only 28.3 percent of the time did explicit mentions of “nation/nationalism” in all articles correlate to those with a dominant political focus. “Nation/nationalism” was explicitly mentioned in 52.7 percent of the articles with a dominant cultural frame, while only 29.3 percent of all explicit mentions of “nation/nationalism” correlate to articles with a dominant cultural frame.

Therefore, while “self-determination” seems limited to political discussions, the concept of “nation/nationalism” is not only explicitly mentioned more often, but seems to be more evenly distributed among the articles with different dominant frames and themes. Only 57.6 percent of explicit mentions of “nation/nationalism” occur in articles with either a dominant cultural or

political frame, while 77 percent of explicit mentions of "self-determination" occur in articles with either a dominant cultural or political frame. This suggests that explicitly discussing "self-determination" has its limits, while the concept of "nation/nationalism" is more accessible in wider range of frames and themes. This, perhaps, explains the gradual decline of the concept of "self-determination" in later editions of the newspaper: the concept's implications are more specifically related to particular political discussions, which may not as successfully encourage a national identity than connecting that identity with a wider range of frames and themes.

Discussion[233]

In the introduction to her edited volume, *Media Worlds*, Faye Ginsberg refers to the term, "the activist imaginary," developed by George Marcus to explain the relatively recent employment of new media by marginalized groups. The implication is that this use of media is "not only to 'pursue traditional goals of broad-based social change through a politics of identity and representation' but also out of a utopian desire for 'emancipatory projects…raising fresh issues about citizenship and the shape of public spheres'" (1996:6). I would certainly agree that one of the motivating factors of what Azktintuwe is trying to accomplish is based on that "utopian" desire to return to "better," pre-contact period[234]. Indeed, José Ancán Jara and Margarita Calfío Montalva's 2002 paper, "Retorno al país mapuche" is largely based on this concept. However, in regard to *Azkintuwe*, this term "activist imaginary" does not address the project of national identity at work. The prevalence throughout the newspaper of general cultural and political frames connected by the secondary frame of history demonstrates not only

[233] Note that the representation of the way Mapuche are constructing national identity presented in this section is limited to the particular manner in which this occurs via *Azkintuwe* and, only by slight extension, to the ideas prevalent online and within the educated, elite urban Mapuche circles of Temuco.

[234] This is not to claim that the past was 'better,' but simply to suggest that the past has been re-imagined as such to support the notion of a utopian past for which to strive.

a project of national identity, but one based on both cultural and political indigenous identities as well.

Questions regarding whether or not the Mapuche constitute a nation are often irrelevant, as a nation is simply a self-defined community. Nations in and of themselves are not political; however, attempts to stimulate a national identity are political in nature, and it is this endeavor which is reflected in the results of this study. Explicit mentions of "self-determination" are more likely to be found in articles that also explicitly mention the concept of "nation/nationalism." As discussed in Chapter 3, the idea that self-determination is an inherent aspect of a nation is a modern one and movements of nationalism attempt to gain and maintain this "right." The connection between "self-determination" and "nation/nationalism" found in this study seems to evidence that nationalism was indeed a central focus of the newspaper. Despite the decrease in the explicit utilization of the term "self-determination," the consistent and evenly distributed use of "nation/nationalism" suggests that the paper never deviated from this focus of fostering a national identity. Rather, the strategy may have changed from cushioning this objective in a strictly political frame to presenting it in a more representative manner. The use of culture to encourage solidarity is not a new tactic (Reuque 2002; Marimán, J. 1995). Perhaps, various aspects of Mapuche culture, such as territorial identity, for which there is evidence in this study, became a more central focus as a means to encourage national unification, an idea to which the authors *¡Escucha, winka!* allude (Marimán, P., Caniuqueo, Millalén and Levil 2006:268-271).

To reiterate, Anthony D. Smith defines "nationalism" as an "active" and "ideological movement" (2009:61). Nationalism can be construed as the fostering of a national identity with the intent of attaining political autonomy. As laid out in Chapter 3, my definition of "national identity" is "the continuous reproduction and reinterpretation of an identity based on perceived

membership in a nation that has become rooted in a particular space and time." Three elements of this definition are important for our discussion: being rooted in space, being rooted in time, and being based on perceived membership in a nation. The first two elements are reinforced through the revealed dominance of cultural and political frames in the articles of Azktintuwe.

Being rooted in a space means being physically or psychologically established in a territory or homeland. In this study, a general cultural frame proved to be the most dominant frame, and through an examination of the secondary frames that accompanied it, the theme of "identity: 'the land is who we are - we take care of it and it takes care of us'" was established as one of the more prevalent secondary themes. This speaks directly to a culturally indigenous identity. Reciprocity with the land is one of the elements that defines this type of indigenous identity. It seems that for the Mapuche, and likely other indigenous peoples living in former settler colonies, claims of cultural indigeneity fulfill this aspect of a national identity. This would explain the confusion that so commonly arises when evaluating the political claims of indigenous peoples. No political rights are derived from a culturally indigenous identity; however, it can be used to support a national identity, which is where the right to self-determination is understood to be derived.

Being rooted in "time" means being influenced by historical processes. For many indigenous peoples this relates to the type of colonial state in which they live. Chile and Argentina, like other Latin American states, were originally settler colonies, which means it behooved the original colonizers to remove the rights of the indigenous people already there by means of assimilation or force. This informed and continues to inform the relationship between the Mapuche, and the Chilean and Argentine states. The second most common dominant frame to reveal itself through this study is the political frame. When evaluating the secondary frames

and themes that coincide with that dominant one, the theme of "internal colonization: 'we are still being colonized" becomes apparent. This affirms that the Mapuche do indeed still feel the effects of the establishment of a settler colonial state in their territory, and that effects of this historical process informs their national identity.

It is also important to note that the historical frame, both the third most dominant frame and the most common secondary frame when considering the culturally and politically framed articles, is what links the expressions of cultural and political indigeneity. In terms of political indigeneity, this corresponds to the consequences of settler colonialism. As shown throughout this dissertation, history is relevant for cultural indigeneity because it is an essential part of their culture by means of oral tradition, and it comes alive in their understanding of the territory they inhabit. Therefore, history is one of the links between cultural and political indigeneity, and these two types of indigeneity are two essential ingredients in a Mapuche national identity.

The third important element of a national identity is "perceived membership in a nation." This is where nation becomes relevant, because once a group understands themselves to be a nation, they become a nation; nations are simply self-defined communities, regardless of whether they are "real" or "imagined." The way this is accomplished for the Mapuche is through the concept of Wallmapu. Wallmapu represents both the physical area of traditional Mapuche territory, as well as that imagined community that composes a nation. The motto "'from the Wallmapu, to the Wallmapu'…demonstrates a serious and solid attempt to build a Mapuche idea of nationhood that transcends the geographical boundaries imposed by the Chilean and Argentine States in the last two centuries" (Salazar 2004:153).

Proliferation of the concept of Wallmapu must be initially attributed to Aukiñ Wallmapu Ngulam, or the Consejo de Todas las Tierras (Council of All Lands) of the 1990s. As part of the

organization's alternate proposal to political society, they affirmed the national indigenous character of the Mapuche people (Martínez Neira 2009:613-614). In addition to perpetuating the idea of Wallmapu, this affirmation included concerns regarding the recovery of territory, economic self-development and their own education system informed by Mapuche knowledge (Foerster 2006:11; Pairican 2011:29). As opposed to the way cultural revitalization had been approached in the past, the Consejo conceived cultural revitalization and reconstruction as part of a national project with the aim of instituting a political society in parallel with the Chilean state.

The concept of Wallmapu[235] was in part a reinterpretation of the land of the reducciones as national territory, as well as an historical interpretation of the land south of the River Bío Bío as comprising the national territory of the Mapuche Nation before the arrival of the Spanish (Saavedra 2002:129). A big part of the perpetuation of this interpretation had to do with symbols which reinforced this particular Mapuche identity. Readers of *Azkintuwe* will be familiar with the shape that appears on the front page of every issue; that shape is meant to resemble the physical space of Wallmapu that can be found on either side of the cordillera. This symbol helps to reinforce the idea that the Andes does not divide the Mapuche people and that Wallmapu has a physical reality. The Consejo also realizes the importance of symbols as a means of reinforcing Mapuche identity, which is evident in the headlines of their own newspaper, *Aukiñ Voz Mapuche*, as well as in their support of the one of the most recognizable symbols of Mapuche identity: the flag. The top, left side of the front page of *Aukiñ Voz Mapuche*[236] features a kultrun

[235] This was initially often expressed as Wallmapuche (literally "people of the all land," or "people of the Wallmapu," which probably was meant to indicate the idea of a Mapuche *nation*) instead of simply Wallmapu (literally "all land") (Pairican 2011).

[236] Today it is nearly impossible to find copies of this newspaper. An extensive online search will yield no electronic copies and some editions of the newspaper appear to be inaccessible in any form (Foerster 2006:11). The first issue was published in October 1990 and continued to be published at least through 1995; while it is unclear how many total issues were printed, this newspaper, like most others of the time had a "short life" (Foerster 2005:4).

surrounded by the words “Justicia, Territorio, Libre Determinación: Nación Mapuche,” which translates to “Justice, Territory, Self-Determination: the Mapuche Nation.” Those ideas, particularly of territory and self-determination, reinforce the message of the Consejo. Additionally, on the opposite side of the page, the publication location is identified as “Wallmapuche – Temuco,” instead of Temuco, Chile. The kultrun itself has become an extremely important symbol used to represent a variety of aspects of Mapuche identity. The symbol is also centered on the Mapuche flag developed by Jorge Weke in the early 1990s. The colors on the flag hold important meanings as well: black and white represent equilibrium and duality, blue represents the “purity of the universe,” green stands for the land of Wallmapu, and red symbolizes strength and power derived from Mapuche ancestors (Pairican 2011:36). Aucan Huilcaman has pointed out that this Mapuche flag is “a symbol of the existence of the Mapuche people, within a process of reaffirmation as a nation in the land that was the basis of the people, and [in] the recovery of lands, that [is] not more than a fight ‘for life, for culture, for the future’” [237](Pairican 2012:36-37).

In Juan Francisco Salazar’s 2004 dissertation, *Imperfect Media: the Poetics of Indigenous Media in Chile*, he describes the nation-building objectives of *Azkintuwe* during that period. The impression he leaves is that the concept of Wallmapu had not yet been widely accepted. Nevertheless, the messages bolstered by the Consejo, particularly ideas about territorial authority, as well as the concept of Wallmapu, are common today, even as their contemporary origin is not usually recognized. This study has shown that Wallmapu is one of the more prominent subjects of *Azkintuwe* articles. This demonstrates that, just as “nation/nationalism”

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[237] “la bandera era el símbolo de la existencia del pueblo Mapuche, dentro de un proceso de reafirmación como nación en que la tierra era la base del pueblo, y de ahí las recuperaciones de tierras, que no era más que una lucha ‘por la vida, por la cultura, por el futuro.’”

remained important throughout, "Wallmapu," taken to mean *all* Mapuche, was emphasized through these articles as well. The consequences of which seem to be that, in the years since Salazar's study, the efforts of *Azkintuwe* have contributed the idea of Wallmapu as the Mapuche nation taking root. While this study does not provide definitive evidence of this fact, my experiences in other aspects of my research point to the reality that, even if someone may not necessarily agree or understand himself to be part of it, it has become readily accepted that Wallmapu refers to the Mapuche Nation.

Therefore, the results of this content analysis have shown the newspaper of *Azkintuwe* to promote Mapuche nationalism through explicit emphasis on the concept of "nation/nationalism," as well as the use of cultural and political frames to inform a Mapuche national identity. The national identity emphasized in this study privileges culture above politics. This is a reminder that the concept of nationalism and its link to 'self-determination' are not limited to the Western ideas of political participation, but also include culture as an expression of national identity, not simply a way in which it is identified. The results of this study also demonstrate the ways in which cultural and political indigeneity become linked with national identity. Often in debates about the political rights to which an indigenous people may or may not be entitled, indigeneity is called upon as evidence.

Ultimately, the "right" to self-determination is derived from the concept of nationalism and not the concept of indigeneity. Nevertheless, these identities inform one another, which is why Mapuche rhetoric calls upon "ethnonationalism." However, as the authors of *¡Escucha winka!* remark, they may be better served by simply calling upon their newly developing "national" identity, since connecting ethnicity and cultural identities just serves to confuse matters, as well as limit the possibilities of who can be mutual participators in that national

identity (Marimán, P, Caniuqueo, Millalén & Levil 206:258). Regardless, it is the development and its continuation of this national identity which is significant and this is represented in the success of establishing the concept of Wallmapu, not only as the physical territory of a Mapuche Country, but also as psychological community of the Mapuche Nation. The next chapter will discuss in general terms how these messages of Mapuche nationalism are transmitted from the communities, to the activist organizations, to the Internet and publications such as *Azkintuwe*, and back to the communities.

CHAPTER 9

FROM LOF TO WALLMAPU, FROM LOF TO CYBERSPACE

The concept of Wallmapu derives from the vertical and horizontal divisions of the Mapuche conceived universe. This understanding of the world helps define the az mapu, in this sense taken to mean the socio-cultural and political divisions of the Mapuche people. The vertical division directs religious life and interactions with spirits. The horizontal division determines socio-political life and tuwün. In this chapter, I will begin with an elaboration on these two types of divisions. Using the horizontal division of the Mapuche world as guide, I will examine one of the contemporary social roles associated with the nagmapu domains: the role of werken. I will explore how this social role has been transformed in many communities due to the introduction of technology that facilitates communication. Finally, I will consider how the contemporary and traditional socio-political organization of the nagmapu is mirrored in the system of networks developed around the use of the Internet.

9.1 EPEW OF THE FIRST HUMANS

Now that this dissertation is almost at its end, it seems only fitting to cycle back around to the beginning. Therefore, I present another origin epew that elaborates on the concept of the vertical dimensions that make up the world. It relates the history of the first humans cast forth from the Blue beyond, a people older than those Mapuche spared during the fight between Xeg-Xeg and Kay-Kay. Below is a summary of the retelling by Elicura Chihuailaf in his book *Recado confidencial a los chilenos* (1999).

> Our elders tell us that in the Wenu Mapu, the Land Above, the positive and negative spirits coexisted. Until one day, the Almighty Spirit decided to populate the Nag Mapu, the Land Below, with some of his spirit children. The negative spirits met to conspire about who would be sent down. They began to fight and

soon became so violent that the sky opened up and plunged them all the way to the Miñche Mapu, the Land Beneath, through a tear in the Nag Mapu where they struck it. The force of this impact was so great that it created the volcanoes, the hills and the mountain range.

Some of the positive spirits who had been standing too close to the fighting were swept along with the negative spirits to the Miñche Mapu. They cried to the Almighty Spirit to be allowed home and escaped through the craters of volcanoes, but instead of reaching the Wenu Mapu they became suspended in the air. They cried for so long that their tears formed the rivers, the lakes and the seas.

It was then that the first Mapuche spirit was cast forth from the Blue. Dreaming, he saw this immense, uninhabited surface of the Land that we now walk. His Mother grew sad at his loneliness, so the Almighty Spirit sent a beautiful, shining star to keep him company. She flew down to the earth and where she walked upon the rocks her feet bleed. Her blood turned them into grass and flowers. The flowers made her happy and where she plucked them, they were carried on the wind; their petals became butterflies, birds and winged insects and their stems became plants and fruit-bearing trees. Then man awoke to the smile of the woman. And the Father gazed upon them with his strong glow and the Mother watched over them with her faint light. The man and woman sowed the seeds of their heart and so life began.[238] (1990:30-31)

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[238] Original Spanish version of the story: Cuentan nuestros mayores que entonces en la Wenu Mapu, la Tierra de Arriba, coexistían las energías positivas y negativas. Así era, dicen, hasta que el Espíritu Poderoso recordó que no había nada sobre la Nag Mapu, la Tierra que ahora andamos. Entonces, dicen, pensó en mandar hasta aquí a uno de sus amados Brotes.

Su gesto dicen, fue percibido por los espíritus negativos que se reunieron para urdir la forma de ser ellos los elegidos. ¿Pero quién?, se preguntaron. Entonces, dicen, empezaron a pelear. Tanto aumentó la violencia de la pelea que se abrieron los aires y enredados cayeron, transformándose en cuerpos incandescentes en la caída.

Se rompió la tierra golpeada y los espíritus negativos rodaron hasta sus profundidades. Allí quedaron encerrados. (Miñche Mapu Tierra de Abajo se llama su lugar). Por la fuerza de ese choque se originaron también los volcanes, los cerros y cordilleras, dicen nuestros antiguos.

Entre los espíritus negativos se hallaban espíritus positivos que por haber estado demasiado cerca de la riña, fueron arrastrados en la caída, dicen.

Ellos, ellas, hicieron rogativa al Espíritu Poderoso para que les permitiera regresar a la Wenu Mapu. Salieron entonces por los cráteres de los volcanes, pero quedaron nada más colgados en el aire. Por eso lloraron las estrellas, lloraron por mucho tiempo, dicen. Sus lágrimas formaron los ríos, los lagos y los mares.

Fue entonces que el primer espíritu Mapuche vino arrojado desde el Azul. Soñando miraba éste la superficie inmensa, deshabitada, de la Tierra que ahora andamos.

Su Madre, dicen, se entristeció de su soledad. Así, para que lo acompañara, el Espíritu Poderoso envió a una estrellita hermosa, refulgente.

Volando vino ella y caminó luego sobre las piedras hasta que sus pies sangraron. Su sangre se convirtió en pasto, en flores se convirtió, dicen. El aroma, el color, la suavidad, alegraron a la mujer que las alzó deshojando. Pétalos que sostenidos y acariciados por la brisa surgida del resollar de su contento se transformaron en mariposas, en aves, en alados insectos. Sus tallos se transformaron en plantas, en árboles agradecidos de frutos.

Despertó entonces el hombre con la sonrisa de la mujer. Los miró con su vigoroso resplandor el Padre y veló por ellos la Madre con su tenue luz. Los jóvenes sembraron luego la semilla de su corazón.

Así comenzó la vida, están diciendo nuestros antepasados.

Marileo focuses on *Wanglen*, the star who became the first human, in order to emphasize the relation that humans have with the land, nature and spiritual powers (n.d.-a). Chihuailaf focuses on the Blue from whence the first human was cast forth. He states, "it was not just any Blue but the Blue of the East…the Blue that exists in the East and in the spirit and in the heart of every one of us"[239] (1999:32). He focuses on the Blue in order to elaborate on the cyclical nature of being human and part of the known universe. Mapuche spirits are blue. They come from the east where the first Mapuche was born. When they die, they go back to where they come from, the Blue, but in the opposite direction, from the West (personal communication, March 31, 2010). These two perspectives highlight the depths of meaning the epew contains. Marileo focuses on the vertical dimensions of the world and Chihuailaf focuses on the horizontal dimensions of the world (see figure 9.1).

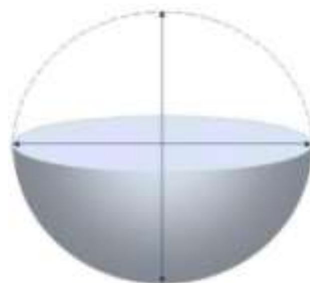

Figure 9.1 Vertical and Horizontal Dimensions

9.2 THE MAPUCHE UNIVERSE

As previously discussed, the kultrun is used to symbolize both the vertical and horizontal dimensions of the universe. According the Grebe (1973) the kultrun is also related to the origin of humankind by virtue of being present at the very beginning of creation. "'When the earth and people were born, there was the *kultrún*. Pure blue. When the earth was born, the first *machi*

[239] "no de cualquier Azul sino del Azul del Oriente…el Azul existe en el Oriente y en el espíritu y en el corazón de cada uno de nosotros."

was presented a *kultrun*, a machi that died a long time ago,' related an elder machi. It is believed, therefore, that the instrument has existed since the creation of the world" [240] (1973:32). The basic vertical dimensions are the wenu mapu, nag mapu and the miñche mapu. These three levels are well-known and often invoked; however, in conversation as well as in documentation, there are allusions to a more complicated structure than these three levels alone.

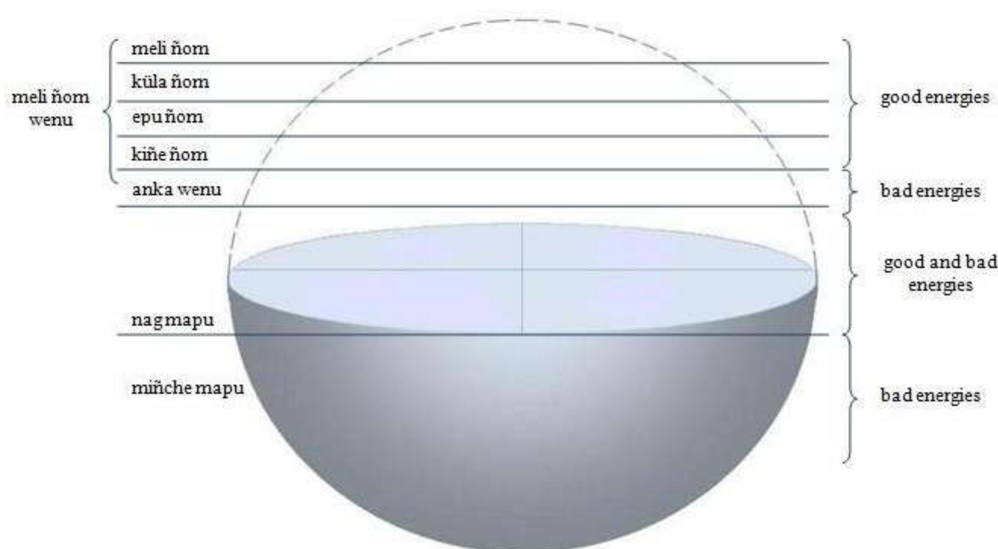

Figure 9.2 The meli ñom mapu and associated energies

Vertical dimensions

In the early 1970s, a study presented findings that suggested these levels were conceived of as surfaces and that the wenu mapu was actually composed of four independent surfaces (Grebe, Pacheco and Segura 1972). These are collectively known as the *meli ñom wenu*, which translates to the 'four tame above [realms]' (see figure 9.2). The study labeled them simply as *kiñe* (one), *epu* (two), *küla* (three), and *meli* (four). These surfaces correspond to the good energies that inhabit them: the divine family, the positive spirits and the ancestors. They stand in

[240] ''Cuando nació la tierra y la gente hubo *kultrún*. Puro azul no más. Cuando nació la tierra, la primera *machi* presentó un *kultrún*, una *machi* que murió mucho tiempo,' relata una anciana *machi*. Se cree, por tanto, que el instrumento existe desde la creación del mundo."

opposition to the miñche mapu and the *anka mapu,* literally 'middle land,' which are associated with negative forces. 'Anka' in Mapuzugun means 'half of something'[241] and the anka mapu is located about halfway in between the nag mapu and the four surfaces of the wenu mapu. This surface is associated with negative forces and is where wekufe, or malignant spirits, reside. (Grebe et al. 1972:449-50)

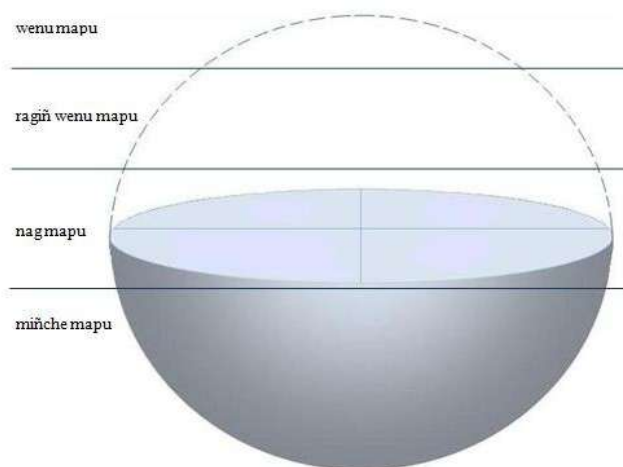

Figure 9.3 Location of the ragiñ wenu mapu

The nag mapu is associated with the surface where the good and bad energies are brought into harmony. According to the 1972 study, at the time the miñche mapu was not discussed with as much frequency as the other surfaces. The authors attributed this to one of various reasons. It is possible that it referred to a very old concept that had started to become extinct. It may have been an idea borrowed from Christianity that was incorporated into Mapuche worldview within the recent past. It is also conceivable that knowledge of this realm was so esoteric that it was not spoken of often, or that people simply did not speak of the miñche mapu because they did not want to inadvertently draw negative energies to them by invoking the spirits of the realm. (Grebe et al. 1972:51). Considering the prevalence with which this concept is spoken of today, it

[241] It can also be translated as 'body,' and is a common prefix in many Mapuche surnames: Ancapan means 'body of the puma,' for example (Zucarelli et al. 1999[2008]:42).

is apparent that neither was it on the verge of extinction nor has it become a popular element of the revitalization movement. What seems more likely is that the concept of the meli ñom mapu was a remnant of archaic knowledge that has become simplified and mainly understood today as the wenu mapu.

However, in some cases another, a different realm is mentioned in discussions of the vertical dimensions of the world: ragiñ wenu mapu (see figure 9.3). *Ragiñ* is also translated as 'middle' or 'half of something' (deAugusta 1916[2007]:193) and therefore, ragiñ wenu mapu can be identified as occupying the same space as the anka mapu. This seems to imply that the two concepts are somehow related; however, the ragiñ wenu mapu is defined somewhat differently than the anka mapu. According to Rosa Huenchulaf, an understanding of *ragiñelwe* is first necessary to understand the ragiñ wenu mapu (personal communication, January 21, 2010). Ragiñelwe can be translated as 'mediator' (Catrileo 1995[2005:49) and is an important social role in religious settings, particularly the ngillatun, in which they act as intermediaries in the relationship between che, people and newen, spiritual forces (Rosa Huenchulaf, personal communication, January 21, 2010). Therefore, the ragiñ wenu mapu is not understood to be simply inhabited by wekufe, but is the realm in which the balance between the positive and negative forces, and the relationship between the Mapuche and the spirits, is maintained.

As the nag mapu is the dimensional surface on which the Mapuche live, it is the most elaborated upon concept. In some ways, the nag mapu and the ragiñ wenu mapu can be thought to overlap. The ragiñ wenu mapu is "intangible" even though the spirits that inhabit that space can be seen (Rosa Huenchulaf, personal communication, January 31, 2010). In this realm, mediation between the nag mapu and wenu mapu occurs; however, both realms are understood to be the space in which the positive and negative spirits are brought into harmony. The nag

mapu is the visible space in which man and nature coexist; daily life happens here (Marileo 1995[2000]:92, 103). It is the dimension in which people can find all the necessary elements that make life possible in our present material, concrete and tangible state (Rosa Huenchulaf, personal communication, January 21, 2010).

Horizontal dimensions

The nag mapu is where the horizontal dimensional divisions are located. As previously discussed, the face of the kultrun, symbolizing the nag mapu, is representative of a number of dualities, including the cardinal directions: puel (east), pikun (north), lafken (west) and willi (south). In Mapuzugun this is known as the *meli wixan mapu*, which is translated literally as "four pulling [forces] land." These directions are conceived of differently in Mapuche kimün than they are from a Western perspective. For example, each direction has an associated wind, *kürüf*, which is considered good or bad. The wind from the east is the most positive, perhaps because this signifies birth, origin and identity. The wind from the west is the most negative; it stands opposite to the east, and is representative of death and the unknown. (Grebe et al. 1972:54) However, one unique distinction is in the idea of 'pulling forces.' The surface of the nag mapu is overlaid with these four pulling forces, which are attached to the *meli wüxan mapu*, or the 'four standing or dangling [forces]' (see figure 9.4). The known universe, all of the miñche mapu, all of the nag mapu and all of the wenu mapu is supported by the meli wüxan mapu (Quidel Cabral 2006:67)).

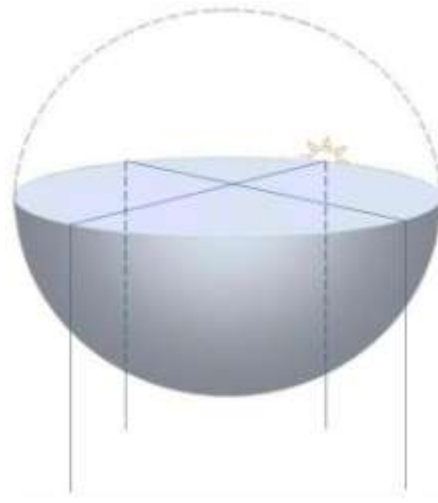

Figure 9.4 Meli wüxan mapu

Wallmapu, the Mapuche territorial nation is located on the meli wixan mapu. 'Wall' means 'the surrounding areas.' Marileo tells a story about the way the elders explain this concept. They would say to find the tallest hill, so that the land could be viewed unobstructed. Facing puelmapu, where the sun rises, they would say to find the place where the land and the sky met (the horizon). Holding out a finger in this direction, turn around in a circle and stop when the finger comes to the spot it left[242]. Everything delineated in that turn forms the wallmapu[243]. (Marileo 1995[2000]:93)

Regional identities

The Mapuche that inhabit Wallmapu are categorized by their regional identities. In the past Spanish chroniclers and early Chilean historians and linguists attempted to categorize the different indigenous peoples of the southern cone of South America (see Appendix C). Due to the regional variations in language, ceremonial rites and material culture, some of these early

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[242] This is sometimes refered to as Wallontu mapu. While 'wall' means 'surrounding area,' 'wallon' translates to something more like 'revolve,' as in the sun traveling from one direction in the sky to the other.

[243] Wallmapu is the term for the territory traditionally inhabited by the Mapuche, but according to this definition it also carries the meaning akin to the world – everything that can be seen is part of the wallmapu.

Westerners understood those regional differences as signifying that they were separate peoples. The Mapuche do not hold to this position. From the representations transmitted via the Internet, as well as in personal conversations, it is apparent that part of a Mapuche identity is taking pride in their diversity as a people.

Mapuche today understand their political organization to be based on decentralized authority. Upon the arrival of the Spanish, Mapuche society was very much centered on the family. According to Bengoa, the family unit represented the hub of economic activity, maintained authority over their territory and tended to live apart from other families (1985[2008]:29). For these reasons, it may have seemed to the early Europeans that the communities worked independently of one another. However, this independence did not alter the fact that they understood themselves to be connected to a larger whole and came together in alliances when the need arose[244]. This is still true today, when there is rarely an opportunity for

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[244] This does not imply that there was homogeneity in the ways Mapuche understood themselves to part of said whole. Bengoa points out that ancient rivalries between Mapuche were just as important during the long war with the Spanish and often superceded and influenced interactions with those invaders. Social and political leadership roles, which had previously been short-lived, became codified and began transforming Mapuche culture from relative social egalitarianism to hegemonic hierarchy. (Bengoa 1985[2008])

Towards the beginning of political interactions with the Spanish, some fifteen hundred Mapuche leaders that represented smaller communities would show up to the parliaments or assemblies held between the two forces. Over time this number dwindled and Bengoa notes that those leaders, known as *toqui* (military leaders) or *nizol lonko* (head chief), who held more and more political power, also held enormous wealth. The longer the war dragged on, the need for these social figures continued and over time they accumulated wealth accumulated and the fewer Mapuche leaders came to represent the Mapuche people as a whole. As this power accumulated in the hands of these leaders of large territories, even though local authority was maintained, local leaders seemed to follow these nizol lonko. The role of toqui or nizol lonko had also traditionally been about merit and these leaders were elected according to a democratic process. As time wore on, these roles were transformed into hereditary ones. (Bengoa 1985[2008]:64-65)

According to Bengoa, malón or raiding, a practice that derives its origins from before the arrival of the Spanish, remained incredibly important during the long war with the invading European forces. Rivalries that had existed for centuries still persisted and changed the performance of the malón. Many stories of these rivalries and associated malón survive and indicate that for many they were more important than the war with the European invaders. These internal conflicts influenced interactions with the Spanish. Leaders would make alliances with Spanish, and later Chilean and Argentine forces in order to gain power in their territory for the purposes of getting ahead in these rivalries. (Bengoa 1985[2008]:129-133). Therefore, despite the understanding of being part of a whole, this did not preclude internal strife and conflict regarding political and economic societal organization.

communities to gather into the largest political units, but the understanding still exists that, even in their diversity, they are part of a whole. The concept of a cohesive, *national* identity may be a new phenomenon related to the interactions with the Chilean State, but traditionally smaller communities that identified with a particular region still understood themselves to have access to that larger whole.

Mapuche regional identities are based on the broad characteristics of the areas in which they live. For example, the Mapuche who live close to the sea are known as *lafkenche*, people of the sea[245]. Mapuche who live along the Andean mountain range, where there are many pewen trees, are known as *pewenche*, people of the pewen. In communication between Mapuche, such as news articles or attribution ("Armando Marileo, *lafkenche* ngenpin," for example), people are referred to according to these general regional identities[246]. These general regions have been identified in Figure 9.5. *Gulumapu* refers to the Chilean side of the mountain range and the direction is oriented towards the east, the primary direction in Mapuche worldview, which faces the Andes. *Puelmapu* refers to the Argentine side of the mountain range and is still facing east, towards the Atlantic Ocean.

[245] Lafken can be translated in a variety of ways, but primarily, and especially in regards to identity, the word is translated as 'large body of water,' which can refer to the sea or to a lake.

[246] A person's tuwün would be a more specific identity related to their more immediate community or lof.

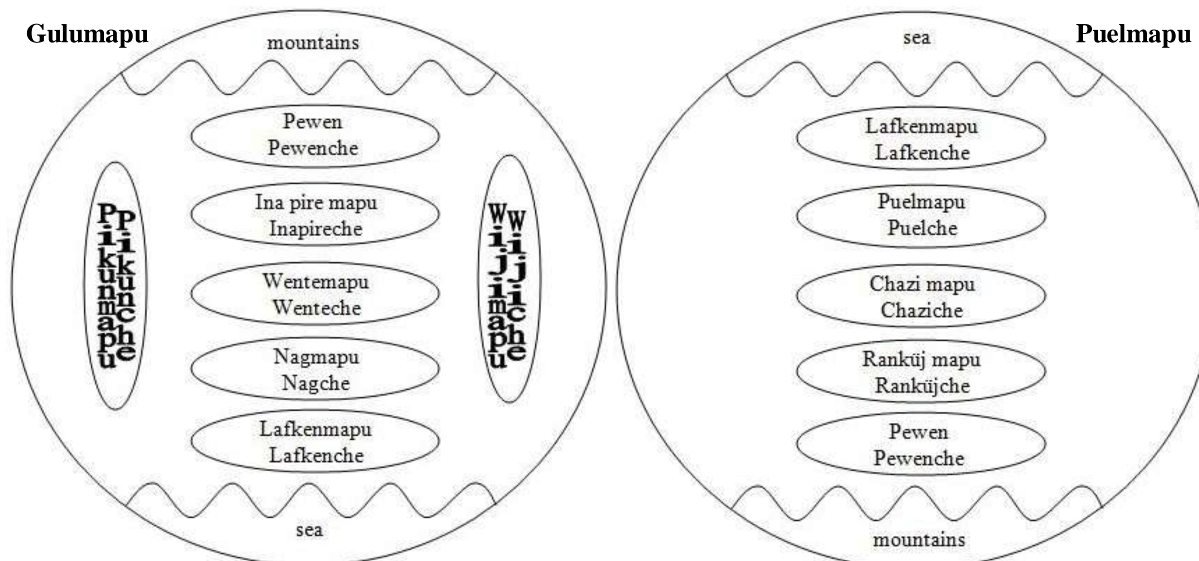

Figure 9.5 Gulumapu (Chile) and Puelmapu (Argentina) regional identities
(information taken from Maureira H. & Quidel C. 2003:1131-1132)

Pikunche are 'people of the north' and *Wijiche,* or *Williche*, are 'people of the south.' Note that people on either side of the mountain range can be considered Pewenche. Equally, those Mapuche living along the Pacific Ocean and those living along the Atlantic Ocean are both known as Lafkenche. *Ina pire mapu* is translated as 'alongside, following or close to the snow land.' Wentemapu can be approximated as 'land of the spine, or land on the surface.' *Nagche* can be confusing as it literally means 'people of the nag mapu;' however, nag can be translated as 'west' (Hernández S. et al. 1997[2002]:127), therefore 'nag che' can be translated as 'people of the west,' or 'lowlanders' (literally, 'people below') (Ray 2007:284). When used in a news story the term almost exclusively refers to those inhabiting the area between the lafkenmapu and the wentemapu. On the Puelmapu, or Argentine side, *ranküjche,* or *rankúllche*, means 'people of the apples' and *chaziche* can be translated as 'people of the salt(flats)' (Hernández 2003:87). Lof Ralun Koyam, a traditional community not far from Temuko would be considered part of the Wentemapu, whereas Lof Remekobudi, a traditional community in Piedra Alta, not far from Puerto Saavedra, would be part of the Lafkenmapu. This model does not take into account the

many Mapuche living in regions outside of Wallmapu, such as Santiago. As I have already stated, there is revitalization in the cities as well, to aid in the re-assertion of Mapuche identity among those city dwellers. The regional identity of these Mapuche is often referred to as *wariache*, which means 'people of the city.'

Socio-political territorial divisions

In the horizontal dimension of the nag mapu, or wallmapu, and within the above-mentioned regional identities, the land is divided into smaller socio-political units. The smallest of these is the *ruka*. While a ruka is a traditional house (see Appendix D), metaphorically it is considered the smallest socio-political unit greater than the che. *Rukache*, people of the house, includes everyone who lives under the same roof (Rosa Huenchulaf, personal communication, January 6, 2010). The smallest socio-political unit greater than the household is the *lof*. Apart from the household, this unit is the most common in Mapuche communities today, and can be found even in the cities (Cristina Marín, personal communication, April 12, 2010). The lof is where a person finds her tuwün; it is where collective knowledge and history resides. The lof "is where ethical and aesthetic values are reproduced, always relating to the logic and context necessary for proper development"[247] (Sepulveda S. 2006:79).

Traditionally, before the Chilean government was involved in the division of territories, the lof was delineated according to the geography of the area. The rivers, hills, forests, wetlands, and mountains naturally determined where the boundaries of Mapuche communities were drawn. After the intrusion by the Chilean government and the establishment of reducciones, the borders were determined by artificial means and marked by fences, screens or other artificial elements

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[247] "donde se reproducen valores éticos y estéticos, siempre ligados a contextos y lógicas propias que es necesario desarrollar."

intended to draw attention to the ownership of a particular plot of land. (Lincanqueo S., Painemal P., & Comulai A. 2004:36). This is clearly evident regarding Comunidad Contreras on the official map included in the título de merced[248]. According to José Contreras, werken of the community, it is also known as Lof Contreras (personal communication, March 24, 2010). The tracts of land labeled No. 775a and No. 774 comprise the area of the Reducción Manuel Contreras, which was determined by the Chilean state. However, the traditional area of Lof Contreras, comprising all the tracts of land (No. 803, No. 773, No. 775b, No. 775a, No. 774 and No. 772[249]) was originally defined by the natural geography: the winding line on the bottom, which is the River Quino, and the wavy line on top, which represents natural vegetation. The dashed lines represent the boundaries, as they exist today[250].

In many places today, the concept of both the traditional- and the government-defined bounded areas still exists[251] and are often officially recognized by the Chilean government (Magno Millapán, personal communication, March 24, 2010). Sometimes a reducción will be called a 'comunidad,' which translates as 'community,' but should not be confused with the traditional model of the lof. The comunidad or reducción is generally smaller in area than the traditional lof and does not convey the same identity as a lof. The area of a traditional lof usually subsumes several comunidades (Magno Millapán, personal communication, March 24, 2012).

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[248] "Comunidad" is translated into English simply as "community;" however, the term is also used in an official capacity in regard to Chilean political boundaries. "Comunas" are large political, administrative areas that usually correspond to a city or a town. "Comunidades" are smaller, but clearly delineated areas within a comuna. A comunidad will not necessarily correspond to the area of a lof.

[249] This map also shows how significantly reduced the traditional territory of Lof Contreras became after the issuance of the título de merced. Lof Contreras has officially recovered some of this land, but the community is still in the middle of a conflict over it.

[250] The map referred to here is included in the record for Título de Merced 18B from the Archivo General de Asuntos Indígenas de CONADI, Temuco, Chile.

[251] See Course 2005 for more information on the variety of ways lof are conceived of today.

The lof is composed of a group of families, bound to one another through common ties of kinship and tuwün, who come together to participate in certain socio-religious activities, such as the ngillatun (Magno Millapán, personal communication, March 23, 2010), *eluwun*, traditional funerals, or to play the sport of *palin* (Course 2005:122). The political leader of the lof is the *lonko* who, of all the remaining practiced social roles, is one of the most common and while a lof may not have a machi or a werken, most Mapuche communities have a lonko (Sánchez C. 2001:34). The lonko plays an important role in the ngillatun, but is also in charge of the lof (Marileo 1995[2000]:105).

Beyond the lof there are various levels of social organization, only some of which are still observed in communities today. Many Mapuche understand society to be organized according to these divisions; however, while they may have been utilized frequently in the past, today, apart from the lof and occasionally the rewe, they are rarely, if ever, employed in a real world setting. The *rewe* is the socio-political unit that is usually comprised of four lof. Traditionally, the assembly of a rewe was for a variety of social, as well as political reasons, but today it is almost exclusively for religious purposes. Ngillatun take some amount of planning and resources, which means the combined efforts of several lof is usually desired. The term 'rewe' has many interpretations. Literally, it means 'true, unique or only place;' however, the term rarely refers to an actual place. It usually signifies the collective composed of various lof, or the carved tree trunk that can be found in a machi's yard or in the field where ngillatun take place (see Appendix D). The rewe as a religious icon traditionally had steps carved into it so the machi could symbolically reach the spirits in the ragiñ wenu mapu. Today the rewe carvings are reflective of the machi's beliefs and the needs of the community. Sometimes it is even carved in the shape of a cross to incorporate Christian elements into practice (Sergio Carihuentro, personal

communication, April 7, 2010). The rewe can be considered an altar since it is the central focus during ceremonies and is adorned with branches and banners that carry symbolic meaning (Faron 1964:94). *Muday*, a traditional drink, and other food items are placed at the foot of the rewe during the ceremony as a blessing or offering before consumed at the appropriate moment during the ceremony.

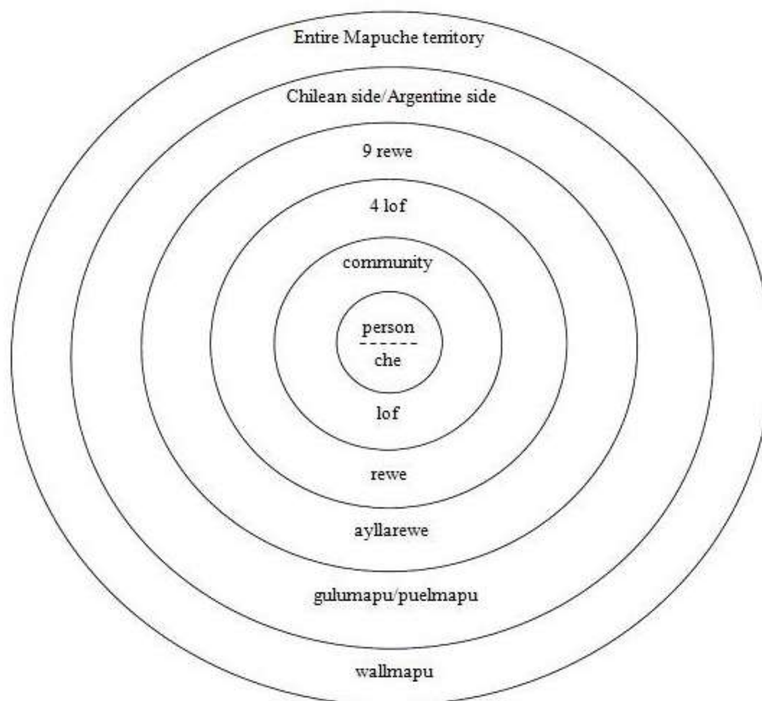

Figure 9.6 Socio-political territorial divisions

The next level of social organization is the *ayllarewe*[252]. Literally, it translates as 'nine rewe,' which was traditionally how it was composed (see figure 9.6). Today, however, this level of socio-political organization is rarely observed. One notable exception is Ayllarewe Xuf Xuf, which is a grouping of Mapuche communities just outside of Temuco. It is composed of

[252] There used to be another level of organization that came in between the rewe and the ayllarewe: the meli rewe, which literally means 'four rewe.' However, this level is almost never mentioned except in reference to the NGO "Meli Rewe de Pudahuel," which works with urban Mapuche (Lavanchy O. 2003:44).

eight lof[253]. The socio-political entity of Ayllarewe Xuf Xuf is also known as a *kiñe el mapu*, which literally translates as 'one left land.' The implication of this term is that the ngen created it, but also that each kiñe el mapu will have unique characteristics, such as dialect and ritual practices, that are distinct from other kiñe el mapu[254] (Rosa Huenchulaf, personal communication, January 21, 2010). There are some references to a socio-political unit that is made up of several ayllarewe, which is called fütalmapu. Sometimes this term is used synonymously with ayllarewe; on other occasions, it is understood to be a unique unit (Castro Neira & Lienlaf Lienlaf 2009; Sanchez C. 2001:34-35). A few fütalmapu would make up the Gulumapu or Puelmapu, West Land (Chile) and East Land (Argentina) respectively. Finally, these two huge political units make up the Wallmapu, the entirety of Mapuche territory.

9.3 MAPUCHE NETWORKS

The role of the lonko

The lonko is the socio-political authority at the level of the lof. At each progressively larger social unit, a lonko is elected to represent that unit. For example, at the level of rewe the elected authority is called *ñizol lonko*[255], which loosely translates to 'head lonko' (Marimán et al. 2006:276). At the level of ayllarewe, the head political authority figure is called *wünen ñizol lonko*, meaning 'ahead of the head lonko' (Catrileo 1995[2005]:48; Hernández S. et al.

[253] The names of the eight lof are as follows: Pirkunch, Ürtügentu, Jewpeki, Raw, Kalfuko, Pixawe, Yiwijmawiza and Xuf Xuf.

[254] Different Mapuche communities define these socio-political organizations in slightly different ways. For example, a rewe is sometimes understood to be composed of nine lof, more like an ayllarewe (Sánchez C. 2001:34). In some cases the number of families that compose a rewe will be less because they choose not to participate for religious reasons - they feel ngillatun, for example, stand contrary to their Christian faith (Di Giminiani 2011:83). While a kiñel mapu can refer to an ayllarewe, Lof Ralun Koyam considers the collective of four reducciones (which corresponds to the lof) to be the kiñel mapu (Castro N. & Lienlaf 2009).

[255] These terms will vary depending on regional differences. For example, sometimes the ñizol lonko is known as *ülmen lonko*, literally 'rich lonko' and wünen ñizol lonko is known as *ülmen futxa logko*, literally 'rich big lonko' (Sánchez C. 2001:34-35).

1997[2002]:133). Political authority would not extend beyond these positions, as political decisions at that level would be decided in a parliamentary meeting.

Just as the lonko serves as primary socio-political authority in the lof, and if chosen, at greater levels of social organization, there are other traditional social roles that are still observed. Some of these roles have already been noted, such as the machi and the ngepin. The *werken* is another role that has remained vital to the community, even through transformations resulting from increased communication technology. Werken were traditionally the communication link between communities. Over time, this role became less essential in some communities because there were other, more efficient ways of sending messages; however, the role itself transformed instead of disappearing. Instead of transferring messages from lof to lof, the werken communicates across cultural lines and from lof to the greater levels of social organization. In the next half of this chapter, I will examine the traditional role of the werken and then discuss some ways this social role manifests itself in society today. I will also explore the network the werken are a part of and hypothesize how this network system has naturally mirrored the levels of traditional social organization.

The role of the werken

Werken literally translates as 'voice' or 'spokesperson'[256]; however, definitions of what the role of werken actually is, range anywhere from simply 'someone who conveys a message (of any kind)' to 'a structured position of authority filled by someone who has been chosen and trained.' A werken is often identified as someone who is entrusted with a message based on his

[256] 'voz' or 'vocero'

ability to faithfully (and orally) transmit that message to someone else.[257] "The werken represents the person who transmits the message, who *carries Mapuche thinking to others* [emphasis added], who is elected as werken for his capacity to listen and faithfully transmit the words of the people who require his services"[258] (Queupumil 2007:20). The idea of 'carrying Mapuche thinking' implies that the role of werken is much more than just 'messenger.'

Traditionally, training to become a werken was something that all children went through; even when they may not have grown up to formally take on that role[259]. This is part of Mapuche education and training in the various types of traditional discourse that were elaborated on in Chapter 7. "'Not just anyone can be a werken, to be werken the child needs to be formed/shaped from a very young age, from a very young age he needs to be given the *ngülam*[260], that teaches him from a child to learn quickly and keep it in his memory'" [261] (Carihuentro 2007:148).

One of the werken with whom I spoke emphasized the profound responsibility it is to take on that role "because [you're] carrying the community forward"[262] (Cristina Marin, personal

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[257] "A *werken* is a personal messenger that has a logko or a lof for whom he relates [things] to another lof or to the people of the same lof. One of the abilities he should have is that of faithfully transmitting and receiving the words that were entrusted to him. / *Werken* es un mensajero personal que tiene un *logko* o un *lof* para relacionarse con otro *lof* o la gente del mismo *lof*. Una de las capacidades que ellos deben tener es la de transmitir y recepcionar fielmente las palabras que le fueron encomendadas." (Sepúlveda S. 2006:31[f.35])

[258] "El werken representa a la persona que transmite el mensaje, el *lleva el pensamiento Mapuche a otros*, se elige a un werken por su capacidad de escuchar y transmitir fielmente las palabras de las personas que requieren de sus servicios."

[259] "These are the *lonko's* messengers; their training begins when they are children. The *werken* have the full trust of the *lonko* who send them to visit the *lof* to maintain communications and strategic alliances. In Mapuche society each child is prepared as a potential future *werken*; in reality, within a community all can be considered *werkens*, but in matters of importance only one person formally takes on this position." (Ray 2007:290)

[260] Ngülam literally translates as "advice." It is part of the training a child receives in Mapuche kimün.

[261] "'Cualquier persona no es *werken*, para ser *werken* se la forma al niño desde pequeño, desde pequeño se les da el *ngülam*, aquel que se le enseña desde niño aprende rápidamente y lo conserva en su memoria.'"

[262] "porque llevara la comunidad adelante"

communication, April 10, 2010). The role of the werken is not just about carrying messages, but in many ways carrying cultural knowledge.[263] Being werken also involves a "political aspect[264]", in which they must know "formal Mapuche protocol[265]" and "the rules of etiquette when faced with a Mapuche authority[266]." In some communities, lonkos are appointing werken to go abroad to act as a kind of ambassador or to participate in conferences or demonstrations that revolve around indigenous rights.[267] Thus, the concept of werken is rather complicated and can include a variety of different kinds of responsibilities that depend on the nature of the circumstances.

Traditionally, before the introduction of new media, the job description of the werken involved activities on a local level, between neighboring communities and within the ayllarewe. A werken might take news of what was going on in one lof or community to neighboring lofs. Lonkos or community chiefs would communicate and organize ceremonies by passing messages through the werken. A woman might send news of the birth of a new grandchild to her parents

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[263] This should not be interpreted to mean that a werken fulfills the role of historian. There is no truly defined role of 'historian' that falls to anyone one person. This falls to all the elders, but perhaps more particularly to the *weupife*. "*Weupife:* Sociopolitical authority of the *lof*, charged with the maintenance and transmission of the historical memory of the community / Autoridad sociopolítica del *lof*, encargado de la manutención y transmisión de la memoria histórica de la comunidad" (Marimán, et al. 2006:277).

[264] "The act/role of the *werken* is defined by the José Quidel and others as 'reported speech [of] letters, messages, assignments' that correspond to the activities carried out by specialists in the political aspect. / El *werküwün* es definido por José Quidel y otros como 'discurso referido a los recados, mensajes, encargos' y que corresponde a las actividades realizadas por los especialistas en el aspecto político" (Relmuan A. 2001:56).

[265] "*Werken*: messenger, a person who has the ability to memorize and manage all the formal Mapuche protocol / *Werken*: mensajero, persona que tenía la habilidad para memorizar y manejar todo el protocolo formal mapuche" (Carihuentro 2006:66[f.60]).

[266] "werken: being a messenger, learning the rules of etiquette when faced with a Mapuche authority." (Marileo n.d.-a)

[267] See "Chief Juana Calfunao appoints Reynaldo Mariqueo Werken Mapuche to the European Union" (from http://www.mapuche-nation.org/english/html/news/pr-72.htm, accessed March 2, 2011) for an example.

through a werken. The following quote is from an interview conducted by Sergio Carihuentro (2006) in Chol Chol. An elder is talking about what the role of werken used to look like.

> Before, the daughter-in-law would never encounter her mother-in-law face-to-face, between them there was a curtain that separated them, the conversation was done through a *werken*, for example if one of my daughters-in-law arrived, I would have a *werken*, a young man [ask] how my family is, how my grandchildren are, how my son is, and [request] to please [have] my daughter-in-law tell the *werken*, who would deliver the message to the daughter-in-law and she would send a return message with her own *werken*, also asking after the health of her mother-in-law and all of the family. And so this is how it used to be and how people wanted it. Nowadays, we neither visit each other and we only talk to one another in winka-speak.[268] (146)

This model is not common in Mapuche communities today. Given the prevalence of radio, cell phones, the Internet and cheap, reliable transportation to the cities, the duties of the werken have significantly changed. Instead of relying on the werken to take news of a birth to a neighboring lof, the family may decide to have the local radio station announce it on the air[269] (Fernando Lemuñir, personal communication, April 28, 2010). In some cases, two-way radios or cell phones[270] may serve to send news and messages back and forth between lofs. While Mapuche culture still remains largely oral, the introduction of a writing system has allowed for the transmission of knowledge in a variety of ways. Policies of a lof or news of a birth can be

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[268] "Winka-speak" refers to Spanish. "Antes la nuera con su suegra no se encontraban cara a cara, entre ellas había una cortina que los separaba, la conversación se hacía a través de un *werken* por ejemplo si llegara una de mis nuera yo tendría un *werken* un hombre joven como esta mi familia como están mis nietos, como está mi hijo, que por favor me diga mi nuera le diría al *werken*, se le entrega el mensaje a la nuera y ella manda el mensaje de vuelta con su propio *werken*, preguntando también por la salud de su suegra y de toda su familia. Así se relacionaba y se quería la gente antiguamente. Hoy en día ya ni los visitamos y solo nos hablamos en winkazugun."

[269] Baha'i Radio in Labranza, Chile.

[270] While talking with a werken from an Argentine lof, I learned that two-way radios have become an effective way of networking communities in rural Argentina. Most rural Mapuche lofs do not have the cell towers or electricity needed for cell phones. (B. Ancan, personal communication, April 14, 2010)

written down and sent to other communities. The werken's skill to remember a message exactly as conveyed is no longer needed in these types of circumstances.

Instead, werken are assuming the role of communicator to a much larger audience. They are commuting to the cities in order to attend college or meet with other werken from different communities. They relay those communications back to their communities but that information is also conveyed in the opposite direction: to Gulumapu/Puelmapu, Wallmapu and even beyond. "Today Mapuche communities and organizations have werken dealing with media activities and what would be known as PR in modern parlance" (Ray 2007:290). When a community is confronted with some issue, such as a rights violation, the werken is often charged with creating a media event in order to give voice to his community's struggle. In many cases, without the aid of the media, these communities would be left with no power to fight those rights violations. Sometimes the medium used is local television, but more often than not, this communication happens online.

This newly interpreted role as vocero or spokesperson is another aspect of the contemporary Mapuche movement which may be attributed to Aukiñ Wallmapu Ngulam, otherwise known as the Consejo de Todas las Tierras. As part of their alternative political model, various social roles of traditional authority were reconstructed, which served a variety of purposes. In addition to offering a way for Mapuche to participate in a particularly Mapuche politics, the networks of communication surrounding these authority figures, and the werken in particular, empowered the rural communities in a way that Mapuche participation in the Chilean political sphere could not (Martínez Neira 2009:611). Claims to authority based on the traditional figures of the lonko, machi and weupin, in addition to the werken, provided a way to "establish a political authority for the Mapuche, which would be autonomous from and run in

parallel to the existing state authorities"[271] (Ray 2007:136). It seems that the role of werken first started being transformed through the efforts of the Consejo and its leader, Aucan Huilcaman, in particular. Huilcaman holds the title of werken of the Consejo and his role includes being very outspoken regarding the organization's project. He has been interviewed in a number of media, including television, and has sought to establish contacts internationally, particularly with the United Nations (Ray 2007:136). While traditionally the role of werken may have been restricted to internal interactions among Mapuche communities, it is clear through the actions of Huilcaman, that, at least since the 1990s, the role of werken has been reinterpreted as someone who stands as representative between the Mapuche communities and the rest of Chilean (external) society.

Organizational hubs

The werken's role has shifted from messenger between lof, to facilitating communication between lof and the nationally conceived Wallmapu as a whole, and sometimes even beyond that to the international community. The way this system of communication is achieved is through a system of networks. Werken either commute from lof to cities, or migrate to cities and then congregate around hubs[272]. Each lof can be considered a node and organizations can be considered hubs; however, certain organizations act more like hubs than others. For example, when the staff of *Azkintuwe* meets, links to their respective lofs are established. However,

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[271] Both José Mariman (1995) and Leslie Ray (2007) have pointed out that the particulars regarding how this parallel political system would function have not been explicated forumulated by the Consejo.

[272] Not everyone meeting at these hubs will consider themselves to be werken, just as not everyone producing articles and posts on the Internet consider themselves werken; however, many of the Mapuche I spoke with who were werken recognized the importance of media production. Most of them also understood their role to be something akin to representatives of their communities, as well as representatives of Mapuche identity to outsiders. Not all Mapuche, however, view themselves as representatives (Rubén Sánchez, personal communication, April 6, 2010).

members of *Azkintuwe* will individually and as representatives of the organization tend to assemble at certain major hubs, such as the Observatorio Ciudadano. These major organizational hubs are really what allow the easy flow of information and establishment of links between communities.

The Observatorio Cuidadano[273], located in downtown Temuco, is a non-profit organization that used to be known as Observatorio de Derechos de los Pueblos Indígenas[274]. Originally focused specifically on the rights of the indigenous peoples of Chile, in 2008 it changed its name and expanded its focus to include all the inhabitants of Chile. Its objective is the defense, promotion and documentation of human rights. The organization is co-directed by lawyers José Aylwin and Nancy Yáñez and the remaining team is composed of other lawyers, journalists and social scientists. While the projects are varied, including the publication of a newspaper, books and the organization of conferences, I noticed that the office space itself serves as a physical location for werken and other representatives to meet. Most werken and many Mapuche organizations do not have office space, and so the Observatorio provides this necessity. The result is that many people cross paths in this physical space[275].

9.4 MIRRORED NETWORKS

The system of networks developed on the ground between werken and organizational hubs is reflected in the online network. According to Barabási, 90 percent of all web documents

[273] 'Observatorio Ciudadano' can be translated into English as 'Citizen Observatory.'

[274] This translates to 'Observatory of Indigenous Peoples' Rights.'

[275] I was surprised to find that a good number of the Mapuche I interviewed preferred to meet at the Observatorio. In some cases, the interviewees had been recommended to me by someone at the Observatorio, but just as often I was surprised to find other people were connected to the Observatorio. Pedro Cayuqueo of *Azkintuwe*, Alfredo Seguel of Mapuexpress and Elías Paillan of El Centro de Comunicaciones Mapuche Jvfken Mapuand host of Wixage Anay radio show all have connections with the Observatorio.

have ten or fewer links pointing to them, but about three percent of web documents are referred to by close to a million other pages (2003:58). Websites such as Mapuexpress or *Azkintuwe* act like the three percent, which can be considered 'hubs.' Despite the topic being rather narrow considering what is available on the Internet, the traffic on these sites is still impressive; *Azkintuwe*, for example, since 2006 has received over one million hits[276]. These Mapuche 'hub' pages will have more visitors and therefore more links. Websites such as these facilitate the flow of connections because they can point in so many directions.

The links work in the opposite direction as well, from blogs to hubs via hyperlinks. Less travelled sites will always point towards these hubs. In some ways, the relationship between these different sites reflects traditional Mapuche socio-political territorial divisions. The hub sites, such as *Azkintuwe*, have the distinct purpose of stimulating a collective national identity, and therefore metaphorically represent the space in which the Wallmapu can be found. It is in cyberspace that the concept of Wallmapu as the Mapuche nation continues to be developed and disseminated to a wide audience, and this is reinforced through the many links to less travelled sites. Those less travelled sites represent smaller groups, just as the lof and rewe do, while the hub sites represent larger groups, just as ayllarewe and fütamapu.

The system of networks on the ground amongst werken, organizations and what is produced on the Internet is also reflective of traditional territorial divisions. The werken begins in the lof and carries information regarding that lof to a larger structure. Sometimes this is simply an organization, such as *Azkintuwe*, and sometimes this is an organizational hub, such as the Observatorio, where there is access to more resources. At these levels information is exchanged and then travels in one of two directions: up to a greater audience through the

[276] This data is provided by Motigo Webstats (retrieved from http://webstats.motigo.com/s?interval=day_peryear&tab=1&link=2&id=4086943#d on October 18, 2012).

Internet, or back down to the werken's lof. The different levels at which information is exchanged can be overlaid on the traditional socio-political territorial models (see Figure 9.7): from lof to rewe/organization to ayllarewe/organizational hub to Gulumapu/Puelmapu and Wallmapu/the Internet.

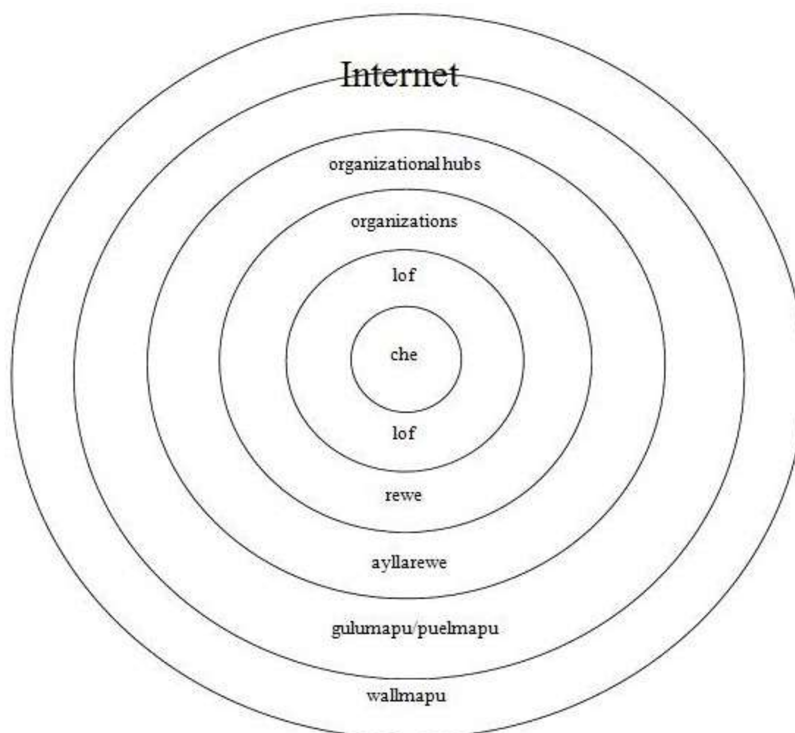

Figure 9.7 Communication networks in relation to territorial identity

When posed with the question regarding *how* Mapuche use the Internet and whether it differs from the way Westerners use the Internet based on the unique Mapuche worldview, most feel that they use it the same way everyone does: to keep in touch or as a source of information. However, Elías Paillan points out that Mapuche produced media will privilege Mapuche culture in terms of language, music, religion and other elements of Mapuche worldview (personal communication, April 27, 2010). Elicura Chihuailaf (personal communication, March 31, 2010) indicates that the incorporation of technology and other foreign cultural elements is a mark of humanity. He says that Chileans did not invent the mass media, but they use it nevertheless, to

"recount the thoughts of their spirit." Mapuche are the same as any other human in that they will use cultural elements that they did not invent. The difference is in how each culture has their own vision of the world and how such elements should be utilized. With these perspectives in mind, the manner in which information travels to the Internet from Mapuche communities and the content that appears on the Internet can be viewed as unique to a Mapuche worldview.

However, the networks that connect lof to the Internet need to be examined in greater depth to fully understand their implications regarding Mapuche social structure and their relation to Internet media production. Additionally, the flow of information in this model does not take into account social media, such as Facebook. Some of the websites, such as *Azkintuwe*, will have an associated Facebook page, which serves to alert people to new content; however, while this tool allows people to participate in the conversation, there was no suggestion that these voices in any way influenced the national project that was being constructed using the Internet. The impact of Mapuche use of Facebook and other social media is relatively new and, while the scope of such a study falls outside the parameters of this dissertation, it bears a closer look to determine the impact it has on Mapuche use of the Internet as a whole.

Another question raised by both the use of social media and the overlay of traditional socio-political territorial divisions is that of representation. If the messages and information that make their way to the content produced on web pages comes from werken, how does that reflect the individual views of community members? And what about communities that do not utilize werken in the same way? Despite the diversity that is featured on these websites, there seemed to be agreement regarding the fact that not everyone's opinion or identity is represented. There is agreement, but not an overabundance of concern. It appears that this derives from the fact that the voices online that speak for the Mapuche people as a whole do so in order to foster the

collective national identity of Wallmapu. The purpose is to achieve self-determination, which will allow communities to have much greater autonomy than they do today. This ultimate goal is intended to serve all Mapuche regardless of whether individual viewpoints are represented in the process. Rúben Sánchez points out that while he does not pretend to speak for anyone other than himself, circumstances of representation, when compared with Chile, act the same (personal communication, April 6, 2010). The Chilean State does not represent all of its citizens; nevertheless, it does speak for them.

The concept of Wallmapu, as it is being created as a kind of cyber identity accessible on the Internet, reflects the overlay of communication flow onto traditional socio-political territorial organization. The space of Wallmapu occupies the space of cyberspace and though the communication networks, first of the early organizations such as the Consejo de Todas las Tierras, and later of the more contemporary organizations, such as Azkintuwe, becomes a reality in the traditional socio-political spaces of the lof, rewe, ayllarewe and Gulumapu/Puelmapu. Today, even when it is not their primary identity, most Mapuche will understand themselves to be part of Wallmapu. They understand that representations on the Internet may not exactly reflect their particular experience but are nevertheless representative of a generalized Mapuche worldview in the same way rewe and ayllarewe represent the collectivity of many lof.

CONCLUSION

At the beginning of this dissertation I laid out some questions that propelled me through my research. These questions and their answers can be condensed to three important concepts and their intersections: identity, representation and autonomy. In the context of this research, these correspond to the Mapuche *representing* a particular *identity*, that is, a *national* identity, via the mass media for the purpose of gaining *autonomy*, so they may live and develop their lives according to the values encouraged in their own worldview, rather than by those that are externally imposed. The desire for autonomy spurs the need for representation, and at the same time that their identity is being represented, it is simultaneously being constructed. However, this model can be attributed to the situation of numerous indigenous peoples and marginalized groups all over the world; therefore, these three concepts and their intersections communicate a universal story. In addition to the contributions this research makes to scholarship regarding the Mapuche in particular, it is in this regard that it also contributes to knowledge regarding other indigenous peoples and marginalized groups, and even more broadly, to the body of work concerning new media theory. In the next few pages, I will use this model to reiterate the findings of this research and explore their broader relevance.

The emphasis on history in the beginning chapters of this dissertation demonstrates its relevance to identity. An understanding of their own history, learned through language, tradition and ceremony, informs a particularly Mapuche identity. This subsumes many aspects of cultural indigeneity. Their history is rooted in the physicality of the land. Indigenous Knowledge represents generations of knowledge accumulation passed down throughout history. Küme felen, or well-being, is rooted in the pursuit of equilibrium in all social and environmental relationships, and the skills for being successful in this pursuit can be found in their history.

There are also political implications to Mapuche history. The relationship between the Mapuche and the settler colonial state of Chile has informed today's reality. Governmental decisions made hundreds of years ago are still affecting Mapuche communities. This is most apparent in land recuperation efforts and the consequences of state-sanctioned development projects. These are related to political indigeneity which is composed largely of the relationship established as a result of the settler colonization that took place hundreds of years ago. What has been seen in the past few decades is the culmination of this relationship in which indigenous peoples must find a way to politicize their identity in order for their way of life to survive.

Once cultural and political indigeneity are viewed as separate aspects of the contemporary movements by indigenous peoples to gain political control, the different ways these identities can be influential starts to become apparent. In addition to what was illuminated through an examination of history, the results of the content analysis of the newspaper *Azkintuwe* also show that both cultural and political indigeneity are important for constructing a national identity; albeit both identities play distinct roles in this construction. Political indigeneity is what has created the opportunity for the claim to autonomy, while cultural indigeneity provides some necessary ingredients for a national identity. Keeping this typology of indigenous identity in mind when considering the situations of other indigenous peoples will aid in distinguishing the different components at work. The political "right" to self-determination is not derived from a cultural indigeneity. Rather, it is a political indigeneity that presents that right circumstances so that an indigenous people may claim a national identity as a means to self-determination.

For the Mapuche, self-determination would allow communities to develop according to the concept of *küme felen*, and without it, the Chilean state will continue to dominate, expropriate and attempt to assimilate them into a Chilean model. The way to self-determination for the

Mapuche is based on Western political ideas, because the "right" to self-determination is granted from the West, based on ideas of what is associated with a national identity; i.e. save for organized military action on the part of the Mapuche, self-determination or regional autonomy is only possible if the Chilean government changes national law and grants such a "right" to the Mapuche People. Therefore, proving their national identity, despite their inherent diversity, is the first step on the road towards self-determination. Indigenous peoples have historical evidence which can be used to support their national claims; however, the construction of a national identity does not require a group to be indigenous. There are numerous minority and subjugated groups in the world attempting or wanting to attempt something similar. The findings elaborated upon in this present research can serve to inform investigations of these groups, and perhaps even offer some strategic suggestions.

For some contemporary Mapuche, this national identity construction takes place online, which reflects a mixed process of both representing and building. Studies of identity construction via the Internet and associated networks are not new; however, they often only look at just half of the picture by examining only what is happening online. For the Mapuche and other indigenous peoples and groups with an already established offline identity, what happens offline is just as important to the story as what happens online. There is a heritage of building Mapuche solidarity and unity which informs this current project. At the present this project is being executed online. A truly national space is being developed in the sense that the whole of Wallmapu – Gulumapu and Puelmapu alike – are sharing the same space, and within that space working towards the same national goals of territory recovery and self-determination.

In the Mapuche experience, there are actually a variety of examples of representation and identity construction occurring online, and not all of them involve an explicitly national project.

When Mapuche youth are trained to use video equipment and these productions appear online, they do not necessarily reflect a conscious effort to foster a national identity. Nevertheless, the impetus that led these youth to want to do such a thing is similar to that which compels others to exert energy in the conscious construction of a collective identity. In other words, the effects of political indigeneity, or rather the consequences of living in a former settler colonial state, create a situation where both activists seek to foster a national identity and youth seek an outlet for expressions of more local identity. Whether someone is a grandmother living in a rural area who suddenly has to worry about crossing a busy highway or an urban dweller who is simultaneously marginalized and denied claims to the identity which marginalized him in the first place, the impelling forces are the same. Internal colonization and external impositions prevent or endanger full expressions of their identity.

Often representations that appear online are not terribly representative of the Mapuche people as a whole; however, given their diversity, this is not entirely unexpected. What do seem common amongst Mapuche communities are the systems of networks that have been established both online and offline. Cultural and territorial identity are being overlaid in web communication; the systems of networks that run from the lof to werken to Gulumapu and beyond have shaped how communication technology is used. The network of territorial identity is reflected in the way information is channeled through the Internet: from lof to werken to hub to Internet and back again. This uniquely Mapuche understanding of their identity is being reflected in their use of the Internet as a tool. It was only through the interviews and research I did on the ground that provided me with this insight. From most perspectives, it would appear that the Mapuche use the technology of the Internet in much the same way any other group does. In truth, discovering the influence Mapuche social organization had on the way they use the

Internet was not easy. Nevertheless, this revelation could prove useful in future explorations of the novel ways new media are being used by groups with relatively recent access. Additionally, it emphasizes the necessity of evaluating what occurs offline as an essential component of the construction occurring online.

Indeed, further examination of the networks that flow both online through social media and offline through Mapuche communities are avenues of research that I would like to pursue. Considering the evolving responsibilities of the werken and his role in the network system, I wonder if the next step in establishing a national identity on the road to self-determination does not lay with him. In fact, there have already been werken sent abroad as representatives, which suggests the beginnings of independent relationships with foreign bodies. It also seems likely that these networks, facilitated through the werken, serve to extend the message produced online in directions that are usually inaccessible to those living in areas without modern resources, such as electricity and cellular telephone towers. This aspect of the networks appears to be just as important for the establishment of a national identity as the part that happens online.

For the Mapuche, as an indigenous people, implementing the typology of cultural and political indigeneity proved helpful in examining the elements of identity construction. As former settler colonies, Chile and Argentina contribute to the common bond Mapuche feel with many other indigenous peoples around the world. However, as another avenue of future research, I would like to test this typology against the experience of indigenous peoples with a different colonial experience. For those in most of Africa and Asia, claims of political indigeneity are much harder to legitimate, and therefore their channels towards attaining self-determination seem more limited than those with the experience of settler colonization. Usually, in these areas, claims to indigeneity as a political strategy are not as common as in the Americas

and parts of Oceania. Nevertheless, an exploration of the ways they understand and use the concepts of indigeneity is necessary to expand the usefulness of the cultural/political indigeneity typology and it may serve in some ways to aid them in their struggle for their own self-determination.

APPENDIX A

MAPUZUGUN GLOSSARY

am	soul
anka	half of something; body
anka mapu	"middle land" or upper vertical dimension associated with bad energies
antü	sun
awar kuzen	traditional game that uses beans
ayllarewe	large socio-political territorial division
az che	essence or identity of a person
az mapu	way of the land; collective norms of conduct
chachai	daddy
chalin	handshake
chalintukun	presentation
chaw	father
Chaw Dios	Father God, borrowed from Christianity
chaziche	people of the salt
che	person
chemamüll	wooden human-like figurine representing ancestors
choike	indigenous ostrich-like bird
choike purun	dance performed at ceremonies mimicking choike's movements
chumul müten	soon
doy füxa kuifi	longer ago than before before
elche	person with special social gift
Elchen	god; transcendent fücha
Elchen-elmapun	god
Elmapun	god; transcendent kuse
eluwun	traditional funerals
epew	traditional historical narrative
epu	two
fantepu	present time
femaim	acting in one way and not another
feta chaichai	father daddy; alternate name for Fücha of the divine family
fewla	now
Fücha	old man; member of the divine family
futamapu	large socio-political territorial division
füxa kuifi	longer ago than before; a time before kuifi not personally experienced by a living relative
füxakeche	elder; ancestor
gülam	advice, discourse involving advising

Gulumapu Chilean side of the Mapuche Nation
ingkatun discourse recruiting volunteers for household or special chores
Huilliche people of the south
ina pire mapu "alongside, following or close to the snow land"
ka antü some days from now
kalfu wenu mapu blue above land
kalku witch
kallfü blue
kalül body
kalül az physical self identity
kimche wise person
kimün knowledge
kiñe one
kiñe el mapu "one left land," one special land
ko water
koyag traditional competition to show off language and history skills
koyagtun kind of discourse used in parliaments between leaders
koyan Roble beech tree
küga surname; domestic kinship group with shared characteristics
küla three
küme felen well-being; Mapuche development
küme kimün good knowledge
küme newen good force
küme rakizuam good thought
kümeche wealthy, generous, cooperative person
küpalme family lineage origin, both paternal and maternal
küpan come, arrive at; family lineage origin
kürüf wind
küxal fire
küyin animal
kuifi rupan dungu historical memory transmitted orally
kultrun traditional ceremonial drum used by machi
Kuse old woman; member of divine family
kuyen moon
kuyfi before; past time experienced by elder relative
kuyfikeche elder; ancestor
lafken lake, ocean, large body of water; west
lafkenche people of the west, people of the lake, coast or sea
lafkenmapu lands to the west, along the coast
lamgen sister/brother

llellipun	prayer
llituche	progenitors of Mapuche people
llowdungun	discourse involving formal invitation
lof	smallest level of traditional sociopolitical territory
lof che	socio-territorial space that corresponds to one of the smallest familial and communal organizational units
lonko	socio-political community authority
machi	socio-religious community authority
machitun	healing ceremony
mafün	wedding ritual
maloca	activity of pillaging
mapu	land; terrritory
Mapuche	people of the land
Mapurbe	Mapuche movment; urban-dwelling Mapuche
Mapuzugun	native Mapuche language
mari	ten
mari mari	hello
mawida	hill, mountain
meli	four
meli ñom wenu	"four tame above (realms)" or the four utmost dimensions in Mapuche worldview
meli wixan mapu	four-directioned land, four pulling-forces land, the surface of the nag mapu
meli wixün mapu	four standing or dangling (forces) land, the four legs that support the universe
meñkuwe	clay jar
metawe	clay pitcher
miñche mapu	land below
müchay	in a little while
muday	traditional drink served at ceremonies
nagche	people living on the nag mapu; lowlanders
nag mapu	land living Mapuche inhabit; land of the west
newe kuifi	the experienced past
newechumuj	some days ago
newen	strength; energy
newenche	strong person
ngen	guardian or spirit of different aspects of nature
ngenantü	guardian of the sun
Ngenechen	god; transcendent weche
Ngenemapun	god; transcendent üllcha
ngenko	guardian of the water
ngenküyin	guardian of the animals

ngenmawida guardian of the mountain
ngenpin socio-religious community authority; holder of knowledge; helps with ngillatun and teaches culture
ngillatun traditional ceremony
ngüfetun discourse involving the defense of property damage
ngülam advice
ñizol lonko head authority at level of the rewe or higher
norche just or honest person
nüxam conversation
ñuke mother
pangi puma
papai mommy
palin traditional sport
pelon diagnostician
peñi brother
pentukun greeting ritual
perimontun vision
pewen pine tree indigenous to the region
pewenche people of the pewen
pewma dream
piam traditional saying
pichikeche child
pikunche people of the north
pillamtun discourse involving prayer or song by machi
pillankuse wise woman; Argentine equivalent of machi
piwke heart
piwke az internal self identity
püllü spirit
puel east
Puelche people of the east; also Argentine Mapuche
Puelmapu Argentine side of the Mapuche Nation
ragiñ wenu mapu upper realm of vertical dimensions in which balance is maintained
ragiñelwe mediator, social role in religious settings
rakizuam thought
rali clay or wooden plate
ralun husked, stripped; valley
ranküllche people of the apples
reche a regular person
rewe ceremonial object made from the trunk of a tree; socio-territorial space
rüf kuifi em most distant past

ruka	house
rukache	people of the house, household
rume füxa kuifi	longer ago than before before before
rupaplu chi zugu	historical memory transmitted orally
Tehuelche	people of southern Argentine Patagonia
trarilonko	silver adornment worn around the head
tuwün	socio-geographical origin
ül	song
Üllcha	young woman; member of the divine family
ülmen lonko	"rich lonko"
ülmen futxa lonko	"rich big lonko"
uldungun	discourse involving messages
wall	surrounding area
Wallmapu	traditional territory of the Mapuche People
wallon	trajectory of the sun from dawn to sunset; revolve
wanglen	star; star that became the first human
wariache	people of the city
We Xipantu	New Year
Weche	young man; member of the divine familly
wegentu	recently
wekeche	adolescent
wekufe	malignant spirit
wentemapu	land of the spine, or land on the surface
wenu mapu	land above
wera füxa kufi	most distant past
werken	messenger
wewpin	formalized discourse; aggressive speech used at assemblies in times of war or conflict; funeral discourse
wewpintun	formal structured discourse used by leaders to relate stories of conflict
willi	south (also spelled huilli)
williche	people of the south
willimapu	lands to the south
winka	non-Mapuche
wixan	get up, arise; vista
witrunko	brook
wüja	yesterday
wünen ñizol lonko	ahead of the head lonko, authority figure at the level of ayllarewe
wünenkeche	adult
xafia	last night
yam	respect, self-regulation of behavior

APPENDIX B

STRUCTURED INTERVIEW QUESTIONS

The following is a list of questions that were prepared for use with the interviews conducted during the course of this research. However, not all questions were asked of all participants. Often an interview would have a life of its own; while the topics covered were still the same, the questions asked did not explicitly follow those listed below.

Preliminary questions:

Is it okay if I record this conversation?

Do you speak mapuzugun? Do you live in the city or a lof?

What are the concepts of communication that exist in Mapuche knowledge/worldview?

- For example, pentukuwün, nüxam, werken
- Do these concepts appear or are they used on the Internet?

Are the efforts of websites successful?

- How do they help the Mapuche people as a whole? Do they help those that live in lofs that do not know how to use the Internet?

Identity

1. What does it mean to *you* personally to be Mapuche? - How are you Mapuche? Why are you Mapuche? What makes you Mapuche?
2. In *general*, what does it mean to be Mapuche? In other words, what are the difference between a Mapuche and a Chilean?
   - What are the minimum characteristics for being Mapuche?
   - Can someone *stop* being Mapuche? Under what circumstances?
   - How are Mapuche similar to other indigenous peoples?

3. Do you talk to other Mapuche (lofs, ayjarewe) about what it means to be Mapuche?
   - What are those conversations like?
   - Do you have different opinions/ideas (about what it means to be Mapuche)?
   - Is there communication between lofs?
4. Do you talk with winka (non-Mapuche) about what it means to be Mapuche? What are those conversations like?
5. What are the differences between talking about what it means to be Mapuche with winka as opposed to other Mapuche?
   - Do you talk about different things/ideas?
   - Do you believe that winka understand Mapuche culture/knowledge/worldview?
6. Where do you, as a Mapuche, fit into Chilean society?
7. What problems/obstacles exist that impede your ability to live your life as Mapuche (with dignity)?
8. What do these images mean to you?
   - Kultrun
   - Longko Llonkon
9. What does 'interculturality' mean to you? Development?
10. What are your rights as Mapuche? As an indigenous people?
11. How do you communicate these goals/rights?
12. How do you achieve or would like to achieve these goals/rights?
13. What are the obstacles that impede the achievement of these goals/rights?
14. Is there *one* Mapuche movement? Are the goals of the movements different from those of the lofs?

15. How can you or would you like to reconcile these different goals?

Mass Media

1. What types of mass media do you use?
   - Internet, email, Facebook, blogs, radio, films
   - How many times a day/week/month do you use them?
   - How do you use them? To obtain information? To communicate with other people? To share your identity/struggles?
2. Do you believe these mass media help your lof/community? The Mapuche people in general?
3. There are a lot of Mapuche organizations and it often appears to me that they present the Mapuche people as uniform. How does this help and how does this harm the things that happen in Mapuche communities/lofs? The Mapuche people in general?
4. What are the obstacles that impede the success of what Mapuche are trying to do with mass media?
5. In the past, have you worked on some websites? Which ones? What was your role? Why did you stop working with them?
6. In general, why do you think these/certain websites fail?
7. What projects are you working on now? What is your role here? What is the purpose of the project?

At the end of the interview:

- Is it okay to cite you with your name in my dissertation?
- Is there someone else with whom you would suggest I speak?
- If I have more questions, can I contact you again?

SPANISH VERSION OF INTERVIEW QUESTIONS

Preguntas preliminares:

¿Está bien si grabo la conversación?

¿Habla usted mapuzugun? ¿Vive usted aquí en la ciudad o en un lof?

¿Cuáles son los conceptos de comunicación que existen en el conocimiento Mapuche?

- Por ejemplo, pentukuwün, nüxam, werken
- ¿Aparecen o están usados estos conceptos en el Internet?

¿Están exitosos los esfuerzas de los portales/sitios Web?

- ¿Cómo ayudan el pueblo Mapuche entero? ¿Ayudan los que viven en los lof que no saben cómo usar el Internet?

Identidad

1. ¿Cómo es Mapuche usted? ¿Por qué es Mapuche usted? ¿Qué se hace Mapuche usted?
2. En *general*, ¿qué significa ser Mapuche? En otras palabras, ¿cuáles son las diferencias entre un Mapuche y un chileno?
   - ¿Cuáles son las características mínimas para ser Mapuche?
   - ¿Puede una persona *dejar* de ser Mapuche? ¿Con qué circunstancias pasará?
   - ¿Cómo son parecidos los Mapuche con otros pueblos originarios?
3. ¿Habla usted con otro Mapuche (lofs, ayjarewe) de qué significa ser Mapuche?
   - ¿Cómo son esas conversaciones?
   - ¿Tienen opiniones/ideas diferentes (de qué significa ser Mapuche?
   - ¿Hay comunicación entre lofs?
4. ¿Habla usted con winka de qué significa ser Mapuche? ¿Cómo es la conversación?

5. ¿Cuáles son las diferencias entre cuando hablar de qué significa ser Mapuche con un winka que con otro Mapuche?
    - ¿Hablan de cosas/ideas diferentes?
    - ¿Qué cree usted que los winka entienden de la cultura/conocimiento Mapuche?
6. ¿Dónde, como Mapuche, concordar (caberse) con la sociedad chilena?
7. ¿Qué problemas/obstáculos existen que impiden que viva su vida como Mapuche (con dignidad)?
8. ¿Qué significa estas imágenes para usted?
    - Kultrun
    - Longko Llonkon
9. ¿Qué significa 'interculturalidad' para usted? ¿Desarrollo?
10. ¿Cuáles son los derechos suyos como Mapuche? ¿Como un pueblo originario?
11. ¿Cómo comunica estas metas/derechos?
12. ¿Cómo logra o le gustaría lograr estas metas/derechos?
13. ¿Cuáles son los obstáculos que impiden lograr estas metas/derechos?
14. ¿Hay *un* movimiento Mapuche? ¿Son diferentes las metas de los movimientos que los de los lof?
15. ¿Cómo pueden o le gustaría reconciliar estas metas diferentes?

<u>Los medios de comunicación masivos</u>

1. ¿Qué tipos de los medios de comunicación masivos usan usted?
    - Internet, email, Facebook, blogs, radio, películas
    - ¿Cuántas veces al día/semana/mes los usa usted?

- ¿Cómo lo usa usted? ¿Para obtener información? ¿Para comunicar con otras personas? ¿Para compartir su identidad/lucha?

2. ¿Cree usted que ayudan estos medios para su lof/comunidad? ¿para el pueblo Mapuche en general?
3. Hay tantas organizaciones Mapuche y muchas veces me parece que lo que aparece en el Internet presente un pueblo uniforme. ¿Cómo ayuda y cómo hace daño lo que pasa (por otro Mapuche) en los medios de comunicación para las comunidades/lof Mapuche? ¿para el pueblo Mapuche en general?
4. ¿Cuáles son los obstáculos que impiden el éxito de lo que están tratando de hacer con los medios de comunicación?
5. ¿En el pasado, ha trabajado con varios sitios web? ¿Cuáles? ¿Qué hizo/cuál era su rol? ¿Por qué dejó de trabajar con ellos?
6. En general, ¿Por qué fallaron los sitios web?
7. ¿Con cuáles proyectos está trabajando ahora? ¿Qué es su rol aquí? ¿Cuál es el propósito del proyecto?

Al fin de la entrevista:

- ¿Está bien citarle a usted en mi tesis, con su nombre?
- ¿Me puede sugerir otra persona con quien puedo hablar?
- ¿Si tengo más preguntas, puede contactarle de nuevo?

APPENDIX C

LINGUISTIC HISTORY AND MAP STUDY

The study in this appendix is a cursory investigation of the historical record of terms used, during the colonial and republican eras, to identify the indigenous peoples of the southern cone of South America. Apologists of Chilean nationalism promote the idea that Mapuche today are ethnically different from the indigenous peoples of these eras. Boccara has stated that the absence of the term "Mapuche" until the second half of the eighteenth century by itself is not enough to come to this conclusion; however, the fact that there were other Mapuzugun terms used during this time does raise the question of "the very existence of this group as an ethnicity[277]" (Boccara 2007[2009]:15). While exploration of this idea serves only to further understand the etic perspective of Mapuche identity, considering that this interpretation has been influential in denying Mapuche their proposed rights as an indigenous people, the following study is intended to examine the historical record and offer an alternative explanation for the variety of linguistic signs that occur during these periods.

The examination of documents from sixteenth century maps to twentieth century ethnographies demonstrates the evolution in the ways that *outsiders* have talked about the Mapuche people. Boccara concerns himself with the terms occurring during these early periods because "Mapuche" is not among them; however, it is important to remember what the presence or absence of signifiers can mean. While the absence of a particular signifier does not necessarily mean it was *not* used by the indigenous people to think about themselves, just that it was not recorded, the presence of signifiers *only* establishes which terms had a strong hold in the *European* popular imagination of the period. As I will show, the overwhelmingly common way

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[277] "la existencia misma de este grupo en tanto etnia."

early cartographers and writers referred to the indigenous people of the region were with the terms "Indian," "Chilean" and, "Araucano," a term upon which I will expound below. None of these terms is a Mapuzugun term[278], which implies that the earlier chroniclers were largely interpreting the Mapuche people through their own European, cultural perspectives. This is not surprising, as even when indigenous terms were used, the authors still treated the indigenous people as *subjects*, in much the same way they treated the indigenous geography as their subject. In later works, commonly used terms are the same Mapuzugun words that are still used today, which can suggest continuity of identity rather than change.

The following study is presented more or less chronologically, according to when certain terms first originated in the various maps, chronicles and other documents examined. I begin with the earliest maps, which named Patagonia the "Realm of the Giants." I continue by examining the terms "Chile" and "Araucano," both of which remain pertinent today. Then I explore the many Mapuzugun words that appear in these works. I will end by considering the prevalence of the signifier "Indian" in the work of early historians. Throughout the study, I discuss the relevance of these terms in relation to Mapuche identity.

"Regio Gigantum"

The very first contact the Western world had with the indigenous peoples of the southern cone of South America was in 1520 during Magellan's circumnavigation of the globe (Pigafetta 1534 [1994]). After this brief encounter with the inhabitants of Patagonia, the next instance was in 1536 with Diego de Almagro's exploration of the northern portion of what is now Chile. He

[278] It is possible that the term "Chile" originated in a Mapuzugun term, but "chileno," the Spanish of "Chilean" is not how the term would be expressed in Mapuzugun. Apart from a comment by Garcilaso de la Vega, there is a lack of evidence to suggest that the indigenous people of the region used this term to identify themselves. See the section labeled "Chili" for more information. Similarly, it is possible the term "Araucano" is an Hispanicization of a Mapuzugun word; however, like "Chilean" this is not how the term would have been expressed in Mapuzugun (see section entitled "Araucano").

made it as far south as modern-day Santiago before turning around and heading back to colonial Peru. The third substantive encounter was in 1541 when Pedro de Valdiva founded the city of Santiago. While there were difficulties in maintaining control of the area, the establishment of Santiago marked the beginning of the continuous occupation of the region by conquering forces. (Villalobos 1996[2007]:33-41).

The first maps made of South America, such as the 1540 map of the New World by German cartographer, Sebatian Münster, have very little detail, do not delineate national boundaries and tend to include the term "Regio Gigantum" on the southern tip of the continent. This Latin term is translated as "Realm of the Giants," and is the way the inhabitants of Patagonia[279] were described for at least the next hundred years (Gvtiero 1562; Mercator 1607; Bry 1624). The term itself originates from the first European encounter with the indigenous peoples of the region. Antonio Pigafetta, a member of Magellan's crew, recounts this in his journal: "[O]ne day (without anyone expecting it)[280] we saw a giant who was on the shore, quite naked, and who danced, leaped, and sang, and while he sang he threw sand and dust on his head…And he was so tall that the tallest of us only came up to his waist" (1534[1994]:46).

There are different theories as to why the inhabitants of the Atlantic side of the southern cone were viewed as giants. Kristine Jones, who wrote a chapter for *The Cambridge History of Native Peoples of the Americas, Volume III: South America, Part 2*, believes that because the

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[279] According to Pigafetta, it was the "captain" of his ship, presumably Magellan himself, that dubbed these "giants" with the name "Pathagoni," which is where the term "Patagonia" originates. The etymology of this term is somewhat murky, although the editor and translator of Pigafetta's journal, R.A. Skelton, seems to think the term means "dogs with large paws," related to the Spanish word, "patacones," the Portuguese term "patas de cão" and the French word "patauds" (Pigafetta 1534[1994]:154, n26).

[280] They had been docked at Puerto San Julián on the present-day Argentine side of the continent for two months, passing the winter, before they saw anyone. Pigafetta only ever refers to the inhabitants as "giants"; while he recorded the first vocabulary of those people, who later became known as Tehuelche, he gives no information regarding any native terms they may have used to refer to themselves.

environment was seen as such a harsh, inhospitable place, the explorers who first observed the inhabitants were astonished to find the land populated. Their descriptions reflected this reaction and the inhabitants were imbued with gigantism (1999:152). Additionally, this area of South America was not colonized for a long time, and the indigenous inhabitants were only seen rarely and from afar. Finally, the Europeans were already primed to encounter giants because of popular mythology, as well as the common belief that the further from the equator you were, the taller you grew (Ray 2007:45-46). By the eighteenth century, this myth of gigantism had been dispelled. Thomas Falkner, English chronicler, states in his 1774 *A Description of Patagonia*, that the tallest "Indian" he met must have been just over seven feet tall, but he "never heard of that gigantic race, which others have mentioned, though I have seen persons of all the different tribes of Southern Indians" (26).

"Chili"

Neither Chile nor Argentina was established as an independent state until the beginning of the nineteenth century. In the early days between Spanish colonization and this period of independence, not much was known about the interior of the continent (Codazzi 1840). Several of the earlier maps reflect this by only labeling the geographic features of the perimeter of the continent. Even into the 1800s, after Chile and Argentina became their own nations, not much was known of the interior of the continent, particularly on the eastern side of the cordillera (see Figure C.1)

Figure C.1 "América Histórica, Física, y Política actual"
by Agostino Coldazzi (1840)
Along the eastern side of the Andes, it says "PATAGONIA little known."

However, beginning in the middle of the seventeenth century, cartographers began delineating the colonial political boundaries of the region. Nicolas Sanson, French cartographer, published "Amérique Méridionale" in 1657. With this map, he divides the southern cone into three distinct areas: Chili, representing Spanish territory, extends only as far south as Chiloé; Terre Magellanique, the region that was still largely unexplored, corresponds roughly to modern Patagonia; and "Paraguay," representing Portuguese territory, encompasses the land that is now Uruguay, Argentina, Paraguay and part of Brazil. Edward Wells, English cartographer, also drew his map of South America (see Figure C.2) with these boundaries, adding to Magelanick Land the phrase, "little known to us." At this time, cartographers began leaving off reference to giants in Patagonia.

Figure C.2 “A New Map of South America…”
by Edward Wells (ca. 1700)

Due to conflicting sources, it is not possible to conclusively determine the etymology of the word “Chili.” In his first letter to Emperor Carlos V, on September 4, 1545, Pedro de Valdivia stated that in the Valley of Canconcagua there was a chief named “Chili” (1970[1992]:29). According to José Toribio Medina, the valley corresponds to the modern Aconcagua Valley and the chief’s name could have been some variation of “Chili,” such as “Chille or Tili” (1882:3). According to Garcilaso de la Vega, born in Cusco, Peru and author of *Comentarios Reales de los Incas* (1609[1991/2005), the Inca viewed the “Kingdom of Chile” as a huge region whose inhabitants were difficult to subjugate. They managed to push as far south as the River Maule at one point, but they were unable to incorporate the inhabitants of “Chili” into the Inca Empire (463). According to Garcilaso de la Vega, the name “Chili” came from the valley some 50 leagues (approximately 150 miles) from the River Maule (464). The name of the valley became associated with the kingdom as a whole. Lenz offers another alternative, stating that if the name was used by the indigenous people of Aconcagua, which cannot be determined with any certainty, it is possible the name is derived from the name of a bird or seagull of the

region, called "tile" or "thile" or "chille" (282-283). He says is likely that the island of Chiloé, derives its name from this bird: "chille" or "seagull," and "hue," or "place" to form "place of the seagulls" (283). However, he states that if the name was given by contemporary Peruvians, then it is possible the name derives from a Quechua term, meaning "cold," which, in modern Quechua is "chiri" (283).

"Araucano"

Only when the maps started depicting early incarnations of modern-day political divisions did cartographers begin including specific terms for the indigenous of the region. Nicolas Sanson's "Amérique Méridionale" is one of the first maps to include the term "Arauques," which is a variation of "Araucano[281]," a term outsiders have historically used to refer to the Mapuche. Jean Baptiste D'Anville, French cartographer, included another variation of the term, "Aucaes," on his 1748 map "Amérique Méridionale" (see Figure C.3). The modern term "Araucano" is first used by cartographers towards the beginning of the nineteenth century (see Figure C.4).

The term was used in the seventeenth century by chroniclers as well (Rosales *Tomo I*, 1674[1877-78]:110), but was increasingly used by authors throughout the end of the nineteenth century and the beginning of the twentieth century. Early twentieth century linguists and ethnographers used the term "Araucano" even when they acknowledged it was not the word the indigenous people used to refer to themselves (de Augusta 1916). Mischa Titiev[282], Russian

[281] This has been translated into English as "Araucanian." Additionally, the ninth region of Chile is named "La Araucanía," which is derived from this term.

[282] Titiev uses terms that would be considered highly controversial today, such as "race," "full-blooded," and "mestizo," and he has been criticized by succeeding ethnographers, such as Louis Faron (1961), for shortsightedness in his interpretations. For example, Titiev's conclusions indicated that Mapuche culture was becoming more and more like Chilean culture. Faron states that "there is so little truth to this that the statement is overwhelmingly false, both as observation and judgment" (1961:xii).

ethnographer and author of the first “professional” ethnography on the Mapuche (1951:1), recognized that “Mapuche” was the term the indigenous people used to refer to themselves, but stated that throughout his book he would continue to use the term Araucanian and Mapuche interchangeably. He claimed that convention had decided “Araucanians” were those who habitually spoke the native language; however, he never used the term “Mapuzugun” or any native variant[283], instead relying on “Araucano” to identify both the people and the language.

Figure C.3 “Amérique Méridionale”
By Jean Baptist D’Anville (1748)

[283] Ignacio Molina, author of *Compendio de la historia geografica natural y civil del reyno de Chile* (1788[2000]), used the term “Araucano” with some frequency; however, he said that the name the indigenous gave their language was “Chilidugu” (second tome, 379). The suffix “-dugu” is a Mapuzugun word that, more or less, means “language,” so “Chilidugu” would translate loosely to “language of Chili,” or possibly, “language of the Chili people.” This would suggest that the indigenous people identified with the term “Chili” on some level, since this word for their language has a Mapuzugun root.

Figure C.4 “South America” by Aaron Arrowsmith and Samuel Lewis (1812)

The earliest surviving documents written by Mapuche come from the nineteenth century. A variety of these are collected in *Cartas Mapuche*[284], edited by Jorge Pavez Ojeda. They are mostly letters written in Spanish to authority figures, such as presidents, governors and priests. The term “Araucano” is not used in these letters, but this could be attributed to the fact that they tended to emphasize the communities for which the authors were advocating, not unlike what happens today. Examples of early documents written in Mapuzugun are rare; however, two valuable sources are *Comentarios del pueblo aruacano* published in 1911 by Mapuche politician Manuel Manquilef[285] and Ernesto Wilhelm de Moesbach’s recording of testimony by Mapuche

[284] The letters in this collection come from a variety of sources and span the time period from 1803 to 1898. Throughout these documents there is some use of terms such as “mapuche” and “guilliche,” however, they are often pluralized as they would be in Spanish (“mapuche*s*,” “guilliche*s*”), which suggests Hispanicization of the language. This may be due to the fact that many, if not all, of these letters were written by a Spanish scribe and not directly by the Mapuche individual to whom the letters are attributed.

[285] Manquilef is an alternate spelling of Mañkelef. He was raised by his paternal grandmother and grew up speaking Mapuzugun. He later became a congressional representative (Mallon 2005:89) and a member of the Chilean Society

Lonco Pascual Coña published in 1930. In both of these documents, "Araucano" only appears as the Spanish translation of the Mapuzugun word "Mapuche" or "che.[286]"

The etymology of the term "Araucano" is highly contested. Generally, there are two perspectives regarding its origin: it comes from Quechua or it comes from Mapuzugun. Garcilaso de la Vega, author of one of the earliest sources we have regarding this term, refers to non-Inka inhabitants to the south as "purumauca." He uses this word to name the province as well as the people who live there and he does not distinguish between the "Province of Purumauca" and the "Kingdom of Chile" (464-465). He also states that the Spanish used the word "Promaucaes" (464). English chronicler Thomas Falkner (1774), as well as Chilean linguist Adalberto Salas (1955[2006]), claim the term "Araucano" comes from this Quechua term "purun awka," meaning "savage enemy," or "rebellious enemy." Mapuzugun dictionaries today define the word "auca" or "awka" as "wild" (Catrileo 1995[2005]:173) or "rebel" (Zucarelli, Malvestitti, Izaguirre, and Nahuel 1999[2008]:44). It can also mean "mare," an appropriation of the original Quechua that now refers to Mapuche "beasts of burden" (Zucarelli, et al. 1999[2008]:44).

However, one of the first towns the Spanish settled was named "Arauco." According to Garcilaso de la Vega, after Diego de Almagro's brief "look" into the region, the second European journey was led by Pedro de Valdivia, who chose the "province called Araucu" as his based after gaining land the Inca were not successful at conquering (467). However, he does not say where the name "Araucu" originated. The linguist Rudolf Lenz, author of a valuable

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of Folklore. This book may be the first published document written by a native speaker in both Spanish and Mapuzugun.

[286] Alternately, the word "Mapuche" never appears in the Spanish, except to clarify translations of Mapuzugun words, such as in the case of "wentru" to "Mapuche man" and "domo" to "Mapuche woman" (Manquilef 1911:21). In these instances, there was no "Mapuche" in the Mapuzugun text, just the Mapuzugun word itself: "wentru" and "domo."

Mapuzugun etymological dictionary (1905-1910), believes the term "Araucano" is more likely related to this region that became known as "Arauco," rather than from the Quechua term "auca." The town name could have originated from a native Mapuzugun term for the area. "Rauco" or "Arauco" can be translated as "clay water[287]" (Armengol Valenzuela 1918). Therefore, "Araucano" could be an Hispanicization of a local Mapuzugun term.

The truth of the term's origin probably lies somewhere in the middle. Perhaps finding a place named Arauco gave credence to the Quechua term and the Spanish used it henceforth to refer to the inhabitants of the region. Neither of the proposed etymologies, however, suggests that the indigenous people ever used the term to refer to themselves: it was either a Mapuzugun place name, or a name granted by outsiders. Regardless of its origins, the Spanish colonizers appropriated the term and used it in their own way to refer to the inhabitants of the region[288]; however, it seems it has never held much, if any, significance to the Mapuche.

Mapuzugun terms

Around the same time cartographers first began including variations on the term "Araucano," they also began using identifiably Mapuzugun terms. The first of these is "Puelche," often written as "Pulche," which is still in use today. Sanson's 1669 map of "Chili" is one of the first to detail the region now known as Chile. On this map, he includes the "Pulche" on the eastern side of the cordillera, just north of the Chilean town of Villarrica. This map is also one of the first to include Mapuzugun names for geographical features. There are numerous examples including Lake Maltabaulquen and the rivers Picunlabquen, Tolten and Coypu.

[287] "Clay water" from "rag/clay" + "ko/water." Many regions in Chile have similar names. Temuco, for example, derives from the Mapuzugun "temu" and "ko." A temu is a type of tree, so "Temuko" can be translated as "water of the temu tree."

[288] There is also no consistency on the maps regarding in which regions the "Araucanos" can be found. Variants of the term appear in just present day Araucanía (Sanson 1657), east of the cordillera (D'Anville 1748), across the cordillera (Arrowsmith and Lewis 1812a), and just in the area south of Chiloé (Codazzi 1840).

The term “Puelche” also appears in chronicles of the period. Alonso de Ovalle’s *Histórica relación del Reyno de Chile*, published in 1646 was one of the first European chronicles dedicated entirely to the region of Chile and contains valuable information on early pre-Chile and its inhabitants[289]. While he usually refers to the indigenous peoples simply as “Indian,” he does specifically mention “the nation of the Puelches” (431). The use of the term “nation” was common at the time, as “Puelche” was often used as a general term to categorize all the indigenous peoples of eastern Patagonia. This term was used to encompass other named groups of indigenous people, such as the Tehuelche.

Figure C.5 “Carte D’Amerique” by Guillaume D’Isle (1750)

While was the term “Puelche” first appeared towards the middle of the seventeenth century, the term “Tehuelche” did become prominent until the eighteenth century. The territory attributed to the Tehuelche is that which used to be known as the “Realm of the Giants.” Throughout the seventeenth century, the people of this region were still called “Patagons”

[289] For example, Ovalle talks about “machi” and their knowledge of the “science” of herbs (5-6).

(Sanson 1657). While this label persisted through the eighteenth century (D'Isle 1750, see Figure C.5), during that time cartographers also began including the term "Tehuelche" on their maps. D'Anville (1748), for example, identified the "Tuelchus" and associated them with the Puelche[290] (see Figure C. 6). Arrowsmith and Lewis (1812b) called them "Taluhet" and also associated them with the Puelche (see Figure C.6). The modern term "Tehuelche" also began appearing in the eighteenth century (Gussefeldt 1796, See Figure C.7).

Figure C.6 "Viceroyalty of La Plata" by Aaron Arrowsmith and Samuel Lewis (1812)

It is difficult to find a definition for "tehuel"; however, this may be because the term is not often used today. The idea that the Tehuelche have died out is a common one in Argentina. The *Diccionario Tehuelche* (Dahir 2009) translates "Tehuelche" as "fierce people.[291]" Pedro Armengol Valenzuela, author of an etymological glossary of native Chilean terms, offers a more

[290] The map reads "Pueches appellés Tuelchus ou Méridionaux," or "Puelches called Tuelchus or Southerners."

[291] This dictionary is aimed at tourists to the modern Argentine province of Río Negro, which introduces doubts regarding the reliability of this translation.

likely definition. He translates “Tehuelche” as “round man or person[292].” Lenz also translates “tehuel” as “round or stout.” Armengol Valenzuela also implies that the term was not self-imposed, but rather, was given to the inhabitants by outsiders.

Figure C.7 “Part of a map of America” by Franz Ludwig Güssefeldt (1796)

This translation as “round people” raises some questions. First, for many years these people were understood to be the “giants of Patagonia;” however, nothing about the name “round, or stout, people” suggests impressive stature. This could be due to the mistranslation of the term “tehuel.” Or, perhaps there were never any tall people, but, rather, the Spanish explorers were simply primed and ready to meet giants. Additionally, the name itself does not follow any other examples of naming patterns among the Mapuche. As discussed earlier, all the names Mapuche used today – Mapuche, Puelche, Lafkenche, Pewenche – are derived from geographical characteristics. There are no known terms used by Mapuche to identify themselves that use their kalül az, or outer physicality, as a descriptor. This suggests that either the name

[292] “hombre redondo”

was mistakenly attributed or that Armengol Valenzuela was correct in stating that the Tehuelche were not Mapuche. The name may have been given by Mapuche to a distinct people who either died out or were subsumed into the Mapuche people.

Figure C.8 “Carte du Paraguay, du Chile détroit de Magellan & Terre de Feu” by Nicolaes Visscher (1708)

Other common Mapuzugun terms that began appearing in the eighteenth century are “Huilliche,” “Picunche,” and “Pehuenche.[293]” Nicolaes Visscher’s 1708 map identifies the region of Chile much bigger than it is today, extending far east of the cordillera. He includes the word “Huilles” to the south of Chiloé on the Pacific side of the cone (see Figure C.8). This most likely refers to the “Huilliche” or “people of the south.” This is one of the first instances of a Mapuzugun term on a map describing a people other than “Pulche.” One of the first times “Pehuenche” occurs, another common Mapuzugun word to appear in the early record, is on

[293] “People of the South,” “People of the North,” and “People of the Pewen,” respectively.

D'Anville's 1748 map with the term "Pehuenche that are of the Auca Nation[294]" (see Figure C.3). Again, the term "nation" is used which suggests that the Pehuenche belonged to a larger group of native inhabitants. In addition to "Puelches" and "Pehuenches," the term "Picunches" also appears on Arrowsmith and Lewis' 1812 map, "The Viceroyalty of La Plata" (see Figure C.6). Many of these terms began appearing in the chronicles just as early. For example, while Diego de Rosales, author of *Historia general de el reyno de Chile* (1674)[295], only used the terms in passing, he did record "Puelches" and "Peguenches[296]" as labels for the indigenous people of the region.

Organizing, labeling and categorizing the indigenous peoples of the southern cone of South America was a preoccupation for many early chroniclers and historians. In the eighteenth century, Falkner identified two "denominations" in which to place all the different groups of indigenous people. These were the "Moluche Nation" and the "Puelche Nation" (96). The Moluche Nation corresponded to the Chilean side of the cordillera and encompassed the Picunches, Pehuenches and Huilliches. The Puelche Nation corresponded to the Argentine side of the cordillera and included the Tehuelche[297]. He does not clarify whether the Moluche and the Puelche were a separate people, or whether they corresponded to the same "Nation." However, he does claim that the Tehuelche spoke a different language than the Moluche and the Pehuelche (110). His categorization based on Moluche and Puelche follows a western/eastern distinction.

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[294] "Pehuenches qui sont de la Nation Auca"

[295] Diego de Rosales wrote this book in 1674, but it was not published until the late 1870s, after the manuscript was discovered by Benjamin Vicuña MacKenna.

[296] "Peguenche" is an alternate spelling of "Pehuenche" or "Pewenche." It is not generally used today.

[297] He also names the "Taluhets," the "Diuihets," and the "Chechehets" in this group; however, while these terms have appeared on maps , they are found in Northern Patagonia and represent a different indigenous people from those who spoke Mapuzugun.

He even states that the Puelche, "Eastern People (so called by those of Chili because they live to the east of them) are bounded on the west by the Moluches" (99). He explains that "Moluche" means "warrior" from the word "molun," which means "to wage war," and that it was the Moluche that the Spanish called "Aucaes" or "Araucanos" (96). He claims the term Moluche is self-ascribed, but the term is no longer used today, and, like Tehuelche, it does not follow contemporary Mapuche naming practices.

By the twentieth century, the terms "Tehuelche" and "Moluche" are not used very often and do not even appear in de Augusta's dictionary (1916). However, he does use the term "Gulumapu" to translate "Chile" into Mapuzugun. He identifies it as the word the Argentineans use to call those living on the Chilean side of the cordillera. Francisco Javier Santamaría, Mexican writer and linguist, published *Diccionario General de Americanismos* in 1942. At that time, his classification system also divided the Mapuche into two "tribes;" however, instead of Moluche and Puelche, he identified "Araucano" and "Puelche." The Araucano were divided into the "Cunca," the "Huilliche," and the "Araucana." He associated the "Cunca" with the "Chonos." These people are identified on maps as inhabiting the Pacific side of the cordillera, just south of Chiloé (D'Anville 1748, see also Figure C.4 and C.12). Santamaría identified them as living in the region of Valdivia and translated the term as "people of the west;" however, "cunco" more accurately translates as "dark-colored water." Today, not far from Temuco, there is town called Cunco. The Puelche were divided into the "Tehuelches," the "Divieches" and the "Huiliches." He identifies the Puelche and the Tehuelche as the "Patagons" first observed by Magellan's crew. He also links the Puelche with the "Araucanian race," saying that, while their dialect is distinct, it was derived from "Araucano." (1942: I, 125)

In these cases where scholars attempted to organize and subdivide the different "tribes" of Mapuche into recognizable patterns, they misinterpreted the distinctions identified by directional names. Louis Faron, twentieth century anthropologist, states that there is no convincing evidence to suggest that the "geographico-directional classifications…mean that fixed political and ethnic divisions existed among prereservation Mapuche" (1964:191). These directional names were relative and intended to "orient" the Mapuche in relation to one another. (1964:191). These geographical descriptors are related to the Mapuche concept of "mapu" and their understanding of the territory they inhabit. In other words, the Mapuzugun terms presented in this section represent names for indigenous people who share Mapuche culture. Faron goes on to say that non-Mapuche were never identified with the term "che," or "person," but rather with the term "winka," which refers to the totality of people who are not Mapuche (1964:192).

There a number of elements that can be highlighted as a result of this discussion. Mapuzugun terms first appeared on the maps and in the chronicles by the seventeenth century. The most common term then, and throughout the centuries, is "Puelche," which referred to the indigenous people on the Argentine side of the cordillera. The term is used in the same way today. This is somewhat curious considering the early claims that "little was known" about this region. The east/west distinction is still one that remains important in Mapuche worldview today; therefore, while early chroniclers may have misinterpreted the significance of this distinction, it is likely that it was just as important an aspect of Mapuche worldview in the early days of colonization as it is today.

It is also interesting to note that those indigenous people closest to the Spanish colonizers who settled Chile were most often referred to with the term "Araucano" and not a Mapuzugun term. The record leaves room for some doubt regarding the Mapuzugun term actually used for

these people. “Moluche” is a possibility; however, considering naming practices, the indigenous use of this term is doubtful. Another possibility is that the term “Moluche” is a misrepresentation of the term “Guluche.” In Mapuzugun, the beginning sound of “Guluche” is nasalized, which can easily be misconstrued for another nasalized sound, such as the “m” in “Moluche.” Regardless of what term was actually used by the Mapuche in this region, the fact remains that the Spanish settlers used Mapuzugun terms for the more remote indigenous people, but not for those that inhabited the frontier region. This suggests that either they knew very little about those people, or they were trying to keep them at a distance since they were directly engaged in appropriating their land.

“Indio” and “Chileno”

Regardless of the many different Mapuzugun terms recognized by the eighteenth century, the trend in the work of Chilean chroniclers and historians was to not use these terms. Instead, they used the terms “Indian,” “Chilean” or “Chilean Indian.” Alonso de Ovalle (1646), for example, with few exceptions, referred to the indigenous inhabitants with the word “indio,” or “Indian.” The most common way Diego de Rosales (1674), a Spaniard who arrived in Chile in 1629 and spent several years learning about indigenous customs and language, addressed the inhabitants was with the phrase “the Indians of Chile,” or “the Chilean Indians.” Throughout his book, Thomas Falkner (1774) used a variety of generic terms such as “Indian” to describe the indigenous people; nevertheless, at times this work reflects his understanding regarding the linguistic significance of Mapuzugun terms of identity, even to the point of differentiating “mapu” (90) and “che (96).

Juan Ignacio Molina (1788) is one of the first chroniclers discussed here who was not born in Europe. Instead, he was born in a Chilean town called Villa Alegre, not far from Talca.

This may have impacted the focus of his writing, as his *Compendio* feels more conservative and less interested than his predecessors' work[298]. In the second volume of his chronicle, most of the terms Molina used to identify the indigenous inhabitants were generic, such as "Indian," "tribe," "the ancient Chileans," or simply "Chileans." The way he used "Chilean[299]" emphasizes the referents' separate nature as non-Europeans. It seems he felt the need to distinguish the indigenous people from Europeans or those of European descent. While previous chroniclers may not have felt the need to do this, the proximity of Molina's birthplace to territory inhabited by an indigenous people, two hundred miles south of Santiago, may have created this need for him to clearly separate his own identity from these inhabitants.

Miguel Luis Amunátegui wrote *Descubrimiento i conquista de Chile* in 1862. This work depicts the period of time during which the Spanish conquerors would have had their first interactions with the indigenous peoples of the region. Despite this setting, however, he did not specifically devote attention to the indigenous people of Chile until later chapters and did so without much detail. In the beginning, Amunátegui dealt with Peru, Pizzaro, Valdivia and to a lesser extent Almagro. He mentioned "the Indians" occasionally, but it is not until later chapters that it becomes clear he used this term to refer to the indigenous people of Chile and not the Quechua-speaking indigenous people of Peru.

In a similar fashion to Molina, Amunátegui dichotomized diverse groups of people, albeit with a different focus. For example, he clearly distinguishes the "barbarians" (the indigenous people), a term he used with frequency, from the "Christians" (chapter 2). He also set the

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[298] Molina's chronicle does not focus on the indigenous inhabitants. It is comprised of two volumes, the first of which is devoted to a description of geography and natural history. Only the second volume examines the civil history of the region.

[299] He often spells this word as "Chileño," using a tilde instead of a simple "n."

Europeans in contrast to the "americanos" or "Americans," which is one of the words he used to describe the indigenous inhabitants of the New World; however, there is no indication this term was meant to refer specifically to the Mapuche[300]. Where he differs from Molina is in setting himself apart from Spanish "invaders" and "conquerors" (195). He used this type of language frequently about the Spanish, but where previous Spanish chroniclers used "Chilean" to refer to the indigenous people, Amunátegui clearly identified himself with this term. He took pains to distinguish himself from the Spanish colonizers in order to emphasize his identity as "Chilean." This demonstrates the strength with which this national identity had gained hold since the newly created Chile state several decades earlier. It seems as though he excluded the indigenous people from the story of Chile's beginnings in order to focus on the newly formed state's power to overcome and fight for their independence, rather than the fact their predecessors took possession of land that was already inhabited. This alternative story could be viewed as a threat to the national identity of the new Chilean state.

Diego Barros Arana, a well-known Chilean historian, published *Historia general de Chile* towards the end of the nineteenth century (1884-1905). From the outset of this work, his agenda seems similar to that of Chilean nationalists today. He attempted to show how the indigenous peoples that inhabited the southern cone of South America when the Spanish conquerors arrived were *not* the original inhabitants. Barros Arana claimed that despite their populations being "semi-civilized" or "in the state of barbarism," they "were not primitive inhabitants of America" (15). He framed this discussion in terms of the origins of humankind by

[300] Mapuzugun words, such as "Pehuelche" or "Huilliche" do not appear in Amunátegui's work. He does name some Mapuche historical figures, such as "Michimalongo," a famous Mapuche leader (213), but these instances are some of the only details he offers regarding Mapuche culture or history. Towards the end of his work, he writes about a number of famous Mapuche figures (Lautaro, Caupólican, and Colocolo), which is the only time he refers to them as "Araucano," rather than "Indians" or "barbarians."

focusing on the origins of the inhabitants of the Americas since, until Columbus, no one knew that part of the world existed. However, he did not examine the Mapuche origin story, or contemporary Mapuche worldview, and it is convenient that, in identifying the indigenous people as immigrants to the region, he provides the impression that they have no more claim to that territory than the Chileans.

Despite his stated interest in the origin of the indigenous people of the region, he spent very little time examining what they had to say about themselves. Additionally, he never used any Mapuzugun terms to refer to them[301]. In fact, other the Inca and one reference to the Guaraní, the only terms he used to refer to indigenous peoples was "Americans" or "indigenous populations." In the case of the Mapuche, he referred to them as "the Chilean Indians" or the "savage Chileans," both of which distinguishes them from other Chilean citizens, but also lays a claim to them as "Chilean." This is not to say that he never offered any information regarding the Mapuche. For example, he stated that the "Chilean Indians" all spoke the same language and offered some basic vocabulary[302]. However, he also spent a great deal of time explaining how the familial relations were not as affectionate or caring as "the civilized family" (65-66), which can serve to cast doubts regarding some of his other interpretations of Mapuche history and culture.

Linguists of the early twentieth century also tended not to use Mapuzugun terms to refer to the Mapuche. For example, de Augusta (1916) used the term "indigenous" with frequency, and while Lenz (1905-1910) did use the term "Mapuche," he also used the term "Indian." In many of the letters from *Cartas Mapuche*, the Mapuche writers most commonly chose to use the

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[301] He does not even use the term "Araucano" to refer to the Mapuzugun-speaking indigenous people of the region; he only ever uses generic, non-descript terms, such as "Indian," to refer to them.

[302] He discusses certain words, such as "domo" or "woman" (37-38), as well as basic numbers (50-52).

term “Indian” to refer to themselves in Spanish and often did so in a way that dichotomized “Indians” and “Christians” (43). This suggests that they saw themselves differently from Chilean nationals of the time.

The most interesting element to take away from this discussion is the fact that Mapuzugun terms were recorded and used in earlier centuries, but throughout the periods of Independence and Pacification of Araucanía, these terms fell into disuse. Considering that today most of these Mapuzugun word are either still being used or are being used again, interpreting this disuse by non-Mapuche is more complicated than simply attributing the reason to changes within Mapuche society.

“Mapuche”

The term “Mapuche” did not become prominent until the twentieth century, after the Republican Era and the Pacification of Araucanía. While it is apparent by the beginning of the twentieth century that this term was used by the indigenous people to refer to themselves, scholars often continued to use the more generic “Indian” or “Araucano” (de Augusta 1916; Santamaría 1942); however, Lenz stated that while outside Chile’s frontier region the term was not very popular, its use was gaining ground by ethnographers, as well as in the media (1905-1910:477).

Apart from defining the term, there is little definitive evidence regarding the word’s etymology. Armengol Valenzuela (1918) claimed “Mapuche” is a literary term, but did not expound on this idea. Lenz suggested that the term is related to a valley visited by Valdivia in the sixteenth century, not far from Santiago, called Mapocho (1905-1910:478). He points out that Rosales stated that the Mapocho “is properly called Mapuche, which means Valley of

people"[303] (Rosales 1674[1877-1878]:384). Considering that "Mapuche" means "people of the land," it is possible that the term was translated improperly and this error was perpetuated in future scholarly works.

While Faron has stated that twentieth century Mapuche used the term "che" more than anything (1964:192), written testimony of Mapuzugun speakers did show that "Mapuche" was used by indigenous people to refer to themselves. In 1912, Tomás Guevara and Manuel Mañkelef published a collection of family histories, *Historias de familias*[304], in which Mapuzugun testimony was recorded and translated into Spanish. The term "Mapuche" can be found in the Mapuzugun, but sometimes the corresponding translation into Spanish was different. For example, where the Spanish might use "ngüluche" or "ngüluche tribes," the Mapuzugun simply states "che" or has no direct reference at all. This similarly occurred in Moesbach's testimony of Pascual Coña (1930). The term "Mapuche" was used frequently, but was often translated as "Araucano" or "the indigenous."

The twentieth century also welcomed foreign ethnographers to Chile, who were there for the expressed purpose of studying the Mapuche and had little vested interest in the national project of Chile. Louis Faron was one of the first ethnographers to recognize Mapuche naming practices for what they were: "The word Mapuche means 'people of the land,' and all Indians classified as Araucanian call themselves Mapuche, standing as each does in the center of his own little world" (1964:191). Milan Stuchlik, an anthropologist conducting research in the latter half of the twentieth century was one of the first to regularly use the term "Mapuzugun" to refer to the native Mapuche language. He also took great pains to find out what the Mapuche have to say

[303] "que propriamente se llama Mapuche, que quiere decir Valle de gente"

[304] The original publication of this work only recognized the authorship of Guevara and was published under the title *Últimas familias y costumbres araucanas*. Only in subsequent editions was Mañkelef's name added as author.

about themselves and has listed several characteristics that remain relevant to Mapuche today[305] (1974:19-21).

The preceding discussion of twentieth century ethnography in Chile demonstrates the shift from examining Mapuche culture from the outside to finding out how Mapuche understand their own culture. The linguistic interest in Mapuzugun at the turn of the century was the beginning of this perspective. At this time, scholars began to understand the ways the native language was reflective of Mapuche culture. Later ethnographers, whose perspectives were not clouded by Chilean national interests, deepened this understanding by going to Mapuche communities and examining what they had to say for themselves. The last quarter of the twentieth century saw a lull in published work regarding Mapuche culture. However, in the 1990's, with the advent of the Internet, the end of the Pinochet regime and the inception of Chile's Indigenous Law, Mapuche voices start to emerge. These voices continue to grow stronger every day.

There are two important details to take away from this discussion on the use of the term "Mapuche" in the historical record. First of all, the term "Mapuche," while it may not have been used frequently within communities, was certainly a term that was used by Mapuche to distinguish themselves from winka or non-Mapuche. Secondly, the fact that the term Mapuche may not have appeared as often as expected is because the focus then, as now, was largely on the community rather than the people as a whole. Today these two details are continually reflected

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[305] The characteristics Stuchlik (1974) identified regarding the ways Mapuche distinguish themselves from "huinca" or non-Mapuche are as follows: 1) they are "autochthonous inhabitants of the land" (19), 2) they speak Mapuzugun, 3) they ascribe to "the idea of institutionalized hospitality and solidarity" (20), 4) they have particular items of material culture, and 5) they approach others with a "we-they" dichotomy (21). Today, Mapuche can still claim all of these characteristics. For example, the importance of hospitality is reflected in ideas regarding conversation (see Chapter 7). Stuchlik also identified contemporary ways Chileans viewed Mapuche: "they are ignorant, retarded, lazy and drunkards" (1974:21). Many of these stereotypes persist today. For example, in field research for this study, "lazy" was the most commonly used negative adjective I heard Chileans use to describe Mapuche, followed by "ordinario" or "vulgar, or ill-mannered."

in the books, testimonies, and histories being produced by Mapuche. On the one hand, there is *¡Escucha winka!*, which is a response to the Western perspective of Mapuche history. This book examines the Mapuche people as a whole. On the other hand, there are books like *Ralun Koyam: Historia de un kiñe mapu*, which are produced by particular communities with the purpose of collecting testimonies to preserve their local history.

Semiotic Analysis

From a semiotic perspective, examining all these different linguistic signifiers can provide some valuable information regarding the social construction of reality with respect to "Mapuche" identity. Examining these linguistic signifiers from an historical perspective helps to locate shifts in how the Europeans and Chileans thought about Mapuche. Choices made in regard to signs can have real world significance on how people think about, interact with and construct their worlds. Signifiers, while ontologically arbitrary as Saussure professed, do have material qualities of their own, as well as historical connotations. Evaluating the possible meanings of these signs can lead to unlimited semiosis; however, under contemporary scrutiny certain signifiers tend to lead more in one direction than another. Examining these signifiers as proper names – signifiers that reference an indigenous people – can also shed light on matters of conventionality, personhood and habits of action.

In addition to semiotics, interpretive anthropology also espouses the importance of signs in culture. People interpret signs, ascribe those meanings to the world they inhabit and act according to those meanings. Clifford Geertz put this idea so eloquently in his book, *The Interpretations of Cultures*. "Believing…that man is an animal suspended in webs of significance he himself has spun, I take culture to be those webs, and the analysis of it to be therefore not an experimental science in search of law but an interpretive one in search of

meaning" (1973:5). In examining the words or signs authors, through the centuries, have used to describe the indigenous peoples of the region, I am examining one aspect of culture in particular – the naming of people – and evaluating the potential implications of the chosen signifiers. These choices both create and reflect their contemporary understanding of reality.

Charles Sanders Peirce wrote a great deal about semiotics and one of the things he focused on was the proper name. First, I would first like to address the causal theory of reference in regard to proper names. This theory states that "there is a causal chain of designation that begins with the first 'grounding' of the name. Thus, each subsequent use of the name is causally linked to the first" (Weber 2008:348). When a name is first used to signify the referent, it begins its history and every subsequent use of that name carries connotations linked to that first instance. The name 'Araucano' is rarely used anymore to refer to Mapuche. I believe this has more to do with this causal link to its first use than the etymology of its linguistic units. It does not matter whether the term comes from Quechua or Mapuzugun, the name was born out of those first interactions the Spanish colonizers had with the original inhabitants. Either for reasons of protecting the official national identity of Chile or in order to reject correlations it implies to personal identity[306], the term's causal link to that first interaction – the seeds of colonization – creates associations most do not wish to perpetuate when constructing their social reality.

[306] For a Mapuche person to use the term "Araucano," whether as a Spanish translation of "Mapuche" or not, links his identity as a person to the historical details of the European invasion of his traditional territory. Using the term in this way creates a story that is not uniquely Mapuche but rather one that interprets his place in the world by putting that first interaction at the center of his identity. It can be argued that all names or identity labels exist as a result of contact with the 'Other,' and certainly the Spanish colonization of South America forever influenced how Mapuche and Chileans alike understand their identity; however, choosing between one signifier and another is about which perspective is valued as the primary context of identity.

Peirce categorized proper names as “rhematic indexical legisigns” (Weber 2008:347). Using the name, or sign, ‘Mapuche,’ I will examine the meaning of Peirce’s categorization. ‘Rhematic,’ means ‘representing possible qualities of the object.’ This means that the sign ‘Mapuche’ refers to characteristics of the object in a non-propositional manner; that is, it conveys meaning without making an assertion about the world. Possible meanings of what the sign “Mapuche” convey depend on the interpretation of the signified and the cultural perspective of the user – people who wear a trarilonko[307] or use a makuñ[308], the old women at the market selling chales[309], those Chilean Indians who always want something for nothing, the essence of what it means to be a person, etc. ‘Indexical’ is one of Peirce’s modes of relationships. It refers to a direct link or connection, either physical or causal, with the object. In this case, the connection could be causal and related to that first use of the term, which was used to distinguish a Mapuche from a non-Mapuche, or winka. The sign ‘Mapuche’ also indexes or points to a particular person. A nice illustration of this concept is provided in Eric Thomas Weber’s article that discusses Peirce’s ideas of the proper name. He shows that “if I point at an object and the object moves away, either the index needs to follow the object, and therefore change, or it otherwise misses its intended target” (2008:351). And finally, the ‘legisignic’ quality of a proper name implies that the name is conventional; that is, a customary designation created through interaction with society. This suggests that when the sign ‘Mapuche’ is invoked, it is reflecting the conventional status of the term within society. In other words, it is a common and accepted name within society that is habitually used.

[307] A traditional head ornament made from silver worn by Mapuche women.

[308] A traditional blanket or poncho.

[309] ‘Chales’ means ‘shawls’ in Spanish. The Mapuzugun word for shawl is ükülla.

Finally, Peirce describes a sign as having three characteristics: 1) material quality, 2) a real connection to the referent, and 3) the recognition that it is a sign. The first characteristic is what I am interested in here. The names that have been discussed in this appendix – Mapuche, Araucano, Puelche, Indian, Chilean – all have their own particular material quality. This quality is not necessarily connected to the referent but may influence the connotations associated with the signified(s). When written, these words exhibit a certain shape, length, and form. I would also suggest that the word-signifier elicits another signifier in the form it takes in the user's mind. This would be similar to a sound-signifier, or the way the user hears it in her mind. That sound-signifier will have material qualities different from the word-signifier[310]. For simplicity's sake I have not distinguished between the Spanish and English terms, but technically two different words, 'indio' and 'Indian' for example, would be considered two different signifiers potentially symbolizing different signifieds.

That material quality may create connotations of its own apart from the signified. That, combined with the causal reference and the indexical property, all work together to create many connotations in the mind of the user. For each user the associated connotations will be different, but the material quality of a Mapuzugun word ending in 'mapu' or 'che,' or containing an umlaut, will have a different class of connotations from a Spanish word containing an accented vowel or an English word that begins with a capital letter regardless of its position within the sentence[311]. For a person who self-identifies with the referent – Mapuche – a Mapuzugun word may suggest feelings of pride or shame, a longing for lost tradition, an image of a piece of

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[310] Cultures with a focus on oral tradition above written tradition and vice versa will also interact with signifiers in different ways.

[311] Words such as Indian, Indigenous, and even Chilean or Mapuche are not capitalized in Spanish: indio, indígena, chileno, mapuche.

physical geography, or the understanding of what it means to know or to be whole. For a Spanish-speaking person who does not self-identify with the referent – Mapuche – that same Mapuzugun word may elicit feelings of jealousy, resentment, or fear, a desire for a simpler time, uncomfortable images of an effeminate man who drinks urine and engages in devil worship[312], or a longing for something more in his life.

While semiotics does not emphasize quantity, I do point out the frequency with which certain signifiers are used. My intention in doing this was not to quantitatively analyze the text, but rather to suggest that there may have been a correlation between the frequency of the signifier and how strong a hold that associated sign had on the common social mind. For example, if an author only mentioned the signifier "Mapuche" a few times in the text, but significantly relied on the signifier "Indian" or "Araucano," there is a good chance that the term "Mapuche" was mainly known by non-Mapuche in an academic setting[313]. This implies that a) the term "Mapuche" was not relevant to the indigenous people, b) they were not exerting their identity (for want of a medium or lack of a need), or c) their indigenous identity was, through conscious or unconscious means, being suppressed.

Conclusion

In the absence of deeper research, many of the interpretations of these signs must remain speculative. Nevertheless, an examination of these potential interpretations can still provide a

[312] Ana Mariella Bacigalupo writes about shaman masculinity in her 2004 article for *Ethnohistory*. She explains that "when the Spaniards arrived in Chile, they projected their classificatory schemes onto Reche [Mapuche] realities," and their perceptions of sexuality and gender caused them to characterize male shamans, or "machi weye" as "sodomites," "effeminates" and "devil worshippers" (491-493). In personal communication (May 17, 2010) with the machi of Comuna Wete Rukan, on the outskirts of Temuco, he explained to me that in order to diagnose someone's illness he needs urine to see the person's body and the identification card to see the person's mind or thoughts. From an outside perspective the request of urine may seem odd.

[313] It is entirely possible that nothing was known about the indigenous peoples, as many remain ignorant of Mapuche culture and language today, even when they live next door.

general idea of these terms' implications. For example, the term "Puelche" is not a new term. The fact that this Mapuzugun word was recognized in non-Mapuche literature as far back as the mid-seventeenth century suggests that, regardless of the prevalence or manner of use of that signifier, there is an historical connection with the signifier "Puelche" as it is still used today[314]. Additionally, the shift in popular use from "Indian" to "Chilean Indian" to "Araucano" to "Mapuche," shows an increasingly specific signifier used to refer to the indigenous people of the region. The implications of this shift speak to the ways non-Mapuche have imagined the indigenous people over time and also suggests that emphasis has shifted from a generalized, imposed, outsider perspective to a more localized, culturally relevant, insider perspective[315].

This discussion has examined the use of signifiers throughout Chile's history to refer to the indigenous people of the region. While the term "Mapuche" as it is used today was not recorded until relatively recently, the historical record shows diversity in authors' use of signifiers. This includes what seems to be a regression during the first hundred years of Chile's nation building. Indeed this suggests something relevant regarding Mapuche ethnicity; however, this discussion has highlighted other cultural and linguistic reasons independent from simply a change in identity on the part of the Mapuche people.

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[314] It implies an historical correlation, but does not necessarily prove historical continuity.

[315] By insider perspective, I mean that Mapuche culture has more influence today over how their identity is perpetuated than in the past; however, this does not mean that the signifier "Mapuche" is universally understood.

APPENDIX D

PHOTOS

A tree trunk carved in the style of a *rewe*

A *pewen* tree

Irene Weche's Ruka

Chemamüll in Irene Weche's Yard

Graffiti depicting Mapuche symbolism in the Plaza de Armas in downtown Temuco, Chile
The Mapuzugun translates roughly as "This is our Wallmapu, thanks to our Mother Earth."

Graffiti contrasting Mapuche & Chilean societies in the Plaza de Armas in Temuco, Chile

APPENDIX E

CODING GUIDELINES AND CATEGORIES

Unless otherwise stated, assign a "2" to the theme or frame that is MOST STRONGLY conveyed in the article. Assign a "1" to all secondary themes and frames. Assign a "0" to those themes and frames that do not appear in the article at all. If two themes or frames seem to be equally strong in the article, assign a "2" to the theme or frame that appears first and a "1" to the other theme or frame. If none of the themes or frames exists in the article, assign a "2" to *Information* (category AC) and a "0" to every other theme/frame category.

A. **Basic article information**: List article title, author name, edition year, edition number, and page number(s).

B. **Article type** (1-9): Code "1" for *news* ("crónica" or "reportaje"), "2" for *opinion* ("opinión"), "3" for *analysis* ("análisis"), "4" for *interview* ("entrevista"), "5" for *art & culture* ("poesía," "música," "documentales," etc.), "6" for *other peoples* ("otros pueblos"), "7" for *photojournalism* ("foto reportaje") and "9" for *other* (such as "indigenismo de Estado").

C. **Authorship**: Code "1" if the author is known to be Mapuche or has a Mapuche surname, "2" if the author is known not to be Mapuche, and "9" if the author's identity cannot be determined.

D. **Relevance to language**: Code "1" if the article is about language in general, "2" if the article is specifically about Mapuzugun (does not need to predominate the article), "3" if the article is written in Mapuzugun, or another indigenous language (including subheadings, blurbs, and within the text of the article), and "4" if the article relates a Mapuzugun concept such as "We Tripantu," "ngillatún," "werken," etc. Do *not* include articles just because the author identifies one of the subjects as "lonko," but *do* include the article if the subject of the article is identified to be a "werken."

E. **Geographic setting**: Code "1" if the article is primarily about Chile or Gulumapu or primarily about Chileans or Mapuche from this region, "2" if the article is primarily about Argentina or Puelmapu, or primarily about Argentines or Mapuche from this region, "3" if the article is primarily about Wallmapu or the Mapuche People as a whole and "9" if the article's geographic setting is none of these, such as Bolivia or Peru

F. **Territorial identity**: Code "1" if the subject of the article is a *person/che*, "2" if the subject is a *family/ruka*, "3" if the subject is a *lof* or small Mapuche community such as a reducción, "4" if the subject is a *rewe* or a collection of smaller Mapuche communities, "5" if the subject is identified as an *ayllarewe/futamapu*, such as Ayllarewe Xuf Xuf, or many communities within a larger region, such as the area surrounding a Chilean city, "6" if the subject(s) compose all of *Gulumapu* or *Puelmapu* (i.e. Guluche or Puelche), "7" if articles refers to *all* Mapuche, or *Wallmapu*, and "9" if it is non-of-the-above.

G. **"Self-determination"**: If this concept explicitly appears in the article, code "1." Look for terms such as "autodeterminación," "libredeterminación," "autonomía," "autonomía regional," "autonomía política," etc. If the concept does *not* explicitly appear in the article code "0."

H. **"Nation/nationalism"**: If this concept explicitly appears in the article, code "1." Look for terms such as "nación," "pueblo," "Pueblo Mapuche," "un solo pueblo," "pueblo articulado," etc. If this concept does *not* explicitly appear in the article, code "0."

I. **Political Frame**: Articles primarily about Mapuche seeking political power or recognition or political autonomy. Look for articles that discuss the Mapuche political party – Wallmapuwen, being denied political power, such as votes not being counted, or about Chilean *political* decisions regarding Mapuche communities. Emphasis on Mapuche *Pueblo* or *Nation*.

J. **Cultural Frame**: Articles primarily about a Mapuche concept or aspect of their worldview. Look for articles that discuss a cultural connection to the land, Mapuche justice system, non-spiritual traditions, such as codified discourse, non health- or education-related interculturality, language as cultural identity, etc.

K. **Spiritual Frame**: Articles primarily about Mapuche religiosity. Look for articles that discuss a spiritual connection to the land through interaction with ngen, religious ceremonies, such as Ngillatun or interaction with other realms.

L. **Historical Frame:** Articles primarily about Mapuche history. Look for articles that discuss earlier interactions with Spanish or Chileans, such as the implementation of the reducción system or pre-contact time, such as after the battle of Kay-Kay and Xeg-Xeg.

M. **Legal Frame:** Articles primarily about the intersection of Mapuche society within the Chilean legal system. Look for articles that discuss *specific court cases* involving Mapuche activists, arrests, *laws being passed or used* to prosecute Mapuche (such as the anti-terrorist law), failure of the legal system to protect Mapuche rights, etc.

N. **Development Frame:** Articles primarily about *Chilean* development projects meant to facilitate "progress." Look for articles that discuss projects, such as roads, airports, those that Mapuche seem to find intrusive, etc. Emphasis on economics.

O. **Environmental Frame:** Articles primarily regarding the state of the environment. Look for articles that discuss projects that have a direct impact on the environment, preservation of the environment, Chilean interferences. Emphasis on sustainability and conservation.

P. **Intercultural Health Frame**: Articles that are primarily about interactions between Western medicine and Mapuche health. Look for articles that discuss intercultural hospitals or clinics, Chilean/Western doctors and Mapuche machi (shamans) working side by side, etc.

Q. **Health Frame**: Primary about Mapuche health practices. Look for articles that discuss general health in Mapuche communities, or machi practices and rituals, machitún, etc. Do not include articles that are about the intercultural aspect of health (see above).

R. **Intercultural Education Frame**: Articles primarily about intercultural schools. Looks for articles that discuss intercultural schools, pedagogy specific to interculturality, important elements of intercultural schools, etc.

S. **"We are unjustly labeled terrorists, persecuted and even killed by authority figures."** Look for articles about the police ("carabineros") attacking or killing Mapuche youth and leaders without provocation, Mapuche leaders being prosecuted under the terrorist law, sentencing Mapuche leaders to prison terms, communities being terrorized by Chilean authorities, the condemnation of media sources that portray the Mapuche in this light, articles about Alex Lemun (a young Mapuche killed by Chilean authorities), persecution, genocide, brutally invading Mapuche territory, suffering injustice, etc. Emphasis on the injustice of these circumstances and/or the emotional reaction to these perceived atrocities.

T. **"Non-Mapuche prosper economically off of Mapuche culture."** Look for articles that discuss tourism revolving around Mapuche, but without the actual presence of Mapuche, the sale of postcards with Mapuche motifs, markets that sell Mapuche handicrafts, the expropriation of Mapuche land specifically for its natural resources, etc.

U. **"We have no voice; what other choice is there?"** Look for articles that discuss situations in which Mapuche should have been included, but were not, and the response was that Mapuche and Mapuche organizations showed up anyway, to protest, rally, present a letter and try to make their voice heard, as well the discussion of similar situations in which violence or belligerence by Mapuche organizations is defended, etc.

V. **"We are united in our diversity."** Look for articles that highlight the regional differences between Mapuche communities, but still claim solidarity to a Mapuche collective ("el Pueblo Mapuche"), articles that describe the differences (cultural, religious, etc.) between Mapuche communities but maintain the idea of a Mapuche whole or nation, etc.

W. **"The 'Mapuche Problem' is a result of colonization."** Look for articles that criticize the use of the term "Mapuche Problem" ("el problema mapuche") or the "Mapuche Question" ("el cuestión mapuche"), especially with regard to the ways official Chilean policies exacerbate cultural and economic friction between Mapuche communities and Chilean society, or articles that criticize the Chilean government's execution of policies regarding this issue without consulting any Mapuche communities or organizations, etc.

X. **Internal colonization: "We are still being colonized."** Look for articles that do not mention "the Mapuche Problem," but describe the idea that the Chilean government and Chilean society continue to colonize Mapuche communities through economic or political decisions, articles that discuss the continued and purposeful marginalization of the Mapuche people, or ideas of land being stolen from Mapuche communities (without any specific economic elements).

Y. **"Marichiwew – We are still here."** Look for articles that stress the resistance to cultural atrophy and the cultural revitalization that Mapuche communities and organizations have strived to maintain, especially those articles with a passionate or volatile tone. The term "marichiwew" (literally "ten times we will conquer") is associated with a warrior cry that is meant to imply a fierceness or pride in maintaining Mapuche culture. Look for ideas associated with defending their land and way of life or the need to "fight" for their rights.

Z. **Combating stereotypes: "We are not ________." – ex. Mapurbe**: Look for articles that reject Chilean stereotypes of Mapuche, especially those that portray Mapuche as country-dwelling peasants, uneducated or lazy, and those articles that stress the many different incarnations of what it means to be Mapuche or articles challenging who gets to be considered Mapuche and who gets decide that, especially, the existence of a large population of urban dwelling Mapuche ("Mapurbe" or "Mapunky"),

AA. **Identity: "The land is who we are - we take care of it and it takes care of us."** Look for articles with a spiritual or cultural slant that focus specifically on the reciprocal relationship the Mapuche have with the environment, the idea that the land sustains Mapuche communities, terms like "ancestral territory," the need to reclaim their land (without any cultural, spiritual, political or economic focus), etc.

AB. **Mapuche "development."** Look for articles that focus on Mapuche "development" in opposition to Western development, or articles that focus on "küme felen," ideas of "living well," social reciprocity, becoming a whole and valued person, developing good "rakizuam," etc.

AC. **Information**: Articles that do not fall into any of the above categories. These will be largely informational, such as announcing an event, stating a brief fact, etc. They will be articles that are largely value-free and do not seem intended to create any type of emotional or intellectual reaction in the reader.

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