Urban Ethnicity in Santiago de Chile
Mapuche Migration and Urban Space

vorgelegt von
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Abstract

The urban phenomenon is changing. The social and political transformations of recent decades have created new forms and models of inhabiting in the city. In Latin America, phenomena of globalization and the implementation of liberal policies have, on the one hand, expanded flows of information and communication and, on the other hand, affected forms of social cohesion which were developed from the modern urbanization process of the mid-20th Century. This new context has transformed the ways in which the people build identity and a sense of belonging inside the urban society.

Since the 1990s ethnicity has become an important source of identity construction for a growing percentage of city dwellers in Latin America. The ethnic roots of its inhabitants are turned into resources for social cohesion and recognition as social actors. The purpose of this study is to explore the process of formation of an urban ethnicity in Santiago de Chile. The Mapuches are the largest ethnic group in Chile and about half of their total population resides in the city of Santiago. However, despite being the largest ethnic group in Santiago, the Mapuche do not have a visible presence in the city. The emergence over the last decade of the political and social category of urban Mapuche and Mapuche-warriache describes the growing importance of ethnicity as a source of identity in Santiago.

Ethnicity is related to the notion of collective identities. In this sense, it is a process whereby a group of people are collectively different from “others,” ethnicity is a broad concept which describes a process of differentiation. The objective of this research is to investigate the strategies through which Mapuche society in Santiago establishes differences, both in relation to the remaining urban society, and to “traditional” Mapuche society. Accordingly, this work aims to identify processes through which an urban ethnic identity is constructed. The working hypothesis is that the Mapuche currently in the city - first and second generation migrants - build hybrid forms with the remaining urban society more than they reproduce or reterritorialize their society of origin. The Mapuches in the city are not trapped between their societies of origin and the host urban society, but are, in turn, building strategies in which ethnic identity is part of a system of identities in which they participate.

The work has two parts. The first part presents two critical reviews: a chapter on the method of ethnographic research and its application to urban space, and another chapter which focuses on the history of modern Mapuche society. The second part is experimental and composed of three case studies. Each experimental case is presented and analyzed through ethnographic methodology.

This work explores the urban ethnicity as a contemporary form of building identity and sense of belonging. Currently, in Latin America an essentialist perspective prevails to deal the indigenous identities. This paper argues that the Mapuches in the city are not trapped between their societies of origin and the host urban society, but are, in turn, building strategies in which ethnic identity is part of a system of identities in which they participate. These strategies are a very dynamic form of communication and differentiation.
Zusammenfassung


INTRODUCTION

Concepts to describe contemporary city have proliferated in recent times. A little over a decade ago, the terminology *global cities* and *edge cities* was used. Later came *dual cities* and *technopolis*, more recently *shrinking cities*. This collection of concepts and categories are symptomatic of a transformation of the urban phenomenon.

The modern city has fallen into crisis over the course of the last several decades. Industrialization in Europe and the United States of America since the mid-19th Century marked the evolution of the modern city, and this urban development established itself as the model of urbanization. Processes such as increasing globalization of the financial markets, the development of telecommunications, and the end of the Cold War and its polarizing division of the world, among other things, have given way to the development of a capitalist model in which information now plays a greater role than industrial production. The ongoing process, since the 1980s, of dismantling the welfare state has interrupted the imagined linear and progressive development in metropolitan societies during the last century. The enactment of liberal policies which diminish the power of the state and favor the free interplay of market forces has had disastrous consequences for large segments of urban populations. This well-known trend provides the context for giving urban research a higher priority.\(^1\) The previously mentioned concepts attempt to describe different dimensions as consequences of this process. In fact, notions such as *shrinking cities* or *global cities* are especially useful when we want to comprehend what is happening to the industrial city and its society.

Industrialization not only allowed the development of particular urban economies, it also determined a form of inhabiting the city; a new form in which its inhabitants created an urban society. In the European tradition of the early 20th century, this development was formulated as the rise of the *Großstadt*, and in America, it became *urbanism as a way of life*. Along these lines, industrialization and the associated social forms of Western metropolitan cities formed the parameters upon which the urbanization

\(^1\) For a very interesting analysis of urban social transformation in metropolitan societies in the last two decades, see: Wacquant (2006), (2008).
process worldwide was to mold itself. In the last decades, however, different local and global processes have overthrown the supremacy of this urban model as a reference for all processes of urbanization.

The model of the modern Western city has thus fallen from its hegemonic position. The contemporary city is a space of multiple modernities, of various traditions which together constitute a very diverse urban landscape.

A fascinating event occurred in 2007: the worldwide urban population exceeded the global rural population for the first time in history. What is relevant about this is that the majority of the mass human settlements are currently located outside of both Europe and the United States. Indeed, they are not a product of the growth process as described by modern Western tradition. Cities such as Lagos, Cairo, and Manila have grown into mega-settlements through paths which are not analogous to European *Verstädterung*. The way of inhabiting such cities has little to do with, for instance, the *urbanism as a way of life* of the American city.

Decolonization, insertion into global markets, and flows of local and transnational migrations, among other factors, all play relevant roles in this new urban landscape. This group of elements has multiplied the strategies employed by an urban society to find solutions to the problem of access to housing, work, education, and infrastructure. The very way of organizing social life opens up a multiplicity of forms, continuously diversifying the types of cities. For example, in much of Africa, the decolonization process has permitted Africans access to the city, something from which they were earlier excluded by the colonial powers who reserved the city almost exclusively for themselves. The colonial city was a reproduction of Europe and insulated from the native populations. In cities such as La Paz or Istanbul, the traditional elite, historically in connection with Europe or the United States, is experiencing the loss of its monopoly in the organization of these cities. The traditional elite faces the appearance of new political and economic collectives, whose origins are to be found in rural migrant groups who arrived to the city in recent decades. As M. Weber described the rise of a new social organization fundamental to the birth of the modern European city, these new social groups establish a sort of *nichtlegitime Herrschaft* (illegitimate rule), profoundly restructuring the organization of power relations in the city.

The following thesis reflects on contemporary urban space in the context of the rise of a diversity of urbanization models. This research observes the ways in which urban...
society in Santiago experiences a restructuring process, as a space where new social agents, new ways of organizing internal diversity, new communications, and new dynamics of power arise.

In the following pages I will concentrate on the mechanisms employed by migrants of Mapuche origin to construct feelings of belonging and identity and to search for forms of social cohesion. Urban ethnicity, approached as an object of study, sheds light over the mechanisms which are at work within an urban society to establish internal differentiation. Ethnicity is a way of reorganizing the internal social differences that renew particular historical processes in order to tackle a present context and/or to imagine future collective projects.

Currently, ethnicity is approached on different levels. Urban conflict, which was formerly attributed to categories such as class, is now more likely to be classified as ethnic conflicts. Ethnicity is turned into a fundamental resource to comprehend how society organizes internally. In this context, the ethnification of the city is a global tendency. The city, however, is not just the backdrop against which these processes of ethnification take place; it also plays a fundamental role within them as well. Each urban space possesses certain “rules” that structure the ways in which its inhabitants relate to one another. These rules that have taken shape through urbanization processes over the course of history—for instance, cities that have developed through commerce, industry, the mining industry, etc.—overlap specific relationships of power. The individuals, however, are not only passive reproducers of such structural relationships, but they are also capable of turning these rules around. With their personal and collective resources, the individuals “curl” the urban space; they build geographies of the city.

In Santiago, the Mapuche presence stands out not only because they are the biggest ethnic group in the city, but also because the history of the Mapuche people is a particular one in the Latin American context, during the period of Spanish colonization, in terms of the Chilean state, and still today in Santiago's urban setting. If we are able to discard normative categories of the modern Western city in observing the city of Santiago, the internal composition of its own modernity may be revealed to us.

The current urban crisis, which is rather a crisis of the model of the modern Western city, offers us the opportunity to explore the particular character of urban society in Santiago. The specific case research of this work attempts to observe how ethnicity contributes to Santiago's urban character, but also how urbanity has an influence on the configuration of a broader ethnic space which goes beyond the physical limits of the city as such. In these terms, the current investigation is an invitation to understand, on the one hand, what ethnification of the city means in the case of Santiago and on the other hand, what urbanization represents for an ethnic society in the sense that urbanity is currently a hegemonic way of organizing social life.

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The urban society of Santiago has historically imagined itself — and the rest of Chile for that matter — as a culturally homogeneous society. In 1992 a "discovery" took place regarding the population of Santiago: the national census of that year was the first that included the country's indigenous population. According to the census, 7.7% of the population of the city of Santiago is of Mapuche origin. This came as a general surprise and transformed the Mapuche overnight into by far the largest ethnic group in the city. At the same time, however, this concentration of the population (409,479 people) constitutes 44% of the total Mapuche population in Chile.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Census</th>
<th>Population Total Chile</th>
<th>Population Mapuche</th>
<th>% Population Mapuche in Chile</th>
<th>Population of Santiago (RM)</th>
<th>Population Mapuche in Santiago</th>
<th>% Population Mapuche in Santiago (RM)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1992</td>
<td>13,348,401</td>
<td>928,060</td>
<td>7 %</td>
<td>5,257,937</td>
<td>409,479</td>
<td>44%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2002</td>
<td>15,116,435</td>
<td>604,649</td>
<td>4 %</td>
<td>6,045,192</td>
<td>182,963</td>
<td>30%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

A heated discussion about the meaning of that statistic followed throughout the 1990's. Mapuche and winkas\(^5\) alike discussed the scope of such a "discovery." Different lines of discussion were formed, and categories were born which had never before existed: *urban indigenous* and *urban Mapuche* or *Mapuche-warríache*.\(^6\)

Beyond their "statistical reality," the importance of these figures can be found on two levels: on the one hand, regarding the influence of indigenous presence in the construction of urban space in Santiago, and secondly, in the importance of the urban indigenous population in the construction of Mapuche contemporary society.

\(^4\) Based on information from INE (1994), (2003). The censuses of 1992 and 2002 are, in rigorous terms, not comparable. The object to be measured is different in both cases. In 1992 the question was about "identification" with a certain ethnic group; and in 2002 it was about "belonging" to a certain ethnic group. A detailed discussion about this point can be found in Gundermann /Vergara/Foester (2005).

\(^5\) In general terms, *winka* is a word that refers to foreigners. It was used to designate the Inkas and nowadays is a general term to designate Chilean people.

\(^6\) *Warriache, warría* = city, *che* = people. It means "people of the city". Warriache defines a new territorial category of the Mapuche society and was formulated by Ancán (1994).
Until now, Chilean urban studies have focused little attention on cultural diversity in their efforts to understand the development of Santiago. In turn, even though the discussions surrounding urban Mapuche have gained increasing attention over the last decade, the Mapuche in Santiago have historically been invisible to the rest of urban society. There are few traces of an "indigenous lifestyle," as is often suggested by the presence of clothes, food, and festivals in other cities throughout the continent. Even today, social scientists know very little about this social group.\(^7\) The exploration of the development of the urban Mapuche in the city has focused more on the formation of political or ethno-political demands; i.e. more on the Mapuche as a social movement rather than on social relationships in everyday urban life.

The Chilean state has systematically made efforts to imagine and build a culturally homogeneous society. This project has historically regarded Mapuche society as an otherness which should be diluted. Until the war of the "Pacification of Araucanía" (1860-1881), the relationship between the state and the Mapuche people was negotiated at la frontera (the border region).\(^8\) After the military defeat of the Mapuche, the occupation of their territory, and the establishment of reservations for the population, the state continued to ignore the existence of Mapuche society. Rather, the state opted for social and cultural assimilation. In this manner, as asserted by many historians, the Mapuche and their difference would be diluted during the 20th century, thus resulting in the assimilation of the Mapuche into Chilean society. A century later, however, this otherness, this difference, reappeared in the center of the nation-state — in Santiago.

The selection of this topic of research can be seen as an exploration of what lies behind the neologisms of \textit{urban indigenous} and \textit{Mapuche-warriache}. The notion of \textit{urban indigenous} indicates recognition of the existence of an urban ethnic group, a society that builds social, symbolic, and economic spaces that dialogue within the city. The observation of these spaces permits an approach to the mechanisms through which social groups differentiate themselves within the city. In turn, the notion \textit{Mapuche-warriache} indicates recognition by the Mapuche society of a new social segment. This urban segment plays an active role in the way that Mapuche contemporary society defines itself, not as an indigenous group anchored in an ancient space, but one that opens new communication paths as a result of its residence in the city.

\(^7\) Recently, R. Foester, one of the most influential scholars of the Mapuche society, pointed out: “The life of the mapuche in the city is still an enigma for the social sciences”. The public invisibility of the mapuche in the city - as Foester states – could have two causes. On the one hand, Mapuche in the city do not have a strong political representation, their social movement is still too weak to present political demands to the Chilean state. On the other hand, social scientists have shifted their focus on political organizations rather than on everyday life as the object of investigation. In Castillo/Contreras/Tapia, et al. (2005), p. I.

\(^8\) Known as "La frontera" it was the border between the Spanish Crown and Mapuche in the Bio-Bio river, 500 Km South from Santiago. In 1647, the Spanish Crown and Mapuche nation signed the treaty of Killin, in which the Spanish Empire recognised the territorial autonomy of the Mapuche nation to the South of this border. In the following two-hundred years, Mapuche and Spaniards signed 28 treaties as confirmation of this border.
In the following section, two conceptual realms of the present thesis will be discussed in order to develop the basic elements of this investigation: ethnicity and the city.

Table 2. Mapuche Population in Santiago by comunas

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
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<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Puente Alto</td>
<td>20596</td>
<td>14729</td>
<td>9.0</td>
<td>Lo Espejo</td>
<td>11347</td>
<td>4117</td>
<td>2.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maipú</td>
<td>20958</td>
<td>11913</td>
<td>7.3</td>
<td>Lo Prado</td>
<td>12744</td>
<td>4976</td>
<td>3.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>La Pintana</td>
<td>16431</td>
<td>11647</td>
<td>7.1</td>
<td>Maipú</td>
<td>9647</td>
<td>3645</td>
<td>2.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>La Florida</td>
<td>28339</td>
<td>11178</td>
<td>6.8</td>
<td>P. Aguirre Cerda</td>
<td>13691</td>
<td>3175</td>
<td>1.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cerro Navia</td>
<td>14159</td>
<td>9606</td>
<td>5.9</td>
<td>Quilicura</td>
<td>2960</td>
<td>4360</td>
<td>2.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Peñalolén</td>
<td>17692</td>
<td>10369</td>
<td>6.3</td>
<td>Recoleta</td>
<td>13503</td>
<td>4628</td>
<td>2.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pudahuel</td>
<td>12968</td>
<td>8480</td>
<td>5.2</td>
<td>Renca</td>
<td>13283</td>
<td>6171</td>
<td>3.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Conchali</td>
<td>13463</td>
<td>3494</td>
<td>2.1</td>
<td>San Ramón</td>
<td>10793</td>
<td>4520</td>
<td>2.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>El Bosque</td>
<td>13242</td>
<td>6042</td>
<td>3.7</td>
<td>Santiago</td>
<td>15955</td>
<td>4745</td>
<td>2.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Estación Central</td>
<td>12176</td>
<td>4124</td>
<td>2.5</td>
<td>other 13 comunas</td>
<td>123035</td>
<td>25736</td>
<td>15.80%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>La Granja</td>
<td>12497</td>
<td>4902</td>
<td>3.0</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Total Mapuche population in Santiago | 409,479  | 162,557  | 100%
Fig. 1. Distribution of the Mapuche population in Santiago

9 Elaborated by the author from Encuesta CASEN 2000 MIDEPLAN and Censo 1992 and 2002 INE.
The title of this research invites reflection upon Mapuche ethnicity in the city of Santiago and, consequently, presupposes the importance of ethnicity as a concept. Even though ethnicity does not pertain to the fundamental notions of the classical social sciences, in the last forty years it has come to occupy a central place within social reflection. The concept ethnicity has taken a particular relevance in analyzing national conflicts and the formation of new states, both in the context of the decolonization processes of the 20th century, and subsequently, in the post-Cold War period. The current popularity of the concept culminates in a multiplicity of widely differing definitions. Usually it is linked and sometimes confused with notions such as nation, culture, and race (the latter is the case especially in the U.S.).

Ethnicity is unquestionably related to the notion of collective identities. In this sense, it is a process whereby a group of people are collectively different from “others,” hence, without difference there is no ethnicity. But difference is not its cause and ethnicity is not just the expression of difference. Individuals and groups ”do something” specific to differentiate themselves from others, and this ”differentiation” is an active process. We can therefore say that ethnicity is a broad concept which describes a process of differentiation.10 A set of categories such as nation, culture or race can be used to describe this process. Each one of these categories constructs particular relationships in which, depending on the context, one or more of these categories can have a greater descriptive capacity.

There is a lengthy list of definitions of ethnicity, just as there is for other popular concepts such as culture or identity. Currently there are two general ways to deal with this concept. In terms of my argument, two kinds of perspectives can be discussed: primordialist and constructivist. The primordialist perspective assumes that the formation of an ethnic group is based on an origin which is considered as a natural starting point for building a community. This community represents a pre-discursive reality that prevails over rational and instrumental action. In this case, the sense of community triumphs over a collective of an instrumental nature.

On the other hand, the constructivist perspective has increasingly taken importance since the 1980s. It suggests that collective identities are constructions. However, considering the action and discourse of a collective as the product of a construct does not mean, as it is often criticized from the primordialist perspective, that identities are simply "inventions." Constructivism is a critical vision that considers identities not as something given, but rather stresses the social processes that have shaped them. This does not mean denying the existence of pre-discursive relationships. Instead, they are given a different

10 Feischmidt (2007); Sökefeld (2007).
role. As Sökefeld states, “aus konstruktivistischer Perspektive liefern die den Beziehungen primordiale Code, durch die Identitäten, Nationen usw. ausgedrückt werden, und sind nicht die Substanz, denen sie aus bestehen.”

Many different definitions of ethnicity have emerged from both of these perspectives. Nevertheless, rather than presenting a collection of these definitions, my interest lies in exploring the uses of the concept and, in this manner, considering the various fields of conceptual discussion that arise from its implementation.

The Implementation of Ethnicity

The first empirical application of the concept of ethnicity arises from the works of the Chicago School of Sociology led by Robert E. Park during the 1920’s. It may be curious that the first application of the concept takes place in an urban context; however the reason for this is that from early on, the concept of ethnicity described a situation of contact between social groups from different backgrounds, whose encounters are characteristic of urban space. Particularly during the early 20th century, the city of Chicago underwent an accelerated growth based on massive immigration, thus becoming a perfect stage for observing the way in which different groups connected daily with each other. Before this first application, the concept had been defined by M. Weber, who conceived the ethnic community as a group of people who—based on shared customs, a similar appearance and a memory about historical processes—recognize a common origin. That set of elements plays a central role in the formation of a community. Weber argues that due to the development of modern society and its processes of individualization, bureaucracy, and functional action, the ethnic tends to disappear into the urban and modern society.

Indeed, to a certain extent, the Chicago School applies the ideas of Weber. Its task of identifying the differences in a city whose population was composed of 80% immigrants by the beginning of the 20th century led researchers from Chicago to focus on the problems associated with the integration of this population. The School defined as ethnic groups social groups which, on account of maintaining the values and behavioral patterns stemming from their cultures of origin, show a certain resistance to the process of integration into a city. If these groups do not integrate, they remain in a sort of pre-modern state, based on relationships of a primary type. In its well-known ecological model used to explain the process of integration into the city, the Chicago School postulates that "assimilation" is the last stage of a contact relationship in the city, the last phase that reaches an immigrant group as the product of his contact with the host society.

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The ethnic dimensions are dissolved in the process of assimilation, and immigrants are assimilated and are transformed into "Americans." Finally, they adopt the dominant culture, i.e. an alleged Leitkultur based on the norms and values of a white, Protestant population. Thus, migrants are no longer different, but rather, become “equal.” Consequently, after two or three generations, ethnicity becomes irrelevant.15

Another group of researchers, the so-called School of Manchester, applied the idea of ethnic groups in cities of the “Copperbelt” of Central Africa during the first half of the 20th century. The Manchester School observed the phenomenon of migration to the mining towns under British colonial administration in order to understand the role tribalism played in these towns. The members of the school held two hypotheses: on the one hand, it is argued that once incorporated into the industrial labor force, the detribalized migrants, i.e. Africans, experienced a diminishment of the importance of their tribal bonds. In the organization of these new workers, the bonds based on socio-economic class affiliations take on a hegemonic relevance. This hypothesis is summarized as "African urbanites are always urbanites," arguing the irreversible impact of an industrial and modern social system in relation to a society of the “pre-modern” type.16

Scholar J.C. Mitchell represents another perspective within this school. In his brief ethnography entitled The Kalela Dance17, Mitchell presents a detribalization process followed by one of retribalization. The situation of contact between various tribes in the mining towns leads to the construction of new tribal references, products of the fusion of cultural elements and the establishment of relations of dominance between the groups. For example, Mitchell noted the formation of a kind of lingua franca in the cities of the Copperbelt that enabled communication between migrants; as expressed by the Kalela dance, as well as the fusion of styles from various tribes with Western elements. He postulates that migrants construct new forms to differentiate themselves in the urban space; i.e. they develop new types of tribal affiliation. The argument that both hypotheses share is that tribalism ceases to exist in the city in its traditional version. For some, it disappears in its totality and for others it is reformulated.

However, the different conclusions reached by members of the same school indicate a varying appreciation of the role that tribal relationships in the city play. In this context, Mitchell argues that the daily relations between Africans in the Copperbelt are affected as much by tribal as by class affiliations, but he affirms that tribal relations are by far the most important. The conclusion of the research from the Manchester School is that tribal relations are reformulated; the subjects are also involved in various types of relationships which converge, determining the character of everyday life in the city. Eriksen would later argue that, “individuals have many statuses and many possible

16 Signorelli (1999).
17 Mitchell (1956).
identities, and it is an empirical question when and how ethnic identities become the most relevant ones.” In other words, ethnic identity is part of a system of identities in which the subjects in the city participate.

Mitchell’s contribution establishes a fundamental point for later evolution in the application of the concept. Ethnicity is an active method of conforming social groups. In the late 1960s, in continuity with this dynamic notion, one of the most widespread contributions to the concept of ethnicity was published in the work of F. Barth. The discussions on this work have been extensive. Nevertheless, three central ideas are of interest for the purposes of my presentation. The first notion states that social groups define themselves by contact. Borders and categorizations are constructed through this contact which allow for the delineation between “us” and “them” as an ethnic distinction. Thus, the processes of social differentiation are dynamic and relational rather than static. Secondly, ethnicity is an aspect of social organization and not of culture. Thirdly, self-ascription is fundamental for the formation of an ethnic group.

However, I present two observations as to the theories put forth by this Norwegian anthropologist. The first comment is about the principle of self-ascription to define an ethnic group. Barth’s model accentuates the individual basis of ethnic identity. It stresses how individuals of different ethnic groups recognize each other as distinct upon interaction with each other and direct their actions accordingly. The problem is that if one takes self-ascription as the only principle in forming ethnic identities, any social group could be viewed as ethnic. This is what Cohen ironically does in the case of stockbrokers from central London. Because they share behavioral patterns and a high degree of self-ascription, they are identified as an ethnic group. Faced with the risk that any social group could be deemed ethnic, a consensus has developed which recognizes the importance of a common collective history as essential. The ethnic identity contains a genealogical dimension, which, as Roosens states, "… unavoidably refers to an origin, and always involves some form of kinship or family metaphor." Currently, the metaphor of a common origin has become a feature which can not be disassociated from ethnicity. Often an origin is imagined as something outside of history, "since time immemorial" as it is commonly said in reference to indigenous groups.

Usually indigenous societies are understood as ethnic groups in terms of a collective with a common origin and a distinctive culture. Both characteristics are habitually presented together, since a culture is developed by a social group through a long period of time. This is the second observation which I intend to point out regarding

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20 About the individual base of Barth’s model, see: Heinz (1993).
ethnicity constructed by frontiers and its independence from an idea of culture: to take for
granted the idea that a specific characteristic of ethnic groups is the possession of a
specific culture could lead to confusion. The problem lies in the tendency to think about a
culture as a group of elements which remains permanent and unchanged; a vessel that
protects a series of timeless traits. Nevertheless, ethnicity refers to a dynamic form, one
which is interactive and relational. Additionally, the problem of referring to culture as a
basis for the genesis of ethnicity is that this involves or demands listing cultural elements,
but such elements are also often shared by members of other ethnic groups.\(^{24}\)

Approximating the concept of ethnicity places the focus on the form of social
organization, thus avoiding the dilemma of first being forced to define a culture before
setting out to discuss collective identities.

_Ethno-Genesis, External Influences and Ethnic Awareness_

Self-ascription and a common origin are the internal foundations that define an
ethnic group. Recently, a broad reflection has been developed which observes external
phenomena working together to define the borders of an ethnic group. This external
dimension consists of institutions such as the state, ethnic organizations, political parties,
churches or social scientists finding categories of differentiation using censuses, special
laws, research, etc. Internal and external elements enter into a dialectical relationship in
the process of constructing difference.

More recently, researchers in Chile have accentuated the institutional dimension in
the development of ethnic groups, especially after the enactment of the 1993 Indigenous
Law known as 19,253. This law has played an important role in strengthening ethnic
awareness by indigenous societies under the Chilean state. The institutional recognition as
"native peoples" and a targeted social policy of strengthening cultural and economic
development have opened up a new arena of negotiation and political interaction. Such
recognition unquestionably favors the development of an ethnic consciousness which is
expressed in a growing process of social differentiation.

The influence of the institutional dimension in the development of an ethnic
consciousness has been recently described as ethno-genesis processes. In the case of Chile,
for example, this process has been studied in relation to the Andean societies, for which
Gundermann\(^{25}\) has documented the re-ethnification of the population of the _Alto Loa_ and
_Salar de Atacama_. According to Gundermann, once these communities began to adopt
certain social categories (Indian, peasant, and _Atacameño_), they thereafter began to
recognize themselves as part of the ethnic group of the _Likan Antay_. This process has
played an important role in the recognition on the part of the colonial and state

\(^{24}\) Eriksen (2002).
\(^{25}\) Gundermann (2003).
administrations of Bolivia and Chile. In the case of the Mapuches, Boccara\textsuperscript{26} points out the importance of \textit{parlamentos} (parliaments)—instances of negotiation between the Mapuche and the Spanish Crown—in defining social sub-units (\textit{Wichan mapu}) within the Mapuche society of the 18\textsuperscript{th} century. To this day, these units are reproduced as units of regional identification.

One could say that in recent times, a large part of ethno-historic investigation has been directed to elucidate ethno-genesis processes.\textsuperscript{27} In recent years, studies have proliferated which present the emergence, transformation, name changes, fusions, divisions, and disappearances of ethnic groups in various geographies. Thus, policies of colonial administration, the actions of missionaries, and the foundation and the dissolution of states, among others, have provided the material to demonstrate how the institutional dimension interferes in the process of de- or re-ethnification.

The influence of an institutional dimension which favors Mapuche ethnification probably finds its main—or at least most visible—are of development in the city. Indeed, the current literature introduces the urban Mapuche as a product of a process of recent ethnification. Within Mapuche society, discussions are held regarding the notion of \textit{Mapuche-warriache} that link ethnic aspects with the concept of culture. At the core of this discussion is the question of whether urban Mapuche would have the capacity or ability to reproduce their culture, namely the reproduction of a set of elements such as a Weltanschauung, language, and a religion or spirituality belonging to an ancestral tradition and developed in a relatively isolated original territory. This question has remained as a backdrop to the legitimacy of the \textit{Mapuche-warriache}, and its complexity has transferred the problem of recognition from its cultural to its political aspects.

Acceptance of an urban Mapuche as a “true” Mapuche has been won largely due to their ability to become a political actor. Here ethnicity becomes a resource of political negotiation that allows building new scenarios of recognition by the state. The question then becomes oriented towards participation and leadership in the historical demands of the Mapuche people. Therefore, interest in the research of the ethno-genesis process has focused on urban organizations as political organizations.

\textit{Ethnicity as a Political Resource}

Earlier studies in African cities identified the political role played by retribalization (re-ethnification). A. Cohen spoke of \textit{political ethnicity} and described it as:

"A process by which a group from one ethnic category, whose members are involved in a struggle for power and privilege with members of a group from another ethnic category, within the framework of a formal political system, manipulate some

\textsuperscript{26} Boccara (2002).

\textsuperscript{27} The notion of ethno-genesis can lead to confusion. The concept refers to re-ethnification processes rather than to the birth or creation of an ethnic group.
customs, values, myths, symbols, and ceremonial practices from their cultural tradition in order to articulate an informal political organization which is used as a weapon in that struggle.”

Undoubtedly in recent decades ethnicity has been transformed into an important resource for political negotiation at the level of the nation-state. Currently, it is possible to identify similar trajectories of the relationship between ethnicity and nation-state building in different regions. For example, by comparing the cases of Ecuador and Nepal, Pfaff-Czarnecka establishes three successive stages that describe the relationship between ethnicity and the development of the nation-state. The first stage corresponds to the formation of states under the model of national unity (19th century), which provides the basis for the legal restriction (or exclusion to a local area) of particular groups in the use of their own language and customs. A second phase corresponds to a policy of assimilation guided by a modernization project (20th century). The current third phase refers to negotiation based on the integration of diverse groups into a multi-ethnic state (21st century). Despite the geographical distance and circumstances of both countries, the similarity of their trajectories draws our attention. Observing these stages can also help us understand the general development of the relationship between Mapuche and the Chilean state.

The ethnification of politics is closely linked to the idea of nation, another concept that constitutes an indissoluble union with ethnicity in this context. The idea of nationhood is a modern concept born during the Enlightenment, particularly in relation to the formation of the modern nation-states. The formation of the modern state led to the eventual solidification and essentialization of the nation. A nation is in dialogue or confrontation with a particular state, which thus defines the space in which such discourses are carried out. As such, the influence of the institutional dimension is inseparable from the construction of a nationalist discourse. Thus, a series of recent research papers explore the capacity of urban Mapuche to participate in the national project. The importance of Mapuche in the city would be based on the ability to become an indigenous movement which struggles for collective rights as a people-nation. Until now "the urbanites" have had a marginal influence on the construction of this Mapuche nationalist discourse. Although in recent years urban Mapuche have experienced a growing politicization, they are still far from positing their own demands as a social segment.

29 Büschges/Pfaff-Czarnecka (2007).
31 This term is here defined as an Indigenous movement in Latin America. See: Bonfil (1988).
Ethnicity in This Work

The application of the concept of ethnicity in this investigation avoids establishing a link between a notion of culture and a notion of nation. It is important to clarify that this is no attempt to deny the existence of the cultural traits of Mapuche society which have been developed over hundreds of years and reproduced in effective ways until now. In fact, I have tried to avoid an exploitation of the concept in the political or ethno-political sphere, which in the current context refers to its link with a demand of the ethno-national type. This is not meant to diminish the importance, much less deny the existence of a demand from a Mapuche people-nation against the Chilean state, nor the formation of an indigenous movement that has so indisputably established a basis upon which Mapuche society today reflects upon itself. My interest is that neither of these discussions dominates the objective of this work. Although I will inevitably make reference to them at various times throughout the text, they have been intentionally displaced from the center of this work in order to maintain a solely analytical approach.

The use of ethnicity as a conceptual tool aims at understanding the process by which self-recognized Mapuche in the city differentiate themselves as a group, not only apart from the Mapuche who live and practice their culture in rural indigenous communities, but also and especially in relation to urban society. In this sense, the intent is to explore the formation of a collective and its processes of constructing identity in relationship to a dialogue with the city, and not just to observe it as a monologue within Mapuche society. Ultimately, urban ethnicity is a process of differentiation with respect to both social spaces.

The City

The modern city was born in mid-nineteenth-century industrial societies. At that time, particularly in Europe, the city became a social and cultural formation with its own dynamics, forming a new, complex reality whose many facets cannot be summarized or comprehended so easily. The city is inhabited by various forms of organized social experiences. We can say that while the diversity of the city becomes a fascinating object of observation — the city as a sensitive subject — it also generates the need to establish categories for its understanding and control. Although there is a broad rhetoric about the value of urban diversity, it is equally true that the history of the modern city could also be viewed as the systematic attempt to tame or to control the diversity that it itself has created. In this way, the management of differences in the city is a political problem.\(^{33}\)

\(^{33}\) Berman (1988).
Indeed, any model for understanding the city consists of classifying its population and establishing hierarchies.

Every city develops a particular form of diversity. To investigate its history is to comprehend how this difference has been classified and its rules for its interaction catalogued. This relationship is the basis for understanding the urban phenomenon in its multiple and particular expressions.

The Latin American Model

The histories of urbanization in Europe and the United States have been taken over by urban studies aimed to construct general models for analysis. Even today the relationship between industrialization and urbanization, typical of metropolitan societies, is used to observe urban phenomena very differently. In these models, urbanization refers to two simultaneous processes, on the one hand the physical growth of a city (Verstädterung), in conjunction with the development of a complex settlement that is built according to industrial production. In turn, the second process is the formation of an urban society (Urbanisierung), in the American tradition known as “urbanism as way of life,” i.e. the formation of a "modern society" connected to a production of capitalist character and at the same time directed by a formal instrumental rationality. By providing a way of organizing both the economy and society, industrialization is at the core of this model. Thus, for example in Africa, the massive and complex human agglomerations which the Yoruba (West Africa) had developed before European colonization were observed as “agro-cities.” In other words, their urban status was denied by urban studies because they did not comply with the conditions of the European model. Indeed, the development of other forms of urbanity was long rejected. Nevertheless, today the highest percentage of the world's population lives in cities that are not significantly industrialized. This fact forces us to direct our gaze towards building particular models which stand outside the shadow of European and American models.

Indeed, the history of Latin American cities is very different. In the case of Europe, the emergence of a social and economic structure based on industry since the mid-19th century converted the cities into gigantic machines of integration of migrants. The cities were centers of attraction because of the possibilities they offered of integration. Contrary to Latin America, the structural reasons for the growth of cities are rather located in the

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34 Hannerz (1980).
35 The processes of urbanization in African and Asian cities have shown the incapability of a eurocentric model to understand the physical development as well as the form through which the society is organized. In this sense, M. Davis has called for searching for new paradigms to investigate these phenomena: “Thus, the cities of the future, rather than being made out of glass and steel as envisioned by earlier generation of urbanists, are instead largely constructed out of crude brick, straw, recycled plastic, cement blocks, and scrap wood.” Davis (2006), p. 19.
collapse of the agricultural economy that drove millions of peasants towards the main urban centers. The crisis of the hacienda system of farming is at the root of migration to the city. Industrialization played rather a secondary role. In fact, in most cases, it came after the hyper-urbanization which developed during the mid-20th century. This meant that the city did not offer an appropriate promise of integration for the migrant from rural areas.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>City and Metropolitan Areas</th>
<th>1950</th>
<th>2007</th>
<th>Percentage of growth (1950-2007)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Santiago</td>
<td>1.6</td>
<td>5.8</td>
<td>362%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mexico City</td>
<td>2.9</td>
<td>22.1</td>
<td>762%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Buenos Aires</td>
<td>4.6</td>
<td>12.6</td>
<td>273%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lima</td>
<td>0.6</td>
<td>8.2</td>
<td>1,366%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>São Paulo</td>
<td>2.4</td>
<td>19.9</td>
<td>829%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In this context, the massive rural-urban migration in Latin America meant a demand for integration in cities where the colonial structures which had prevailed did not provide the conditions to meet such a demand. The thousands of peasants who arrived in the metropolitan centers experienced homelessness, the lack of infrastructure and services, and, above all, the lack of work. Beginning in the middle of last century, researchers from ECLAC offered a model of analysis that identified four mechanisms through which urbanization in Latin America took place: survival of productive structures and traditional trade; expansion of the population employed in the service sector; maintenance of traditional family patterns; and an increase in the marginal population. Thus, the responsibility for integration was transferred over to the migrants themselves, who utilized their social assets and individual skills available from their pre-urban experience. Relationships based on kinship, friendship, or neighborhood played a fundamental role in access to housing or employment. The migrants created their conditions of integration by their own strength and capabilities and in a way independent of the formal economy or services provided either by the state or an emerging industrial bourgeoisie.

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37 Germani (1976a).
38 Morse (1976); Hardoy (1973).
40 CEPAL (1976).
Accordingly, the importance of primary relations (informal relations) in the integration into the city indicates a fundamental distinction between European industrial cities and Latin America. The Urbanisierung—in the classical tradition initiated by G. Simmel in Europe and continued by L. Wirth in the United States—did not play a leading role in the formation of an urban space on the continent. The development of formal relations (Vergesellschaftung) in metropolitan societies allowed an increasing polarization between public space and private space, a category which had turned into a central feature of the great European or American city. While in public space, functional or formal relationships prevail, private space is the area of primary or informal relations. The Latin American city did not experience the polarization of these two spheres of social life. The proliferation of family businesses in the area of services lacking a capitalist logic of production and the importance of social networks based on kinship or friendship were fundamental in defining the settlement in the city as well as the very future of their inhabitants. These strategies became the rule of urbanization in Latin America.

This type of structural integration led to the development of an informal sector of the economy and in the city overall, dominating over more formal modes of organization. Under the influence of the Dependency Theory and the Theory of Underdevelopment, the project of Latin American modernization has been seeking the expansion of the formalization of social life in terms of access to housing, services and labor since the 1960s. It is understood that the hegemony of the informal is not the product of a primitive form of production or a resistance to capitalist and modern ways, but is the result of an unequal access to resources such as capital, technology, and formal education. The modernization project in Latin America saw in the formalization of social life a path to emerge from underdevelopment. With that goal, successive plans of industrialization, structural adjustments, and expansion of government bureaucracies were implemented during the second half of 20th century. Most of these efforts now look like failures. Informality has declined, but still perseveres as a fundamental way of organizing social life for a significant segment of the urban population of Latin America.

Unequal access to services remains the main cause of informality to this day. The view of informality as an obstacle to development, however, has undergone a revision. For example, the prevailing current vision recognizes that certain levels of informality in the organization of production are efficient in the context of globalized markets. This

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42 The classic work of Bahrdt, continuing the German urban sociological tradition, argues: “Eine Stadt ist eine Ansiedlung, in der das gesamte, also auch das alltägliche Leben die Tendenz zeigt, sich zu polarisieren, d.h. entweder im sozialen Aggregatzustand der Öffentlichkeit oder in dem der Privatheit stattzufinden. Es bilden sich eine öffentliche und eine private Sphäre. (...) Die Lebensbereiche, die weder als „öffentlich“ noch „privat“ charakterisiert werden können, verlieren hingegen an Bedeutung.” Bahrdt (2006), p.83.
43 Komlosy/Parnreiter/Stacher, et al. (1997); Fernández/Varley (1998)
may be why over the last fifteen years, the regional and international development agencies have put less attention and interest on the formalization processes, which were previously of such importance in the past decades.

_The Importance of Migration_

To concentrate on the dynamics of migration is still very important for understanding the recent trajectory of Latin American cities. First of all, the experience of migration is part of the biography of a large majority of its current inhabitants. Secondly, the relationship with places of origin has been instrumental in building social networks that allow access to resources for integration into the city.

For example, the link between the migrant and the people in his place of origin is of very great importance in the case of Lima. It is a way of maintaining and re-territorializing a network of relationships of support and cooperation. As expressed by Golte:

"The migratory movements that were widespread at the end of the first half of the 20th century did not mean that the people lost their bonds to their social groups of origin. The migration from peasant villages to other agricultural areas, mines and cities did not mean then a break in the social networks; but its deterritorialization. Wherever migrants arrived they recreated in formal and informal associations the cohesion of groups that shared common origin and organized the interrelationship with their countrymen and relatives in villages."^45

Indeed, this phenomenon of reproduction of the original bonds and their formalization through associations of migrants can be seen elsewhere in the subcontinent. In Mexico City, for instance, in which an intense flow has been identified between urban and rural since the 1970s, permitting the reorganization of the original relations in the city. In fact, it has been ascertained that the level of success in urban integration has had a direct relationship to the strength of traditional communitarianism in their villages of origin. The more communitarianism, the greater the possibility of reproducing more access to benefits in the city.\(^46\)

Thus, the category "place of origin" has played a major role in organizing urban society. The manner in which difference or diversity is classified in the modern Latin American city is closely linked to the primary relationships inherited by a common history of migration, through which the inhabitants articulate their professions, places of residence, and daily lives in the city. In this way, especially in Andean countries (Peru and Ecuador), and in Mexico, classifying the origins of migrants has been proven to be effective in explaining the formation of urban society. However, the case of Chile and of

^46 Velasco (2007).
Santiago is very different. The classification system of differences in Santiago has not been based on categories such as rural origins or indigenous or transnational migrants, but mostly on class affiliation or a socio-economic status. In other words, Chilean urban research has observed the inhabitants of the city without regard to their previous history; de-tribalized in the jargon of the School of Manchester. In urban Chile only the socio-economic category has been relevant.47

Studies on migrant groups in Chile are scarce, be it local or transnational migration. If the diverse origins of the city's residents have some form of expression, these are presented as residual, remote references which are not up to date; they do not play a "modern role." That is why the appearance of the subject "urban Mapuche" — mediated by the Indigenous Law of 1993 — means recognition for the first time of a separate subject in cultural terms in the city.

Significantly, the emergence of indígena urbano as a category in Chile has occurred parallel to other Latin American countries. In the case of Mexico City, for example, many migrants who populated the city historically came from indigenous communities which were re-territorialized in the city, but for decades these groups were put under the general category of "peasant communities." The term urban indigenous is of very recent use; its appearance in social research and political discourse dates back to the 1990s.48

Undoubtedly a policy of recognition of cultural differences has been relevant in the emergence of the urban indigenous; even though this policy has been directed by the states, it is the product of a global context. In this vein, discourses and policies promoted by international agencies since the end of the Cold War have played an important role in building a kind of global ethnic landscape. In cities like Mexico City, however, these collectives, now "renamed" as urban indigenous, already had a concrete social existence. Is this the case in Santiago?

The first studies of migration in the case of the Mapuche in Santiago took place in the early 1960s. Investigations led by C. Munizaga analyze the process of integration into the city through what are called "transitional structures"; namely social structures that allow the migrant transition from Mapuche community life to urban areas. The objects of research in this case are informal Mapuche organizations that play a role of exchanging information and helping migrants acquire "urban behavior." These investigations take an approach which attempts to understand the assimilation method: the pathway to the disappearance of indigenous difference in the urban setting. Over the last 30 years, urban Mapuches virtually disappeared as an object of research and reflection, only to re-emerge

47 This is a hegemonical tendency in Chilean urban studies. Diversity as a problem has arisen out of the debate over socio-spatial segregation of the city.
towards the turn of the century under the category of urban indigenous in the context of the 2002 Census.

Indeed, in recent research, the question of whether the Mapuche have had different access to integration resources than other migrants has not been considered relevant. One could assume that if this question has not been formulated thus far, it is due to the relatively minor significance the communitarian factor had at the time of migration to the city. I will present some general elements that could explain this hypothesis.

We must observe internal and external factors: the Mapuche as a group and the dynamics of the city itself. The Mapuche have been strongly discriminated against in the city. As a result, a process of invisibilization has taken place. In other words, there was an attempt to deny the indigenous origin as a mechanism of protection against prejudices. Simultaneously, during the 20th century, the Mapuche movement formulated a discourse favoring integration into Chilean society which resulted in a lack of interest in transferring community networks to the city. An external factor which explains the downplay of the communitarian role is the fact that the city of Santiago has been more successful than other cities throughout the continent in its role as the center of a modernization project. In this regard, the implementation of a modernization project established formal systems of integration that left little or no space for relationships of the communitarian type. In this way, the mestizo elite has had the ability to "manage" differences based exclusively on socio-economic categories.

As a consequence, the urban Mapuche were considered an indistinct part of the poor population of Santiago. They occupied the same residential spaces and carried out the same low-skill and poorly-paid jobs as the poor non-Mapuche Chileans. As a result, neither a certain residential concentration nor the formation of a particular "ethnic economy" can be identified as a parameter for measuring the difference within this sector of the population. Beyond these elements, however, the conditions for integration of the Mapuche into the city are not yet clear.

The emergence of the urban Mapuche category poses new systems of relations, new discourses, and new differences in the city, in turn, transforming the ways of living and experiencing the city.

*Fragmented City and Ethnicity as Resources of Social Cohesion*

Liberal policies since the 1980s have been systematically put into action in Chile which, coupled with the influence of globalization, have reduced the role of government as an agent in the development of the country and handed over a leading role to the market and private actors. Although this model has created wealth, it has widened the gap
between the rich and the poor at the same time, thus generating a high level of social inequality.\footnote{The extreme inequality of distribution of wealth in Chile (19\textsuperscript{o} in the world) has become a very important issue in recent years. See: Contreras (2004).}

This inequality within the city is expressed in the formation of contradictory spaces. Santiago takes the form of a dual city whose diverse sectors differ dramatically according to the income level of its inhabitants; a city of rich and poor. The urban structure is fragmented. The city is transformed into a set of islands in which the units are divided according to their function: residential, commercial, leisure, or education for a particular social group. People experience the city through these socially segregated islands. This kind of experience hinders the communication between different groups living in the city.\footnote{Bähr (2006); De Mattos (2004); Rodriguez/Winchester (2001).}

The territorialization of social inequalities fragments the urban structure. One expression of this process is residential segregation, a phenomenon that has become one of the main objects of study in the urban research, which has led us to understand how Chilean inequalities impact urban space. The socio-economic residential segregation of Santiago is carried out on two different levels. On the one hand, there is a high level of segregation, which has creates rich and poor neighborhoods. Although this level of segregation is the result of a continuous historical trend, since the early 1990s, there has been a growing polarization that has led to the increase of social homogeneity within those neighborhoods.\footnote{Rodriguez/Arriagada (2004).} This trend is reinforced by the voluntary segregation of high-and middle-income sectors, as well as the involuntary segregation of the poor segments of the population.\footnote{Ortiz, J./Morales (2002).} The state’s action, rather than to correct this trend, whose impact is particularly felt by the groups experiencing involuntary segregation, has been to strengthen this process. Social housing policies have promoted the segregation of the poorest communities by building settlements in parts of the city with low property values. Additionally, these settlements have scant public infrastructure and low building standards. Thus, public housing policies have created new forms of poverty and marginalization.\footnote{Rodriguez (2005).} Alongside this high level of segregation, the development of further segregation on a microcosmic level can be observed. This localized segregation then possesses an even greater internal consistency. I refer to the construction of housing projects using the concept of \textit{gated communities} for high-income segments of the population within low and middle-class neighborhoods.\footnote{Meyer/Bähr (2001); Sabatini/Cáceres (2004).} The proliferation of these projects has transformed the cityscape to such an extent that it is not only possible to identify a dual city in terms of wealth, but also through the construction of large closed communities emerging as fortresses isolated from their immediate surroundings.
Social segregation has become a central feature of Santiago. The possibilities for integration between different social groups are reduced; the experience of the city's inhabitants is restricted to the encounter with "equal others" in socio-economic terms. The poorest segments of the population are particularly affected. The spaces of social experience in which poor populations could otherwise acquire skills and resources for integration and social advancement are reduced. Although the territorialization of social segregation is well documented within national investigative fields, so far we know little about the specific social effects generated by building such structures.57

One realm of research has focused on the consequences of fragmentation through so-called "urban fear."58 The population is enclosed behind fences and walls. This reality is often characterized by a wish to seek social uniformity to ensure presumed social security. The “Other” becomes something distant and dangerous with whom contact must be avoided at all costs. The increase in the sense of insecurity in Latin America and particularly in Chile, where the feeling of fear greatly surpasses statistics of crime and violence, has strengthened a widespread fear of the "Other." This urban fear primarily affects the poorest, who in turn are victims of an increasing stigmatization. Secondly, widespread urban fear results in a rejection of public spaces as places where different segments of the population congregate. As the very notion of citizenship tends to disappear, society as a whole is affected.59

While gated communities is a hereto under-investigated field, it can be argued that the restructuring of urban space forces the old forms of social cohesion into crisis, changes the way people relate to them, and seriously affects the mechanisms of construction of identity and sense of belonging in the inner city. In this new context, individuals explore new forms of association, redefine groups, establish new partnerships and engage in competition with one another. The most affected groups are particularly obliged to develop new strategies which can enable them to access resources of power. Some researchers of this phenomenon argue that the Chilean population of Santiago has turned to its closest social spaces in seeking sources of identity and building social networks. From this perspective, the neighborhood (barrio) would become a place of refuge for the urban community. This argument suggests that the ways in which urban collectivity is being constructed is changing.60

In their classic research on a British working class district, Elias and Scotson61 observed how against a background of social crisis, the long-established group of senior

57 Until now, research about fragmentation has focused on static variables, such as residential segregation. Therefore the analyses of gated community projects have taken on greater relevance. Parallel to that, fragmentation has been mainly observed as the effect of the preexistence of inequalities, and not as the cause of new inequalities. See: Jirón (2007); Sabatini/Cáceres (2004).
60 Márquez (2005).
residents feel their space being threatened by other groups who arrive in their neighborhood, among whom, at least in formal terms, cannot be identified as significantly different from an external point of view. Residents build identifications and differences, however, that allow cohesion among the historical residents and stigmatize newcomers, who are thus isolated and segregated. The threat of losing the few spaces of power is at the center of what mobilizes long-established residents. Thus, the study shows the construction of identities and sense of belonging in an urban environment as an extremely dynamic process.

The urban fragmentation is of a global nature, and the landscape of the collective is being restructured along with this process. In Santiago, the old sources of social cohesion have been systematically destroyed during the past two decades. The growing precariousness of labor relations, an increase in the gap between rich and poor, and residential segregation nearing ghettoization, which is encouraged among the population, forms identity and network-building strategies in which identities based on labor relations are no longer possible. Likewise, identities based on the character of poblador (inhabitant of the poblaciones) are rejected due to the stigmatization which they condemn.

The increasing individualization in shaping contemporary identities allows each individual to explore resources within their own personal histories in order to take part in new collective identities. This is why the ethnification of social relationships finds a new space for development in the city. Ethnicity emerges as a new category of identification and thus as a resource for social cohesion.

As a consequence, the ethnification of the city can be a reaction to the destruction of previous forms of social cohesion in the city; a category that, in the case of Santiago, emerges as a reaction to the polarization of relationships of class, and that, at the same time, negates the class as a source of identity.

Reading Plan

The objective of this research is to investigate the strategies through which Mapuche society in Santiago establishes differences, both in relation to the remaining urban society and to "traditional" Mapuche society. Accordingly, this work aims to identify processes through which an urban ethnic identity is constructed. Such a process must take place in relation to dialogues with other urban discourses. Therefore, this phenomenon shall be recast in the light of an internal monologue within Mapuche society.

63 Poblaciones are lower-class settlements which appeared between the 1960s and 1980s at the edges of Chilean cities. They have their own particular character and history which are different from that of slums (campamento).
In this sense, the city as a social space not only provides the backdrop against which this process of re-ethnification is carried out, but also plays an active role in its definition.

My working hypothesis is that first and second generation Mapuche currently living in the city build hybrid forms with the urban society at large more than they reproduce or reterritorialize their society of origin. Mapuches in the city are not trapped between their societies of origin and the host urban society. Rather, they are building strategies in which ethnic identity is part of a system of identities in which they are currently participating.

The development of this objective will be elaborated in seven chapters, arranged in two parts. The first part presents two critical reviews: a chapter on the method of ethnographic research and its application to urban space, and the following chapter which focuses on the history of modern Mapuche society. The second part corresponds to the fieldwork, it is composed of three case studies. Although the chapters of this current work are not organized in a progressive linear mode, specific elements of the problem outlined so far are presented in each of these chapters. Instead, each chapter can be taken as a unit in itself; the body of this work is formed from multiple links, descriptions, analyses, and discussions which are both convergent and divergent at the same time.

The need to construct local stories about the processes of urbanization and its ways of classifying the social diversity of urban society requires methodologies that are capable of observing particularities. These ends justifies the means: the use of ethnography as the fundamental methodology of this investigation.

**Chapter 1: The Study of Difference in the City** presents a critical review of how ethnography can be used to interpret the city from the moment that the modern European city emerges. Instead of a set of qualitative research tools, such as the interview or participant observation, I understand ethnography as a practice that finds discourses on urban diversity. In this sense, urban ethnography in and of itself is transformed into a field of reflection. As sub-field of the social sciences, urban ethnography has a performative character; i.e. based on its premises, it helps to construct the reality that it observes. It is precisely this phenomenon in which I want to focus my attention: the development of a discipline that, in dialog with other discursive practices likewise capable of “reading” the city, has constructed a kind of modern city. My review follows the course of more than a century of ethnographic practice in the city, selecting key moments of this trajectory. At the starting point are the first urban explorations initiated in the mid-19th century in London. The act of discovering a previously unknown city, the city of the poor, imbued with the spirit of imperial exploration, poses methodological challenges to journalists, social reformers, and explorers who try to classify the differences which have been found in urban space. From that moment on, ethnographic practice in respect to cities has been characterized by a development somewhat independent of classical social anthropology. However, it replicates style of observation that insists on the isomorphy between society,
culture, and space. A second key moment is the School of Chicago's work, whose researchers saw the city as a set of cultural mosaics characterized by relative stability. While this slightly static form of observing the city was analytically effective, in the course of the 20\textsuperscript{th} century, it has continued to be applied to understand phenomena such as contact and moving borders, all of which have become increasingly complex. For example, in Chilean research, the way that units of study are built hinders an approach toward dynamic phenomena. This is namely the third key point in the chapter. The line of research prevailing today, however, consists of a search for highly structured groups with which to build socially isolated and clearly territorialized units within the city.

The chapter reviews current methodological difficulties in addressing phenomena such as current urban identities, which are dynamic and in permanent transformation. It is particularly relevant to point out that what has marked qualitative urban research today is the form in which Mapuche inhabit the city overflows the isomorphy between space and culture expressed as territorialized units.

**Chapter 2: Modern Mapuche Society** presents a review of the main elements that have shaped contemporary Mapuche society. The military defeat in the war against the Chilean army, followed by occupation and the resulting reductional process, had a profound impact on Mapuche society. The emergence of a reductional society is marked by the loss of territorial autonomy and political self-determination as a people.

During the 20\textsuperscript{th} century, Mapuche society adopted various cultural survival strategies to face a very adverse context. The dramatic transformation of their social structure, impoverishment, discrimination and emigration from the post-reductional communities are key experiences to understanding the context in which the relationship between Mapuche society and urban society developed.

The chapter pays special attention to Mapuche political development over the past century. Rather than to analyze how the current ethno-political scenario has been built or the struggles for recognition of the historical debt by the Chilean state, the aim of the review concerning political participation and its evolution is to illustrate how the *Mapuche-warriache* emerges in the current social context.

The second part of this work, the experiential section, tries to answer a series of specific questions about the research problem through ethnographic case studies. These questions are understood as the formulation of the specific objectives of this investigation.

The first set of questions is related to the process of migration during the second half of the 20\textsuperscript{th} century. The main idea here is to elucidate the role Mapuche's origin played in their integration into the city. The hypothesis suggests that ethnicity would have played a minor role, as has generally been the case for rural-urban migrations in Latin America. In this sense, it is necessary to understand the character that re-territorialization of social networks based on origin has had in the city. The reproduction of these networks would have defined a way of integration into the city expressed through patterns of
residence, occupation in labor markets, and support networks, among the most formalized aspects. Along these lines, I explore the communication between formal and informal systems of social relations.

A second set of questions revolves around current forms of Mapuche organization within the city. As previously stated, the focus is not on the political activities of organizations, but on understanding the role they play in the everyday life of the urban Mapuche. Their activities, the internal organization of these groups, conflicts between members of different backgrounds, and experiences with the Mapuche culture are explored. It is also important to point out the differences between generations, between migrants, and the second generation born in Santiago. Because they are experiencing the greatest pressure for recognition from both traditional Mapuche society and urban society in general, second-generation Mapuche demonstrate the complex construction of difference in the city. Basically, all practices that are carried out in the city allow us to observe the bridges of communication to the rest of urban society.

The experimental section of the work is presented in three chapters as a response to these questions. The first chapter is Chapter 3: Making Bread in the City, which concentrates on describing and analyzing the process of the migration of the Mapuche population to the city of Santiago during the second half of the 20th century and, in light of the available background information, to question a number of suppositions that are generally assumed in this case. The available antecedents are unearthed to rebuild the reasons for and types of migration. The case study focuses on members of the bakery workers' unions, whose historically high rank-and-file representation by people of Mapuche origin has increased to approximately 90% of all union membership. Mentioning this case allows us to reconstruct a history of integration into the city through a specific occupation.

Identifying this case, however, presents a paradox. On the one hand, the high concentration of Mapuche migrants presupposes the utilization of informal networks to access the labor market in which ethnic origin would play a role. In turn, the early unionization of the Mapuche Bakers reveals, by the very nature of unions, a formalization of relations between workers. The chapter explores this hybrid of industrial relations systems and questions whether it is possible to identify elements of ethnic character within this kind of organization, the most massive of those in which the Mapuche are involved in the city.

Chapter 4: The Neo-Community mainly explores the urban indigenous organization as a product of the Indigenous Law of 1993. As a case study, an organization has been selected that carries out its activities in one sector of the city with a large indigenous population. In more recent literature, the urban Mapuche organizations have been regarded as neo-communities. The use of this denomination is an attempt to establish a continuum between the indigenous community in its traditional space and the
indigenous association in an urban space. However, in my case study, their formation, operation, and the various types of members who compose it can be analyzed. Herein, it is possible to state the hypothesis that this is a kind of collective of a very different nature, one where it is possible to identify more breaks than continuities with traditional community. Even though urban organization has become the main object of study in this field, it has been observed as a closed unit, without communication with its environment. My case study involves an organization which, among other activities, carries out a project relating to traditional medicine in collaboration with the public health system. In this case, it is apparent how traditional Mapuche practice targeted towards a broad, mainly non-indigenous population takes place in the city.

Chapter 5: I am the Mapuche City focuses on the work of a Mapuche youth organization headquartered in the neighborhood of La Florida.—similar to the organization discussed in Chapter 4. This organization is comprised of young people who were born and have mainly lived in Santiago. It is an organization that defines itself as cultural and whose principal activity is creating music. The organization's music band works within the musical genre of fusion; music that combines modern rhythms with traditional Mapuche sounds. Unlike the musical heritage of other ethnic groups in Latin America, Mapuche music has had little experience with modern fusion. One of the musical highlights of this organization's work is linked to hip-hop, a global urban street culture.

The chapter addresses the analysis of this group as an expression of a type of youth culture. Youth cultures are characterized by developing sensitive worlds associated with the construction of identities that attempt to establish a difference, firstly between the world of children and of adults, and secondly with other youth groups. Youth cultures are an exclusive product of modern urban societies.

The cultural work of this group allows us to observe several types of differentiation in which youth, ethnic and urban culture overlap. First, regarding how Mapuche youths construct a new segment within the Mapuche society. Second, as a form of urban Mapuche expression, it must differentiate itself from expressions of other indigenous groups in the city. Thirdly, as an urban youth population, it should be able to distinguish itself from other youth identities in the city. This interplay is investigated in the chapter and is based on ethnographic accounts of the band's musical performances as well as based on the evaluation made by their own producers.
PART I
CHAPTER 1

The Study of Differences in the City. Methodological Discourses Around the Construction of Objects of Study

1. Introduction

Following its restructuring by E. Haußmann, the city of Paris adopted a character new to urban history: a system of wide avenues the likes of which had never been seen before which allowed people to traverse the city without impediment. The goal of this “modern” planning was to permit not only the movement of merchandise throughout the city, but also to facilitate the deployment of military troops in order to squash popular revolts. This urban design proved to be the birth of a new urban experience: the city and its inhabitants were transformed into a spectacle to be contemplated. The boulevards became artifacts which permitted Parisiens to traverse the city and, in doing so, to meet up with the diversity which could be found in the urban space.\footnote{Benjamin (1990).}

The Flâneur, that character Baudelaire identified walking around streets, embodied the fascination for the emergence of different worlds dwelling together in the city. His attitude was that of an explorer who dives into the streets and neighborhoods to discover and name its universes whose strategy it was, "to topographically reconstruct the city ten, one hundred times through its passages and doors, through its cemeteries, brothels and train stations (...) just like we did in the old days with the churches and the markets. The most secretive faces of the city can be found in its most obscure parts."\footnote{Ortiz, R. (2000), p. 130.}
Since the Middle Ages, the city has been conceived as a place characterized by diversity, yet it is first in the modern city where difference began to take a leading role; the city as a machine that builds differences.

The goal of this chapter is to investigate how the Social Sciences have attempted to discover the “hidden faces” of the city; how they have constructed strategies and objects of study in order to identify the differences in the city.

The approximation provided in this chapter focuses on what could be called an ethnographic practice of the city. This practice is very similar to Flâneur´s attitude of observing and establishing face-to-face relationships: to give special attention to the daily lives of the inhabitants in an attempt to understand the motives and interests which are at work in the social construction of the city.

I work under the assumption that the elaboration of the ethnographical discourse of the city is based on the internal rules of an ethnographic practice which began to take shape in the colonial territories of the European metropolises at the beginning of the 20th Century. In consequence, the objects of study in an urban environment were the product of the transfer of such strategies. Although ethnographical practice has an academic tradition, located within the disciplines of anthropology and ethnology as it is, I wish to take a broader approach. My interest lies in exploring how an ethnographical discourse has developed which is nourished from many different currents and is not the sole beneficiary of a purely academic genealogy. In other words, I wish to observe the archaeological contexts which have created it. With this objective in mind, three key moments in ethnographical research history will be revised in this chapter. I deem these moments essential to the objective of opening up a discussion as to the ways of representing differences in the city through qualitative strategies.

The first case that I review takes place in mid-19th Century London, as a group of explorers, writers and journalists tried to understand the city of the poor at a time when the Industrial Revolution had categorically transformed the urban space. The second case deals with the work of the Chicago School, considered by many as the beginning of the kind of qualitative investigation of the city. I concentrate special interest on the “observation paradigm” of researchers from the U.S. metropolis during the 1920s. The third case relates to modern-day Santiago de Chile. I explore how qualitative urban studies try to understand the formation of identities in today’s city.
2. **London: Industrial, Modern, Poor and Barbarian**

2.1. **Explorers of the Wild City**

The first World Fair was held in 1851 in London. The emergence and institutionalization of such events during the first half of the 19th Century responded to the emergence of the newly born industrial capitalist society. The fetishization of merchandise, such as seen in the World Fairs as well as in the appearance of commercial areas which reconfigured the experience of inhabiting the city, allowed for the development of a new type of culture ruled by the empire of merchandise, abundance and renewal which industrial production encouraged. In this manner, industrialization and all of its capitalist *fantasmagorie* radically transformed the meaning of what had until then been the concept of inhabiting the city.

England underwent a radical urbanization process during the first decades of industrialization. While only 15% of the island inhabitants lived in cities in 1750, this number grew to 25% in 1801 and reached 60% by 1850. The immense wealth of the Empire had its most ostentatious expression in London, but such growth also brought with it the appearance of another face of the city: agricultural industrialization had left legions of unemployed in the countryside who now saw a survival option in the offer of urban industries. At the same time, the artisans of traditional crafts found themselves put under pressure by the process of mechanization. Directed by an emerging industrial bourgeoisie, the employment in industrial compounds rapidly won ground as a way of organizing production. This radical economic transformation process pushed thousands of people to the margins of society; or at least subjected them to extremely poor working conditions. This process presented the opulence of a city on exhibition to the world as the model of development and progress which existed parallel to a society desperately fighting to survive.

This violent contrast made London the object of initial scientific and moral observations which attempted to comprehend this new space of radically opposed worlds that shared the same city streets. Due to environmental reasons, the Londoner industries were initially located to the east of the historical city. In this way, the wind which blew from west to east would take the pollution away from the downtown and the residential neighborhoods. The concentration of industries and workers’ tenements created a segregated city, a portion of which was a city exclusively by and for the workers—the East-End. For the middle and upper-class Londoners, this segregation was expressed in the distinction between East and West London. Whereas West London was the city of luxury, the expression of undefeatable British imperial power, East London, where thousands of workers were being overcrowded at an industrial rhythm, was viewed as a place where modernity, wealth and civilization were being replaced by poverty, filth and
crime. The image of a London divided between West and East, one civilized, opulent and modern, while the other barbaric, poor and wild, fit in to the Victorian imperial distinction between Occident and Orient, which as Eduard Said pointed out expressed the difference between “our land” and that of the “barbarians.”

Categorized as extramural to the Empire, the cartographic disciplines, those excellent allies in the international expansion of the Empire, facilitated the comprehension of London’s barbaric space. In addition, cartography was applied in order to identify the zones in which overcrowding and infection flowed together towards the center of the city. The cartographic task of measuring, pointing out and representing space found its peak in London towards the end of the decade of 1830. Until that point, the East End had remained invisible both to the city administration as well as to public opinion. Lacking other sources, only the imaginary construct of terra incognita—a dark and perilous place—had prevailed. The consolidation of urban cartography in England aimed at the elimination of the “blank spaces” which were still to be found on the city maps. Encouraged by the Victorian obsession of discovery and control of geographic and cultural distant territories, the imperial intention of putting an end to unmarked zones was repeated on the maps of the world. Just like the imperial spirit that had guided “discovery” adventures to Africa or the Far East, this symmetry between the act of mapping the world of the Empire and that of its capital city constructed the imaginary need to go out and meet the new savages. With the rise of the modern city, these could now be found in the imperial cities. Indeed, London's East End was transformed into a space to be discovered.

Different groups began to pay attention to the miserable living conditions of the East End population as early as the 1830s. Evangelical missions entered into these neighborhoods with the mission to educate its “amoral inhabitants”; political activists started working on the formation of labor unions or workers’ associations; and philanthropists ordered studies about the sanitary conditions of the tenements.

Sanitary conditions became the center of debate after a continuous series of epidemics, mostly cholera, spread out over the city. In 1842 E. Chadwicks published one of the most extensive and detailed studies titled Report into the Sanitary Conditions of the Labouring Population in Great Britain. The most significant proposals coming from this work dealt with the rebuilding of the workers’ neighborhoods as a way to avoid the propagation of plagues as well as the need to moralize the inhabitants who perform uncivilized practices that encourage the propagation of diseases. In fact, the classical 1844 work of F. Engels, The condition of the working class in England, used a half dozen

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68 Many of these works were carried out by women associations. They were the first antecedents of social workers. An interesting review about the work of women in poor neighborhoods in London, see: Ross (2007).
69 In 1831 and 1849 the most violent cholera epidemics in London took place.
sources which mainly concentrated on overcrowding and the unsanitary conditions of workers in Victorian England. Sanitary missions were established in the workers’ neighborhoods to carry out surveys of the population and to educate them on themes such as hygiene, order and decency. The first results of these surveys promoted the understanding that overcrowding is a detonator for infections in the barbarian city.

Far beyond the limits of Victorian London, the distinction between civilization and barbarity influenced the way of understanding the city in the 19th Century. A similar distinction can be seen in 1870 in the urban conceptions of B. Vicuña Mackenna, the first modern Chilean urbanist. With his transformation plans of the city already in mind, Mackenna, then Santiago’s Intendant, identified two types of cities: the educated and the barbaric. Whereas the educated city corresponded to the historical settlement which still occupied the colonial grid of the capital city, he understood the barbaric city to be the product of the overcrowding of migrant farmers in slums outside the walls of the historical city center. The slums, deemed “African villages” by Vicuña Mackenna, were classified by the Intendant as the source of infection, diseases and indecent living. This interpretation, a mixture of Christian charity, real estate interests and European pretentiousness, guided the transformation of Santiago under the direction of Vicuña Mackenna. Moreover, this vision provided the framework for future Chilean social housing policies.

The epoch of the “rediscovery of poverty” in England corresponded to a period of imperial expansion. By the mid-19th Century, the urge to expand commerce and invest in the colonies guided the opening of new markets in Africa and Asia. These commercial enterprises were followed by missionaries, explorers, anthropologists and travelers who penetrated the “dark” Continents and whose efforts to conquer, educate and convert made for a captive audience at home anxious to hear the stories about exotic travels and savage tribes. Additionally, launched with the eagerness to discover and explore inside the frontiers of the Empire itself, the emergence of a sort of publishing industry based on adventure travels of imperial expansion provided an impulse to enterprises of urban exploration.

A series of authors explored the barbaric depths in the cities. In 1889, for instance, George Sins published *How the poor Live and Horrible London*. In the introduction he states:

“In these pages I propose to record the result of a journey into a region which lies at our own doors—into a dark continent that is within easy walking distance of the

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70 Between 1852 and 1856 Vicuña Mackenna visited London. This experience influenced the way in which he analyzed the growth of the city of Santiago. Why do “African villages” describe the slums of Santiago? The analogy between London and Santiago is clear in the distinction between educated and barbarian city. Vicuña Mackena and other liberal intellectuals – such as Orrego Luco and his famous essay *The Social Issue* (1884) - believe that the problem of the slums in Santiago is one of public health, but also, of civilisation and morality. Romero (1997), p. 152.

General Post office. This continent will, I hope, be found as interesting as any of those newly-explored lands which engage the attention of the Royal Geographical Society— the wild races who inhabit it will, I trust, gain public sympathy as easily as those savage tribes for whose benefit Missionary Societies never cease to appeal for funds.”

The idea of cultural and social distance expressed in a dark continent as analogous to the African Continent and the reference of spatial proximity expressed in “a walk from the post office” represented an attempt to awaken the curiosity of a public immersed in the colonial spirit. Other titles published in that time reflect this play on the unknown and mysterious: Low-life Deeps (1876), From the Depths (1885), The nether World (1889) and People of the Abyss (1902). These reports tried to describe the ways of life and behavior of the inhabitants of London’s East End, people not only thought of as possessing unhealthy habits and less than civilized practices, but also as sources of danger linked with delinquency and violence. As put forth by Epstein, more than awakening an interest in the language, form, legitimacy or moral authority which are developed in these works, such stories provided the framework for a type of urban exploration literature whose foundation could be found in the imperial interests of an audience yearning to hear tales like those of Stanley and Livingstone of the “Darkest Africa.”

2.2. The People of the Streets

Although it is not possible to talk about a literary industry at that time as such, thanks to the reporting of this group of adventurers, a common image of the poor peoples of England did begin to develop. In this constellation of authors, Henry Mayhew, a journalist who was part of the intellectual scene of C. Dickens, started a project which stood out for a number reasons. First of all Mayhew, attempted to enlarge his audience through his publications in the press. Second of all, the highest motivation for his work was more of a political nature than it was commercial. Finally, although the vastness and persistence of his investigations were on the edge of delirium, his search and application of a narrative methodology to scientifically recount the reality of the poor in London proved fascinating.

Mayhew started in journalism reporting about the outbreak of cholera which assailed London in 1849. In his pieces of reportage, Mayhew presented his impressions as to the squalid living conditions in the worker’s quarters, where the epidemic had brutal consequences. Conscious of the little interest which politicians and high society had for

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73 People of the Abyss was written by the novelist Jack London. As an example of the relationship with travel literature, this text was commissioned and supported by "Thomas Cook & Son,” a major tourism company. J. London wrote himself ironically: “(...) could you send me to Darkest Africa or Innermost Tibet, but to the East End of London, barely a stone’s throw distance from Ludgate Circus, you know not the way!”. Epstein (1987), p. 125.
the luck of the poor, Mayhew took it upon himself to expose the misery, which he described in detail by collecting and presenting undeniable facts about the true situation in which the workers of the city lived. As his objective was political, it was beyond moral or literary considerations.75

Mayhew proposed a series of reportages to the Morning Chronicle, which together with The Times was the most influential newspaper of the era, about the situation of the Labour and the Poor. The project, which was given the same title, contemplated the daily publication of an account about the situation of the poor, for which Mayhew was to act as correspondent for metropolitan London.

In comparison to the other two correspondents involved in the project, by collecting second hand information based on reports, statistics and other studies, Mayhew not only investigated the lives of the workers; he also paid special attention to the opinions and values of London’s poor inhabitants. It is precisely this aspect which makes Mayhew’s legacy especially stand out above the rest.

The first reportage published in this series dealt with the lives of women silk weavers in the East End’s Spitalfields district. In this reportage, a narrative was woven which placed special on the historical role that these weavers played in the shaping of fashion and of an aesthetic of the Londoner society before this activity was mechanized. The piece went on to describe the detrimental work conditions, the consequence of the industrialization of this activity, which forced these craftswomen to enter the world of paid labor. In this section, Mayhew, allowed six women to express themselves freely and apparently without interruption. In their stories, the weavers explained in detail the work conditions that they were forced to accept in order to survive. Mayhew discovered the multiple effects which industrialization had on this group of highly specialized craftswomen. On the one hand, handcrafted tailoring could not withstand the competition which it faced in the mechanization of the tailor industry. On the other hand, as the demands for workers shrunk, the weavers were forced to join paid labor, and the hours worked and paid on a weekly basis were not enough to cover their basic necessities. Once their income became insufficient, they saw themselves forced to look for other jobs on days in which they were not employed as weavers. Mayhew reported how these women, formerly highly esteemed because of their specialized craft, now had to seek out employment as carriers on the docks; a job of brute physical force and under dire conditions. Mayhew ended his report by stating that he had searched for the most objective description of the situation of this group, and invited his readers to draw their own conclusions. As such, Mayhew made an attempt to contain his personal, political or religious opinions, something which can be observed throughout all of his writings.76

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76 Auden (1996).
Between 1849 and 1850 Mayhew published a total of 82 reports for the *Morning Chronicle*. A wide range of working sectors were described in these reportages: seamstresses, tailors, seamen and dock workers, carpenters, musicians, street merchants, and others. In this manner, Mayhew described a broad part of the London’s working class world of the epoch. The methodology in which these descriptions were assembled played a fundamental role in the project, and the narrative strategy was oriented towards a description in which the judgments of the observers were annulled, thus endowing the interviewees with the authority of the description. R. Lindner characterized the methodology of this series of reportages in the following manner:


Although the use of interviews as an instrument for collecting information had already gained some popularity in Mayhew’s time, until then its most usual application method had been the question and answer format. Because the size of an interview was determined by the layout of a newspaper, and in this case one article contains more than one interview, the publication format played a special role here. In order to compress the interviews, Mayhew eliminated the questions and published only the answers, making them look like a narration. In this way, the articles contained many of the interviews without creating the need to differentiate them from the rest of the body of the report. What Mayhew assembled were life stories in which the interviewer artificially disappears as an interfering agent in the construction of the narration. In such a manner, it seemed as if the interviewee was expressing himself directly. In fact, Mayhew concluded his recount as such: “The data presented here need not be commented on my part.” The reality is there, naked, to be observed.

In 1850, Mayhew began a new project entitled *London Labour and the London Poor*, which was published in 18-page booklets and sold at train stations and newspaper stands. In this project, Mayhew concentrated his narratives on the so-called “street folk.” In other words, he investigated the groups which earned their living on the streets of London. With this new focus, Mayhew shifted the perspective of his work away from the description of poverty, which had been the objective of his articles for the *Morning Chronicle*, over to the description of cultural groups who cohabited the streets of the city.

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If the first of his projects took the form of a social survey, they thereafter adopted the character of a cultural study. Mayhew himself transformed himself from a researcher on poverty to an ethnographer of the “Londoner of the street.”

Although the street folk theme was nothing new, it had, in picaresque theater for example, its own sub-genre in which the popular characters were set on stage with considerable commercial success. Mayhew linked this tradition with scientific aspirations of an inductive investigation, while at the same time presenting the results in a deductive manner. First, he centered his work on a theoretical conception which allowed him to distinguish between culturally diverse collectives. He asserted that the city is inhabited by two races—a sedentary race and a nomadic race. The street folk are part of the nomadic races whom, in order to be described, must be classified and categorized into units, each of which will be understood as if it were a true “tribe.”

Four volumes of his works were published between 1861 and 1862 in which Mayhew divided the nomadic races of London into six groups: vendors, buyers, gatherers, actors, artists, artisans and street workers. The first two volumes—concentrating on street vendors and buyers—form the original research of this work. At the same time, he further went on to divide these groups into eight smaller groups. Mayhew dedicates the largest number of pages to the group of street vendors known as the costermongers—sellers of fruit and vegetables. Mayhew described this group in accordance with their use of a particular dialect, their clothes, customs and celebrations; elements which describe them as a unit. If the inhabitants of the East End were formerly described as poor, they were now being described as a cultural group. In other words, the distinction was no longer in terms of social classes but in terms of cultural practices.

Following this partial description of groups, Mayhew gave us a look at how the society of the streets in London took shape. As noted by Humpherys:

“The lowest classes were hierarchical society, not markedly different from the rest of Victorian England. All the English sellers disliked the Irish, whom they despaired for being able to live on half what an Englishman needed. The costermongers looked down on the sellers of green stuff like watercress or food for cage-birds, while the sellers of ready-made food like sandwiches and coffee who where frequently ex-artisans, kept apart from the costermongers. The potters who sold ‘stationary, literature and fine arts,’ in many ways the most cunning and frequently the most dishonest, considered themselves the ‘aristocracy of the street.’”

Similar to the way in which the Social Sciences began to comprehend this notion beginning in the 1960s, Mayhew described a city comprised of diverse subcultures.

81 The concepts of nomads and sedentary races will be adopted from the work of trendy anthropologists in the mid-nineteenth century, especially from Cowley James Pritchard and his work "Natural History of Mankind" based on a study in South Africa.
82 Humpherys (1977), p. 100.
Although he claimed that the costermongers had created their own language, it seems that it did not go beyond being a sort of slang which primarily served to protect themselves from the police who constantly harassed them. But in fact, they formed a particular social group, recognized by others as such, even by other fruit and vegetable vendors of Jewish or Irish origin. At the same time, it was a group which segregated themselves not only on the streets where they worked, but also in diverse other social spheres.83

By portraying urban space in this manner, Mayhew put together a new view about the very constitution of the city. As stated by Epstein: “He had to convince his public that the people of whom he wrote were of English society though separate from it, related to the middle class but a “race” apart from it, fellow inhabitants of the same city but members of a different “tribe.””84

Mayhew’s classification frenzy proved to be extreme. For example, by identifying the fish vendors, he even subdivided them according to the type of fish they sold, publishing at least one interview with a member of each subgroup. With a great part of the energy and resources spent in describing the first of the principal groups, the loss of control over the classifications impeded the conclusion of the project in the proposed terms.

The last project, also left unfinished, in which the restless Mayhew embarked was called The Great World of London. Only a few chapters were written. Nevertheless, the name itself as well as its formulation expressed the consolidation of a concept of London as a universe in and of itself. The differences between the groups could mainly be seen in their use of language, an aspect which raised the attention not only of Mayhew, but also of other intellectuals facing the proliferation of idiolects in Victorian England. Alongside clothing, manners and customs, each group in this universe could be distinguished in terms of their dominion of a special argot. Together they gave life to a social group which cohabited in the complex and diverse urban space of London. In this manner, different cities became identified within London, such as “Professional London,” “Criminal London” or “Fashionable London.”

A part of this work focused on Professional London, which Mayhew described as a group of the Metropolitan that earned its living through the employment of intellect and education rather than manual skills. He estimated this group, which he then subdivided into smaller sub-groups, to total 47,746 people. In the only section of the project which was published, attention was given to what Mayhew described as “Legal London,” i.e. the subculture made up of the lawyers of the city. For this purpose, Mayhew made use of cartography. Nevertheless, this time Mayhew did not seek out points of urban infection, but rather to build a topography of the section of the city where lawyers’ offices and homes, courts and other spaces could be found. In fact, Mayhew described and

83 Bauer/Mißbach/Remmele, et al. (2005).
84 Epstein (1987).
characterized the London occupied by attorneys in terms of the particular language that they used in their protocols, in their customs, in the places they visited and in the clothing they wore. In the end, Mayhew attempted to portray the mentality which governed Legal London. Yet financial problems as well as opposition to his works interrupted his enterprise. Indeed, Mayhew’s controversial work and research led to the formation of a number of enemies who took advantage of his lack of capability to execute his projects as initially planned, and who made sure that these projects would fail before their objectives were fully reached.

Apart from the unfortunate and premature end to this project, two further elements of Mayhew’s last investigative project are worth highlighting: On the one hand, understood as a limited space in the city which is determined by the culture that is present within it, Mayhew was the first scholar to identify a Natural Area, a concept developed a half century later by scholars at the School of Chicago. On the other hand, converting the elite into an object to be studied is still a barely extended practice in the Social Sciences even today.

Despite the haphazard conclusion of his enterprises, Mayhew is increasingly deemed to be one of Victorian England’s most relevant chroniclers and a central reference in urban research. His works contain two pioneering qualities. On the one hand, his use of interviews and their application in his reportages was groundbreaking. The interviewees expressed perceptions and feelings about the condition of poverty: “the history of a people from the lips of the people themselves” as Lindner states. Because this methodology resource does not moralize the poor of the city—unlike those methods employed by his contemporaries who wrote on poverty—but rather sheds light on the burdens and miseries of the poor, the inequality and unfairness to which they are subjected by the insensible English society, it is fundamental to urban research. As Humpherys pointed out, through his works Mayhew gave a face to the marginalized of the city. As a result, they stopped being invisible.

On the other hand, his scientific aspirations led him to build classifications. It must be noted that at the time in which Mayhew wrote his pieces, the Social Sciences were barely in their beginnings and thus strictly theoretical. Mayhew had to base his arguments on the logic of classification developed by the Natural Sciences. More than differentiating between social classes, Mayhew developed the image of an urban space made up of diverse, distinguishable groups which possessed their own cultural qualities and which were repeatedly in conflict with each other.

By middle of the 19th Century, urban outcasts of the Industrial Revolution began to appear in European societies, sometimes as part of larger political projects and other times simply as an explosive reaction to their marginalization. It was during this time that

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the first working class movements took to the streets in order to articulate their discontent. As expressed in the numerous barricades and confrontations which took place between workers and the French military, Paris became center stage in these revolts. Successive revolts in the middle of the century ended with the Paris Commune in 1865, the last revolutionary attempt still imbued in the spirit of 1789. The appearance of these uprisings forced society to direct its view towards those who until then had remained (or been kept) invisible. As expressed by Berman, the experience in the modern city had transformed “the exotic into the immediate; the misery that was once a mystery is now a fact.”\textsuperscript{87} As the streets turned into a political stage, the elites began to grasp that the coexistence of differences in the city is a problem of power; because the poor have come to the city and will not leave it again.

London played a fundamental role in this transformation. It is important to remember that the Marxist analysis on capitalism originated from observing this alteration, thus permitting Marx to provide a theoretical basis for the revolution contained in his 1848 Communist Manifesto. In the winter of 1885/86 London became the scenario of a series of revolts and plundering perpetrated by the inhabitants of the East End. The British middle class did not know how to react. Indeed, they did not even know with whom they were confronted against. Since the mid-19\textsuperscript{th} Century, the exploration of these new groups—the children of industrialization—had mainly been done out of sanitary interest and imperial curiosity. As in Mayhew’s case, these explorations proved to be isolated initiatives. In the aftermath of these incidents, however, certain groups saw the need to develop a more certain and complete knowledge of these enemies of the prevailing social order. As a means of strengthening the strategies of social control, surveys were carried out and cartographies developed in order to collect more precise information about the needs and demands of the poor in the city—now transformed into political agents.

The emergence of the modern city brought with it the need to comprehend the diversity which gave birth to it. We have herein provided a general overview of a little known chapter of urban research, one which transformed the city into a place of ethnographical observation; particularly of the social creations of capitalist industrial development. The suggestive work of Mayhew offered a pioneering way of “seeing the city.” Above all, however, Mayhew illuminated the existence of those who up until that time were seen as invisible. In effect, the urban space thus became an object of observation, and Mayhew himself was transformed into an ethnographer before his time who not only sided with the outcasts, but who also tried to understand their way of life “from the inside.”

3. Ethnographers of the Great American City

3.1. The Creation of the Chicago School and the “Chicago Touch”

Chicago was the first great city of the United States of America. Chicago experienced unprecedented growth at the beginning of the 20th Century. By 1850 the city had 30,000 inhabitants. Over the course of the next eighty years, the population multiplied one hundred times, counting over 3,337,000 inhabitants by 1930. Chicago was the first city with skyscrapers. If the first metropolises of the 20th Century had become centers of industrial and transport complexes, boasting these miracles of engineering which marveled the thousands of immigrants who arrived each day from the rural areas and Europe.

Chicago extended and became more dense, the neighborhoods changed each day at an incessant pace, and the city became perplexingly complex. The image of a modern city, in the American sense of a force which seemed to know no frontiers, found its most comprehensive expression in Chicago.

Such transformations, the creation of a city as a world in and of itself, went hand in hand with a form of representation in which the inhabitants could feel themselves as being part of this complex world. In this raging urbanization process, a symbiosis took place between the development of an urban society and the press, particularly the so-called “American New Press,” which proved to be a decisive agent in the construction of public space in Chicago.88

In 1830 a new type of massive press emerged in the United States. In their different morning, midday, evening and extras editions, newspapers were sold for a few cents on the streets and at meeting places of the city. Whereas Chicago’s millions of inhabitants permitted the existence of this industry, the great city itself simultaneously became the primary source of news.89 The press adopted the rhythm of the streets, becoming part of the movement of the city, and the newspapers played a sort of mediating role between the worlds that the immigrants brought with them and their new situation. From the rural areas to the city, from traditionalism to modernity, from the old continent to the new, this new world was all news. Indeed, the city became synonymous with everything new, and that will be precisely the job of the journalists: the search or hunt for news (newshunters).

Informing as they did directly from the battlefield, the figure of the journalist became the center of protagonism during the North American Civil War. The new journalists became direct witnesses of the war, and their new legitimacy emanated from

89 The American new journalism had a different character to the press in Mayhew’s time in England. First, the English press does not aim the masses, it was rather elitist. Secondly, the themes of the English press were basically politics (for instance, the parliament’s sessions were published). Thirdly, the english press had “slow reaction velocity” to the so-called top news. See: Humpherys (1984).
“being there.” Professional journalism began to take form towards the end of the century; this was the time in which the teaching of journalism was transferred to university classrooms. From there, the discussions originated as to what and how to inform the public. The image of the journalist began to be associated with that of private detectives; someone who pries into the lives of others in order to reveal something hidden and extraordinary, bringing to light events which opposed social or legal norms. In the process, journalism adopted the language of the police and searched for news in the places where it was possible to find such stories—hospitals, morgues and courtrooms.

Undercover journalists, those investigators who hid their real intentions in order to discover what was actually happening, emerged in this context. One such famous protagonist was Elizabeth Cochrane, alias “Nellie Bly.” Cochrane was the first woman journalist in the USA and, as described by Lindner, “the uncrowned queen of the participant observation.” Cochrane greatly influenced her contemporaries by her complex operations to access an optimal rapport with her subjects. For example, in order to report about the treatment methods in a psychiatric hospital, she presented herself to the doctors as mentally disturbed in order to be admitted. Later she let herself get caught by the police and transferred to the women’s penitentiary of Chicago, from where she wrote about the situation of the inmates. She also visited the medical clinics available to the poor to attest to the medicines with which they were treated. In another occasion, she disguised herself as a member of the Salvation Army in order to investigate the institution from the inside and to report on the reactions of passers-by as they were approached on the streets. These methods transformed her into a true hero of public opinion, who celebrated not only her courage and cunning, but also her revealing reportages and disclosures. Like other journalists of the time, Cochrane attempted to distance herself from the objects of her reportages through a process of “unlearning,” which meant that she approached her objects of study without prejudice or preconceived ideas, thus gaining legitimacy and credibility about that which she described and denounced.

In this manner, early 20th Century journalism in cities such as Chicago and New York maintained its audience by keeping an eye on life in the city. The inhabitants of the great city were simultaneously object and subject of the journalistic universe. As Lindner pointed out, the journalists in the United States were the equivalents of the flâneur in Paris. But whereas in Europe the flâneur had an attitude of contemplation about the “spirit of a place,” following the idea that everybody makes themselves present in the “great American city,” the American journalists were a sort of hunters of the authentic whose great obsession was their own exotism.

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91 Two reportages were the first antecedents of urban sociological investigation in U.S. The first one was published in 1890 with the title How the Other Half Lives: Studies Among the Tenements of New York by Jacob Riis. Nevertheless, this research will be famous due to the photography, it is considered as a pioneer in the use of social photography. The second one, The Spirit of the Ghetto published in 1902 by Hutchins.
In this context, it is not odd that professors and scholars of the University of Chicago paid attention to the development of this urban society. In particular, they concentrated their efforts at representation of life in the city on the potential social conflict that could emerge as a result of the accelerated urbanization process which integrated a diversity of migrant collectives. During the 1910s, together with F. Znaniecki, a Polish philosopher, W. Thomas, the head of the School of Sociology, published the first work which marked the beginning of a research program: *The Polish Peasant in Europe and America* (1918/20). This five volume work collected the stories of Hadgood, is a reportage about migrants, in the first chapter ("The old and the new") the assimilation process of Polish and Galician migrants is described. This work was a direct antecedent of the first research that W. Thomas and F. Znaniecki carried out in the Chicago School.
Polish immigrants in Chicago. For the production of this work, Thomas used personal documents such as life diaries, letters and biographies, resources which were never used before in American sociological research. Until that time, such research, also known as library sociology, had a more philosophical-speculative rather than empirical approach. In 1920 Robert E. Park took over the direction of the School, marking the beginning of a new era of productive work which transformed the School of Chicago into a fundamental reference in urban research even today.

Once appointed director, Park expressed his line of thought by creating an extensive research program which involved a wide group of researchers and maintained a clear line of development during twenty years. Under Park’s direction, the work of the school had two primary emphases. On the one hand, the work of the school concentrated exclusively on the investigation of Chicago, which allowed for a broad accumulation of registers and data about the city. At the same time, the School’s researchers developed a sort of corporate identity, expressed in what has been denominated as the “Chicago Touch” in designation of this group of researchers’ capacity at ethnographical investigations.

The establishment of a sort of collective spirit in which the researchers took part was recognizable not only in the selection of objects of study centered on daily life, the configuration of communities and the social interaction among different groups, but also in a particular sensibility for making observations. As Hannerz pointed out, this trait of the work of this school owed much to Robert E. Park’s direction, whose personal development made it possible to link both macro and micro levels of observation; one emerging from theory and the other from experience.

Before coming to Chicago, Robert E. Park wrote his doctoral work in Germany, where he was part of the intellectual environment influenced by the ideas of G. Simmel and his conception of the Großstadt. The life in the Großstadt was one governed by transitory, anonymous, and individual social relations, and where public space was given primacy over private space. Simmel saw the modern city not only as a space of individualization, but above all as a space of emancipation. Although Simmel’s sociology was directed neither toward solving practical problems nor was it related to empirical research, it conceived the city as a laboratory in which it was possible to observe modern society’s constitution. This experience of intellectual learning allowed Park to better understand the processes of cultural transformation of societies. Consequently, the

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93 Hannerz (1980).
European experience endowed his work with a macro view which made it possible to theorize urban society.

A second source of Park’s personal education was his experience in investigative journalism, a profession which he carried out by reporting and writing from the streets of various American cities. As stated before, the late 19th Century North American press had consolidated its position as a sort of social representation, thus becoming the principal chronicler of the transformations and complexities of the great North American cities. The use of participant observation (undercover) to access a description with first hand material is an appreciated strategy of investigation. The access to in-depth motives and values behind the conflicts in a still unknown world proved to be a fundamental path through which Park and company travelled in order to create Chicago’s ethnography.

As Lindner concluded, this methodological attitude allowed for the development of an observation paradigm. The distinctive methodological mark of the School of Chicago resulted in an “art of observing” which brought the social researcher to leave his ivory tower in search of the “real world,” an attitude guided by the mandates of “going into the district,” “getting the feelings,” and “becoming acquainted with the people” which the School’s professors imbued into their students. In effect, the journalistic experience of the street influenced the emergence of the observation paradigm, which in search of a more scientific character paid special attention to the work of the first American anthropologists. In this manner, urban research was combined with anthropology for the first time in a research program. As Park himself expressed it:

“The anthropology, the science of man, has been mainly concerned up to present with the study of primitive peoples. But civilized man is quite as interesting an object of investigation, and at the same time his life is more open to observation and study. Urban life and culture are more varied, subtle, and complicated, but the fundamental motives are in both instances the same. The same patient methods of observation which anthropologists like Boas and Lowie have expended on the study of the life and manners of the North American Indian might be even more fruitfully employed in the investigations of customs, beliefs, social practices, and general conceptions of life prevalent in Little Italy on the lower North Side in Chicago, or in recording the more sophisticated of folkways of the inhabitants of Greenwich Village and the neighborhood of Washington Square, New York.”

Thus, the empirical character of research allowed the definitive departure from the American tradition of a sort of Christian-based sociology, also known as the “Big-C-Sociology” (or the three C’s Sociology) in reference to the principal work themes: Charity, Crime and Correction (meaning moralization). By replacing moral sociology with empirical sociology, the School set out to investigate, discover the interests, attitudes

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96 Park (1984), p.3.
and values which governed social life in the city, and in this way, to construct theories which could explain the development of urban society.

3.1. Practice and Theory – Micro and Macro

The initial approach of the School was based on what Park called the city as a state of mind, a body of customs and traditions.\(^98\) For this purpose, he proposed the identification of the types of professions (vocational types) which could be found in the urban environment and which were part of the complexity of a great city, such as taxi drivers, night watchmen, barkeepers, scabs, union organizers, professors and many more which were presented in his text \textit{The City}. During their years spent studying at the University, Park’s students concentrated on ethnographical exercises with these types of jobs in Chicago. Thus, the formation of a group of researchers consolidated in an academic practice was made possible after the 1920s, precisely in the sense of a “School.”

Among the most distinguished studies representative of the “Chicago touch” are ethnographical research papers about the subcultures which constitute the social and cultural mosaic of the city. In 1923 N. Anderson published \textit{The Hobo}, a study about workers lacking a stable residence or regular jobs. The study described their work, ways of life, institutions and culture. F. Thrasher presented \textit{The Gang} (1927), a study about juvenile culture of second generation immigrants on the streets of Chicago; L. Wirth published \textit{The Ghetto} (1929), in which he described the life in Chicago’s Jewish neighborhood; C. Shaw presented \textit{The Jack-Roller} (1930), the story of a young street thief; and in 1932 P. Cressey published \textit{The Taxi-Dance Hall}, the ethnography of a dance hall where lonely men paid women to be their dance partners. In effect, as suggested by Hannerz\(^99\), each of these ethnographic studies presented social existences in the city which were minimal and partial and could be read in a complementary relationship as part of a city research program.

It is interesting to note that up until today the study units on which these ethnographies are based still influence the selection of objects of study in Urban Anthropology, such as ethnographies about ethnic neighborhoods, social groups which express themselves in public spaces, research about recreational spaces and studies about the performance of specific professions.

The first of these works, \textit{The Hobo}\(^100\), contained various elements of interest which I will take sometime to present. As a social category, Anderson defined the hobo as any worker whose principal characteristic—indeed of the profession which he performed and of the place where he does so—is that of permanent mobility. Anderson likened the hobo to a sort of cowboy in the conquest of the American West, a character who was

\(^{99}\) Hannerz (1980).  
\(^{100}\) Anderson (1961).
fundamental in the construction of the United States; men willing to carry the burden of mobility which the expansion of the frontiers demanded for the construction of railroad lines, working in the mines, the seasonal work in agriculture, etc. Anderson considered these men to be “heroical figures of the frontier.” To fulfill their objectives, the hobos temporarily settled near the nodes of the transport networks, mainly train stations. In particular, the city of Chicago served as a sort of capital, a distribution point for hobos who arrived there to get information on their journey towards new sources of work. Anderson estimated that about 300,000 to 500,000 hobos passed through the city annually, with a permanent population of about 30,000 to 50,000 in the seasons of higher unemployment. This stable population occupied a city district in particular which Anderson coined *Hobohemia*.102

![Fig. 3: Diagram of Hobohemia](image)

This neighborhood was located in the center of the city. Apart from the occasional workers or people without a stable place of residence, what made *Hobohemia* different from other neighborhoods was the concentration of activities which could be found here: activities linked with the workplace, entertainment sites and winter shelter for the workers. This combination endowed this space with very particular cultural characteristics which gave origin to a *cultural area*. As one can see in Fig. 4, on Madison Street, the heart

101 Anderson (1975), p.15.
102 Fig. 5 from Anderson (1975).
of *Hobohemia*, nine employment agencies, eight cheap hotels, seven restaurants and six bars for these type of workers could be found on this street alone.

Confronted with a general prejudice against hobos which defined them as anonymous vagabonds, Anderson attempted to find out what brought a person to adopt this type of nomadic life. He revised psychiatric studies made in Europe in order to establish whether the tendency towards a vagrant way of life was the consequence, as many thought, of some type of mental pathology linked with borderlines, drug addiction, or alcoholism. Although he found some clinical evidence about tendencies in this direction, he rejected them because he did not consider them central in the conformation of a hobo culture. In consequence, he concentrated his efforts on describing the forms of organization and social norms which governed their lives. For this purpose, he moved in with them in the *jungles*, a type of summer camp located on the periphery of the city. There he skillfully described not only the forms of organization based on communal anarchist structures, but also the socialization processes of the members to acquire the values and norms of the group, the process of learning the dialect, the forms of entertainment, the ways of thinking and the *jungle* philosophy. In fact, Anderson described a cultural space, a unity between the *jungle culture* and the camps they inhabited or the *Hobohemia* as a permanent settlement of this subculture.

In large part, the efficiency of his description was made possible thanks to the extraordinary rapport which he achieved while living in the jungles or rather in *Hobohemia*. In part, this may have been the result of the fact that Anderson himself had been a hobo for six years of his youth. He made his ethnographic authority clear when he stated in his autobiography, “I did not ‘go down into the slum.’ I was at home in that area. As a boy of ten and eleven I sold papers in that area.” Thus, he not only confirmed his “having been there,” but also his unbeatable ethnographical rapport: “It was an advantage to be able to talk about the types of work men in that sector of society do, and work talk turned out to be a productive inducer to general conversation.”

In fact, Anderson described the hobos as if they were an ethnic group. His ethnographical description was supported by his fieldwork notes, just as the American anthropologists used to do at the time. In the 1961 prologue to the new edition of his ethnography, he clearly stated that his work described the life of this group in 1920, at a time in which the conditions of mobility were very different in the USA, mainly due to the absence of automobiles and the need to broaden the frontier. He claimed that, although the institutions that they used and the drifters were still there, it was no longer possible to find *Hobohemia*: the hobos as a particular social and cultural group had disappeared. Here is a recognition of what Delgado calls “the urban” as a condition of

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103 Anderson (1975), p. 165.
104 Delgado (1999).
the social formations of the city which present themselves as having a structured form yet possess an irreversibly fleeting character.

Finally, another element which derived from Anderson’s work and which links him to the theories made by other members of the School of Chicago is the conception of a “cultural area” as is ethnographically described in the *Jungles* and in *Hobohemia*.

Published in 1925, the text compilation *The City*, which as a collection results in a sort of manifesto of the School of Chicago’s research program, included at least two essays which presented a theory so as to understand the development of the city in its entirety.

In his text *The ecological approach to the study of the human community*, R. McKenzie revived the notion of “cultural area” in conceptual terms redefining it as *natural area*. McKenzie established an analogy between social and biological systems. This definition, understood as urban ecology, is based on the principle that subcultural collectives behave spatially like every other population of living beings. It is established that the population in the inner city experiences a developing process which takes them from the simple to the complex, from generalization to specialization. This process takes places as a result of the division of labor, migrations and the competition between populations for territory. The processes of functional differentiation resulting from processes of invasion and succession (concepts taken from ecology) on the part of the populations will give expression to social units with specific cultural characteristics which have their expression in financial districts or entertainment neighborhoods, just as well as in ethnic settlements or gated communities. These units would be the *natural areas* which make up the structure of the modern city.

Another article which forms part of this compilation, *The Growth of the City*, was written by E. Burguess. This work presented a model of urban growth characterized by the division of urban space and marked by the succession of settlements of its inhabitants. It is understood that this is a process common to the development of American cities. An ideal model is presented based on five phases of development which spatially correspond to a model of concentric rings from the urban center to the periphery. The commercial district, the center of the city, is located in the first circle. The second ring is comprised of a transition area of migrant colonies and *slums*. The “respectable” workers and second generation migrants reside in the third ring. The residential areas of the American middle class are located in the fourth, with the final ring corresponds to the suburbs. In this manner, a form of development and expansion of the city is established based on territories segregated in social classes or ethnical groups.

The works of Burguess and McKenzie are supported by the same theoretical principle; the inhabitants of the city behave in an ecological dimension. Therefore they

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organize and are like every other biotic population. The greatest legacy of both texts is that they are the first attempts to provide urban development with a theory of scientific character, thus establishing models of general application.

Nevertheless, in many cases in which scientific knowledge has achieved broad diffusion—as in the case of the School of Chicago—over the course of the years it is gradually transformed into a commonplace source. In other words, the general applicability of such knowledge is automatically deemed valid, even in the most diverse range of contexts. In part, that is what has happened with such theorizations, which often times are uncritically adopted to fit diverse geographies. Still, it is important to recognize that this approach has been the only attempt that has developed out of an ethnographical practice to theorize about the city as a unit in and of itself.

The School of Chicago’s influence prevailed in the USA for many years thereafter. In particular, its legacy in the construction of study units as self-enclosed groups remained for several decades. In the 1970s this led to discussions about studies “in” or “on” the city. Until that time, the intensive observation about social groups as tribes had made invisible the contexts in which these groups developed their interactions. A profound revision in American urban anthropology took place in the mid-1970s in terms of the (self-) reflection as to “the city (only) as context” of research. In fact, towards the end of the 1970s Hannerz published the ethnography of an Afro-American ghetto. In his report, he confronted the restriction of the study units as closed units, conclusively arguing the importance of inter-group relations:

“Like other communities the ghetto has a territory and a rather clearly defined population, the low-income black people who reside in the territory an a minority of somewhat better-off but equally black people who also live there. (…) Every morning brings white on-residents into ghetto territory and black people out of it, for a day’s work. Considering the impact of the wider environment, the ghetto is only a part-community, as most overarching social institutions are not its own. (…) the ghetto, with its territory and its population, is a part-time community for many of its members.”

Beyond the School of Chicago’s attempt at developing a global theory, the ethnographies with the “Chicago touch” are still valuable contributions even today. According to many critics, its peak was reached with W.F. Whyte’s 1943 Corner Street Society.

Although based on the city of New York, it was the last such work written under the direct influence of Park’s direction. Furthermore, Corner Street Society has been compared with Malinowski’s The Argonauts as one of two fundamental pieces of ethnographical production. Indeed, both works applied similar methods. While

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107 Erdentung/Colombijn (2002).
110 Whyte (1993).
Malinowski installed a tent in the center of a *Trobiand* village, Whyte lived in Little Italy and for four years was accepted as a member of a gang of second generation young Italians. But both ethnographies have a fundamental difference. The description of *Corner Street Society*, its forms of organization, its codes and values were presented as a journalistic report of the world of urban gangs. Furthermore, the narration included plot twists as if it were the script of a *film noir*, very much in trend to the time in which Wythe wrote his work. These were valid narrative resources because the youths used these images created by cultural industry as a form of self-portrayal. It is then clear that, in contrast to Malinowski, Whyte was a contemporary of his studied group.

What the Chicago ethnographers did was to involve themselves in this symbiosis between the urban culture and the representation of the city. This statement is plausible once we have identified that the school’s genealogy is closely connected to journalistic representation. In fact, Park himself acted more like a news editor around his students’ research projects. His public was not exclusively academic, but also general readership. In this manner, Chicago’s ethnographies became a massive source for the construction of the image of life in the great city.

4. **In search of the lost community or neighborhood as an object of study**

Throughout its history, Latin American ethnographic research has been strongly influenced by the developments in North American (USA) academic institutions. Thanks to the works of R. Redfield and O. Lewis, Mexico was the first country to stand under this influence in the early 1950s. O. Lewis was of particularly great importance due to his focus on what he called “the culture of poverty,” a concept which tried to describe and explain the strategies of immigrants to adapt to the conditions of marginality in the midst of the explosion of urban development in Mexico. Although his concept was largely criticized, it made a contribution to subsequent methodology: the use of techniques to describe daily life, such as case or family studies and life stories, were central to his methodology.

It is not at all odd that the study of the marginalized, the poor and the excluded who, as we have seen, received so much attention in metropolises such as London and Chicago, have also been a central focus of research in Latin America. In the case of Mexico, where anthropology possesses a productive density which no other Latin American nation can challenge, García-Canclini recently stated that Mexican anthropologists have made a contribution to urban reflection by “observing the metropolis

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111 Park played an important role in the choice of the titles and in the edition of the publications of his students. The publications should attract a wider audience than the purely academic.  
from a local point of view.\\textsuperscript{113} Supported primarily in the study of small observation units such as \textit{barrios} (neighborhoods) and organizations, they have succeeded in tackling themes linked to the fragmentation of the space of the Mexican metropolis.

For his part, M. Lacarrieu\\textsuperscript{114} put forth that the origins of Argentinian urban ethnographic research can be identified in the Peronist decade of the 1970s. A time of transformations and social convulsions, scholars focused their research during the 1970s on the so-called “emergency villages”; displaced and marginalized sectors where work linked to social assistance and the struggle against poverty was being done. This character extended in to the next decade, where the formation of neighborhoods and its inhabitants became the center of observation: The life in the villages, survival strategies and political struggle particularly began to take on an increasingly important role.

Contrary to the two cases of national development mentioned-above, urban ethnographical research in Chile appears to be an area which is still in the process of establishing itself. More than out of the formulation and performance of research programs which confront and coincide in the search of objects of study and theoretical discussions, it has recently been stated that—as a body of work, discussion and reflections—ethnographical urban research originates as the consequence of a group of autonomous and independent efforts.\\textsuperscript{115}

In Chile, the idea of the \textit{barrio} (neighborhood) appears as a central unit from which life in the city is imagined. In a suggestive essay that examines the ways in which Chilean literature has narrated the city of Santiago, author C. Franz\\textsuperscript{116} concludes that the city has been represented as cultural units which inhabit limited spaces: the city as a group of \textit{barrios}. In \textit{La muralla enterrada}, Franz realizes how, in a broad constellation of literary work, the city emerges as a cluster of territories governed by subcultures. In this view, the city is not only a stage where arguments take place; each section of the city becomes its own protagonist with clear territorial frontiers and particular moral and ethical characteristics. In fact, the characters and their stories, adventures which take place either in \textit{Barrio Matadero, Estación Central} or the \textit{Garden City}, are the expression of a subculture, with a specific genealogy of tragedies, stories and hopes to which its inhabitants seem unavoidably linked. In most cases, the redemption of the inhabitants is represented in their definitive escape and departure from the \textit{barrio}.

What Franz sees in the imaginary construction of Santiago is a fragmented city in which the units remain segregated through walls which are physically invisible but real in social terms. In this city, its characters could only experience the restricted space assigned

\\textsuperscript{113} García Canclini, Néstor (2005), p. 12.
\\textsuperscript{114} Lacarrieu (2005).
\\textsuperscript{115} This realm of work has woken a increasing interest in the last years in Chile, specially in young researcher. See: Imilan/Lange (2003).
\\textsuperscript{116} Franz (2001).
to their lives; lacking in friends, family and the securities of home, everything outside of that is *terra incognita*. With no chance to experience the city in all of its dimensions, the inhabitant of Santiago retires time and time again to the space of traditional relationships.

Even though the imagined modern city has been strongly influenced by the idea that a multiplicity of worlds coexist within it, the question is not just about its description and classification, but about how these world communicate with one another.

4.1. *The “Barrio” as an Observation Strategy*

The definition of *barrio* is complex. More than a scientific axiom, in Latin America it seems to identify a value-based way to live in the city. It is interesting to note that there is a sort of moral condition linked to an anti-urban ideology which supports the treatment of the notion of *barrio*.

Social relations based on family and friendship have become the main support on which the immigrants can count on in the process of integration into the city. In this context, the *barrio* becomes the physical space where the fundamental social relationships for building support networks are displayed. According to Weber, the emergence of the modern European city is an offer of liberty; liberation from the binding links of tradition for its inhabitants who now appear as citizens and autonomous subjects. In Latin America, the intransigence of a society still based on colonial structures even at the moment of the urbanization process meant that the new urbanites could only be integrated as a migrant collective. To abandon this collective in the city is to become adrift; one is constantly at risk of becoming rootless, of seeing one’s own networks decompose and of experiencing definitive disorientation.

The *barrio* is the idea of the original community reproduced in an urban space. As defined by J. Bengoa, the *barrio* became a sort of recovery of the “lost community.”

The permanent politics of structural adjustment which devastated the Latin American societies during the 1970’s and 1980’s once more placed the ways in which a growing urban marginalized population carry on their survival strategies at the center of attention. In fact, in most of these cases the *barrio* played a role as the receiver of a sort of communitarian utopia in a city socially devastated by the failed attempts at modernization. In this sense, the idea of *barrio* is not much different than the concept of “urban towns” which permeated a great part of research in the United States in which social groups in the city were considered as if they were villages located inside the space of the city.

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4.2. *Resistance to Fragmentation*

But how is this concept of the *barrio* related to the situation of Santiago today? A brief review is required of how urban research has dealt with the theme of recent development in Santiago. On a general level, urban studies about Santiago over the last decade have been almost exclusively oriented toward describing the socio-spatial process of segregation which the city experiences. Since their imposition in the 1980s, neoliberal policies have imposed the basic principle that the forces of the market are the main agents of urban development with the state playing a subordinate role. In this assessment, the value of land determines the location of social groups according to financial income. In fact, after twenty years of systematically applying these policies, the inequalities in urban space have reached extreme levels. In this sense, socio-spatial segregation is a predictable result. As a result, urban research has concentrated its attention on this phenomenon.\(^{119}\)

The segregation research concentrates on the development of a policentric city as a result of the expansion of the urban surface and the appearance of *gated communities*. The residential variable is fundamental in each of these fields of research. These studies adopt a general perspective based on economical statistics and geographical models. This hinders a deeper reflection about the extent of this phenomenon. Although it is evident that under a free market model residential segregation is the result of preexisting economical inequalities, these studies do not show any interest in investigating how this segregation generates new inequalities. From a neoliberal perspective, such deficiencies in the model are kept quiet and covered with a dark veil of commonplace statements which announce the theoretical importance of the encounter of different social groups in the city, but without going in to the structural conditions of this impossibility.\(^{120}\)

There is a certain consensus in recent investigations that one of the consequences of the development model of the city is the increase of a feeling of insecurity and fear: fear of delinquency and a generalized anxiety of the “Other” in the city. Consequently, the encounter between the “different people” is increasingly more unfeasible as a result of the fragmentation of urban space which transforms the “Other” into an uncommunicable category.\(^{121}\) Although the theme of fear in the city has been examined from other perspectives, it is interesting that urban researchers recognize socio-spatial segregation as one of its sources. Produced by the segregation of urban space, fear turns into the only visible consequence which affects the daily lives of people. Self-imprisonment, self-segregation, the abandonment of public space; it is without doubt the notion of collective which falls apart as a consequence of this fear of difference, of the “Other.”

\(^{119}\) De Mattos (2002); Ducci (2002).
\(^{120}\) Many works analyse this phenomenon, see: Sabatini /Caceres/Cerda (2001); Borsdorf/Hidalgo (2008). A more critical work, see: Rodriguez/Winchester (2001).
\(^{121}\) Dammert (2004).
The idea of the *barrio* reemerges not as a strategy to attain the integration of the city or as a way of access to the benefits of the city such as it had been seen in times of massive migrations, but as a horizon to reconstruct identities and feelings of belonging in an urban space fragmented by segregation. Based on its homogeneous character, which is product of the segregation in the city, the concept of *barrio* reemerges as synonymous with community and manages to transform it into the place of identity in the city.

In this sense, the Núcleo de Antropología Urbana de la Universidad Academia de Humanismo Cristiano, an active collective on urban research, has recently begun to revise the *barrios* of Santiago as places of resistance to these segregationist tendencies. F. Márquez defines the general framework of this collective enterprise as such:

"We postulate that an urban identity has been consolidated in Santiago which, in the case of older generations, operates as communitarian nostalgia and passive resistance to identification with urban life. For the younger generations, however, this identity is expressed in the updating of neo-communitarian practices in the city. (...) In this regard, we believe that, even though the neighborhood seems to no longer be a unique reference but rather a large spectrum of sites scattered throughout the urban context, there is a growing appreciation for the sense of belonging in our cities as well as an identification of bonds of symbolic and emotional exchanges in the small territory which the neighborhood represents. Therefore, although it has transformed the traditional relation between sense of belonging and spatial proximity, the fact is that we are witness to a redefining of identity references in the urban context."\(^{122}\)

To prove their hypothesis, this collective of researchers has developed a series of ethnographical investigations in different *barrios* of Santiago with the objective of describing the history of their formation, the creation of networks and the establishment of community living. In the study *Expresiones de la identidad barrial* by G. Retamal, the concept of *barrio* is defined in the following terms:

"Neighborhood refers to a territory within the city. In some cases, depending on social networks—networks of neighborhoods created by the proximity between the neighbors and the collective practices that develop among its inhabitants—neighborhood identity [*identidad barrial*] is constructed. (...) We must take into account the degree of integration that individuals have inside the neighborhood, their participation in organizations, the joint celebrations of holidays, or the social networks which exist in this public space."\(^{123}\)

In fact, what these researchers look to identify in a *barrio* are practices which build community relations, face-to-face relations of solidarity and sociability in general. In these works, the residents are the agents who reconstruct the history of the settlements, talk about the transformations of the nearby environment, of the feelings and projects in

\(^{122}\) Márquez (2005), p.5.

\(^{123}\) Retamal (2004), p. 32.
the past and in the present, and finally about what it means to live in the barrio. The systematic work of recovering local histories in the city of Santiago is of great value, a way of writing the history of the city as the mosaic which it truly is. One particularity of this research paradigm in relation to similar works of the past is its interest not only in the observation of the marginalized sectors of the city, but also of the middle and upper-class communities.

Despite the value of the data registered by this research program, it has yet to convincingly prove its thesis as to the protagonism of the barrio in the construction of identities. The social life which is identified does not represent new elements of a tendency toward recovering local spaces. Collaboration between neighbors for specific tasks or collective celebrations on exceptional occasions are not enough evidence to be able to claim that the liveliness of neo-communitarian forms play a relevant role in the construction of social life in Santiago. Furthermore, the conceptual “wager” which underlies the program is not to develop an observation of an urban society of growing complexity and differentiation, such as many authors in the current discussion suggest, but one which resists against the diversity set in the co-presence in urban space, retreating in search of the “lost community” as the main form in which the inhabitants imagine themselves.

In fact, F. Pérez, who made a comparative investigation of a social housing compound and an upper-class apartment building, argues the following:

“We could say that inside the lifestyle which takes place in these two residential spaces [social housing compound and gated building], nostalgia operates as an element of what is yearned for. It is a return, a view into the past, a search for something which was once possessed and that one wishes to bring back to life. The return to face-to-face relationships represents the rejection of a modern life in which encounters with strangers that take place in the city are refused in favor of a more personalized life.”

In my opinion, the problem is that, in this context, the barrio does not provide us with the elements necessary to understand the complexity of how urban space is being constructed on a daily basis.

4.3. The Collective as Something Fleeting

Another group of works associates the formation of that which is community or collective with that which is political, not meant in terms of traditional class ties, but in terms of the so-called “urban conflicts” (the confrontation of interests in cases of a planned urban intervention). These are presented as a staging of synthesized discourses

124 García Canclini, Nestor (2000); Erdentung/Colombijn (2002); Amendola (1997).
and practices relative to collective sentiments which develop in an environment of permanent transformation of the city.\textsuperscript{126}

This is the strategy which V. Tapia\textsuperscript{127} adopted while making ethnographic studies on a conflict related to the construction of an urban road in Santiago in which the neighbors of a barrio in Santiago appear as central agents: the inhabitants get organized in order to influence decisions regarding a construction work that will change the environment in which they live. The contradictions and tensions inside the organization become visible throughout the recording of the conflict, but so to do the discourses and practices that describe the ways in which the city is imagined. In this manner, the bonds between the community initiatives and their encounter with the state and private corporative interests served as an excellent backdrop to evaluate the mechanisms through which the process of structuring urban space in Santiago. Tapia employed the case study as the narrative structure of his work; thus permitting a moment of social structuring which albeit temporary, is dense in both discourses and social practices.

Another strategy to search for the community outside the space of the barrio was presented in C. Lange’s \textit{Public space, mobility and urban subjects}.\textsuperscript{128} This work is an attempt to approach the possibilities of construction of identities and senses of belonging in a public space designed and set up for the circulation of traffic in a busy sector of Santiago. After long observation sessions, the author tries to decipher clues which could point to the emergence of a social form capable of claiming and giving a new meaning to this space. In this case, as the author concludes, the uses, values and architectural design which form this space combine in a way which hinders exchange between the individuals, and the possibility of appearance of a community is dissolved by the imposition of a hyper-individualization.

These last two investigations are set in the conflict itself, i.e. in the paradox which arises out of the desire to create communitarian forms. Like those of the Núcleo de Antropología Urbana, these works give protagonism to the understanding of the forms in which collective identities are being constructed in contemporary Santiago. In terms of the establishment of objects of study, they are placed in two distant poles. On the one hand, we can see the will to observe structured forms of searching for collectivism coupled with an observation fixed on moving and temporary objects, on the other.

\textsuperscript{126} Ducci (1999).
\textsuperscript{127} Tapia (2005).
\textsuperscript{128} Lange (2004).
5. Towards the construction of new objects of study

At the beginning of the 1980s a change was produced in the discussion on how to construct analysis units in ethnographic work. As a consequence of reflections on the processes of decolonization and poststructuralist currents of thought, a series of criticisms put the entire canon of ethnographical research à la Malinowski under scrutiny. Basically, the concept of fieldwork was called into question in terms of the relationship between researcher and research object as well as the resulting construction of study or observation units.  

The ability to establish face-to-face relations with the research group resulted in the reduction of study units to small groups whose members coexisted in a limited space. At the same time, these groups were seen as homogeneous units, thus making it possible to talk about a culture or holistic society. As such, to talk about “the Nuers,” “the Hobos” or “the Mapuches” meant to do so based on intense observation sessions over a static and geographically defined collective. M. Augé described this sense of coherence as the search for the “total social unit,” i.e. a time, space, social and cultural unit. Although the critical developments of the last twenty years extended to many aspects of the ways of doing fieldwork, for my specific purpose I concentrate in the loss of two units, one which is spatial and the other which is social: first, the assumption that the studied groups reside in an original place of their own without moving away from it, and second, the idea that collectives are a homogeneous unit.

Although migration studies already began to do research on cultural groups separated from their places of origin by distant geographical spaces since the second half of the 20\textsuperscript{th} Century, for far too long did researchers ignore or underplay the evidence that members of social groups move, travel or migrate, and that such movements construct new cultural contents and relationships. Indeed, by assuming that the sources of a real social life were linked to an original place, much more importance was given to the roots rather than to the itineraries (routes and journeys). The crisis of this notion can be seen in different academic areas. For example, a late 1980s work about a small community in the central Andean Mountains established that the members of these community created broad circulation circuits which extended through diverse towns and cities of the region. These networks were created in order to assist them in their search for temporary jobs or in the construction of commercial networks. The interconnection of these social spaces is what allows us to speak of a social collective which stretches

129 Gupta/Ferguson (1997).
130 Augé (1994).
131 Hannerz (2003).
132 Clifford (1997).
beyond the frontiers of the community that occupies an ancestral territory. In a similar vein, the evidence gathered through fieldwork in the community of the Santa Maríá island located off the southern coast of Chile\textsuperscript{134} led to the conclusion that it is not possible to understand the social identity of this island community if not by observing the comings and goings of its population, its multiple movements to the numerous ports, towns and cities along the Chilean coast.

The loss of the spatial unit is the product of paying attention to the qualities of movement of social groups. This new scenario has to be approached using new methodological devices like, for example, that which Marcus has called the multi-sited ethnography.\textsuperscript{135} The objective of this strategy is not to describe a totality, but rather to describe how a social group finds bonds in different spaces. For this purpose, Marcus proposes the figure of the “follower”; to follow the people and to follow the metaphor. In other words, it is to follow an event or a practice beyond spatial considerations.

The social unit is the second aspect which is lost. Taken in the context of globalization, the increase in connections in cultural relationships has turned attention away from the search for totalities over to the phenomena of fragmentation. This, for example, has brought up the concept of multiple identities in which it is assumed that the subjects ascribe to diverse identity systems. In this manner, although they are fragile and extremely dynamic, it becomes possible to speak of collectives which have a sense of internal unity. The idea of the landscapes can be used in this context as a form of defining scenarios formed by social relations which are in permanent transformation and restructuring.\textsuperscript{136}

This change in perspective is illustrative of the arbitrariness of the classification systems which determine the groups of elements that define a collective: a definition of characteristics which are always the result of a political discourse external to the subjects.

Taking into consideration the loss of the social and spatial units, we can thereby affirm that what enters in a crisis is the search for highly structured objects of study. Like was the case in Mayhew’s London or for the researchers of the School of Chicago, the study of the mosaics which make up the life in the city is still valid as a project. Nevertheless, their observation strategies have lost effectiveness in order to enclose the complexity with which the city must currently be observed.

In this current research project it is impossible to make reference to that which is ethnically Mapuche in Santiago as belonging to a specific barrio of the city or to a homogeneous social segment. In consequence, it is necessary that our fieldwork strategy turn away from “spatial sites” in order to concentrate on “political locations.”\textsuperscript{137} In other words, we are referring to the description of concrete practices that are inserted in a

\textsuperscript{134} Imilan (2002).
\textsuperscript{135} Marcus (1995).
\textsuperscript{136} Appadurai (2001).
\textsuperscript{137} Gupta/Ferguson (1997).
network of relationships and which redefine collective action. The spaces in which ethnic identity takes on structure and adopts a concrete form are diverse. In general, they are spaces of communication with other collectives in which identities are set in motion and elements of difference arise. In particular, the case of the Mapuches in Santiago underlines the ineffectiveness of searching for observation units with a clear, timeless internal organization.
CHAPTER 2

Contemporary Mapuche Society.
From the Reservation to a National Project

1. Introduction

The current chapter has two objectives. The first aim is to present the processes which Mapuche society underwent that have given form to contemporary Mapuche society. These processes began in 1870 with the military defeat and subsequent occupation by the Chilean government of the territory known as Araucanía. The chapter goes on to develop the elements required to understand the 20th Century formation of a new type of “post-reductional” society. This new post-reductional society is characterized by the loss of territorial autonomy and the profound transformation of the social, political and economical structures of Mapuche society. Among the consequences which are relevant for this paper, the post-reductional society will be seriously affected by the impoverishment of its population as well as the immigration of large numbers of Mapuches to urban centers.

The second aim of this chapter is to describe the formation of Mapuche political expressions during the 20th Century. In this manner, it shall be possible to understand how Mapuche society has thought of itself in relation to Chilean society and, more recently, vis-à-vis urbanite Chileans. It must be said, however, that this chapter does not attempt to provide a detailed exploration of the political discourses of the Mapuches. Instead, I trace how the urban Mapuches began to occupy a space in the imaginary of contemporary Mapuche society.
2. The War and the Military Defeat of the Mapuches

2.1. The 1868-1869 Military Campaign

Under the command of General José Manuel Pinto, in November 1868 the Ejército de la Alta Frontera (Army of the High Frontier) crossed the border of Malleco in order to enter into the Araucanía—ancestral territory of the Mapuches. Leading a large military contingent, General Pinto concentrated his forces on persecuting the centers of Mapuche rebellion in order to consolidate the occupation of the Araucanía and ensure the refoundation of the settlements. Although there had been several confrontations between Chileans and Mapuches in the border region in the years leading up to the invasion, the incursion of Chilean troops responded to a calculated strategy of persecution and elimination of Mapuche resistance. The so-called “Pacification of the Araucanía” initiated a decisive new phase in the relations between Mapuches and the Chilean government.

On November 17, a military column consisting of 300 men entered into combat in Purén with a group of Mapuches armed with spears. Following a few hours of armed confrontation, Quilapán and his men retreated into the forest leaving behind six dead konas (warriors) and four others who had been captured by the Chilean Army. Two days later, a further armed confrontation between Chileans and Mapuches in Curaco resulted in the death of 48 Mapuches and 18 Chilean soldiers. The difference in military strength, however, proved insurmountable to the Mapuches. Military units comprised of 150 to 400 men rapidly entered into the forests of the Araucanía where they then divided into smaller columns and spread out in different directions. The following days saw increased violence and the towns of Choque, Peleco, Chanco and Collipulli were transformed into scenes of combat. Armed confrontations returned to the region in the first days of 1869. 36 konas died as a result. No Chilean casualties were reported. Chilean troops continued to pour into the Araucanía over the course of the next few weeks. Familiar with the brutality of the Chilean Army, entire families made up of children, women and old people abandoned their homes and the majority of their livestock in search of refuge in the mountains. By the end of April 1869 there had already been 13 armed confrontations between Mapuches and the Chilean Army resulting in 211 Mapuche deaths, 202 wounded and 100 prisoners or captives. For its part, as reported by each military leader to their respective superiors, the Army officially recognized just 35 casualties. Further, the reports went on to

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138 Quilapán lonko is the main leader of the resistance against the Chilean army. The arribano lonko manages to unite various groups in the area of the mountain range, also known as moluches. Other groups known as the abajinos Mapuches, who inhabit the eastern slopes of the Cordillera de Nahuelbuta, negotiate with the Chilean Government. The army, to carry out the campaign of occupation, is divided in two: the Armies of the Lower Border and of the Higher border. The latter entered the Araucanía to persecute moluches groups in the first phase of the war.

mention that, due to the abundance of food in the new occupied territories, the Army did not face any logistic difficulties. The 11,277 animals—formerly in possession of the Mapuches and now the ransacked pillage of the army—facilitated the officers’ task of motivating their subordinates. The Army advanced, massacring the Mapuche resistance, capturing prisoners, herding off the livestock and burning down the *rukas* (traditional huts) and *sementeras* (cultivable lands). In other words, the military mission was not only to punish the Mapuches but to loot and rob them of their territory, too.

The arrival of winter in 1869 found a Mapuche population which had been displaced. Further, a large part of their subsistence base laid in waste or had been robbed by the Army as part of their “scorched earth” campaign. As the liberal press reported at the time, the military confrontation had reached the level of a “war of extermination.”

In the following months, Cornelio Saavedra, known as the ideologue of the Pacification of the Araucanía, attempted to force the capitulation of Mapuche resistance by way of the *parlamentos*. In the towns of Toltén and Purén, Saavedra endeavoured to divide the diverse groups and thus isolate the rebellion of Quilapán. Several *lonkos*, especially from the *abajinos*, negotiated a peace treaty with the Chileans. Nevertheless, the *moluches* maintained their hostility toward the occupying forces and all attempts to divide and conquer failed. Thereafter, the military campaigns resumed with extreme violence.

Between 1870 and 1871 the Chilean Army formally declared war against the Mapuches in resistance. Nevertheless, during these two years the insurrection managed to “stabilize the war.” The occupation of Mapuche territory continued as before. Chilean military columns were continuously confronted with guerrilla-like attacks and the Mapuche warriors managed to halt the advanced of a confused army which was unfamiliar with the Malleco terrain. For its part, the perception was growing in the central government in Santiago that the high costs of war did not correspond with the actual military achievements. With the attention of both the government and the army focused on the northern border and the military conflict with Peru and Bolivia in the so-called War of the Pacific, between 1871 and 1880 the military actions in the Araucanía were mostly limited to brief skirmishes.

In 1859, ten years after the invasion by the Chilean Army, groups of Mapuches organized a brief and limited uprising on the border region. Liberal rebels defeated in the 1851 revolution and who had taken refuge in Araucanía supposedly instigated this act of rebellion. This led many Chilean politicians to conclude that a definitive occupation of

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140 The newspaper *El Meteoro de Los Angeles* on December 19, 1968, wrote on the military campaign: "After the horrors, the murders and armed robberies that have been committed against the Indians, still decreed against them is a war of extermination." Bengoa (2000), p. 224.
141 In 1851, the dispute between liberals and conservatives led to the uprising of military forces of liberals settled in Concepcion, near the river Bio-Bio. The rebels established alliances with some *lonkos*, who, after the defeat of the liberals, offered them refuge in the Araucanía. For nearly four years, the Chilean army sought to capture the rebels without much success. The government holds this group responsible for
the Araucanía would be necessary. Subsequently, in 1861 the Chilean government approved a plan presented by Coronel Cornelio Saavedra for this purpose. Saavedra’s principal objectives were to advance the frontier from the Bio-Bio River in the north to the Malleco River in the south and to immediately promote the subdivision and sale of the new lands for future colonization. Yet Saavedra knew that the best way to occupy the territory would be to carry out negotiations with the *caciques* and thus avoid as much military confrontation as possible. With this in mind, Saavedra began to negotiate with several *lonkos*. In the end, it was primarily the *abajinos* who would take advantage of these negotiations to declare their loyalty to the Chilean government. In exchange, the government promised peace and salaries to the loyal *lonkos*. The *moluches*, on the other hand, largely rejected any type of presence of the Chilean state within their territory.

The small town of Angol was founded at the end of 1862 in this first advance toward the Malleco River. The construction of the settlement as a frontier outpost received permission following a series of celebrations and gift offerings which Saavedra organized for local *caciques*. Saavedra, visibly enthusiastic as to how apparently simple it had been to advance the military line and to found the town of Angol, informed the President of the Republic on this first and decisive step in the following terms: “Mr. President, Angol has been occupied without putting up any resistance. I can assure Your Excellency that, with the exception of a few small obstacles of little importance, the occupation of Arauco shall not cost us much more than a lot of liquor and a lot of music. His Honour, S.-C.S.”

The foundation of Angol permitted the Chilean Army to establish a frontier as far south as the Malleco River. The newly-founded settlement played a fundamental role in the amplification of the Army’s theater of operations as well as the almost immediate incorporation of the new territory for the purpose of colonization. By 1871 Angol already had a population of 4,500 inhabitants and had quickly been transformed into an important commercial and administrative center equipped with a military hospital, a post office, schools, a telegraph office, courts and churches. In addition, in the course of the 1870s the Chilean state built a railway line which connected Angol with the center of the country, thus reducing the distance between the capital and the frontier to just a single day of travel. Further, bridges and roads were built and the telegraph line was expanded hand in hand being the instigators of the 1859 liberal uprising. Since then the media and politicians have disseminated an image of Araucanía as a territory occupied by revolutionary agents, dangerous to the Republic. The city of Angol (current capital of the province of Malleco) was founded in 1553 by order of Pedro de Valdivia. The city was destroyed by Mapuche uprisings 7 times until the refounding in 1862 by Saavedra. In this case the settlement was located in an area deemed as secure, considering the new military strategies adopted by the Mapuches. A military expedition departed from Angol in 1881 to finally occupy the Araucanía.

The expression “... much more than a lot of liquor and a lot of music” (*mucho mosto y poca pólvora*) was used in classic Chilean historiography in order to describe the occupation process of the Araucanía. It responds to the idea that Mapuche exchanged the land for alcohol which presents the occupation of the Araucanía as a negotiation between a set of parties rather than a bloody war.
with the railway line in order to connect the small settlements and military bases situated along the Malleco Route to the center of the country. Such advances proved decisive for the colonization of the territory as they made it possible to survey the land and divide it up in order to be sold to the new colonizers.

At the same time, similar operations are carried out in the region of the Lower Frontier, albeit with less violence. 170 kilometers of road connecting Purén, Lebu and Cañete were constructed in 1868 alone. In this manner, during the decade of the 1870s the town of Cañete was transformed into an important commercial center for Mapuches and winkas alike. In fact, an estimated 12,000 animals were sold in the city plaza in 1868, the majority of which belonged to Mapuches.144

The arrival of the Army was accompanied by teams of engineers, merchants and public functionaries; the so-called Pacification of the Araucanía proved to be a decisive action on the part of the Chilean state; a great work of growth and progress which put the development capacities of the young Chilean Republic to the test. It was within this spiral of war, expansion and colonization that the Chilean population showed its support for the occupation of the Araucanía. In these circumstances, the state saw itself obliged to not only demonstrate that it was capable of overcoming the barbarity which the Mapuches represented to Chilean society, but also that it could successfully implement and execute a modernizing project. In effect, all modernization processes are revolutionary gestures in which the creation of a new social order is inevitably associated with the destruction of an old one. In modern 19th Century ideology, overcoming tradition and replacing it with modernity, the defeat of barbarity and the triumph of civilization, all contain the same tragic character. In this case, the entire Mapuche society was seen as the obstacle which was to be overcome; its defeat and dominion were seen as the price that had to be paid for this process; the coexistence between Mapuche tradition and modernity in Chile was understood to be an impossibility.145

During the 1870s, at the same time in which military actions in the Araucanía had practically ceased, the Chilean state began to infiltrate into Mapuche territory by way of settlements and institutions, placing permanent contacts and interchanges with the population centers and their respective commercial dynamics at the disposal of the autochthonous population. As a result, more and more Mapuches began to arrive to the central plazas of the newly founded settlements in order to exchange agricultural products, woven goods, silver and livestock which they herded on both sides of the Andes. This increased contact, however, also sowed the seeds of greater mistrust and hatred amongst the new neighbors. The swindle of unscrupulous merchants proved to be the rule rather than the exception, and the usurpation of lands through fraud or force left the Mapuches

145 The existence of a world of barbarians and another of the civilized was a fundamental distinction of Western elites during the 19th Century. Especially during the second half of the century, this notion supported adventures of colonization and conquest by the European empires.
defenseless in the face of authorities who didn’t even recognize that the first inhabitants possessed rights. These practices, already on record since the middle of the 19th Century, became increasingly more violent and arbitrary in the 1870s, with the majority of colonists acting in an aggressive manner, permanently robbing and threatening entire Mapuche families. At the same time, groups of Mapuches organized so-called malones146 against the settlers, robbing the animals from the colonists and burning their belongings. For its part, the Army carried out summary executions of any Mapuche suspected of having participated in actions against colonists.

All of these circumstances came together to generate an environment of animosity. In fact, many Mapuches who up until that time had remained pacified and had come to terms with the occupation began to feel the contempt and abuse of the winkas. Because the greed of the winka seemed to have no limits, the majority of the Mapuches came to the conclusion that living together would not be beneficial to them or their families and that peaceful coexistence would thus be impossible. It is precisely this conviction which prompted a new general uprising, the last in the history of the Mapuches and one in which the majority of lonkos participated. In the end, however, it would prove to be the culmination of their final defeat.

2.2. The 1881 Campaign

In 1879 Chile mobilized its most experienced troops to the north in order to fight in the War of the Pacific. As a result, the military outposts and cities were left poorly protected, a situation which was taken advantage of by groups of Mapuches who organized a constant series of malones. The atmosphere of violence intensified by the mid-1880s. At the beginning of 1881, the new military detachments who had successfully concluded their military actions in the War of the Pacific now arrived to the Araucanía. Their mission was to expand the border from the Malleco River further south to the Cautín River. The Mapuches saw this military advance as a direct attack against their autonomy. They mistakenly believed that, due to its time spent in the battles of the War of the Pacific, the Chilean Army would be battle-weary. Subsequently, the lonkos called for a general uprising. Guevara will later describe the nature of this uprising as such:

“From the Andes to Nahuebuta, from Traiguén to Toltén, the caciques from the largest reservations prepared their spears for the outbreak of hostilities. Fortunately, there wasn’t a single caudillo from the temples of Marilúan, Mangnil or Quilapán who was willing to lead the movement; it was a unanimous decision but without unity of leadership (…). In what would be the last of their heroic uprisings, the araucanos would thus sustain

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146 Malones were military actions in which animal were stolen and prisoners taken. Malones were usual from both sides during the “War of Arauco”, the confrontation between Mapuches and Spaniards in the course of 300 years.
their desperate struggle of skirmishes and incessant hostilities by acting in dispersed bands of quickly moving warriors.”

A large number of caciques participated in the 1881 uprising, including some of the abajinos who had kept quite during the first years of the advance of the Chilean Army into their territory. Armed with spears and one or another musket, the groups of Mapuches attacked military bases and supply lines. They carried out surprise attacks only to quickly retreat. The military contingents were large and provided clear evidence as to the massive and bloody nature of the combats.

Over the course of the centuries, the Mapuches had maintained a fierce defense of their territories. From the military confrontations with the Incan Empire, the Spanish Conquistadors or the Chilean Army, the Mapuches demonstrated an incredible capacity at learning new military techniques and adopting new technologies and strategies in accordance with the conditions of their enemies. Nevertheless, the last uprising imposed unsurmountable structural conditions on the Mapuche warriors. Moreover, this time around, the theater of war was radically different than the previous ones for two motives. On the one hand, the troops sent in 1881 were the same ones that proved victorious in the War of the Pacific. Unlike the occupying forces of 1869, the Mapuches were now confronted with a modern and professional army which had changed its strategy to confront more refined actions. On the other hand, unlike what happened at the end of the 1860s, the Mapuches now faced an occupation force and not one of a punitive nature. The occupation was facilitated by the foundation of cities and the establishment of new military bases supported by a communication network based on a series of roads and telegraph lines. The last massive Mapuche uprising took place in a territory which had already been occupied by the Chilean Army. Subsequently, because the occupying forces were now located throughout the Araucanía territory, there were no longer any borders to defend. Although in all likelihood many lonkos were conscious of practically being condemned to failure, the uprising was a desperate attempt to uphold Mapuche autonomy.

On the other side of the Andes, in the Puelmapu, the Argentinian Army was actively engaged in a campaign to forcibly displace the Mapuches away from their territory to the mountains. Since the pampas were colonized back in the 17th Century, the Mapuches had established alliances with the inhabitants on both side of the Andean mountain range, thus facilitating the commercial exchange and military support between

148 Latcham (1915).
149 Between 1877 and 1884 the Argentinian Army carried out the so-called "Conquest of the Desert," a series of military campaigns aimed at the extermination of the Mapuche population and occupation of the pampas and Patagonia by the Argentinian state. The ultimate goal was the sale of these lands to big businessmen for livestock production.
the Gulumapu and the Puelmapu. The practically simultaneous advance of the Chilean and Argentinean armies prevented the Mapuches from communicating with each other. Pinned in on both sides of the cordillera, the Mapuches fate was sealed as two isolated peoples.

At the end of 1881, caciques organized a coordinated effort to destroy the town of Temuco. The result, however, proved disastrous for the Mapuche warriors. Thus, in November 1881, at the feet of the Ñielol Hill, more than 300 years of Mapuche military resistance finally came to an end.

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*Fig.4. Map of Wallmapu*, Mapuche territory at moment of the last *Parlamentos*, 19th century.

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150 Gulumapu is the Mapuche territory which occupies the western slope of the Andes and westward to the Pacific shore, now Chilean territory. The Puelmapu corresponds to the eastern slope of the Cordillera, currently Argentina. Both territories make up Wallmapu: “the Mapuche country.”

* From Marimán, Pablo (2002)
3. **The Occupation of the Araucanía**

3.1. **The end of traditional society**

Upon war’s end, a process of expropriation and mass expulsion of the population from their territories began so that the lands could be bought and sold to the colonists. For its part, the Chilean government applied a reductional or reservation regime on the Mapuche population. In other words, limited extensions of land were given to individual families for their settlement.

Over the course of the first decades of occupation, Mapuche society found itself in a new context of life on the reservation, witnesses to the obligatory modification of the economic structures, subjected to a sentiment of defeat and humiliation and confronted with the necessity to fight with a Chilean mestizo society submerged in violence following the end of the war. In the years after the war, the Mapuches experienced a social catastrophe whose drama would not end with military defeat. Rather, it continued with the reservations and formed the basis of the profound social crisis in which the Araucanía fell into by the end of the 19th Century.

The Chilean government sought to justify its occupation of the Araucanía by claiming the “pacification” of a territory inhabited by savage Indians and governed by a band of Chilean delinquents who had found refuge amongst the Mapuches. Nevertheless, the most urgent reasons for the military action and developmentalist approach which took hold in the territory could be found in the necessity to expand agricultural production as a response to the increasing export demand from the markets of the Pacific Basin region.  

In effect, the governing Chilean elite saw the colonization of the Araucanía as the possibility to promote capitalist development by supporting the formation of new large landowners and stimulating colonization with immigrants of European origin.  

The necessity to consolidate the Chilean nation-state served as the political backdrop for this campaign of colonization favored by large landowners and merchants. Known as the War of the Pacific, between 1879 and 1881 the Chilean government successfully carried out its military campaign against Peru and Bolivia. In this nation-forming military adventure, the Chilean government took possession of millions of hectares of terrain in the north, occupying and converting the regions of Antofagasta (Bolivia) and Tarapacá (Peru) into Chilean territory. Thereafter, dominated by a great enthusiasm for modernization, the proponents of expansionism were convinced of the

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151 In the middle of the 19th Century, agricultural production in Chile was based on the export of cereals to emerging markets in California and Australia.

152 The colonization of Araucanía, specifically by a foreign population, was aimed at supporting the modernization process. German, Swiss, and Italian peasants had to modernize agricultural production and contribute to the development of a “modern culture.” However, most immigrants were not peasants. After a couple years, most of them migrated to cities to concentrate on commercial and industrial activities.
necessity to definitively integrate the south into national territory, which until that time remained interrupted by the Araucanía of the Mapuches. This expansionist spirit saw the Mapuches as an obstacle to the development of a modern society. It was within this scenario that the Chilean state began with its attempt to impose its vision of civilization on the Mapuches.

Just how barbaric was Mapuche territory? Just how true was the supposed existence of a “war of all against all” in the territory of the Araucanía and which, in consequence, urgently required the presence of the state to ensure its pacification? All wars require the construction of an enemy as the basis of their justification and the Araucanía was no exception. In the eyes of the Chilean elite, the image of the Mapuches would change over the course of the 19th Century. During its war for independence (1818), the Mapuches represented the desire for liberty as well as the fierceness to defend it; a dignified spirit for the young republic to follow.

In the first decades of the republic, two currents began to take hold in public opinion. On the one hand, influenced by the ideas of the Enlightenment, intellectuals and liberal politicians recognized the Mapuche’s dignity as a people. Nevertheless, it was seen as a necessity to provide the Mapuches with the Western values that would allow them to form part of the modernizing project of the new republic. A second strain of public opinion saw in the Mapuches the most pure expression of the true savagery of the barbarians, “Without God, king or law.” In 1850 an increasing number of energetic voices could be heard in both the press and the congress which clamored for an armed intervention of the Araucanía; the representation of barbarity began to impose itself over the more liberal and enlightened version.

The presence of a barbaric population in a territory which offered limitless resources for development made the Araucanía seem to be a savage and dangerous space. It was this vision which took over public opinion to such an extent that any military action was both politically and morally justifiable. Although in effect there were certain places such as the foothill region along the border in which the isolation of the farms and the difficulties for communication facilitated banditry, this type of criminality did not reach the proportion of a “war of all against all” as was insinuated in the public discourse. Moreover, this banditry was not related to groups of Mapuches. Nevertheless, banditry did in fact legitimize the petitions of the colonists situated on the border for more police or military presence to protect them and support them in the development of their agricultural exploitations.153 As such, a certain “ideology of occupation” began to permeate the entire public discourse, thus preparing the terrain for the intervention of the Chilean Army in the Araucanía. In this way, by the early 1860s, the idea had been

consolidated within the Chilean public opinion that the Mapuches were “bad Indians inhabiting good lands.”\textsuperscript{154}

Even if it is difficult to entirely reconstruct the state of affairs in the Araucanía prior to the military occupation, the existence of diverse accounts by adventurers and functionaries who travelled throughout Mapuche territory known as Wallmapu, as well as the documentation made by missionaries and researchers of the oral histories of the lonkos—which prodigious minds kept the memories alive of both their personal and collective histories—permit us to get a general impression as to the social atmosphere of the Araucanía at the time. One of these stories which awakens particular interest is the 1749 account of José Perfecto de Salas, a functionary of the colony who, in spite of the warnings from his fellow colleagues as to the danger of his enterprise, decided to travel through Mapuche territory by land from Concepción to Valdivia.\textsuperscript{155}

During his travels, Perfecto de Salas carefully observed the forms in which the Mapuches whom he came across lived and organized themselves. De Salas was particularly impressed by the high level of political organization based on the heads of families, who applied mechanisms of conflict resolution of wide social acceptance. In addition, Salas observed that the Mapuches enjoyed a state of well-being based on family agriculture and cattle raising which in no way demonstrated the existence of material shortages. The colonial functionary described a society that possessed institutions for the maintenance of social peace and which at the same time quite efficiently administered the surroundings for the purpose of satisfying its reproduction needs.

The society which Perfecto de Salas observed in his travels was the organization of the Wallmapu prior to the war of occupation. The political structure was based on Wichan mapu, territorial agrupations of the lonko and their families which permitted the governability of extensive territories. This was a political form of organization which was more horizontal than it was vertical, and which combined religious institutions, conflict resolutions, interethnic relations and commerce, among others. The negotiating instance of the Wichan mapu took place in the so-called xawiín (or coyán, later known as parlaments): meetings of lonkos to deliberate on common problems. A series of assistants and messengers accompanied the lonkos to these meetings. Several hundred people would sometimes come together at the xawiín, which would be held over days or weeks. In spite of the regularity and institutionalization of the xawiín, these took on the character of a specific event as an instance of discussion, conflict resolution and alliance-building. Each lonko was responsible for fulfilling the decisions adopted at these meetings to which he subscribed. Among other things, this meant that the xawiín never became permanent burocratic structures nor did they possess the logic of a state. In fact, in reference to the political organization of the Wallmapu, Marimán postulated, “We can say that politically,

\textsuperscript{154} Casanueva (2002), p. 310.  
\textsuperscript{155} León (2002).
socially and culturally their way of being is more related to the principles of equality, reciprocity, redistribution and horizontalism. This impeded practices which were more related to the verticality of power and its hierarchization as well as social stratification and the subsequent accumulation of wealth in a few hands.\textsuperscript{156}

In this manner, he concluded that more than the concentration of political power, the \textit{ Wichan mapus} were an extended form of political power which made it possible to group the different \textit{lonkos} so that they could act as one body yet without a head which would stand out.\textsuperscript{157}

In economic terms, the Mapuches managed to efficiently exploit the conditions of their territory. Their agricultural production was diversified; potatoes, pumpkin, beans, corn, chili, \textit{quinua} and wheat complemented the recollection of fruits, algas, mushrooms and shellfish as well as the hunting of birds and small mammals whose skin, feathers and tendons were used to fabricate utensils. At the same time, cattle farming also played an important role. The massive presence of bovine, horses and sheep transformed this livestock into a form of payment for economic exchanges. The large mass of cattle could be found in the grasslands of the \textit{Puelmapu}, where they flourished in the wild without owners. In this manner, the men organized expeditions to capture the livestock and bring them back to the \textit{Gulumapu}. However, these campaigns of capturing and herding of animals were not free of tensions between the diverse groups of interested parties, especially among the colonists, creole landowners and Mapuches who disputed ownership over the livestock.\textsuperscript{158}

It’s worth mentioning that, prior to the Chilean occupation, the state of Araucanía did not correspond with the idea of a society—in this case the Mapuche—which had remained “untouched” over the course of the centuries. In this sense, to imagine a traditional Mapuche society does not imply that one is speaking of an “original” society which reproduced itself in its own image without interruptions or variations up until the Chilean and Argentinean military occupations. In any case, it is true that with the arrival of the Spaniards the territorial space became open to new commercial flows, the influx of foreigners and, above all, the threat of military invasion and occupation. These contacts began to transform the culture and society of the Mapuches as much as a result of the economical possibilities which they created (it suffices to think of the emphasis on cattle

\textsuperscript{156} Marimán, Pablo (2006), p. 65.

\textsuperscript{157} During the 19\textsuperscript{th} Century this form of organization had a clearer expression in the territory of Gulumapu, more so than in the Puelmapu. \textit{Wichan mapu} are identified as \textit{Wenteche} (arribanos) and \textit{Nagche} (abajinos), each with different relationship with the Chilean state. Other \textit{Wichan mapu}, \textit{Lañkenche}, tolerated the Chilean military presence in their territory. \textit{Pewenche}, the territories in the Andes, played an important role in the administration of trade with the Puelmapu. In this sense, \textit{Wichan mapu} are structures that group various populations and establish a complex balance between regional variations of Mapuche culture and contexts of political negotiation.

\textsuperscript{158} By these disputes \textit{malones} are meant, which were a way of resolving conflicts. According to Marimán (2002), La Frontera in the Puelmapu was defined through the practice of \textit{malon} from both settlers and Mapuches. For its part, in the Gulumapu the border was fixed through \textit{parlamentos}. 

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farming which the Mapuches adopted beginning with the colonization of the *pampas* in the 17\textsuperscript{th} Century) as because of the negotiating processes established by the Spanish Crown.

In effect, the high level of integration of Mapuche society made it possible to negotiate territorial autonomy with the Spanish Crown, a practice primarily ritualized by way of the *parlamentos*. The *parlamento* was a sort of *xawüni* developed for the purpose of negotiating with foreign nations. Through them, the Spanish Crown recognized the Mapuche’s character as a people and their corresponding territorial autonomy in exchange for the recognition on the part of the Mapuches of their condition as subordinate to the Spanish Crown. These treaties permitted large periods of peace interrupted by skirmishes and confrontations protagonized by *malones* from both sides. The moments of greatest tension were articulated by the general uprisings of the Mapuches, especially against the foundation of Spanish towns and cities in their territory.\(^{159}\) Nevertheless, it could be said that the outbreaks of violence were the exception rather than the rule in a relationship which stretched out over two centuries. In other words, the negotiation with the *parlamentos* made it possible to maintain social peace through the autonomy of Mapuche territory. In this sense, peace, the treaty between two nations, represented the permanent state whereas war or the outbreak of violence between Mapuches and Spaniards was more of an exception.\(^{160}\) The political and military stability made way for the period of greatest economic development and material well-being in the history of the Mapuches.\(^{161}\)

The spaces of negotiation which were set up between the Spaniards and Mapuches did more than just define the spaces of territorial control between both actors. Indeed, Mapuche society redefined itself on the basis of these interethnic relations. The Crown’s recognition of the caciques and their alliances set off interplay of identifications between the diverse groups of Mapuches.\(^{162}\) The internal diversity within Mapuche society could be seen through the example of the *lonkos*, who maintained differentiated relationships with the Crown; some completely refused to have contact while others enjoyed great economic gain from the cattle trade or the manufacture of goods such as textiles (ponchos) with which they supplied colonial Chile. In consequence, over the course of the centuries the interethnic relations, the configuration of alliances and segregated groups, gave way to diverse configurations within Mapuche society.

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\(^{159}\) Mapuche history records a total of 11 general uprisings against Spaniards and Chileans (between 1542 and 1871).

\(^{160}\) Currently the investigation of the *parlamentos* has gained great attention from historians. *Parlamentos* were an expression of the negotiating capacity of the Mapuche society. The *parlamento* was an instance of negotiation between nations, so it has the character of an international treaty. The ratification of these treaties on numerous occasions was a recognition of the Mapuches as a nation. In consequence, the occupation of Araucanía would be an aggression by a foreign nation to the Mapuche Nation. Thus, the Mapuche nation has an inalienable right - as a nation with international recognition before the Chilean state - to the recovery of their historical territory. See Contreras Painemal (2002).

\(^{161}\) Lincoqueo (2003).

\(^{162}\) Boccara (2002).
It is highly probable that the lines of descent who understood themselves to be part of a certain *Wichan mapu* (or *Fütalmapu*) were redefined in accordance to the dialogs with the Spanish Crown. The *parlamentos* were the scene of mechanisms of recognition and negation which restructured the political relations of both Mapuche society as well as its ethnic configuration. In other words, more than a reference to more or less stable cultural sub-units, these territorial denominations were a system of alliances and territorial administration resulting from a dialog with the “Other.”

In fact, due to the universe of contacts which it brought with it, the Spanish presence proved fundamental to the construction of the differences and similarities in the interior of the totality of groups recognized as Mapuches. In this sense, the denominations of *Tehuelches*, *Pewenches* or *Moluches* to refer to certain social units (*Wichan mapu*) within the Mapuche territory is very closely related to political and economic contexts arising from intercultural contact. All negotiations require actors, and in each negotiation between Mapuches and the Spanish Crown or the Chilean state the groups of Mapuches adopted different positions which generated new alliances amongst themselves, thus forming political units that had an impact in the formation of sense of belonging and identity. Mapuche society never had a formal state. As a result, the construction of actors of negotiation was transformed into a mechanism by which to organize internal diversity.\(^\text{163}\)

3.2. Reservations and abuses

In the decades following the defeat of the Mapuches and the subsequent military occupation of their territory, crisis, collapse and social chaos characterized the Araucanía. The destruction of Mapuche society’s sources of material reproduction forced thousands of people into a state of precariousness. Simultaneously, the development of infectious diseases, hunger and all types of sicknesses continued to take lives long after the war’s end.

In addition, banditry and violence as a mechanism for conflict resolution engulfed the Araucanía. The new state institutions could not control the new emerging society. León described the years following the end of the war as such:

“(…) the weakness of the Chilean state, the collapse of the *cacique* leadership and the eruption of private interests all combined to convert the Araucanía into a territory

\(^{163}\) G. Boccara, supported by historical research, highlights the role played by the *parlamentos* in the building of socio-political units within the Mapuche society during colonization. The processes of formation of partnerships, inclusion and exclusion between caciques during this period, have been fundamental in the construction of a new ethno-political landscape. Thus, the contact and negotiation with an "Other" - in this case the colonial agent later seen as the Chilean state - would have played a fundamental role in a process of *ethno-genesis*. This notion emphasizes the character of "construction" of an ethnic group; in this case, Mapuche territorial units within the colony would have been the product of space of negotiation. Boccara (2002).
shaken by a profound social crisis which became a true ethnic war on more than one occasion."  

In effect, a territory which the state doesn’t have the capacity to control and the arrival of thousands of greedy colonists transformed the Araucanía into Chile’s version of the Wild West. It is within this context that the process of forced expulsion to the reservation, expropriation and the selling off of Mapuche lands began; a context which left the Mapuches in a complete state of indefensiveness in the face of violence and abuse.  

90% of Mapuche territory was expropriated. Five million hectares were auctioned off between the Malleco River and Valdivia. The Mapuches were forced to reside in reservations not even totalling 500,000 hectares. The massive resettlement took place at the beginning of the 20th Century, when the almost 100,000 Mapuches recorded in the 1907 census —survivors of the first decades of the military occupation of their territory—were subjected to a process of territorial reductionism comprised of three thousand plots of land handed over by way of Títulos de Merced (land deeds) to heads of families. As a result, Mapuche society became atomized, with each head of family put on equal terms with the other, thus putting an end to the times of large alliances formed for the purpose of negotiation or to defend the communities from the Spanish or Chileans in the form of the Wichan Mapu. In this manner, Mapuche society entered into a process of restructuration in which new communities and new leaderships were formed. As a consequence, a new social form emerged—the so-called post-reductional society.  

The process of removal proved to be slow and bureaucratic. For instance, a family could be forced to wait several years before the arrival of the so-called comisión radicadora (Resettlement Commission). During this time, colonists would settle on Mapuche land thereby slowly but surely widening the occupation of indigenous lands until the government officials arrived to demarcate the territory. The very conception of forcing the Mapuches onto the reservations was unjust and the Títulos de Merced were handed over for lands whose size and low agricultural quality barely permitted even the most minimum level of survival. Additionally, further irregularities were committed in the

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165 The first modern census was conducted in 1907 and supervised by the Director of Liceo de Temuco Don Tomas Guevara. This census registered 101,000 Mapuches, with an estimated 10,000 unreported.
166 The atomization of Mapuche society reaches a goal of political "demobilization." The major alliances that emerged during wartime were no longer possible.
167 According to Saavedra, the reductional process meant for the territory of Araucanía and the Mapuche population: A) The military defeat and the subsequent military occupation and control by the Chilean and Argentinian armies. B) The political appropriation of the territory occupied by the Mapuche, and the auctioning of their land to landowners and Chilean foreign settlers. C) The formation of a network of fortresses and towns and private estates. D) In the exercise of political power of the state, such as sovereignty over the defeated Mapuche population, the Mapuche are forced to transform from members of ethnic autonomous corporations to citizens of the Chilean and Argentinian States, under a foreign law in the definition of which they had never participated. E) The installation of Mapuche families on bounded land granted as a “mercy” (residence in reductions). F) The transfer of land to individuals. Saavedra (2002), p.59.
application of the resettlement process due to the arbitrariness of the engineers who formed part of the Resettlement Commission. This is how Bengoa explained a process of usurpation carried out by the Commission in 1889 when surveying the right bank of the Choll Choll River:

“All of the lands were occupied by the cattle and crops of the Mapuche families. They measured 23,901 hectares of which 5,159 hectares were recognized as belonging to the Mapuches and the remaining 18,742 hectares were sold off in a public auction. Three-fourths of the territory were usurped. The surprise became even greater if one takes into account that the choncholinos had always aligned themselves with the Chilean government.”

Between 1884 and 1930 approximately 77,000 Mapuches received a total of 3,038 Títulos de Merced. Around 470,000 hectares were legalized as Mapuche territory. Once divided, each member of the reservation was handed over very small plots of land. In the best of cases, such as in the Province of Valdivia and Osorno, the average lot measured 9 hectares for each resettled Mapuche. In the worst of cases, such as in the Province of Arauco, the average barely totalled 3.7 hectares. The average for all land deeds was of 6.3 hectares per title owner. Additionally, in spite of the massive character of the resettlement process, it is estimated that approximately one-third—some 40,000 Mapuches—did not receive any land titles whatsoever.

The balance of the settlement proved catastrophic for the Mapuches. It would not only be the lands handed over by the “grace” of the Chilean government which would condemn them to a life in poverty; the reservations would subject them to a continuous pressure of disintegration. León put it in these terms:

“The Mapuches, a population which does not even reach 100,000 inhabitants, began to act as strangers in their own lands. The balance of the Chilean occupation was very negative for them. The open country which once provided shelter for their rucas (huts), chacras (areas of cultivation), corrales (pens), farming and shepherding had been replaced by a landscaped scarred by barbed wire, roads and fences which subdivided the land into infinity; the forest, the jungle and the rivers all stopped being collective property only to be converted into private bastions of the winkas who, whether individually or in small colonies, took possession of the fertile lands. Situated between two lines of fire—that of the army and that of the mestizo bandits—the Mapuches had to bear the worst part of the wave of violence which marked the transition.”

169 J. Bengoa states that 475,423 ha were the surface granted by a Título de Merced, as study of Labbé, 1956 in Bengoa (2000). On the other hand Marimán states 526.285 ha, as study of Coronado, 1973 in Marimán, Pablo (2006), p. 121.
171 León (2005), p. 45.
In effect, the possession of a *Título de Merced* often times did not prevent the usurpation of the entitled lands. This process was extended even further through private litigations, in this case between colonists and Mapuches. In fact, one of the main problems that the Protector of Indigenous Peoples (a legal figure created during the settlement process to protect the rights of reservation of the indigenous peoples) had to confront was the permanent pressure exercised by the colonists—both poor Chileans and large landowners alike—for the leasing of Mapuche land in spite of the fact that it was prohibited. For example, Bengoa (2000) points out that by the beginning of the 20\(^{th}\) Century a real industry of law offices and shysters (there were 27 alone in Temuco) existed who dedicated themselves to questioning the demarcations of the reservations and legalizing diverse forms of usurpation. The conflicts arising from the dispute over private property in the first decades of the 20\(^{th}\) Century often culminated in violence. Between 1910 and 1930 at least 32 cases can be identified in which the national press reported on the violent expulsion of entire families from the lands legally granted to them by *Títulos de Merced*. The majority of cases began with harassment of the residents and ended with the torture or murder of Mapuches; only in exceptional cases did the legal investigations wind up identifying and punishing those responsible.

The Mapuches were excluded from the system of credit due to the community-based character of land tenancy. Whereas the government supported foreign colonists, Chilean peasants and large landowners through a system of credits for the development of agricultural exploitation, the Mapuches were left with no other option than to seek small loans from often times unscrupulous merchants so that they could continue with their agricultural activities. The usurious interest rates of these credits proved to be a condemnation of the already impoverished Mapuches. A report from a 1927 investigative committee stated:

“Numerous commissions of indigenous peoples addressed themselves to the mayor in order to explain to them the exploitation of which they are victim on the part of certain merchants of Galvarino who, because they at one time loaned them a sack of wheat, charge them heavy interests over a period of years which wind up being the double or triple of the amount which was initially loaned to them and which they never finish paying. The indigenous people have had seen themselves in the misfortune of having to urgently resort at one time or another to a loan shark like those we have mentioned. As a result, he becomes tied to him by solid knots for the rest of his life. Because he will still never finish paying even if he religiously complies with his payment obligations year after year.”\(^{172}\)

The debts arising from usurious and shady contracts for the rental of land whose expressed prohibition found no application in reality often times led to the usurpation of the land. The only protection the Mapuches had was to demand that the courts act in the

\(^{172}\) *Diario Austral* 20/10/27 in Foerster/Montecinos (1988), p. 93.
face of such arbitrary abuses. In 1911 the Protector of Indigenous Peoples of Malleco wrote to the General Inspector of Lands and Colonization:

“(…) subjected to the most horrendous misery. In general, they only possess a small extension of land of that which they have already been force to resettle upon; they have been usurped, sold or leased to third parties. The laws of prohibition which govern indigenous property is dead letter for the citizens and even for certain functionaries and authorities. (…) It is embarrassing to see the poor Indians, despondent, sad and reduced to the most abject misery without any public authority showing any concern as to the need to improve their situation.”

In this context, the communities began to organize themselves in order to present claims for the recuperation of their lands. In 1929, for instance, 1,219 claims were presented for the recuperation of communal lands. This number of claims implies that more than one-third of the reservations had been affected by these usurpious practices. As we will see in detail further on, the first post-reductional Mapuche organizations emerged as a reaction to such acts of injustice. The arbitrariness associated with the usurpation of land served as the initial motivation for the formation of a new political culture within reductional society.

Even if it specifically refers to territory, the process of reduction also represented the reduction of Mapuche society in its entirety; the reduction of its institutions, the reduction of its traditional lifestyles and the reduction of its language. Chile imposed a social, legal and political system in detriment to that of the Mapuche. The Mapuche was reduced to such an extent so that he could no longer disturb the Chilean order. As Saavedra concluded, “In strict historical terms, the process of reduction of the Mapuche population is the disintegration of Mapuche society and the destruction of the fundamental bases of its cultural autonomy.”

Both the war and the years following the war marked the beginning of the end of traditional Mapuche society. Impoverished, displaced, devastated by epidemics, the Mapuches were forced to seek out new strategies of survival, and new communities and new leaderships were formed. Many Mapuches had to abandon their loved ones; to leave behind their rukas in search of their luck in lands which others now say belonged to them. It is difficult to properly estimate the true dimensions of the disintegration, the profundness of the individual, family and collective crisis of Mapuche society toward the end of the 19th Century. Nevertheless, the Mapuches’ capacity of adaptation permitted them to survive and to integrate themselves into the new context. The reductional society which emerged at the beginning of the 20th Century made this survival possible.

Table 4: Títulos de Merced

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Province</th>
<th>Surface area of land granted to the indigenous (hectares)</th>
<th>No. of persons</th>
<th>No. of titles (constituted communities)</th>
<th>Hectares per person</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Bío Bío</td>
<td>659</td>
<td>112</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>5.9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arauco</td>
<td>7.116</td>
<td>1.912</td>
<td>66</td>
<td>3.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Malleco</td>
<td>83.741</td>
<td>11.512</td>
<td>350</td>
<td>7.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cautín</td>
<td>317.112</td>
<td>56.938</td>
<td>2.102</td>
<td>5.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Valdivia y Osorno</td>
<td>66.711</td>
<td>7.261</td>
<td>552</td>
<td>9.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Llanquihue</td>
<td>84</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>5.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>475.423</td>
<td>77.751</td>
<td>3.078</td>
<td>6.1%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

4. The Post-Reductional Society

The reductional process gave birth to a new social, economical and cultural structure: the community. From that time on, the community became the organizational reference of Mapuche society.

The post-war economic transformations were radical. During the pre-reductional era, the development of cattle-farming and its commerce on both sides of the cordillera was one of the pillars of the economy. The cattle trails which linked the Gulumapu and the Puelmapu had diversified the contacts of the Mapuches, thus making their society increasingly more dynamic. Nevertheless, these possibilities of interchange and appropriation ended abruptly with the closing of the border on the part of the Chilean and Argentinian governments and the massive robbing of livestock which occurred during the military occupation. Although it wasn’t subject to intensive cultivation but rather worked in accordance with the rotation principal, agriculture did play an important role in Mapuche society and land was by no means scarce. The newly imposed conditions and the reduction to small plots of lands transformed the Mapuches into peasant farmers in possession of almost no cattle. Under the conditions of the reservation, the Mapuche population became increasingly more impoverished.

Mapuche society became atomized, and the communities which resulted out of the process of reduction were transformed into both the social unity and the economic basis

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of society. The community was a self-sustainable economic unit with scarce external links based on the practice of subsistence agriculture.

The Mapuche economy adopted the form of exploitation of small rural farmers in which each nuclear family is a relatively autonomous productive unity.\textsuperscript{177} Depending on the location of the property, whether in the central zones, the coast or the cordillera, economic productivity was based on agriculture, fishing or recollection. Nevertheless, each family was a multi-producer which had different resources at their disposal. The division of labor was a reality within the family, where the man was considered to be the head of the family and thus the person responsible for making the principal decisions regarding production. Even if both the men and women contributed resources to the family economy, these resources were administered by the man. The woman was in charge of household duties, the maintenance of the garden and the production of elemental handicrafts which served both for internal consumption as well as to be sold on the market. Within the family, the children were an important part of the labor force, but also as proletarized manpower in other enterprises, thus permitting them to earn money outside of the family.

In consequence, the nuclear family was the basic unit of production within the community, and the inter-family contacts were mostly limited to works of mutual support and collective shepherding. This family-based nature of the Mapuche economy was registered in a 1966 study carried out by the ICIRA\textsuperscript{178} in which, of the 46 cases under study, it could be established that 28 of them (60.9\%) did not use manpower outside of the family neither occasionally nor permanently; 10 (21.1\%) families used only temporary labor outside of the family; 6 (13.1\%) took advantage of some form of collective work; only in 2 cases (4.3\%) was outside manpower used on a more permanent basis. This demonstrates that even if the Mapuches were collectively bound in legal terms, by way of the Títulos de Merced economic exploitation depended on each family individually.

Agricultural technology was very simple and, due to the high costs that this implied for small farms, machines could not replace the use of hoes and mules for plowing or the need to harvest by hand. In a detailed study carried out at the beginning of the 1950s, L. Faron\textsuperscript{179} documented the technical limitations of Mapuche agriculture. He primarily observed the erosion of the lands caused by over-cultivation, the use of seeds of low-quality and low-efficient natural fertilizers as well as the control of disease of the cattle on the basis of traditional knowledge which, although it could be successful in certain circumstances, proved insufficient in the majority of cases. These characteristics of Mapuche agriculture generated a situation which required state intervention and technical support in terms of fertilizers, machinery, improving the quality of the seeds, controlling plaques and disease, among others.

\textsuperscript{177} Saavedra (1971), pp. 86-88.
\textsuperscript{178} Saavedra (1971), pp. 81-95.
\textsuperscript{179} Faron (1969).
The Mapuches living on the reservations also formed part of the groups of workers who, together with Chilean farm workers, went from farm to farm in order to work for the large landowners during harvest time. In a way, the Mapuche economy didn’t seem to be any different than that of the Chilean sharecroppers; their crops and technologies were the same as was their necessity to become proletarized manpower for other economical exploitations. Saavedra suggests that the process of Mapuches being converting into peasants lacked an ethnic particularity in this context. Nevertheless, in terms of the differences in the modes of productions between Chileans and Mapuches, Faron indicates: “That the Mapuches and their Chilean neighbors use the same tools for similar purposes neither implies that they do it in the same manner socially nor the fact they are economically dependent of the Chileans in certain aspects.”¹⁸⁰

L. Faron referred to the existence of a specific Mapuche institution which differentiated them from Chilean peasants. Although it is true that both groups practiced the vuelta de mano, a system of relations based on the reciprocity of manpower in agricultural labors, as well as the mediaria, a system of loans of lands or raw materials for farming or shepherding paid for in production, the Mapuches practiced the mingaco in a different manner.

An old institution present in the large majority of the pre-Columbian peoples of South America, the mingaco is a type of collective work which involves a line of descendents organized by the head of family primarily for the purpose of harvesting and threshing. During the mingaco, the head of the family supplies everybody with food and drinks, thus giving the whole affair a more festive character. Around the middle of the 20th Century, the mingaco began to take on another dimension, both regarding the role of the heads of family as well as the introduction of certain machinery, especially for threshing. Nevertheless, as Fanon observed, it continued to be performed for certain agricultural activities and particularly for the construction of homes and roads. Over time, however, the role of the head of the family as an organizer of the mingaco was eventually reduced. Still, the symbolic importance of the mingaco as an institution which permitted an expression of solidarity amongst the inhabitants of a community was upheld. In this manner, people grouped by the head of family of those living on a reservation or in neighboring reservations participated in the mingacos.¹⁸¹

In addition to the changes to the economical structure, the transformation of the Mapuche’s social structure proved decisive. The traditional leaderships not only changed in form but in substance as well. The lonko as the head of a lineage was transformed into the lonko as a head of a family (authority of a reservation) and bearer of a Título de Merced under which his nuclear family and parts of his extended family resided. But

¹⁸¹ In this theme, see: Stuchlik (1976).
moreover, *lonkos, ülmenes* (rich and prestigious Mapuches) and *konas* (warriors) were socially equal in terms of their right to possess community land.

In effect, based as it was on *küpalme* (lineage), the *Lof* (extended family) was destroyed by the resettlement and the emergence of *lonkos* on the reservations. A large part of the traditions of the Mapuche culture, such as patrilineality or systems of conflict resolution, were based on the structure of the *küpalme*. The territorial reorganization of the reservations had divided and dispersed the *küpalme*, which until that time had served as a fundamental basis for the collective and individual identity of the Mapuches. Many Mapuches went bankrupt after the war due to the fact that their members found themselves obliged to seek contrary means of survival and to pledge allegiance to heads of other families who had received *Títulos de Merced*. The introduction of Chilean institutionalism by means of laws and coercive systems external to Mapuche society affected the traditional mechanisms of conflict resolution which were traditionally applied in the *Lof*.

In effect, the very concept of collective, of society, was transformed. Referring to this structural socio-political change, Caniuqueo concluded, “Collectivism gave way to the realization of an individualism which developed throughout the course of 20th Century, initiating a gradual breakdown of Mapuche territoriality into more basic units.”

Many observers of the epoch understood this process to be the end of Mapuche society and culture. Although the history of lineage which had been constructed over the course of centuries became irrevocably severed, the post-reductional generations eventually constructed new genealogies at the interior of the communities. In this sense, the reductional community became the new social space for the reproduction of Mapuche society.

Together with the relevant political and economic knowledge, the world in which the ancestral Mapuche operated with efficiency and disappeared. As Bengoa suggests, the Mapuches became “ignorant” in the face of a foreign and unexplainable world. The community was converted into a space of cultural refuge. New lineages were formed in their interior by way of the interchange of women on the part of different nuclear families (*reyñma*), and the language, customs and religious rites were practiced and reproduced, especially the *Nguillatún*. Approximately 3,000 units existed in which Mapuche society turned inwards with a survival instinct underlined with a lack of trust toward the outside

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183 In 1997 I lived in the Lafquenches communities of Tirúa South (VIII Region). The families who form the current communities have very different origins. Two groups of families could be identified: those who had historically occupied the territory and had received a *Título de Merced* during the reductional process, which allowed the creation of the current community, and those who arrived at the community after being displaced by the war. In Mapuche culture the collective history of a lineage plays a very important role in individual identities. After the war, the family history was unrecoverable for many. This situation creates an internal distinction within the community. The Mapuches attach importance to the knowledge of the history of their ancestors. The war and the reductional process destroyed the knowledge and reproduction of many such stories. Imilan (1999).
world. In this manner, as Bengoa describes it, an attempt was made to conserve part of the culture at the interior of this restricted territorial space: “Limits are established there [in the reductional community] with winka society; it is the material space of cultural resistance; the communities express what is left of the territory; they are fenced in by farms, ranches, the private property of settlers; but they are territorial spaces controlled by the Mapuches.”

The reductional regime tested the capacity of Mapuche society to adapt to the new conditions. The resulting society was one that has lost its autonomy over social control after having been forced to form part of another society (Chilean) and to adhere to its norms and regulations. Now, subject to Chilean society and subordinated to a national system, the Mapuches saw themselves reduced to the social category of “indigenous”. Saavedra argued that in this process, by being subordinated to a national culture, the Mapuche adopted the character of a subculture. The Mapuche, now reduced to being simply indigenous, was transformed into a social category imbued with elements of a national culture which was overwhelmingly Chilean. As Saavedra himself put it, “The social category of indigenous, imposed, appropriated and created alongside the Mapuche subculture which it generated, translates into the social identity of the indigenous Mapuche. And with its subjective, objective and intersubjective aspects, it is this shared identity which transform the Mapuches into an Indigenous people.”

This proposition, which focuses on the fundamental transformation of post-reductional Mapuche society, remains polemic because it supposes that the Mapuche culture, as a defined and autonomous whole of social dispositives is inclined to disappear due to the loss of its independence and its transformation into a subaltern society within the established Chilean order; an order which was imposed and never negotiated with the Mapuches.

As such, the Mapuches would have survived during the 20th Century as a society which articulates elements of diverse traditions (Western and Chilean) and which would have forged an identity of cultural resistance constrained to the space of the community as a place of reproduction of proper cultural elements. Because it is precisely here that we find one of the fundamental tensions in the understanding of ethnic urbanity, we shall return to this discussion throughout our investigation. As we shall see further along, a large part of this discussion has been focused on the study of the organizational forms of post-reductional Mapuches as instances which express this identity of resistance forged during the 20th Century.

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186 Despite the criticism that in recent years has marked the approach of Saavedra, it opens up an interesting discussion. Saavedra’s exposure raises questions about social characteristics of current Mapuche society beyond the claims of the Mapuche movement.
Where researchers do agree is on the character of cultural resistance which was forged at the interior of the communities as a distinctive element of Mapuche society. Practicing the Mapudungún language, performing the *Nguillatún*, the maintenance of traditional knowledge of the *machis* and the survival of elements of the *Az mapu* at the interior of the community gave shape to the configuration of a Mapuche territoriality within Chilean territory.\(^{187}\) The defense of an identity reproduced at the interior of the community became one of the fundamental cruxes of Mapuche society under the post-reductional regime. As J. Marimán explains, “With the reservation, under the process of creating the reservations, the community is converted into a groups whose existence had been its defense against the invading culture. Never before questioned, the issue of identity surprisingly became the crux of their existence—and this identity was defended from the reservation.”\(^{188}\)

The systematic impoverishment of the Mapuche population on the reservations entered into crisis in the 1930s. Whereas the first post-reductional generation had remained in the communities, the second generation saw its possibilities to possess a piece of land increasingly reduced. This proved to be the main motive of expulsion from the communities and the beginning of the migratory process to the urban centers.

5. **The Post-Reductional Organizations**

5.1. **The Birth of a New Mapuche Political Culture**

At the beginning of the 20th Century, the Mapuches found themselves fenced off by the new conditions of the reservations and subject to civilian violence, the lack of legal protection as well as a wide series of abuses that reproduced their humiliation at the hands of Chilean society. The new Mapuche society reacted to this context by looking for new forms to protect itself from these abuses and arbitrary acts while simultaneously demanding attention from the Chilean state which first abandoned it and then reduced it to life on reservations.

In this manner, the first organizations of post-reductional society began to emerge at the beginning of the 20\(^{th}\) Century. The time of the large alliances between *lonkos* and the orchestration of wide geographical areas in order to maintain autonomy and territorial control were now a thing of the past. From this point on the new organizations saw themselves obliged to act within a political system of Chilean institutionality, making way for the formation of a new political culture of Mapuche society. This new culture was marked by two elements. First, it responded to a Western form of organization and,

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second, it sought negotiation with the Chilean state based on its social category as “indigenous.”

Throughout the course of the 20th Century, the collective references of the Mapuches were found within an organizational landscape defined by the demand of forging relations between the political action of both Mapuches and Chileans. The Mapuche organizations which emerged during this century were actors who were integrated into the political and social dynamics developed by diverse social movements, political parties and groups of power that articulated themselves vis-à-vis their relation to the Chilean state. As such, the current dynamics of Mapuche organizations should be understood within the framework of this new tradition; not only as organizations born out of an exclusive internal movement of Mapuche society, but also as the result of a political history situated in a more broad political and social context. I am not making reference to what could be defined as a *Zeitgeist* that influences the way the Mapuches organize their politics. Instead, Mapuche political action is in fact integrated into national, regional and international processes.

The Mapuche organizations, their leaders, their actions as well as their disputes permit us to appreciate the development of internal quarrels which have defined the political behavior of the Mapuches vis-à-vis the Chilean state; autonomous movements, formation of alliances, participation in the formal system of political representation, among others. But above all, it allows us to observe that which sustains such practices. In other words, the ways in which the Mapuches themselves have understood and discussed their cultural differences and their limits in regards to the rest of Chilean society. I am referring to how the ethnic condition has been constructed in a context of Chilean citizenship.

In order to better understand how the Mapuche has been constructed as an ethnic subject over the course of the 20th Century, in the following section I shall concentrate on the development of the post-reductional Mapuche organizations.

5.2. 1900 – 1940: The First Major Organizations

As I mentioned before, the structural conditions of injustice, abuse and impoverishment which the Mapuches suffered in the time immediately following the end of the war as well as the process of resettlement provided the basis for the emergence of the first organizations of masses.

In 1910 newspaper articles could be read which made reference to this early awakening of political consciousness: “The indigenous hear the rumor that the authorities from Santiago are coming and, as is the custom, they abandon their work and join
together in order to present their eternal complaint as to the injustices of which they have been or continue to be victims.“

The names of the first organizations illustrate their defensive nature. For example: “Sociedad Caupolicán de Defensora de la Araucanía” (Caupolican Society in Defence of the Araucanía), “Sociedad mapuche de proteccion mutua” (Mapuche Society of Mutual Protection) or “Sociedad defensora de indígenas de Osorno” (Society in Defense of the Indigenous of Osorno). All are organizations that were founded at the beginning of the 20th Century by Mapuches who resided in the emerging cities of the frontier and who were generally linked to the field of education. Their leaders were a small urban elite with a relatively high level of education, a fact which permitted them to feel comfortable among both Mapuches and winkas alike.

These organizations boasted their first achievement in 1915, when they attained a tributary exception for the reservations. Three organizations dominated the field up until 1930: the Unión Araucana, the Federación Araucana and the Sociedad Caupolicán. All three organizations placed the land as their principal cause of struggle. By 1930 the communities had made more than 1,000 legal claims for the recuperation of their lands. All cases involved processes of illegal usurpation or purchasing of indigenous lands in irregular conditions by ranchers, Chilean peasants or foreign colonists. In the cases presented to the courts, the existence of a Mapuche organizational framework played a role of representation and support. The organizations established programs which tackled the issue of poverty among the Mapuches and offered strategies to solve it. Together with the land-based demands, proposals were also made to strengthen the Mapuche economy and to expand access to education as a means of integration in Chilean society. At the same time, the three organizations sought to recover the dignity of a Mapuches humiliated by war and the subsequent abuses which followed.

The fact that the Mapuches were categorized as “Indians” in the aftermath of the occupation of the Araucanía placed them at the bottom of the social pyramid. But the Mapuches had not only fallen into extreme poverty; the Chileans perceived them to be lazy alcoholics who still maintained savage customs and practices. The perception of the Indian as poor, stupid, alcoholic and lazy provided a comprehensive basis for their marginalization and discrimination. In large part, the organizations emerged as a reaction to the social position in which the Mapuches found themselves. They proposed to attract public attention in order to confront Chilean society with their prejudices while at the same time reconstructing the self-esteem of the Mapuches as a way of dealing with the new social context in which they had to come to terms.

190 Foerster/Montecinos (1988).
In a 1916 discourse pronounced in Santiago in the context of the “Araucano Catholic Congress”, Manuel Manquilef, president of the Sociedad Caupolicán, appealed to the Chileans in the following terms:

“...the inferiority of our race only exists in the mind of the extortioners. We may be an underdeveloped people, but we are not an inferior race. We are unfortunate. Gentlemen, I have not come to cry like a woman about that which my grandfathers knew how to defend like men. But allow me to tell you that we were capable of defending our lands when the brave conquistadores treated us like enemies. Yet when some bad rulers of the Republic pretended to be our friends, their friendship debilitated our race, turned us into alcoholics and subjected us to misery while they stole away our lands.”\(^{191}\)

As Manquilef suggests, the manner in which the Mapuche and Chilean societies constructed their relations was invariably linked to the recuperation of Mapuche dignity. This is exactly the point in which the programs of these three organizations differed from one another; they represented divergent positions as to the future of Mapuche society.

On the one hand, the Federación Araucana focused its attention on the reaffirmation of cultural identity and ancestral traditions. For its part, the Unión Araucana, linked to the Catholic Church, appealed for a process of modernization of Mapuche society, the development of an integration process into Chilean society as well as a “Westernization” of Mapuche society. Sociedad Caupolicán, on the other hand, took up an intermediate position between traditionalism and assimilation, espousing respect for traditional values while at the same time promoting a gradual incorporation into Western culture.

Led by Aburto Panguilef, the Federación Araucana proposed a return to Mapuche traditions and celebrations as well as the recuperation of abandoned practices such as polygamy. Panguilef was the undisputed leader of the Federación. He possessed a charismatic and messianic personality and constructed his political proposal based on an often times delirious combination of ideologies. Panguilef called for the formation of a Mapuche Republic, an independent state whose basis would be formed by what he calls “Soviet Mapuches”; a traditional Mapuche manner of organizing the economy with structural similarities to the agrarian reform put into practice by the former Soviet Union.

Out of all of the organizations which emerged at the beginning of the 20\(^{th}\) Century, the Federación Araucana was the only one to propose the recuperation of political autonomy. These proposals created opponents both from within and outside of Mapuche society who accused Panguilef of maintaining contacts with and supporting the Communists. Those who opposed Panguilef managed to get him demoted for acts of “sedition.” The principal criticism of the Federación came from the Unión Araucana, transforming the two into fierce political adversaries.

The *Unión Araucana* was born under the aegis of Capuchin missionaries in 1926. It articulated itself based on the idea of *parlamentos* celebrated in the areas under Capuchin influence. The *Unión* prescribed its members the moral behavior which they had to follow. Their political program was oriented on a gradual integration into Western culture supported on the one hand by a religious syncretism provided by the missionaries and the adoption of liberal economical and social ideas on the other.\(^{192}\)

The first *Ngüillatún* mass was held in 1928, a “modern Christian *Ngüillatún*” as Father Felix de Augusta proposed, one of the leading exponents of the *Unión Araucana*. A fundamental aspect of the Mapuche *Ngüillatún* is the sacrifice of a lamb, which is presented as the lamb of God. The distribution of bread and wine (the body and blood of Christ) was performed by the indigenous themselves. In this way, a religious syncretism began to take shape which the Catholic missionaries had sought—and which the Mapuches resisted—over many long years.

A relevant actor of the *Unión Araucana* was Manuel Manquilef, a school teacher whose militant liberal vision saw collective land ownership as one of the main sources of poverty of the Mapuches. According to Manquilef, this condition impeded indebtedness and inversion for the development of agricultural activities. In addition, the *Unión* was the only organization which paid attention to the even more detiorated situation of the Mapuche women, particularly their subordinated role within traditional Mapuche society. According to the *Unión Araucana*, their exclusion from the educational system kept them tied to an animist and superstitious tradition which impeded their integration into the modern world. In particular, the woman’s role as socializing agent was responsible for reproducing the anti-modern tradition in the new generations. The interest of the *Unión* for the situation of the women was closely related to the organization’s principle of evangelization.

In order to publicize their proposals, the *Unión* founded a newspaper known as the *El Araucano*—the first in a series of print media which emerged out of the heart of the Mapuche movement. The *Unión* was not free of criticism, not only because of its assimilation plans but also because of the educational work that Capuchin missionaries carried out at their indigenous boardings schools. The criticism was not only directed at the quality of the educational system but above all against the Capuchin’s principal

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\(^{192}\) In the Araucanía, Christian congregations founded two missions: one by Capuchin German Catholics and one by Anglicans. The work of both missions exerted a great influence on the formation of the new Mapuche elite. The Capuchin mission was marked by the scientific work of members as De Augusta, Ranberga, or Mausbausch, who collected stories, studied the customs and the Mapuche language. They developed a work of ethnographic value on the Mapuche people. The fascination exerted by the Mapuche culture on the Capuchin Germans monks expressed itself in the commitment taken by missionaries in the political struggle of the Mapuche. The missionary work sought religious syncretism between Mapuche beliefs and Catholicism, rather than full integration into modern life through denial of their traditional practices, as was the goal of Anglicans missionaries.
authority, Bishop Guido de Ranberga, who proclaimed himself to be the spokesman of the Mapuche people.

**Fig. 5. El Araucano newspaper**

The development of the *Sociedad Caupolicán* took a decisive turn in 1931 when Venancio Coñuepán and José Cayupi became leaders of the organization. Until that time, the Mapuche leaders who had dominated the organizational scene, most of whom were teachers, came from the educational sector. Both Coñuepán and Cayupi were successful businessmen in the city of Temuco who gave the organization a more liberal profile. Consequently, their proposals were more focused on the economy than on education. In order to achieve greater independence from the state, the *Sociedad* enthusiastically promoted the formation of a savings bank exclusively oriented toward the necessity of the
Mapuches. As such, the *Caja Central Indígena* (Central Bank of the Indigenous) was formed with the intention of transforming the Mapuche economy.

The personality of Coñuepán, which mixed attributes of a modern businessman together with being the progeny of the old *lonkos*, proved fundamental in the emergence of the *Sociedad Caupolicán* as a reference for the Mapuches during the first half of the 20th Century. Coñuepán presented himself as a candidate for Congress in 1937. Although two Mapuches had managed to be elected as members of Congress during the 1920s, they had done so as members of political parties. Coñuepán, on the other hand, presented himself as an independent candidate. He received few votes.

Backed by the work carried out by the *Caja Central Indígena* which had been transformed into the central political activity of the *Sociedad*, Coñuepán presented himself again in 1938. The *Sociedad* united with the *Unión* for these elections, with both organizations throwing their support behind the *Frente Popular* (Popular Front). In consequence, the organizations agreed to merge together and found the *Corporación Araucana*, which participated alongside the *Frente Único Araucano* (Araucana Unitary Front), formed to participate in the 1938 elections as part of the *Frente Popular*.

In the process, the leaders, especially Coñuepán, were not satisfied with forming part of new wave of “illustrated” Mapuche leaders, but also sought to be recognized as *lonkos* within Mapuche tradition. In 1944, Coñuepán was finally elected to Congress, where he attempted to reform the laws which directly affect the Mapuches but above all to continue the path already taken by former Mapuche congressmen in denouncing the economic situation and injustices afflicted on their people before the Congress.

At the beginning of the second half of the 20th Century, the *Corporación Araucana* formed an alliance with the Conservative Party. This alliance permitted them to accede to the government at the time when Carlos Ibáñez del Campo was elected President of the Republic in 1952. This new position proved to be the moment of greatest influence and power in the history of the *Corporación*. Coñuepán was named Minister of Lands and

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193 Francisco Melivilu was elected Deputy in 1924 by the Democrat party, a party left wing. Manuel Manquilef became Deputy of Liberal Party in 1925. In 1933, Arturo Huenchullán was elected by the Democrat Party.

194 A political and electoral Coalition between the years 1937 and 1941 was composed of Radical, Communist, Socialist, Democratic, and Radical Socialist Parties, in addition to the Confederation of Workers of Chile, the Movement for the Emancipation of Women of Chile and the Frente Único Araucano.

195 Carlos Ibáñez del Campo was elected President for the second time in 1952 thanks to the support from a coalition of liberal and conservative parties. The Corporación Araucana had participated in the Popular Front, a coalition of leftist forces. However, at that time the Corporation buildt alliances with landowners and conservatives. The Mapuche political behaviour, sometimes linked to conservative political programs and other times to revolutionary programs, has unleashed a major debate up to today. Even today it seems difficult to decipher the electoral behaviour of the Mapuche. However, the Government of Ibáñez del Campo is even harder to understand. This government is difficult to classify, having had three different directions in three consecutive phases: a populist direction, a significant shift to the right, and then a shift towards the left. See: Moulian (1986).
Colonization; two further Mapuches were elected to Congress and several regional
governments of the Araucanía were headed by leaders of the Corporación. As a result, the
Departamento de Asuntos Indígenas (Department of Indigenous Affairs, abbreviated
DASIN in Spanish) arose as the first Chilean state institution dedicated exclusively to
indigenous issues. Under the protection and influence of the Corporación, scholarship
programs were created for indigenous students or agricultural credits were granted and
administered by the Banco del Estado de Chile (now known simply as BancoEstado), thus
complementing the former labor of the Sociedad Caupolicán and its Caja Central de
Indígenas. At the same time, Coñuepán tenaciously defended the principle that indigenous
lands should not be divided.196

![Fig. 6. Sociedad Caupolicán, February 1937. Sited from left to right:
Esteban Romero, José Cayupi, Venancio Coñuepán and Avelino Ovando197.](image)

196 Coñuepán worked for the integration of the Mapuche into Chilean society, but he also argued about the
need to maintain the indigenous community as a structure of Mapuche society. He worked for a kind of
integration which shows respect for cultural difference. Coñuepán was one of the few indigenous leaders
who participated in the First Indigenist Congress in Pétzcaro, Mexico (1940). This congress gave rise to
the idea in Latin America to draw attention to the continent's indigenous history and the repression of their
peoples. The First Indigenist Congress was the synthesis of writers and intellectuals who recognized the
historical debt to American indigenous peoples. This Congress took place in Mexico at the time of the
government of Lázaro Cárdenas - which corresponds to the second cycle of the Mexican Revolution -
which placed special attention on the plight of indigenous people. The indigenismo which emerges as a
political and intellectual movement in this Congress came from the non-indigenous elites of the continent.
However, Coñuepán embraced it enthusiastically.

197 From Foester/Montecinos (1988).
By the end of the first half of the 20th Century, the Mapuche movement had achieved an intense internal discussion regarding their relation to the Chilean state. Since the time of the process of reduction, the Chilean state, represented by the elites of the regions where the Mapuches resided, had promoted a comprehensive integration of the Mapuches into Chilean society, both political organization and the emergence of a new indigenous elite permitted the Mapuches to sketch out their own strategies. Foester and Montencinos summarize this period in the following manner:

“The Mapuches, no longer illiterate and marginalized, having taken up positions in the Congress and other state institutions, advocated a communitary regime which stood in direct contradiction to liberal development so sought after by the regional groups. In other words, the almost 80 years effort to incorporate the Mapuche into ‘Chilean’ life were frustrated, lost in the face of this assault, but even more so in the face of the Mapuche’s ‘occupation’ and ‘infiltration’ of the state apparatus.”198

In effect, the participation of the Corporación and its leaders in the government of Ibañez del Campo marked the end of a stage of development of a new type of Mapuche organization led by a new type of elites: an illustrated industrial class linked either to business or to the educational sector. Although diverse postures existed during these first 50 years regarding the development of Mapuche society, the hegemony which the Corporación Araucana represented for the organizational scene makes it fair to say that the prevalent vision during this period was that of a “respectful integration.”199 In other words, the integration into Chilean society was to be produced by way of the appropriation of institutions and practices, such as the formal participation of Mapuche organizations in policy-making, the generation of alliances with Chilean political parties and participation in the government. An attempt was made to establish a continuity between new leaders and former lonkos; a way to modernize Mapuche society by appealing to its traditions.

5.3. Second Half of the 20th Century: The Politicization of the Country and the Politicization of Mapuche Organizations

The second half of the 20th Century opened up a new stage in the organizational space of the Mapuches. Beginning in the 1960s, Chilean society began to experience the most radical processes of political and social reforms in the country’s history, the ascendancy of which was be violently interrupted in 1973 by the military coup led by Army General Augusto Pinochet and supported by the most conservative sectors of Chilean society.

The end of the administration of Ibañez del Campo (1952-58) was followed by a series of three governments whose political positions ranged from a more conservative stance to the “Chilean Way to Socialism” of the Unidad Popular (Popular Unity) government. Throughout the administrations of A. Alessandri (1958-64), E. Frei Montalva (1964-70) and S. Allende (1970-73) the entire Chilean society underwent a process of politization which in no way excluded the Mapuches. The principal field of reforms that affected the Mapuche population more directly involved the process of agrarian reform, a phenomenon which not only took place in Chile but throughout Latin America.\footnote{In 1961 Latin American States made the decision to reform the regulation of land property. At a meeting conducted in Punta del Este, Uruguay, Latin American governments saw the growing impoverishment of the rural societies as a source of social instability. In this context, the Cuban Revolution (1958) could exert a decisive influence on the instability of governments in the region. The U.S.A. organized the meeting in Punta del Este in order to maintain the balance within the region in Cold War’s context. In addition to political factors, the growing capitalist development of Latin American countries generated the need to modernize production in the countryside, where traditional organization was seen as an obstacle to the advance of capitalism. Correa et al. pose: “Landowner structure of the agricultural sector had generated an agricultural economy that has not allow the satisfaction of domestic needs, while food production grew at a rate lower than the national population growth rate as well as rate of demand.” Correa /Molina/Yañez (2005), p.71.}

The “First Mapuche National Congress” was held at the beginning of 1953 in the city of Temuco. 63 delegates representing diverse indigenous organizations gave birth at the congress to the National Indigenous Association (abbreviated ANI in Spanish). In their declaration of principles, they argued that the resolution of the Mapuche problem would depend on the solution to national problems and the need to work together with the Chilean working class and peasantry. In effect, the problem of the land adopted the character of a structural problem which involved the entire Chilean society. At this point, the ANI demanded the implementation of an agrarian reform.\footnote{Correa /Molina/Yañez (2005).}

In a 1961 congress held in the city of Santiago, more than 920 delegates attempted to form a unitary reference under which it would be possible to organize the demand for agrarian reform. Peasant groups, agricultural workers, sharecroppers and Mapuches came together to create the Federación Nacional Campesina e Indígena (National Peasant and Indigenous Federation). The organization sought a representation of all sectors affected by the problem of land tenancy. Nevertheless, in spite of the massive presence of Mapuches and the ANI within the organization, the particularity of the Mapuche demand was evident. Although the problems of the peasants and the redistribution of land in the hands of large landowners was of national relevance, the Mapuche problem was more focused on the recuperation of usurped lands since the handing over of the Títulos de Merced. In this sense, the Mapuche problem was seen as of a more local nature and the disputes were to be resolved in Juzgados de Indios (Courts of Indigenous Affairs), whose
responsibility it was to determine the validity of the land titles of Mapuches, large landowners and colonists.

The first Agrarian Reform Act was passed in 1962. Shortly before, the first mobilizations of Mapuches unsuccessfully attempted to recuperate usurped lands by occupying several ranches in the Malleco Province. Nevertheless, this first Agrarian Reform Act (Law No. 15,020) did not aim to change the terms of property of the land but rather “to promote the modernization of the rural sector and to increase the productivity of the soil.” At the same time, the law didn’t consider the Mapuche problem in its historical context. Rather, like their poor Chilean peasant counterparts, the Mapuches were considered to be small landowners. In consequence, the first law did not resolve any litigation regarding the recuperation of indigenous lands.

In the subsequent years, now under the administration of the Christian Democrat Eduardo Frei, the redistribution of land of state-held properties or the voluntary handover of private property was given higher priority. Even if 10,000 hectares were handed over to the Mapuches between 1964 and 1967, these lands were intended for the formation of peasant cooperatives and agrarian reform settlements and not for the formation of Indigenous Communities. The participation of Mapuche organizations, who were much more passive about voicing their demands, is much lower during this stage. This attitude changed with the enactment of the Law of 1967 (16,640), which will provide greater authorization to carry out a deeper reform of land tenancy. Nevertheless, the refusal was upheld to include the “Mapuche question” within the text of the law. Further, no references were made to territorial demands; the text only speaks of technical assistance and credits.

Beginning in 1967, groups of Mapuches began with massive mobilizations in demand of the recuperation of their lands. The first action took place in the commune of Lumaco with the objective of recuperating the ranch at Ñencucheo. The first attempt was rejected by the police. Twelve people were detained and another ten were wounded as a result of the confrontation. One year later, more than 400 Mapuches returned to occupy the ranch at Ñencucheo. But in this occasion, the government dismissed the use of force, the case made the national press, the Mapuche occupiers were well organized and they managed to attract the solidarity of other political and social groups. Following months of negotiations, the Agrarian Reform Act was applied. The law permitted the property to be handed over to the Mapuches.

The action in Lumaco was a milestone for Agrarian Reform in the Araucanía. The Mapuches debuted new forms of obtaining the objectives for which they had struggled throughout the entire century. From this point on, mobilization after mobilization followed, primarily in the Malleco and Cautín Provinces. Nevertheless, these actions responded more to the organization of local groups who had specific demands for the
recuperation of land than they did to a coordinated movement like the organizations which existed in the first half of the Century probably would have organized.

The Mapuche movement was highly divided in the 1960s. The organizational landscape was filled with hundreds of small groups and covered the entire political spectrum. As an example, supported by a diverse range of political parties and movements, there were more than 40 Mapuche candidates in the 1963 congressional elections. In this decade, the Mapuche and Chilean organizations positioned themselves in terms of the discussion regarding the future of the country. Leftists, moderates, revolutionaries and reactionaries filled the public space over the course of these years. Although during the previous decade the Corporación Araucana had constructed a more stable relationship with the conservative parties, the Mapuche movement was now more aligned with the reformist tendencies of the left that will bring the Unidad Popular (1970-1973) to power. These forces presented a political and social project known as the “Chilean Way to Socialism.”

In 1970, weeks before the presidential election and the victory of Salvador Allende, so-called “corridas de cerco” (running blockades), a more radical form of exercising pressure on the issue of land ownership, began in the Cautín Province. Whereas land takeovers sought a solution on the part of the authorities, the corrida de cercos consisted in a de facto acquisition of the land through the organization of productive settlements. Simultaneously, pressure was exercised for the elaboration of a new Indigenous Law.

The political polarization of the country announced a tragic end. Workers took over factories in the cities. The revolutionary government quickly nationalized the means of productions in order to hand them over to the workers. In the countryside, Mapuches and poor Chilean peasants mobilized in joint proclamation of the collective ownership of the land. The slogan “the land belongs to those who work it”, now converted into a principle of action, made this inter-ethnic alliance possible. Following months of organization and the formation of peasant communal councils, the occupation of a ranch in Nueva Imperial in December 1970 ended in the death of two Mapuches. Allegedly, the owners and sharecroppers responded to the group of squatters with firearms. At this point, the confrontation became a spiral of violence, with both Mapuche and large landowners becoming increasingly radicalized.

In August, 1972, the new Indigenous Law was passed as a result of the joint work carried out by the government together with the organizations which had participated in the National Indigenous Congresses. The Indigenous Law basically proposed the restitution of the usurped lands with previous title of dominion. Moreover, the priority was established for the Mapuches to receive plots of lands subject to agrarian reform. The Institute of Indigenous Development was created in order to comply with this legislation. Over the course of 1973, ten ranches totalling 7,600 hectares were expropriated under the new Indigenous Law. The interruption of the political and social project of the Unidad
Popular government by way of a coup d’etat on September 11, 1973, also put an end to the Indigenous Law. During its implementation, 197,761 hectares were converted into Mapuche property. This represents almost 80% of the lands subjected to agrarian reform in the Araucanía. Nevertheless, in the eleven years of agrarian reform in Chile, the Mapuches received a total of 739,245 hectares.

Following the establishment of the military dictatorship, the principal positions in governmental institutions were taken over by military officers. A few weeks later, the first requests of restitution were made under the argument that the properties had had been expropriated through violent occupations. The military dictatorship was a movement reactionary to the social reforms and transformations which had taken place in Chile since the middle of the previous century. Backed by new legislation and a system of political repression, the dictatorship initiated a process of so-called restitution. The reestablishment of a system of large landowners was combined with the handing over of lands to forestry companies who acquired properties formerly subjected to agrarian reform, thus giving birth to one Chile’s still most lucrative businesses. Under the dictatorship, an estimated 58% of the lands which had been handed over to the indigenous during the period of agrarian reform were returned to their former owners or auctioned off to new ones. 202

In the process of profound polarization of Chilean society in the decades of the 1960s and 1970s, discussions continued to take place regarding the level of autonomy of the Mapuche organizations. The active involvement of many of these organizations in land occupations, for example, favored the formation of a general atmosphere of urgency to solve the demands of historically oppressed groups. Now, the project of Chilean Socialism finally gave them hope. But, too, these types of actions contributed to a general atmosphere of violence and lack of control of the revolutionary political process. Whereas the Mapuche mobilization in demand of the land had a long history, the methods which were employed in this moment seemed to differ from the form in which their demands had been presented at the beginning of the century. This is what lead Bengoa to the assumption that leftist-extremist groups utilized the Mapuche organizations in order to accelerate the revolutionary process. The author of the History of the Mapuche People ventures that the character of “respectful integration” which the movement had followed for a good part of the 20th Century did not correspond with the behavior of illegality which the movement incurred in at the beginning of the 1970s. Under the government of the Unidad Popular, an attempt was made to accelerate the agrarian reform and restitution of indigenous lands by a policy of “consummated deeds.” Finally, Bengoa proposes that, whereas the Mapuches saw in the Unidad Popular the historic possibility to recuperate their ancestral territories, to return to the “lost community,” the revolutionaries interpreted

202 In the first years of military dictatorship, forestry companies bought land at low prices which had been expropriated from the Mapuche by the dictatorial regime. The current dispute between Mapuche communities and forestry companies is one of the most serious conflicts in southern Chile that affects the Mapuche communities.
the future as the construction of a socialist country. Some saw the past, others looked to
the future, but in the end the two proved to be incompatible postures.

For his part, A. Saavedra claims that the Mapuche movement and the Mapuches as
inhabitants of Chile could not have excluded themselves from the process of politicization
in Chile. In this sense, it is not fair to simply assume that the Mapuche movement had
been “utilized” by revolutionary sectors—many Mapuches actually formed part of this
tendency.203

This discussion will continue to be the subject of many an analysis in the future.
Yet in the end, the discussion primarily evolved around the political line of action of the
Mapuches. Saavedra puts forth that, in the aftermath of their defeat in the War of the
Araucanía, the Mapuches acted in virtue of the totality of political adscriptions. In other
words, their ethnical demands, which overlapped historically with the Mapuche
organizations, were combined or coexisted with the demands of the impoverished
peasantry who experienced a situation of marginality in the countryside as well as a vision
of radical transformation of the society just like millions of other Chileans. If, as A.
Saavedra proposes, the Mapuches are a cultural and social group within Chilean society,
the political behavior of the Mapuches is not only affected in their capacity as indigenous
but also as in their capacity as both peasants and citizens of Chile.

But beyond this discussion, the political line of action of the Mapuches has
definitely been difficult to understand. Even less comprehensible is the current tendency
of a vote dispersed between progressive and conservative parties.204 On the one hand, it is
has been thought that the political behavior of the Mapuches is in direct response to their
specific indigenous demands. For instance, when these demands have been linked to
political parties in the conformation of a diverse range of alliances, as was the case during
much of the 20th Century. The intention would have been to seek out better partners for
the fulfillment of their objectives. It is within this context which the early links of Aburto
Panguilef with the communist-oriented worker movements or those of Coñuepán with the
conservatives who represented the interests of the large landowners should be understood.
In other words, the relationships with other political groups were always subordinated to a
logic of strategic alliances, a behavior guided by a sort of instrumental rationality.

Another approximation to this phenomenon suggests that the Mapuches occupied
different spaces of political identification: indigenous, poor peasant, Chilean, gender,
among others. In the context of a system of political ascriptions, the ethnic component is
difficult to isolate. The primary consequence of this fact is that there does not actually
exist a “Mapuche vote” which responds to a common line of action of the Mapuches as a
unified political block.

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204 Valdés (2007b).
6. *The Last Thirty Years: The Road of Political Independence*

During the reign of the military dictatorship from 1973 to 1990, the Mapuche leadership underwent a process of profound reflection regarding its peoples’ 20th Century political history. They were years in which the repression and disarticulation of social forces impeded an open and massive political work. Bengoa asserted that a group of leaders led by Melillán Painemal, an active Communist during the time of the *Unidad Popular*, established the new bases of Mapuche politics for what is left of the century.205

These new leaders interpreted the policy of “respectful integration” and their relationship with Chilean political forces to be a failure. The coup d’état proved to be the nail in the coffin for a process that had developed over the course of the century. Born was an increased interest in establishing a division between that which is Mapuche and that which is Chilean; a search for autonomy in the political struggle.

A new law was passed in 1978 permitting the division of the communities or, to be more precise, the handing over of individual property titles. The immense majority of the communities accepted to be divided up and that each occupant would receive property titles. Throughout the century, different groups and leaders accompanied the discussion regarding collective ownership of the land. The liberal version always understood the collective character of the land to be the cause of economic stagnation of the Mapuches. Already in the 1920s, a series of legal mechanisms were promoted which permitted the land to be sold, leading to the practical dissolution of the community. During the 20th Century, the discussion would give way to moments of protection and vulnerability of the collective ownership of the land.

The 1978 law was enacted under a military dictatorship guided by the principles of neoliberalism. These principles, which began under the dictatorship, continue to dominate Chilean politics until this very day. The division of the community, on the other hand, responded to a logic of political control. The law established the extinction of collective indigenous property as well as the indigenous themselves as a group in possession of a particular quality. The thought behind such a move was that, upon the opening up of the communities to free trade, many people would be forced to emigrate, leaving behind the most “competitive” in the countryside. In this manner, an end would be put to the threat which the Mapuche as part of a collective together with their subsequent historical demands represented to Chilean society.

By prohibiting the lands to be sold to non-Mapuches for a period of 20 years, a last minute article inserted into the law avoided that the lands would be subject to a generalized landgrab. Without this addition to the law, the consequences for Mapuche society would have been catastrophic. Nevertheless, the law gave rise to the formation of

an internal market of Mapuche lands and a new way to organize the resources at the interior of the communities.

During the dictatorship, the Mapuche organizations were transformed into so-called Mapuche Cultural Centers; the military regime would not permit any other type of organization. The new Mapuche leaders arose from these organizations which, beginning in 1990, began to work in the new Mapuche institutionalism that was bound to the **Concertación** (Concert of Political Parties for Democracy) as part of a new social pact for the restitution of democracy.

Together with Patricio Aylwin, the person who at the time was candidate to be the next President of Chile as part of the Concert of Political Parties for Democracy, leaders of the Mapuches, Aymara, Rapa Nui and Atacameños established the principles which would later serve as basis for the new indigenous institutionality. The so-called Pact of Nueva Imperial (1989) determined the processes of indigenous participation which would culminate in 1992 in the enactment of the Indigenous Law 19,253. The fundamental aspect of this law was the formation of an institutionality which recognized the Mapuches as an indigenous people with special rights, the protection of collective lands as well as the formation of a “land fund” oriented toward the acquisition of disputed lands. Moreover, development programs were established specifically oriented toward the Mapuche population which aspired to create “development with identity.” In other words, the necessity of integration to the benefits of modern life was recognized as was the fact that it should be a process led by Mapuche society itself.

The government of the Concertación (1990 - to date) has expressed its intention to restore the historic debt with the Mapuche people in spite of the fact that over the past 18 years a series of conflicts have arisen between “national interests” (many times represented by transnational corporations) and “Mapuche interests,” the majority of which have been resolved in detriment to the Mapuches. A large number of these conflicts have involved the construction of large infrastructure such as dams and highways or lands exploited by private forestry companies. These conflicts have demonstrated the limits of the state to recognize its historic debt with the Mapuche people and a true determination to resolve the problems of poverty. To many Mapuche organizations, the results of these conflicts are seen as the proof that alliances with Chilean political forces are useless in terms of obtaining respect from the Chilean state.\(^{206}\)

6.1. *The Spatial-Turn of Mapuche Identity*

The organizational landscape of the Mapuches is broad, diverse and highly fragmented. The last 15 years have proved to be a time of rearticulation of a vindicatory

\(^{206}\) About conflicts see: Namuncura (1999); Moraga (2001).
discourse which, in spite of a diverse range of standpoints, has managed to reposition the problem of the “Mapuche question.” As Foester argues:

“In the face of this reality, diverse sectors of ‘Mapuche society’ have sought out different paths to empowerment: without a doubt, the recreation of the traditional society in a reductional system is a form which, although weak, above all because that is where it was generated, until now is more an identity of origin than it is a destiny. Still, it is undoubtedly where there is a greater strengthening of ‘political’ organizations of the (still precarious) Mapuche civil society as well as in the (more recent) ‘Mapuche virtuality’ of the internet; these are the places where, due to their cultivation, the politics of recognition can surpass the traditional levels (peasantry and ethnicity) in order to reach the ethno-national.”

At the moment, a return to tradition, integration into Chilean society and a mixed road forward—the three lines of political orientation of the large organizations during the first half of last Century—are now being developed in a new political geography. As Foester identifies, over the last decade the Mapuche movement has been marked by a discourse which will gradually form the basis for the concept of the Mapuches as a “people-nation.” In effect, each demand of nation is accompanied by the demand for territory. As such, a central element of the current demands of the Mapuche movement involves territorial autonomy.

The demand of territory represents a spatial-turn of the Mapuche political discourse. During the 20th Century, the Mapuche movement focused on the problem of land and not on territory (with the exception of the Federación Araucana) at the same time that it put forth the problem of cultural tradition without being spatialized. The equation which would now be established would be: If the loss of territorial autonomy meant the loss of control over Mapuche culture, ergo the only form to recuperate the cultural and social control of the Mapuche people is also to recuperate territorial autonomy.

This territorial demand is expressed through the concept of “territorial identities.” In historical terms, as previously mentioned in this chapter, far from forming an integrated social and cultural unity, the Mapuches were characterized by the dominion of family leaderships which acted with relative independence in their search for alliances. In effect, the objective of the concept of territorial identities is to point out determined territorial spaces in which a group of leaders acted. Territorial identity does not only refer to a determined geographical habitat but rather an original space in which culture is reproduced; a geographical space that is the source of the Mapuche culture. In effect, territorial identity provides the fundamentals for the demand of autonomy in the sense that it identifies which spaces are to be controlled in order to guarantee cultural reproduction.

In consequence, the question arises as to which of these territories conform identities that would permit us to delineate the original sources of Mapuche culture while at the same time vindicating its autonomy. Recently, an intense debate has been carried out as to the delimitation of these units. For example, sustaining his analysis on narratives registered in the first third of the century, Morales concludes that the territorial identities will be: *Puelche* (currently territory of Argentina), *Pewenche* (sectors of the *cordillera*), *Nagche* (families on the Western mountainside of Nawelfutura), *Lafkenche* (on the coast of the Arauco), *Leñihunche* (Abajina families or on the Eastern mountainside of the Cordillera de la Costa (*Nawelfutra*), *Wenteche* (families from the south of the Cautín River to the Toltén), and *Williche* (families of the southern lands). The point of reference of these constructions is found in the old *Wichan mapus* which I mentioned earlier. And it is exactly this link which exposes the territorial identities to a space of tensions.

As I have already observed, even when they responded to communities, the *Wichan mapu* were formations of *lonkos* whose limits and configurations as a unit were more related to processes of negotiation than to stable social forms. As a result, the *lof* and the *lonkos* which made up a *Wichan mapu* varied according to the specific negotiations. In this manner, specific *Wichan mapus* surged in given moments following negotiations between Mapuches and the Spanish Crown or the Chilean state. Nevertheless, the territorial identities gave these formations an ahistorical character: original and immutable.

What is behind this proposal is the search for cultural sources which legitimate the demand for autodetermination as a people. It is an attempt to reach a consensus as to a principle of interpretation, of the construction of a “Mapuche people” as a political actor. The territorial identities operate as a system of classification and as such construct arbitrary units by way of similarities and differences, inclusions and exclusions. Even if the principles which govern all classifications are arbitrary, this does not mean that the sociological reality which they attempt to describe is inexistent. In effect, particularities in the social and productive organization of the territorial identities have been demonstrated. Nevertheless, the problem relates to what this particular classification excludes. The Mapuches who have migrated to the city, the place where they have organized their lives and those of their children, remain excluded from this Mapuches society constituted by these original territories. As it denounces the historical character of Mapuche society, what some observers have coined the *mapuche-warriache* is not taken into consideration in this classification. As such, the urban Mapuche has no space within the territorial identities.

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210 The character of *Wichan Mapu*, understood more as a negotiating structure rather than as a stable form of social organization, is consistent with the notion of a society without state, like the Mapuche. In this sense, the limits of the units that make up a society are very volatile or unstable.
In this classification of the Mapuche, identity is seen as a music box which repeats itself over and over again, as if the contents of its culture were invariable in time. This discussion, primarily the responsibility of Mapuche and winka intellectuals, places Mapuche society outside of history, denying the historic character of its transformation. The *mapuche-warriache* is a product of the last hundred years of history, the dimension of which is not only demographic but also sociological: isolated, segregated and silenced by this discussion. The *warriache* is a recent historical product which would distort the Mapuche essence.

This tension between a sociological reality (the Mapuches in the city) and the rather essentialist construct of Mapuche identity (territorial identity) places the Mapuches living in the city in a situation which is, at the very least, uncomfortable. A. Millaleo expresses it in these terms:

“Many Mapuches refuse to accept that they are confronted with the presence of a new phenomenon, that they are facing a new form of experiencing that which is Mapuche. They believe that the acceptance of this new subject, the “urban Mapuche,” is to deny the necessity to vindicate the usurped lands; because if the Mapuches can be Mapuches without land, there shall be no need to continue the struggle for the vindication of the ancestral territory of the Mapuche people. In other words, to deny the possibility that there can be Mapuches in the city is to go against that which is evident, and this would not be contrary to the political vindications that the Mapuche movement can have as a people due to the fact that these vindications involve the dignity robbed by a state that has never even considered the collective rights of the Mapuches—the right to their own religion, the maintenance of its authorities and its autodetermination as a people.”

The idea of a Mapuche nation is sustained within a program of ethno-nationalism formulated by a part of the Mapuche movement. There is still no clarity as to the reaches of such a program. In fact, many Mapuche intellectuals agree that there is no consensus as to the significance of “autonomy.” Nevertheless, this concept has permitted the construction of a horizon which can be worked toward in the future. The question which this postulation evokes is whether it’s possible to incorporate the *mapuche-warriache* into this project. Until now, the space of participation which has been provided to the *mapuche-warriache* in the ethno-national project has been marginal.

Currently, the problem which surges regarding an autonomous project is that although dense, the Mapuche population no longer represents the majority in the region of the Araucanía. This fact is fundamental, however, in order to implement the demand put

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212 R. Foester, who has argued for the birth of Mapuche ethnonationalism, has been strongly criticized by A. Saavedra - another prestigious researcher of the Mapuche culture. Saavedra questions the scope of this concept within the Mapuche society. The question is: is this demand the product of a massive social movement, or is it the product of intellectuals? Saavedra (2002), pp. 219-231.
forth by P. Marimán regarding the existence of a “Mapuche diaspora”\textsuperscript{213} in reference to the massive migration to the cities; constructing a symbolic bridge which links together the demand for ancestral Mapuche territory with the demands of other peoples such as Jews or Armenians.\textsuperscript{214} In coherence with this metaphor, it has also been put forth that the recuperation of this territory is possible by way of a “return to the Mapuche nation, return and resettlement of historical Mapuche territory.”\textsuperscript{215} This call means the return to and abandoning of the “foreign space” of the city in order to once again occupy ancestral territory. Here it is signaled that the notion of the urban Mapuche as an official governmental construction attempts to occult the fact that the Mapuche’s presence in the city is the product of the Mapuches having been displaced from their lands. As a result, the urban condition of the Mapuche is intrinsically linked to the loss of territory and is transformed itself into the demand to recuperate the usurped lands.\textsuperscript{216}

This thesis has been widely accepted and is presented as a work program in which the urban Mapuches can participate in the political demands of the Mapuches as a nation and as part of a collective demand.\textsuperscript{217} Yet the question remains whether or not it is possible that thousands of Mapuche now residing in Santiago return to their ancestral territory. Because it would be very difficult to imagine that the Mapuches living in Santiago would return to the communities where their families still live. Ancán and Calfío argue the necessity to construct this utopia “with the feet on the ground.”\textsuperscript{218} Instead, he stipulates that the best option in line with reality would be to repopulate Temuco as the capital of ancestral Mapuche territory. In this manner, precisely because the complexity of its irreversibility as a social phenomenon is taken to be a fact, urbanity doesn’t surge as a problem but rather Santiago as a city outside of the ancestral territory.

Under this proposal, the Mapuche-Warriache has the possibilities to participate in the construction of the Mapuche nation, but only as long as their urban existence is carried out on the margins of the ancestral territory that demand autonomy. This proposal is organized around a political demand and not in terms of what the construction of ethnicity means in an urban space. Ancán and Calfío themselves put forth the challenge to understand just what it means to be a Mapuche in Temuco and to explore these conditions

\begin{itemize}
\item Marimán, Pedro (1997).
\item In an interesting paper, A. Menard raises similarities between the project of Mapuche territorial autonomy built by the Federation Araucana - mainly by its President Aburto Panguilef - with the Zionist project of the founding of the state of Israel (both are contemporary). Both projects arise from the transformation of a utopia of mythical nature in a political project, which links people with an ancestral territory that must be recovered. In spite of this interesting historical relationship, until now the Mapuche intellectuals have not recognised the thoughts of A. Panguilef as a starting point to draft historic Mapuche autonomy. Menard (2003).
\item Ancán/Calfío (2002), p.3.
\item Antileo (2007).
\item For a detailed review on political statements of urban organizations I suggest reviewing the documents of the urban organization Meli Wichan Mapu, one of the most active urban organizations in Santiago. See: http://meli.mapuches.org
\item Ancán/Calfío (2002), p. 16.
\end{itemize}
beyond the simple images which reduce the Mapuche to a peasant who visits the city for commercial purposes.

In effect, this discussion is currently open and in constant flux. The mapuche-warriache becomes a problem when a space is to be found for him within this spatial-turn of the Mapuche political project of an ethno-national character. This is not the case, however, for the development of Mapuche society in the urban space, a problem which until now has been given little attention by Mapuche intellectuals.

7. Chapter Conclusions

Contemporary Mapuche society has its origins in the reducational society. It is a product of the military defeat and the subsequent occupation of the territory of the Araucanía. The loss of control over the resources as well as its own autonomy as a society, now inserted into Chile’s state system, produced profound transformations in all spheres of development.

Mapuche territory was “reduced” to the land handed over by way of the Títulos de Merced. Communities were formed on these lands which are currently considered to be the base for the reproduction of Mapuche culture. The new conditions of development imposed on Mapuche society together with the permanent usurpation of their lands during the 20th Century set off a systematic process of impoverishment and expulsion of the youngest population from their communities to the main urban centers.

During a large part of the last century, Mapuche society made political demands regarding the improvement of their reproduction by way of a “respectful integration” into Chilean society, a process which took up diverse forms in close relation to the country’s social and political situation. Toward the end of the century, two elements transformed the way in which Mapuche society is understood.

First, it is a political transformation in the direction of an ethno-nationalist style of autonomy. The political leaders of the Mapuches, which now act with greater independence than the Chilean political leaders, initiate the formulation of a demand for territorial control over the space in which the communities are located, a demand which seeks to re-construct the former Wichan mapus as ancestral spaces for the development of Mapuche culture. This is what I have denominated the spatial-turn of the Mapuche political demand, which is no longer focused on land but on territory. The second relevant fact is the information gathered in the 1992 census in which it is “discovered” that 44% of the Mapuche population actually lives in cities. This high percentage of the population who reside in the city of Santiago has generated a problem for the political proposals of

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219 Some authors have systematized the different positions within the project of Mapuche territorial autonomy. In recent years this area of discussion by Mapuche intellectuals has been very dynamic. See Gissi (2006).
autonomy. Yet the paradox of demand and reality finds an escape valve through a utopian discourse. The Mapuches of Santiago are called to return to the Mapuche nation, to their ancestral territory. This is the only option which surges as possible; permanence in the city and the development of an urban ethnicity are excluded from the etho-nationalist project.

The chapter demonstrates how the urban Mapuche has remained invisible within the historical development of the Mapuche political discourse. Instead, focus has been placed on the defense of the land handed over through *Títulos de Merced* and on processes of general integration into Chilean society. In other words, the situation of the urban Mapuche has not been considered to be a particular form of constructing ethnicity.

To declare the spatial-turn in the construction of Mapuche identity allows me to introduce the development of the following chapters of this paper, which will concentrate on highlighting particular strategies in which urban Mapuche ethnicity is constructed in the city.
PART II
CHAPTER 3

Making Bread in the City.
Bakery Work as an Integration Strategy for Urban Mapuches

1. Introduction

The integration of rural immigrants in Latin American cities has been made possible primarily through social networks originating from the migrants’ places of origin. The re-territorialization of these social networks has permitted access to housing, work and a series of services which they would otherwise not have access to in the city. In the current chapter, I explore whether this general framework can also be applied to the case of the urban Mapuche. For this purpose, I investigate a specific integration mechanism developed by Mapuche immigrants: working in the bakeries of Santiago.

Even today, we still know little about the migration process of the Mapuches to Santiago. The specific characteristics of this migration, which started intensively in the middle of the 20th Century, are still barely known. Figures indicate that as of 1966 there were approximately 5,000 Mapuches registered to be working in Santiago bakeries.\textsuperscript{220} Currently, around six thousand bakers are of Mapuche origin, representing about 90% of the workforce employed in this productive sector.\textsuperscript{221} The high concentration of Mapuches in this economic field allows us to establish the hypothesis that employment in bakeries proved to be a particular urban integration strategy for thousands of workers; a strategy developed by a relative well established migration network.

\textsuperscript{220} Bengoa/Valenzuela (1984).
\textsuperscript{221} I refer to the workers who participate in CONAPAN (Corporación Nacional de Trabajadores Panificadores), National Corporation of Bakers. There are no official record of the origin of the workers. Nevertheless, the leaders of CONAPAN estimate that 90% of their members have Mapuche origin.
This approximation allows us to explore some characteristics of the migration process during the second half of the 20th Century. Through interviews with current Mapuche bakery workers, I reconstruct the dynamic of their migration itineraries, their ways of accessing a job and the types of social networks which they have developed to achieve these objectives. The strong syndicalism—both current and historic—in this field of labor provides motivation for our enquiry into the ethnic character of this field. Were the social networks based on ethnic origin decisive to obtaining employment? Or did the formal relationships prevail which characterize labor union organizations?

The first part of this chapter describes the general background of Mapuche migration to Santiago. The objective is to construct a general framework of understanding about Mapuche urban migration to Santiago during the second half of the 20th Century. Based on biographical accounts of seven Mapuche immigrants, in the second section of this chapter I review and analyze several themes such as: migration dynamics; the establishment of networks; the relationships between those who migrated to the city with the communities they left behind; and the organizational forms in which these migrants participate once in the city, with special attention given to labor unions.

2. The Historical Context of the Mapuche Migratory Process

2.1. Displacement from the Community

The structural reasons for 20th Century urban explosion in Latin America are to be located in the disintegration of rural economies more than in the development of new industrial production structures in the cities. This collapse forcibly displaced thousands of rural workers from their communities and obliged them to migrate to the urban centers. There, in the cities, they remained excluded from state support such as access to housing, services and job opportunities which would have been necessary for their integration into the urban structure.\(^{222}\)

Since the second half of the 20th Century, Mapuche society experienced three processes common to the Chilean rural world: impoverishment, proletarization and migration.\(^{223}\) The *latifundios*, a pre-capitalist low-efficient system of land tenancy, was responsible for dragging the rural world to social collapse.\(^{224}\) The process of generalized impoverishment was the product of subsistence-based agricultural practices on the one hand and the inefficient systems of production of the small land tenants on the other. The process of proletarization was the consequence of the growing importance of paid labor for the reproduction of rural social units. This proletarization took place in urban centers.

\(^{222}\) Davis (2006; Germani (1976b).

\(^{223}\) Saavedra (2002), p. 175.

\(^{224}\) Correa /Molina/Yañez (2005).
as well as in agricultural enterprises. Finally, the migration process to urban centers particularly affected women and the youth.

In the case of the Mapuches, the fundamentals of migration are not excluded from this crisis of the rural economies felt throughout the country. Nevertheless, the factors which led to the Mapuches being forcibly displaced from their communities have their own particular history relating to the collapse of the post-reductional society: the Mapuches experienced a systematic process of impoverishment in the aftermath of the Chile’s military occupation of the Araucanía and the resulting territorial division into indigenous reservations. Having lost control over large extensions of their territories, their economy forced to adopt the forms of exploitation of small rural landowners where each nuclear family is a relative autonomous productive unit, the reservation economy progressively condemned the Mapuches to a life of destitution.225

The amount of land owned by Mapuches decreased in the years following the creation of the reservations. As we have already seen in Chapter 2, according to official documents, the process of creating the Mapuche reservations awarded an average of just 6.2 hectares per person. Thereafter the Mapuches experienced the appropriation of a part of their properties, and whole families lost their lands as the result of confusing negotiations, frauds, and violent occupations. Since the time of Títulos de Merced, Mapuche land found itself under the permanent pressure from latifundistas, colonizers and Chilean farmers who, thanks to irregular legal hearings and scams, seized the Mapuche properties in the face of a by and large unconcerned judicial system. It is also important to note that a series of legal stratagems were applied between the years 1927 and 1931 allowing for the division and sale of the land of indigenous reservations.226 Indeed, by 1949 an estimated 25% of the lands originally granted under the Títulos de Merced had been lost. Just two years later, in 1966, Mapuche property had been reduced to a meager average of just 2.3 hectares per person.227 A study made on 20 reservations concluded that by the beginning of the 1970s, 6.3% of the families owned no land, while 60% of the families owned less than 10 hectares.228

With very low levels of surplus production, the subsistence of the Mapuche economy paralyzed every possibility of development. In fact, the collective character of property hindered access to formal systems of credit, thus meaning that necessary loans could only be obtained through usurers. The acquisition of credits in the form of money or goods often times ended in a dramatic situation of insolvency for the Mapuche farmers.

225 By mid-twentieth century it was registered that Mapuche farmers do not hire foreign labor, the Mapuche farm is strictly based on the nuclear family. See: Saavedra (1971).
227 In addition to violent usurpation processes, the division of communities played an important role in reducing the Mapuche property. According Labbé - in Saavedra (1971) - until 1949, 773 reservations (a total of 3.078 Títulos de Merced) were divided into 13,778 plots with a total area of 126,748.99 has. This resulted in more than 13,000 private owners. Until 1966 the total number of divided reductions was 760.
228 Saavedra (1971), p. 86.
The technology for agricultural work was both limited and simple. Additionally, the low quality of the soils made the lands prone to high levels of erosion, which increased proportionally with the need to exploit their resources as a result of population increases. Although the regional differences in Mapuche society led to different strategies of economical production, the above described elements were common in configuring an irreversible scenario of generalized impoverishment of the population.

Migration became a mechanism of reducing pressure upon the scarce land. Yet the immigrants lost their de facto rights over land, thus reducing the number of people among which it would be necessary to divide the land in the future. At the beginning of the 1950s, Faron made reference to this in his fieldwork:

“In legal theory, those who have migrated can have access to rights over land when the community has divided, but this rarely happens. What really happens is that family opposes the rights over land of the migrated family members not out of purely economic reasons but out of moral considerations, too; in the mind of the Mapuche, those who have migrated now find themselves outside of Mapuche society.”

Under these conditions, Mapuche migration is accompanied by an individual and collective drama; the urgent need to survive not only displaces the rural workers from their homes, but in many cases from their community as well.

2.2. Mapuche Migration since the Middle of the 20th Century

The migration of a significant proportion of the Mapuche population to urban centers was already visible in the communities by the 1960s. But what were the dimensions of this phenomenon? Unfortunately, no studies directly analyzing the issue of migration were carried out during this period. As a result, the available data and approximations mainly come from studies about the economy of the Mapuche community in which the migrations appear as a complementary statistic.

A 1966 CIDA study about agriculture development carried out on 26 Mapuche farms established that 16 of these farms could register at least one male Mapuche who had migrated to an urban center. From a total of 146 persons who lived on these farms, 30 of them had left the community in the search of better perspectives. In statistical terms, this represented 20.3% of the population. Other studies of this time estimated Mapuche migration to be at between 15 to a 20% of the population.

This much is certain: Mapuche migration to urban centers begins to grow steadily as of the 1960s. A study carried out at the beginning of the 1980s with 200 families from

230 The exception in this case is the work of C. Munizaga focusing on the processes of adaptation of Mapuche migrants in Santiago, it will be mentioned in the second part of this chapter.
the Cautín Province revealed that 49% of the women over 16 years of age had definitively left the community. In the case of men, that percentage had slightly reduced to 44%.\textsuperscript{232}

In the following table, data is presented which illustrates the tendency during the second half of the 20\textsuperscript{th} Century:

| Table 5. Mapuche migrations 1966 – 1992\textsuperscript{233} |
|-----------------|----------------|-----------------|----------------|
|                 | 1966 No. of persons | %               | 1992 No. of persons | %               |
| Non-migrants    | 326,000            | 89.1%           | 213,043            | 31.9%           |
| Emigrants to the cities | 40,000      | 10.9%           | 400,681            | 60.1%           |
| Emigrants to other rural sectors | n/i          | n/i             | 53.311             | 8%              |
| Sub-total emigrants | 40,000        | 10.9%           | 453,992            | 68.1%           |
| Total           | 366,000            | 100             | 667,035            | 100             |

The data presented in Table 1 is the result of an analysis made by compiling a range of sources. The information illustrates the magnitude which migration acquired for Mapuche society: in the less than 30 year period between 1966 and 1992, the percentage of Mapuches living in urban centers went from 10% to 60% of the population.

How did this migration take place? What were the dynamics of the migrants? In addition, which cities hosted these migrations? Although we lack sufficient information to provide precise answers to these questions, enough secondary sources are available to permit us a close approximation.

Up until the time in which this migration took place, the well-known model of Redfield’s \textit{folk-urban continuum} was broadly used in Latin America to explain migration processes. According to this model, the migrants would travel from the rural areas to the big city centers, mediated by a “chain” of settlements which would progressively increase in terms of complexity until their arrival to the big city. The movement from one town to the other is separated by years or maybe even generations. In this case, the idea of \textit{continuum} describes not only the spatial movement carried out by the migrant; it also refers to a movement of social and cultural order that goes from traditional rural society to

\textsuperscript{232} Bengoa/Valenzuela (1984), p. 45.

\textsuperscript{233} Elaborated from various sources of information. The population given in 1966 is an estimate and projection based on census data and partial studies. The population in 1992 is based on Census of 1992, the “Non-migrant” population refers to the rural population of the VIII\textsuperscript{th}, IX\textsuperscript{th} and X\textsuperscript{th} regions (if it considers only the rural population living in communities, the estimate would be about 146,690 people). The population of “Emigrants to other rural sectors” is estimated from the rural population in all regions excluding the VIII\textsuperscript{th}, IX\textsuperscript{th} and X\textsuperscript{th}. Saavedra (2002), p. 177.
the modern one of the city. In consequence, the *continuum* is a mechanism to generate favorable conditions for the integration of the farmers into the urban space; marked by secularization, individualization and formal social relations, it serves as a sort of training ladder to prepare the migrants for urban life.

Although this notion permeated the debate in Latin America in the 1960s, the Chilean case in general and the Mapuche case in particular lacked investigations which would have applied the model explicitly to the local context. Nevertheless, we should point out that the Redfield model is a general model which foresees the preexistence of a system of settlements of increasing complexity. In Latin America, this situation would have been more the exception rather than the rule. Since its beginnings in the middle of the 19th Century, the character of modern urbanization in the continent was marked by a lack of balance in the urban system. This was primarily due to the concentration of political and economic functions in a single administrative center, which led to the *hypercephaly* that still characterizes the urban landscape of the region even today, i.e. the extreme concentration of population in only one urban center.

In the case of the Mapuches, when researchers talk about migration, they usually mention towns, intermediate cities and big urban centers as destinations. Nevertheless, there are no convincing records about the types of routes of the migrants. One of the exceptions is the before mentioned 1984 study from Bengoa and Valenzuela. This study identified that 75% of those who emigrated from the Cautín Province did so with Santiago as their goal. According to the origin of these migrants and following the logic of the *folk-urban continuum*, the tendency to migrate to Temuco should have been more than the 9% registered by the study, and the local towns of the region, which provided a mere 5% of the total of Mapuche migrants, should have proved more attractive.

Just as it was the center of attraction for other national migrations over decades, Santiago has been the principal migration goal of the Mapuches from the very beginning. In the census of 1952, 800 *araucanos* were registered to be living in Santiago. Because around 10,000 of those registered in the voting records of the capital city that year had Mapuche last names, this was obviously an error. Taken from the available statistics,

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234 Distinction between community and society *à la* Tönnis.
236 Morse (1976).
238 Beyond the generality of the Redfield’s model - a tighter applicability to American and European contexts of urbanization – its relevance in Latin America lies in opening the discussion regarding the link between dynamics of migration and integration processes to the city. See: Kemper (1970).
239 Araucanos is the old denomination to refer to the Mapuches. The Census of 1952 registered nationality; the options were Chilean or other nationalities.
another study estimates that approximately 15,000 people of Mapuche origin lived in Santiago in 1960. Further, the same study reveals that there was a relative equilibrium in the population of men and women, most of whom were between the ages of 18 and 30 and 75% of whom were illiterate. Additionally, the study goes on to report that 72% of the Mapuches worked in the personal service sector: housemaids, gardeners and women ironers, among others. Of those working in this sector, 82% were women. With their employment characterized by low salaries, non-specialized jobs and hard working conditions, the Mapuche’s integration into the city’s economic structures almost always took place at the lowest step in the social ladder.

In 1996 Carlos Huayquiñir Rain documented the occupations of around 50,000 Mapuches living in Santiago. In his study, Huayquiñir Rain indicated that around 20% of the urban Mapuches worked as housemaids, 10% were employed in the bakery industry, another 10% employed in restaurants and bars, 5% employed in retail and department stores and 11% of the total worked in government departments, 800 of whom worked in the police and the armed forces.

Mapuche migration began to stabilize by the end of the 1980s. In the analysis made in the census of 1992, referring to Mapuche and non-Mapuche migrations, Valdés documented a decrease in internal migrations as a relevant phenomenon. Additionally, it was not possible to identify a difference between the migratory behavior of Mapuche and non-Mapuche populations.

In the last census carried out in 2002, it is possible to identify a break with the historical tendencies of the Metropolitan Region in terms of its attractiveness as a place of immigration. Further, due to an expansion of the attractiveness of urban centers in the IVth, VIth, and Xth regions, the tendency in internal national migration also changed over the course of the last decade. Nevertheless, the main limitation of the current instruments used to calculate population statistics—such as the census—is that they are not able to describe particular dynamics. As such, they inevitably exclude the inclusion of the cultural and historical characteristics which are exclusive of indigenous migrations.

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241 Saavedra (1971).
242 The so-called “Araucano census” was carried out with the participation of Mapuche leaders in Santiago. Even though the census lacks statistical rigour, it shows a general situation. See Bengoa/Valenzuela (1984)
244 M. Valdés analyses census data from 1992 and 2002. The parameters to define the Mapuche population changed in both censuses either because of technical reasons, pointing to an improvement of the instruments for collecting information, or for political reasons. The resurgence of the Mapuche movement and its historic claim would have affected the elaboration of the instruments of the census from 2002. The Chilean state would have promoted a statistical decrease of Mapuche population, as Valdés poses. However, in both census 1992 and 2002, the statistical differences between Mapuche and Non-Mapuche migration are not significant. Valdés (2007b).
245 Rodríguez/González (2006).
2.3. **Integration into the City**

I have pointed out that, as was the case throughout Latin America, the migratory attraction of Santiago was not the result of a transforming force of the city like that which Europe experienced during its Industrial Revolution. As a result, the massive migration from the countryside to urban centers leads to the collapse of the integration capacities of the cities. The cities proved either incapable or unwilling to integrate the thousand of farmers who arrived to the metropolitan centers into their urban dynamics. This translated into a lack of housing, infrastructure, service and, above all, to a lack of work for the recently arrived immigrants. Instead, the responsibility of integration was transferred over to the migrants themselves. In consequence, the relations based on kinship, neighborhood acquitanences or friendships played a fundamental role in the possibility of being able to acquire housing and/or employment. Independent of the systems of formal economy, the migrants created the conditions for integration on their own.

At the middle of the 20th Century, proponents of the dependency theory put the development of an informal sector of the economy—the main space of integration for migrants and, in consequence, of the growth of Latin American urbanization—at the center of intellectual debate. They understood the informal sector to be a pre-capitalist form of production that hindered the creation and access to the benefits of a developed society. The references of this evolutive perspective were the systems of labor and economic development of the metropolitan cities in Europe. Having applied strong regulation to the relationship between capital and labor, several European countries managed to achieve the highest levels of social welfare in history. During the second half of the 20th Century, the modernizing efforts of the Latin American nations priviliged the formalization of broad sectors of the population, albeit with poor results. Over the last few years, however, the discussion about the informal sector has taken a new course. For some time now the informal sector is no longer considered as a sort of pre-capitalist form of survival, but as the causes and consequences of social inequalities.

The Latin American city was characterized by the informality of its economy. For instance, at the beginning of the 1980s between 42% and 56% (depending on the way in which the figures are calculated) of those economically active in the main urban centers of the continent worked in the informal sector. At present, some researchers affirm that the informal economies are actually coherent and functional complements to the current forms of global, capitalist and neoliberal accumulation.

In fact, since the middle of the last century, the informality of the Latin American city has been based on the reproduction of traditional structures of social relations, the expansion of the population employed in the service sector—generally through family

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businesses which lack a capitalist rationality—as well as an increase of the dispersion of a marginalized population in urban areas plagued by deficient infrastructure. To be precise, the lack of a system of formal relations, characteristic of an urbanism as way of life in classical terms, determined the integration mechanisms of the Latin American city. Before continuing with this characterization, an explanation must be given to the importance of its application in my research work.

When I speak of integration into the city, I am referring to the strategies which the inhabitants make use of in order to guarantee their reproduction in the urban space. It is understood that every city inhabitant is able to survive in the city; some in better conditions than others. This means that an optimal integration is one which permits the individual to participate in all the opportunities which a city has to offer: access to housing with adequate infrastructure, a formal education system, health care, a healthy environment, etc. Together, the aforementioned definitely encourage social rise and a continuous improvement of the living conditions in the city. Consequently, integration is a relative concept. In other words, it arises out of the comparison between different strategies which permit access to benefits.

In the case of Latin America, the discussion about integration has been based on the government-led formalization of the lives of the urban population. In this sense, integration is contrary to marginalization. In other words, as opposed to marginalization, integration requires the incorporation of the inhabitants into formal markets of labor, housing, financial systems, etc.

Nevertheless, such formalization does not always mean a global improvement in the living conditions of the inhabitants. For example, housing policies in Chile during the period of the Concertación regime (1990 – until now) are paradigmatic. The formalization of access to housing through a system organized by the state, executed by private real estate agencies and managed by the private banking sector as well as the use of low-cost land in the periphery have generated new forms of poverty and exclusion. These policies have not only turned large extensions of the city into ghettos; they have also destroyed old social networks which facilitated the participants of these networks’ access to urban integration resources. In this sense, a process of formalization in the area of housing has not necessarily meant an improvement in the quality of life or a better access to the benefits of the city for its “beneficiaries.”

As such, integration as a concept describes an unclear relation between poverty and the city. Nowadays, scholars use the twin concept of inclusion/exclusion in order to

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249 Germani (1976a).
250 In this context, the concept of integration does not relate to the idea of cultural assimilation of the Mapuche into the Chilean society. The notion of integration in cultural terms has been heavily influenced in urban studies by the concept of assimilation formulated by the Chicago School. Assimilation expresses the final stage experienced by migrants in the city. It would be a stage of “cultural balance” under the parameters of the dominant American culture, namely: white and Protestant culture. See: Treibel (1990).
251 Rodríguez (2005).
illustrate that poverty is a problem relating to social cohesion rather than to a lack of access to infrastructure and services. 252

The first studies about Latin American cities in the 1950s sustained that informal systems or systems based on relationships begin to operate when formal systems fail in integrating their inhabitants. The early investigations carried out by O. Lewis in Mexico City presented the persistence of family structures as fundamental to integration into the city. 253 Nevertheless it should be pointed out that the urban space is crossed by multiple systems of formal and informal relationships in which the people participate. Additionally, the informal systems which develop in a city are multiple as well, and are governed by different types of institutions and social groups. In this sense, as in the case of Mexico, researchers such as Lomnitz have demonstrated how formal and traditional systems superimpose themselves in specific ways. In her research, she analyzes the occasions in which kinship plays a fundamental role and what happens when these relationships are replaced by broader friendship networks or are alternated by formal structures. 254 Although in analytical terms it is possible to differentiate between formal and informal systems, these often times overlap in practical social life. Such combinations of systems are precisely a characteristic of urban spaces as social spaces. 255

3. From Farmer to Baker

3.1. The Itineraries of Migration

“The problem is that we have no land to work. For a long time they deceived the old ones, the grandparents. They hoaxed them. They took their land by fraud. When we were born, we were many brothers and had no place for all of us to work the land. My parents had land. When the old ones die, the children inherit the land. But to work, if they are 10 brothers, for example, in 4, 5 or 6 hectares, we cannot all work. It’s impossible, because animals are tended on the land, there is a chacra, one wants to plant wheat. But where? With a small piece of land the 10 brothers cannot even have chickens. That was the great problem back then. Because I couldn’t find work in Temuco, my older brother says to me ‘Why don’t you try it out in Santiago?’ I wanted to go to Argentina, but over

252 Ziccardi/Mier y Terán (2005).
253 In Los hijos de Sanchez y Antropologia de la Pobreza O. Lewis presents ethnographic works on reproduction and formation of social relations systems based on informal links (family, friendship and neighbour) to access integration into the city. Lewis and Redfield strongly influenced the thinking of urban anthropology in Mexico and the continent. They were the first to wonder about the particularity of the urbanization process in Latin America in relation to American or European. See: Portal/Safa (2005).
there is snow and one could not pass. So I came to try it out in Santiago. And here I stayed.”

The routes which each Mapuche migrant followed on their journey from the redutional community to Santiago are diverse. The skills necessary to ensure integration into the city are acquired along these routes. This process has been identified as the functional aspect of the *folk-urban continuum*; a gradual transition process undergone by migrants from a rural to an urban culture.

In the case of the Mapuches, the first skill which needed to be learned was of a linguistic nature. In other words, as Spanish was not the native language of the majority of those who left their communities during the second half of the 20th Century, the newly arrived migrants first had to learn Spanish. At the time, the use of Mapudungún in the communities was quite extended, practiced as it was both inside the families as well as in most of the daily activities. As a result, the acquisition of Spanish and its correct use was generally only possible outside of the space of the community, for instance through the participation in the formal system of education (a not very extended practice) or through employment outside of the community. For those who did not go to school, Spanish is “learned by living”, i.e. experiences are accumulated outside of the community.

“Only Mapudungún was spoken at home back then. But here in the (current) house we never speak in Mapudungún. Over there in the countryside, it’s Mapuche, Mapuche, Mapuche which would be spoken. Born and raised Mapuche, pure and only Mapuche. I did not know any Spanish until I left. At least I learned it just like that. There starting, here starting, this, that and so. One learns everything just like that.”

The communities of origin are abandoned: Maquehue, Chilcollao, Dollinco or Peucho. From the time of their departure, the migrants’ itineraries are constituted by visits to schools or by paid jobs in nearby *haciendas*. Albeit often times precariously, Spanish is learned on these occasions; at least enough to get by in the world of the *winkas*. Before arriving to Santiago, E. Paillalef had worked in *haciendas* and stone quarries in Argentina; A. Ranimán had worked two years tending livestock on a farm in Cholchol; J. Huenuvil lived in a community which barely maintained Mapuche traditions and whose exposure to other farms permitted him a more fluid contact with the *winka*. In this manner, the first exodus from the communities is always for a brief period of time and is characterized by their diversity of places, landscapes and towns. In the cases of some, like J. Llancavil or M. Ñanco, whose parents lived in Santiago, they were already socialized in the urban way of life at an early age.

Almost all of those who arrived to Santiago wound up living definitively in the city. Few cases show itineraries with routes of more mobility, as in the case of J. Huenuvil.

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256 Interview to Eugenio Paillalef. January 31th, 2007. President of CONAPAN.
“I worked (in Santiago) as a barkeeper in a Chinese restaurant. I had an uncle who worked in Talca at the time. One day I spoke with him and he offered to take me there. And he took me to Talca to work selling things in a store. The job was funny because we worked inside a micro, in a bus, which the boss had turned into a store. He modified it inside, took out the seats and put in shelves which he filled with merchandise and we went to the countryside to sell. I worked there until I turned 18 and I had to do my military service and they took me to Arica. I was almost two years there, one year and ten months more or less. It is a pretty city.”

Following military service, J. Huenuvil went back to the community, where he stayed for one year. Later, he went back to work with his uncle, this time established in a few towns of the VIIth Region. After a few years, he once again returned to Santiago, where he got a stable job and started a family.

There is, however, a segment of migrants who return to the communities or rural areas where they come from after a short period of time.

“My whole family comes from the countryside. My brother, the one who died, always lived in the countryside. He came here for while, but he was only here two months, three months. And the other brother was also here for a year or two and then left. And so I am the only one who has never left. I haven’t decided to go there. I am already here.”

Although they are not based on a hierarchy of settlements through which the migrants travel through the years, different types of mobility can still be identified. In the sense that it does not follow a general pattern, mobility appears to be much more structureless; different geographies are connected based on a rather individual mobility, with Santiago generally being a central and final destination along these routes.

3.2. *The far-off Community: Relationships with the Communities of Origin*

The Mapuches living in Santiago never forget their communities. Once the migrants establish themselves in Santiago, they maintain relations with their community of origin. Although this fact has been stated in a great part of the bibliography which has to do with the urban Mapuches, particularly in Santiago, we still lack a clear characterization of this relation.

Although the migrants frequently visit their communities, such visits do not play a relevant role in the internal dynamics of the community. The emigrated Mapuches do not construct exchange mechanisms of a relative institutionalization between community and city. The visits of the *Mapuche-warrriache* to their communities of origin are generally made in the summer months, when the weather is favorable as well as the time for harvest and the *Nguillatún*. But, above all, they take advantage of the summer vacations, which

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259 A. Ranimán.
260 See: Abarca Cariman (2005); Aravena (2002); Cuminoa (1998); Gissi (2001).
generally overlap with the vacations of other family members, thus facilitating the possibility of important family meetings.

“I visit during my vacation time, then I go there in February, in March. Like until March 10th I was there. To go see my mom, my family, my mother-in-law, who lives all alone. Now there is a son of hers, but she used to be all alone. One suffers a lot in the countryside to be able to work, especially in the winter. If we have vacations at the same time as my brothers we get together in the house of my mom.”

“I go every year, but only for leisure. I have my relatives in the countryside, the brothers and the uncles. I only go to town on the way. When the old ones die, things change also, everything changes. The worry is not there anymore that the son comes, that we have to take care of him, like when mom was there, when dad was there.”

Although many try to increase the frequency of their visits to their relatives in the communities, their encounters are always restricted to the time spent on vacation from their work in Santiago. These visits can only take place once their respective jobs in the city are stable, they have saved money for the trip and have the right to vacations. Thus, the frequency of their visits is variable and can be separated by years. During this time period, relevant news are transmitted by friends and family who travel to and from the community.

“My mom told me, ‘When you are one year, you are six months there, you come and see me.’ I never went back. I got lost. I got used to earning a bit of money, getting dressed, going out with friends. I was about 30, 35 years-old, and I never went back to the countryside. Later I started going again. I was like 35 years-old by then.”

“I went down south after working for don Renato. I went to another house to take care of the young ones. I did not send anything to the south, nothing. I forgot about the people. I think I forgot about the people for two years. But I knew that they were alright. My grandmother was the only family that I had.”

Relevant events inside the community, such as Nguillatún or the death of a family member, can provide the exception. Although the Nguillatún tends to be a fundamental moment of family communion, in the course of the years and probably due to the weakening of the relations, the frequency with which emigrants participate in these events becomes less and less over the years.

“Sometimes I went to the south every two years, other times more frequently. Sometimes I did not go at all. I went one year later, when I went took my vacation. But only to make vacations. The thing is that they invited me once to help out in the time of

261 J. Huenuvil.
262 E. Paillalef.
263 A. Ranimán.
264 Interview to Rosario Huenuvil. September 12th, 2007. Rosario was the first migrant of her migration chain. She worked many years as housemaid indoors. She got married and then received consecutively three brothers who have migrated to Santiago.
Nguillatún or in the time of harvest. Then I said, ‘No, I better not go, better not, why should I go there?’ And I did not go. But then later I did, later I went to see once more. I did not go to Nguillatún, I did not want to participate in it.”

Likewise, the death of a family member, especially of the older members of the family who remained in the community, is an occasion that permits the reunion of brothers, uncles and cousins who find themselves spread out over different places. As I have stated before, these encounters take place in the context of a visit. The migrants generally do not work during their visits. At the same time, the circle of affective relations has broadened for the migrants, a great part of which are found outside of the community.

Whereas personal gifts are taken to the countryside as gifts, upon returning to the city, the emigrants bring with them goods from back home, especially food products. Certainly, the exchange is very restricted between the city and the community. On the one hand, no products leave for the city from the communities and, likewise, the migrants rarely send money or goods from the city to the countryside. Rather, the product exchange between the two groups is generally personal and infrequent.

The relations between those who have emigrated and their communities, however, are subject to change when seen from the gender variable. The current chapter has been developed exclusively based on male narrations and thus may not be representative of the situation of migrant women. In fact, studies of migrants to the city of Lima from the Peruvian countryside have demonstrated a differentiated relationship between men and women and their communities of origin. Whereas the women maintain permanent bonds expressed through financial aid and participation in the process of decision-making of their communities, the men tend to separate their social spaces in a more marked way.

In our case, the Mapuche men barely participate in relations of a financial nature. Rather, those who migrate were more inclined to save money so as to improve their living conditions and to rebuild their lives in the space of the city.

“My wife was from the city of Temuco. So one day I said to her: ‘Look, you are a married woman now.’ I told her, ‘You have to stop helping your brothers. Now we have to work for ourselves. You have to work for yourself, for the home, to have your own home and you have to think about the children. That’s it, there are no more brothers. That was it.’ And then she started to put her coins together, to save money, we started to work.”

One of the most studied impacts in the area of transnational migrations is the current dynamic of the remittances, i.e. the money sent by migrants to their places of origin. The dimension that this transnational economy has reached finds its base in the gigantic income differences between host countries and the countries of origin of the migrants. In fact, the surplus that the majority of the Mapuches can generate in the city is

265 A. Ranimán.
266 See: Guzman/Portocarrero (1992).
267 A. Ranimán.
268 See: Garcés (2007); Glick Schiller (2003).
quite restricted and, in comparison to the transnational phenomenon, could not become an economic support for the local rural economies. This does not suggest that the urban Mapuches do not support their communities through financial assistance. Rather, it is restricted as much as possible to special situations. Indeed, it is often times the case that the migrant Mapuches try to pay for the costs of their own stay during the time of their visits so as not to be a burden on their families.

Despite the definitive character of their residence in the city, migrants would consider the metropolis to be a transitory space for many years to come. The idea of returning to the communities prevailed in the imagination of the migrants, yet they would require land in order to carry out their productive activities if they were to return. The community or locality of childhood is always present as the ideal destination for Mapuches of old age.

“I would like to have a piece of land to go back to with my children. But I have nothing. It’s sad, because at the same time you really love the place where you grow up. From childhood on one starts to take care of everything, to take care of the animals, of the land, the fence, everything. And then you begin to miss it, because it is another life, a healthier life than in the city. And many times now, when we get old, we get bored, but the work doesn’t let go of us, because we live from work and we are here. I am completely bored in this town [Santiago], because I can’t live anymore in this town. But I cannot leave, because first of all I do not have a place to go, and second of all because of work.”

The longing for the community, for country life, is broadly documented and is not just limited to cases of translocal or transnational migration in which the migrant constantly guards the hope of returning to his society of origin. In the case of Chile, largely in reference to the first generation migrants who came to the city from the countryside, authors such as Bengoa broadened the idea of longing for the “lost community” to include the whole urban society in Chile. In the case of the Mapuches, in his life story which Munizaga towards the end of the 1950s, Lorenzo Ayllapán expressed his interest in returning to the community once he had acquired a profession in Santiago. His objective was to return to the community to organize and provide innovative support in the education of the children and youth on the reservations.

271 L. Ayllapán stated: "I want to open a new route on the bright path of knowledge within the community to which I belong. I will develop a plan from the cultural point of view of my new method that I will introduce, until achieving the success that I have to get through this innovation. If I reach an understanding with the leaders of the community, would do the following: 1. I will ask to noble cacique for land for the installation of a new school in which children will be educated. 2. I will create centres of parents and guardians in which numerous problems will be discussed, including lack of schools and teachers. 3. The students who stand out in the primary, they will be brought to high school in order to grow gradually.” Munizaga (1960), p. 35.
The truth is that the longing for return hardly ever turns into reality. The main obstacle is the lack of land in the communities, which forces migrant Mapuches to buy land or to invest in new productive systems on the available land. Yet both options require financial resources. Enough capitalization to permit a comfortable return to the community is almost impossible due to the unfair conditions under which the great majority of Mapuches in Santiago are employed. But even if the circumstances would make it possible, after having gotten used to city life, despite the difficulties, the precarious situation and discrimination which are part of it, a return is very much improbable.

Thus, the Mapuches who have migrated to Santiago maintain a link to their community, but this bond develops within the limits of their visits, during which closer relationships are reconstructed, mainly with other family members. In fact, the character of the relationships which the Mapuches in Santiago have with their communities is different from that which members of other ethnic groups in Chilean cities develop with their own. The urban *atacameños* living in the city of Calama in the Antofagasta Region (II\(^{th}\) Region), for example, can permit us to illustrate such differences.

Although many atacameños have migrated to and established themselves in the city of Calama, a segment of these migrants practice a sort of *alternated residence*.\(^{272}\) This is a type of residence in the city which can last weeks, months or even a few years. After their time in the city is finished, the *atacameños* return to their communities to take up jobs in agriculture, as shepherds or in other paid sectors. In the course of a decade, for example, this segment of the atacameño population has lived alternated residences between the city and their communities of origin and other localities in the region. This dynamic is supported and encouraged by at least four factors. First of all, the geographical proximity between communities and the urban centers of the region (200 km.) is very different as in the case of the Mapuches living in Santiago. Secondly, many of those who have migrated have kept their lands, which permit them to continue participating in the local economies. Thirdly, the development of dynamic industries in the region, such as tourism and exploitation of mineral resources, offers temporary work in the territories of the communities. Finally, a tradition of mobility exists for the peoples of the *atacameño pre-puna* territory since the pre-Columbian era. This has resulted in complementary economical activities situated in diverse economic spaces. In this sense, the current practices can be seen as a reproduction of ancestral traditions.

Ethnic groups which have migrated establish relationships with their places of origin that respond to a series of specific defining elements. In the case of the Mapuches, the development of a model of permanent residency in Santiago limits contacts with the community to the social space of the “event.” A relationship based on presence occurs during the vacations, for funerals or during celebrations such as *Nguillatún*. Participation

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in these “events” varies in both time and frequency from migrant to migrant. There are phases in which these can be more frequent—especially while still young—and other times in which the visits become sporadic, with years going by before the next visit. Although these events can become spaces of renovation for the communitarian relationship, especially those linked to religious rituals, their character (frequency, distance, type of activities) determines that—in social terms—Mapuche society occupies two clearly separated and strong contrasting spaces: that of the community and that of urban Santiago. The Mapuche-warriache can identify himself with his community of origin, but cannot participate in the relevant aspects which determine its future.

3.3. Chain Migration

How do the Mapuches integrate themselves into the city after their arrival to Santiago? In my present research, I have particularly observed the case of those who became integrated through their work as bakers. Dating from the 1920s, the oldest stories which link Mapuches to this type of labor tell of bakery owners traveling to the Mapuche regions in order to “recruit” workers. Although we lack knowledge as to how formalized a structure it was, if such a system of recruiting did in fact exist, it was the beginning of a chain migration which explains why currently around 4,000 bakery workers in the Metropolitan Region are of Mapuche origin.

A chain migration is defined as a movement in which, in a prospective action, migrants acquire knowledge about available opportunities in the host society, receive housing and work in an initial form mediated by other migrants who came before them and to whom they are related by links of the primary type. In principle, one could argue that each migratory process supports itself on a chain migration. By observing the arrival itineraries of Mapuches to Santiago, it is possible to distinguish two ways of getting settled in the city; either by way of a chain migration or autonomously.

The chain migration is characterized by the initial assistance offered by family members in the search and acquisition of housing and employment, generally at the location where the assisting migrants also work. The following narrations provide insight into this phenomenon:

“When I arrived to Santiago for the first time, I meet a cousin who was also Mapuche, a nephew of my father. He was son to the brother of my father who worked as cook in the restaurant. He got me a job there. About nine months I worked there indoors, I never got out. (...) Later I got to the bakery thanks to my brother-in-law. My brother-in-law worked there. He placed a job for me and exactly at the time that they were searching for someone, that is when I got there. Of course, in that time I started as cleaning help,

one day a baker was absent, and so they let me work as baker. And there I stayed until now.”

“I was fourteen years old and I came here, I came to Santiago. I worked indoors. I came directly. I came with a brother who always came to Santiago to work. We came on a train. My brother had three, four years working here. I came to a bakery in Renca. Castellana bakery they call it. I came as a delivery boy. We would make deliveries in a car together with the owner. He was a very good person. My brother did not work in the bakery, but my brother knew that man, and he told him: ‘Bring your brother here, bring him, and when he comes I will give him work immediately.’”

In some cases, like that of A. Rainemán, thanks to previous agreement with the employer and one of the family members, the job has already been assigned even before the migration has taken place.

Nevertheless, the Mapuche presence in the bakery sector is not the sole result of the existence of an informal network to hire their force of labor and the corresponding benefits which such a network would mean for the migrants. In other words, formal hiring, i.e. recruitment through public advertisements, would have played an essential role in attracting a larger percentage of people of Mapuche origin. In 1983, the newspaper El Mercurio published an article dealing with the link between bakeries and Mapuche migrants, in which it was stated: “It suffices when an entrepreneur puts an ad in the newspaper announcing that he is searching for a baker or assistants, and the doors to their businesses fill up with Indians.”

Formal hiring was also a path towards acquiring employment in a bakery. The case of E. Paillalef illustrates this: Immediately after arriving to the city, he started working in a bakery independently of any other social connections. Access to this job through formal channels was even less complicated as it was in other sectors of the labor market.

“I found work in a bakery through an ad in the newspaper. I came to Santiago and in two days I was already working. In those years it was easy, there was work. You could leave one bakery and go to another. There were no problems with work in general, in construction, there were many jobs and few people coming in from the provinces, unlike today. Because I didn’t have a specific profession, I started in a bakery making deliveries, on a tricycle. I worked three months on the tricycle, and then later I went on to being the baker’s assistant. Meanwhile, I had applied for work in a few industries. There was SUMAR [a textile fabric]; I had cousins there. They asked for a resume, they asked for interviews, they said, ‘come tomorrow, come next week.’ In the end I got bored. I didn’t

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274 J. Huenuvil.
275 A. Ranimán.
insist because I was already working in the bakery. I would have worked in SUMAR, because I applied there. And I have kept on working in the bakery until today.”  

It could be claimed that a chain migration was established during the second half of the 20th Century which made it possible for Mapuches to find employment in the bakeries of Santiago. The integration into the city mainly took place through a system of relations consisting of the extended family and articulated by the first migrants which settled in the city. Although this system was dominant, it did not exclude other formal mechanisms of job application. Rather, both systems complemented each other. It is possible that other work sectors, such as that of female housemaids, is structured in a similar form. Two reasons can explain the importance of the job as bakers for the migrant Mapuche.

The first cause is related to the existence of a general image of the conditions of both the work in a bakery and of the Mapuches. According to this image, the Mapuche has a special capacity to handle the hard and strenuous work as required in a bakery. This trait is more associated to the rural origin than it is to an ethnic background. The heat, the smoke, sweat, and a long work day without pause are work conditions which the Mapuche worker can fulfill responsibly.

“It is strict work. It is a job which not everyone who was born in the city can resist. The temperature is very high and there are sudden temperature changes. A person who was born in the city would not resist it. So then, who resists? Who is a hard-worker? The Mapuche. The Spaniards took advantage of that and the Mapuche is hard-worker, he is a good worker. Currently the work in bakeries in Chile is very hard because there are no mechanized bakeries in Chile. We never learned to be bakers, but we learned purely out of our own intelligence. We learned by observing.

The work as a baker is very hard and requires self-discipline. There is no reason why the boss should be hurrying you up, because the work itself hurries you up, because you work with yeast. The bread flattens if you take too much time or get distracted a bit it is no longer good. Or in the oven, if you are working with the oven, if you forget your bread burns. So there is no need for the boss to run after you. One must keep up by himself, and that is the reason why the people who come from the provinces, the huaso, the Mapuches work in the bakeries.”

In addition to their rough nature, many of the interviewees highlight the sense of responsibility for their work, which has been very much appreciated by the bakery owners. The same article in El Mercurio mentioned above points out that: “The enterprise director, Fransisco Bouzó, has expressed great admiration for the capacity demonstrated by the Mapuches in the production of bread.”

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277 E. Paillalef.
278 E. Paillalef.
279 The mentioned article presents a curious image of the Mapuche, it hypothesizes: “for many people it is a mystery why the mapuche persist to work in bakeries, there is a belief that mapuche are attracted by the
The second cause which could help us to explain the presence of Mapuches in bakeries is related to the specific offer which this job represents for the migrant. In this sense, silence in the bakery is seen as an added-value of this sort of employment; a job which requires little interaction resulted advantageous for many who had a very basic knowledge of Spanish. Additionally, some workers speak of the benefits of being in a job indoors as opposed to working in rural areas.

“In the wintertime, the workers want to work in the bakeries because it’s warm in there. Nothing is wasted, the clothes, the shoes, nothing. Also, we work with a uniform. Work is good in the bakery, although you earn little. We couldn’t earn more, we live like that. We have bread every day. So in that sense, there is no drama for bread. Everyday we have bread, everyday we have money, because we get paid each day. So in that sense, I cannot complain, because it’s not bad. At least I have my little house.”

But the fundamental reason is the system of puertas adentro (indoors system), which allowed the Mapuche to start working in the city without having to already have a place to live. In fact, the majority of the bakery workers initially lived in the backeries. Additionally, part of their payment included a daily ration of food, which permitted them to save money on food costs.

“I came to Santiago and worked indoors. You sleep in the bakery. Indoors you have everything, you have a bed, you have food. Let’s say you don’t need anything. When you work puertas afuera (outdoors) you have to rent, you have to pay rent, have to pay water, and have to pay electricity. And with what you will be earning, you won’t be able to pay for all of that.”

This form of working relations was also widely practiced in the case of housemaids. Just as the bakery served as an opportunity for integration into the urban structure for men, many Mapuche women who emigrated to the city found work in the domestic worker sector. The indoors system facilitated the inclusion of people in precarious conditions into the work force. Moreover, it proved to be one of the fundamental mechanisms of capturing indigenous labor, especially in the first phases of the migrations. It is evident that this system also meant a higher employee-employer dependency, where negotiations are set in the context of the possibility that the employee not only lose his job but also his shelter. As we shall see further on in this study, perhaps it was precisely this situation which exposed the Mapuches to higher levels of exploitation and abuse, thus proving fundamental in the early awakening of the working class consciousness.

Access to shelter is fundamental for integration into the city. To sleep in the bakeries meant—at least in the first phase—that the Mapuches lived spread out over the entire city. Different to one of the general rules of every chain migration, which postulates

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fire and the darkness of the room of bakeries, a place like the ancestral ruka (mapuche traditional house).”

280 A. Ranimán.
281 Ibíd.
the formation of highly concentrated residential sectors of the migrating group, living and working in the bakeries (or in the case of women, in households) subjected the Mapuches to their being scattered throughout the city. In addition, many migrants passed through a diverse number of bakeries in search of better work conditions. As a result, they also lived in different parts of Santiago.

“I came to work alone, huachito. I came to work in the bakery at the intersection of Manuel Montt and Bilbao. I don’t remember anymore how the bakery was called. Looking for work, alone, I arrived there to that bakery. I only worked there 22 days. I did not like it because they made me wake up at three in the morning, and made me work until two or three in the afternoon. I didn’t like it and started as pastry maker. Then I got in at José Manuel Infante and Manuel Montt, at the German pastry shop. I believe this pastry shop is still there. Six months I worked as a butcher, delivering meats by bicycle. Then I came and later I worked on the intersection of 10 de Julio and Portugal. I got in as an apprentice and was there for a month. Later I got to La Berlín, here in Independencia 1620, where I also worked a month.”

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Fig. 7. Itineraries of residence and work in Santiago of members of the Union

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282 Interview to Eusebio Huechuñir. 24.11.2006.
In this manner, Mapuche migrants move throughout the city until they find a definitive location. By saving or making better money, the migrants eventually manage to rent a room near their work. E. Huechuñir did it around the Independencia sector; E. Paillalef lived with his cousins until he found a room to rent in Santa Rosa; J. Huenuvil rented a room in Peñalolen once he started working in Ñuñoa, though he still paid frequent visits to his sister in Pudahuel. He now lives in the neighborhood known as La Florida. Ranimán lived and worked for several years indoors in different bakeries, one of which was located in Renca. Currently he works in Recoleta and lives in San Joaquín. The movement throughout the city in search of work or shelter meant that Mapuche migrants eventually settled in different working class barrios of the city. Furthermore, state housing subsidies have increased this dispersion to include places where urban land are being renovated or where land is being urbanized for the construction of houses.

In spite of this urban dispersion, an attempt is made to maintain family bonds, and brothers, cousins, uncles visit each other regularly. In some cases, these relationships end up being their only circles of trust. The preservation of the primary relations was documented by Munizaga at the end of the 1950s, when L.A. explained, “During my stay in Santiago, I mean, when I arrived, I maintained friendship with the people from the South, the majority of whom were Mapuches.” 283

The high percentage of migrant Mapuches working indoors who also found themselves dispersed throughout the city led to the search for centralized social spaces. One example is that which Munizaga described in what he called Rl Jardín (The Garden) in the Quinta Normal neighborhood of Santiago, a meeting point for Mapuches on Sundays. These social spaces are remembered in our interviews:

“Everybody went to the Quinta Normal, everybody was there. It was like more country, more trees, everything; the first time that he went to there I invite my girlfriend, we drank and ate something. And then suddenly it was afternoon and he took us home. From then on we kept going out.” 284

“We went there from Independencia, to a Palín game. We went to Quinta Normal, from Quinta Normal already in the morning we went to the exit of Parque Cousiño then to Parque O’Higgins, to a party. I had a few friends, but bad friends never; only good people. We hung around with young girls: ‘so, What are we going to eat?’ They were very good people. I always remember those people that I met when I was young. They were very calm. There were also some Mapuche ladies who were working indoors. We worked in the bakeries; they also worked as housemaids. Those friends, I simply knew them from hanging around in the Quinta Normal, here, there. You ask: ‘How are you

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284 R. Huenuvil.
doing? So long ago’, and so one made conversation. And if I have a friend I introduce him to you, and you introduce me to a girlfriend and ‘Hi, how are you?’ and so on.”

Once settled in the city and with a more stable financial situation, it is common that the next step is to start a family. A relevant fact is that the majority of the wives of those interviewed are Mapuches who worked as housemaids.

“I went to the country to search for a wife. I went there. I was going to find one because I knew a woman there in the countryside. She was a cousin, and we were the same age. I think she was a year older. We talked when we were young, when we were children. But we later departed. I later met my wife. She is also Mapuche. She is a very hard working lady; she worked in households in Santiago.”

“Well I met my wife a long time before. I met my wife in school; we went to the same school, of course she is younger than me. When I finished my wife was still a little girl. She also came to work to Santiago, as a housemaid. But she works. At first she started working in Temuco, but suddenly she had the idea of coming to work in Santiago.”

As one can see, the social relations which the migrants maintain after their arrival in the city are based mainly on the extended family. The new bonds and friendships which begin in the city become structured around the family circle as well as the new acquaintances made at work and in places of leisure very much associated with the Mapuches, such as Quinta Normal. As a result of this situation, social circles arise which form the basis for a network of ethnic differentiated relationships. However, these relations do not represent a territorial character in the city. Although the relationships are fundamentally between Mapuches, even within the family, where Mapudungún is rarely spoken, Spanish is the language used in these encounters.

“Earlier they would speak only Mapuche with you. But I made the mistake as I was older of never speaking Mapudungún with any of my sons, never-ever.”

“We now speak in Mapuche. Because when one does not speak for a long time, one forgets it later. One also gets confused.”

It has been stated that a chain migration operated during the first generations of Mapuche migrants. Nevertheless, this concept points out an initial situation which makes it possible for the migrants to initially settle in the city and to begin to integrate themselves into city life. But, did this chain exist longer than this first moment, as the migrants began to reside in Santiago? According to the cases presented, this chain migration did not give way to a migratory network. In this case, a network is different from a chain in that it signals a process of higher formalization in the relationships based

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285 A Ranimán.
286 Ibíd.
287 J. Huenuvil.
288 R. Huenuvil.
289 J. Llancavil.
upon kinship or friendship, thus permitting an increase in the migratory movement and access to more and better resources of integration.290 Generally, at least insofar as can be taken from studies of transnational migration, the migratory networks can give way to ethnic economies and/or ethnic segregated neighborhoods in the center of the city as a way of achieving control of a specific socio-economic space.

The truth is, at least for the time being, no migratory network of Mapuches exists. This does not imply that the chain migration does not continue to operate for the new migrants. Rather, this chain has not been formalized into a self-sustainable system which automatically generates new resources for integration. In this sense, despite a long history of working in the bakery sector, there are practically no bakery entrepreneurs of Mapuche origin. The first bakeries owned by Mapuches have opened very recently and under very particular conditions. It is possible that an explanation to this fact can be found in Mapuche society’s notion of property (in particular in regards to land ownership). Because the concept of private property was historically unknown to the Mapuches and imposed on them by the Chilean state, privatizations proved to be a much resisted notion or at least a cause for disputes since the time in which the reservations were created until today. This element, however, requires a deeper analysis.

Rather than following down ethnically marked paths, the absence of a Mapuche migratory network has meant that divergent strategies of urban integration had to be developed. For example, Mapuche society has longed placed high value on formal education.291 In fact, it is precisely this path which Mapuche society is currently reproducing as a strategy to generate integration resources in the city. In other words, the majority of the Mapuches currently see access to higher levels of education as their principal tool for integration and social ascent.

3.4. From Labor Unions to Indigenous Associations

I have reviewed how the informal networks of migrants became the basis for their initial stage of integration into the city. As Munizaga pointed out, these meeting places and workplace and leisure contacts played the role of “transitional structures.” 292
The work space of the bakeries functioned as an ambivalent cultural space. Despite the great number of Mapuches who worked together in a bakery, for many decades it was not a space where elements of Mapuche culture were expressed. Rather, the attitude of “invisibilization,” of concealing one’s indigenous origins in the city, was reproduced in the bakery as a strategy to avoid discrimination. In this manner, for instance, bakery workers were reserved about communicating in their own language.

“In the bakery we speak Mapuche, but in very low voices. Depending on the people you know. If you are familiar with someone, yes. But with those who you don’t know, you cannot just come and speak like that, not even with friends. We understand each other, we understood ourselves without problems.”

Nevertheless, in this first phase of migration, the participation of the bakery workers in labor unions played an exceptionally important role. The early formation and affiliation in unions will prove to be the urban Mapuche’s main associative form. Martín Painemal, who had established two worker’s and migrant organizations, became a union organizer of bakery workers in Santiago and Temuco already in the early 1930s.  

Currently, two organizations are considered as the most important in which bakery workers participate: the association of bakery workers—expressed in regional unions and CONAPAN—and the Indigenous Associations, established in accordance with the 1993 Indigenous Law. The participation of workers of Mapuche origin in labor unions has been massive since these associations were founded. What’s more, Mapuche participation has been fundamental in their development. Nevertheless, this participation was not reflected in the political leadership of the labor unions. In fact, it wasn’t until November, 2006, that a leader of Mapuche origin was elected president of the National Confederation of Bakers, thus initiating a new phase in the life of the labor union. This fact is considered an achievement for the new leadership and the beginning of a new phase in the history of the bakers’ union; an accomplishment only possible thanks to many years of grassroots organizing. Having participated during more than twenty years in different administrative positions in the Confederation as well as the union’s direction to which they are affiliated, the current leaders have a long experience in the political field.

“I always defended the colleagues who were being abused, who were being provoked, because it used to be very common that the boss would insult the workers, taking advantage of their lack of education and their not being able to react. So the employees simply do not answer, they keep quiet. That’s why the bakery bosses abused the bakers. And so I always said, ‘Why do we have to let them treat us wrong? Answer! If you get fired, sue!’ I always said that. And then elections came, many years passed and I

293 A. Ranimán.
294 M. Painemal was an active leader who was influenced by the labor movement of the first half of 20th Century and supported the Federation of Worker of Chile (Federación Obrera de Chile). He became an important Urban mapuche leader. See: Painemal/Foester (1984).
was elected. So since then I am President. That was 1987; President of the Syndicate Nr. 1. Now, in 2006, I was elected National President of the Confederation (CONAPAN).

“I got affiliated [with the labor union] in order to have knowledge of the rights of workers and to get help from my colleagues and the union leaders. Because the organization is for us, the workers, it is our second school. Through the union we can defend our rights, through the unity of the workers, because if we run around free nobody defends us (…) I am a leader since 1989. I was Secretary of the union for two years. Now I am President. I joined the organization in 1970, before that I was “free” and not associated to the union.”

Participation in the labor union does not arise out of ethnic considerations, but by workers becoming conscious of their subordinate position in the work structure. Work in a bakery is a hard, poorly paid vocation (at least during the first years), where the workers are exploited.

“They treated all of us wrong. No difference if you are Mapuche or winka, it made no difference to the boss. Unfortunately, there are many Mapuches who did not go to school or simply did not have enough courage, because the boss used to be highly respected and the Mapuche is an ashamed type. But that doesn’t exist anymore. If a boss raises his voice to a worker, nobody keeps quiet. Back then they took advantage of our ignorance, our lack of education, the respect that we had for winkas.”

“There was discrimination. First they treat one, that one is an indio, that one doesn’t know, we are discriminated because we are Mapuche. Back then the boss called us Indio and we suffered.”

Although this abuse was the product of the subaltern position of the workers, both E. Paillalef and E. Huechuñir share a vision in which the mistreatment is more intense when it comes to the Mapuches. According to Paillalef, the condition of the Mapuches—lack of education, respect for the winka, shyness—accentuates the tendency on the part of bakery owners to treat the Mapuche in an arbitrary manner. For his part, Huechuñir believes that discrimination against the Mapuches is based on an extended image based on the Mapuche’s supposed incapacity to develop himself in an adequate way at work. In this sense, discrimination is based on the view of the Mapuche as an indio, with the corresponding historical discrimination.

Nevertheless, this reality has changed over the course of the last few years. Today, the current leaders see progress in the way that abuse coming from a boss at the

295 E. Paillalef.
296 J. Llancavil.
297 Munizaga used the concept of “ideological awakening” which is experimented by the educated Mapuches in the city. According to Munizaga this concept describes the process in which the migrant understand the society in which he lives and takes a place in it. This notion comes from investigations in Guatemala in the 1950s. Munizaga (1960), p. 61.
298 E. Paillalef.
299 E. Huechuñir.
workplace is being faced. Access to education and the advances obtained through involvement in the union have made it possible for Mapuches and winkas alike to claim their rights as workers.

“Today we are union leaders. Today we have made it grow. And now we have been recently elected. The day before yesterday we were elected as Mapuche leaders. For the first time in history, albeit with lots of sacrifice, against a lot of criticism. We are still being looked at as if we were incapable, as if we had no skills.”

“The fact that for the first time the presidency and almost all of in the board are Mapuches is historical. Of the 7 leaders there is only one winka. 6 of us are Mapuches. And it never happened (...) We are like a sleeping diamond, because nobody worried about organizing, about encouraging the people, and that is what needs to be done by us now (...) We want the workers to take to the streets (...) We have to organize, so that the bosses see that we exist as workers.”

Could this new context mean a sort of “mapuchization” of the labor unions? The possibility that the confederation replaces or widens its strict labor demands to include ethnic demands is highly unlikely. Although the new board of CONAPAN is composed of Mapuche leaders, its objectives are mainly oriented towards the revitalization of union activities for bakery workers as a whole. The current leaders state that the Confederation has lost strength over the last years. This can be seen by the decrease in the number of members, the low participation of workers in union activities, the lack of training of the leaders, the abandonment of work done on the development of laws favorable to workers, and the lack of investment in infrastructure. Within the current projects, the union’s activities are focused on the creation of better conditions for collective negotiation, the control of the payment of the social security taxes as well as an increase in the amount of members, among others. As can be seen, all are tasks dealing with the affairs of labor unions. During 2007, work has begun to reinvigorate unions in the cities of Iquique, Los Andes and Melipilla. Furthermore, attempts are being made to improve on the infrastructure of the Confederation.

The deterioration of union activities also responds to a series of labor market reforms and general policies which have been implemented in order to weaken the power of the unions. Nevertheless, the Mapuche-led unions have discovered a new way of strengthening associations: the Indigenous Law foresees the creation of Indigenous Associations for economical, cultural or social development. In fact, union members have formed associations which offer benefits for its members. In this manner, the

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300 Ibíd.
301 E. Paillalef.
302 The most important tool for the negotiation between enterprise and workers is the collective negotiation. Nevertheless, the legislation relegates collective negotiation only for businesses having more than 8 workers, most of the bakeries are small in size, so in reality, collective negotiation can not be applied.
organizational tradition of Mapuche bakery workers is currently being channeled by organizations of an indigenous nature, thus diversifying the sources of access to resources.

The Indigenous Association is a type of organization institutionalized through CONADI whose configuration does not correspond to a traditional Mapuche structure. The members elect the boards of directors by universal vote. The Indigenous Association is a legal entity like any other form of social organization. Currently there are 4,858 Mapuches who participate in these groups in the Metropolitan Region alone. Although at just 3%, the percentage of the population which is organized this percentage is rather low, this generally follows the same tendency as the whole of the Chilean population in regards to its participation in formal organizations. 304

Many of the bakers’ unions have taken part in this new impulse which has been given by the Indigenous Associations. Under their guidance, many different cultural associations have been formed which do not only include union members, but also women and other family members who are not bakery workers.

“We have founded an Indigenous Association. I founded it together with other colleagues. We have male and female members who are Mapuches from our own families. In practical terms the Association doesn’t interfere with the union. It is an organization as well. It is the same people of the union who work at the Association. (…) Actually, when I was a leader of the Association, we practically did nothing because as a union leader you have very little time. So it was good that the leader of the organization be someone who was not leader in the union so more things could be done.” 305

“The members of the Cobquecura Association are the same bakery workers—both winkas and Mapuches; winkas, too, because here there are no differences. It came out of a big assembly in which it was decided to form this group, not in order to weaken, but in order to strengthen our union. That is why our association was formed. We participated little in terms of Mapuche culture.” 306

In this manner, the unionized bakers have the possibility to take part in cultural activities within the framework of the Associations. At the same time, they can satisfy other needs and solve problems not directly linked to Mapuche culture, but rather to their conditions of integration into the city, such as access to housing. Before the unions offered possibilities of collective access to housing, today the Association has become a

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304 In the chapter 4 I will discuss the Indigenous Association in detail. Ana Millaleo states about the character of the indigenous associations: "A Mapuche social organization is considered as a special form of organization whose primary goal and function is the claim of certain cultural, social and political aspects. This claim questions a certain model of society with which they are dissatisfied. Such organizations can not be put on a par with social organizations such as lodges, sports clubs, interest groups, a group of opinion and others. The Mapuche social organization involves, since its inception, a criticism of the macro-social environment." Millaleo, A. (2006), p. 27.

305 J. Llancavil.

306 E. Huechunuńir.
better strategic option. *Sindicato Nr. 1*, for instance, saw it this way, which is why in addition to founding a cultural association, the union also formed a “housing group.” In fact, resources can be obtained through these organizations such as by applying for state funds, something which is becoming more and more difficult for the unions. This bond between the unions and the Indigenous Associations has resulted advantageous for both; not only does the association profit from the organizational and political experience gained over the course of decades, but also the members of the unions have access to benefits which would be very difficult to obtain given the current conditions of the labor union movement.

“The Indigenous Cobquecura Association was founded here in 1998. It was founded by us. I was the President of the organization for 4 years. Then another colleague was President. Now it is being led by other colleagues. We have won a few projects in the CONADI, we have implemented the social office, we have bought what was needed. We have three computers for the association. We have copy machines and many more things. The desks for instance, we have bought all of this thanks to the projects won by the CONADI. The head office is in the back and when we make an event it gets full. For the *We tripantu* it gets full with workers and also a lot of *winka* colleagues come who like it a lot, and also those who came from the countryside, who are also Mapuche. There is no discrimination in this aspect. We like everybody equally. The association allows everyone to participate and therefore we do not say that one has to be Mapuche. Like I said before, what we achieve is for the union, not for personal use. In terms of the projects, it strengthens the union.”

The associations have an inclusive character when it comes to membership. Born under the guidance of the unions, the activities which are developed as well as the groups which are formed with specific objectives incorporate all union affiliates, no matter whether they are Mapuches or *winkas*.

In fact, the associations have played a major role in creating visibility for that which is Mapuche in the social spaces linked to the bakeries. If the bakeries were a “Chilean” space at the arrival of the migrants, where Mapuches preferred not to speak in their ancestral language in order to not draw the attention of the *winkas* with which they shared their workplace, today this relationship has changed. Nowadays, *purrún* is danced, *mudai* is drunk and the *winkas* participate enthusiastically in the activities of the associations.

The unionism of the Mapuche bakery workers has become a strategy of integration in the city. The working class consciousness, the need to come together in defense against abuses and to participate in the negotiation between capital and labor, all have been fundamental in the struggle against prejudice and for dignity in the workplace; an experience which has strongly marked thousands of Mapuches in Santiago. Indeed, the

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307 E. Huechuñir.
simple fact that the amount of Mapuche bakery labor union members is similar to the number of those who participate in Indigenous Associations in the Metropolitan Region is a good indication of a mass experience which has proved fundamental to urban integration.

Although the unions are a Westernized form of organization which neither recognize the ethnic condition of its members nor their specific demands, the combination of unions and Indigenous Associations illustrates how the urban Mapuches have been capable of developing multiple strategies of cultural reproduction and social integration. The capacity to adapt to diverse contexts and the employment of the possibilities which the environment offers makes it possible that the oldest form of organization in Santiago in which Mapuche participated—the bakery workers’ unions—serve as testimony to their political experience in participation and administration.

4. Chapter Conclusions: The Bakery as a Strategy of Formal Integration

The city of Santiago was the migratory goal for those who left the communities from the very beginning. In fact, Mapuche migration did not follow a progressive dynamic which slowly linked urban centers.

A chain migration, formed mainly by Mapuche relatives and friends, was fundamental in obtaining the first jobs and housing in the city. As such, the Mapuches started to fill the job positions in the bakeries of the city. The bakery offered a model of work *indoors*, which made it possible to access work and shelter simultaneously: two basic needs of the migrants in their process of integration into the city. Although this network was fundamental during the second half of the 20th Century, it did not formalize to the point in which it could be transformed into a migratory network of certain autonomy that allowed a space of self-management of urban integration over the course of the years.

Even today, the urban Mapuches maintain links with their communities of origin. This chapter has posed the question of the character of this bond. We have observed that, in spite of the existing communication within the extended family, the urban space of those who have migrated and the space of the community are highly contrasting. Although the migrant identifies himself with his community of origin, he cannot play a defined role in the development of that community.

The historical participation of the Mapuches in labor unions linked to bakery workers evidences an early political consciousness; one that has developed until today and which currently is witness to a new phase of development. This form of organization presents Mapuches in their condition as workers and not from the perspective of their
ethnical background. Currently, this tradition of organization has found a new expression in the so-called Indigenous Associations. In this way, it has been possible to widen and complement strategies of integration into the city which permit an improvement in the living conditions of its participants as well as the realization of cultural activities, such as the celebration of *We tripantu*, which develop elements of ethnic identity.

In brief, the case reviewed possesses a specific characteristic which would differentiate it from other processes of ethnical and rural-urban migration in general. The Mapuche migrants used structures belonging to urban society in favor of their integration into the city.

Although the migrants developed a chain migration, their integration into the city was carried out through a formal, semi-industrial profession, whereby Mapuches adopted the social category of a worker. Migration to Santiago, however, did not develop informal economies based on ethnicity—the expected product of such a migratory network. As a result, ethnic origin was made invisible in this case, and Mapuche migrants searched for opportunities just like any other poor migrant to the city.

Despite all the difficulties that the migrants met in the course of their integration process into urban society (prejudice, lack of “Chilean” formal education, etc.), albeit subordinate, over the years they managed to build a space within the structures of the city and, in course of the experience of unionization, they improved their empowerment as social actors.
CHAPTER 4

The Neo-Community.
The Return of the Community – The Urban Organization as a Space for Ethnicity

1. Introduction

Unlike many other migratory processes from rural to urban areas on the continent, Mapuche urban organizations did not develop with the objective of aiding the integration of migrants into the city. As we saw in Chapter 2, the first urban Mapuche organizations directed their efforts at legal recognition, thus providing a platform from which it was possible to access formal venues of negotiation with the Chilean state.

The proliferation of urban Mapuche organizations at the beginning of the 21st Century, however, poses a new scenario. First, as described in the 1993 Indigenous Law, these organizations have arisen under the legal figure of Indigenous Associations with a special statute which recognizes them as legal institutions for the development of cultural and/or economic objectives. Second, these new organizations are portrayed as venues of “cultural refuge” rather than as institutions with political aims. In other words, they are spaces where it is possible to reproduce the original culture—“tradition”—at the margins of Chilean society. In consequence, scholars suggest that such organizations have taken on the role of the post-reductional community in urban space, i.e. that they have become spaces where the reproduction of Mapuche culture is sustained. Post-reductional communities represent the place where Mapuche society has held on to its traditions with a survival instinct and where the culture of resistance which currently characterizes this

society has been forged.\textsuperscript{309} Once in the city, the indigenous organization would fulfill the same objective, thus converting it into a sort of neo-community.

In this context, the urban organization would be the principal space of “construction” of Mapuche ethnic identity in the city; social spaces closed within themselves which, due to their characteristic of being identifiable as units and structured as they are as organizations, become privileged spaces to observe the process of urban ethnification. In fact, the objective of the present chapter is to shed light on the processes through which the urban Mapuche organizations can be the foundation for a new type of ethnicity.

First of all, my observation about the urban organization is not centered on supposed similarities with the post-reductional community but on the evident differences between the two. Secondly, I want to focus attention on the practices of the urban organizations rather than the discourses which they produce. The chapter starts with a brief discussion about the concept of neo-community and the phenomenon of proliferation of Indigenous Associations in Santiago. The experimental section of this chapter, based on ethnographical narrations and concentrated on one Indigenous Association of the Santiago’s La Florida district, consists of three parts. In the first part I describe the particularity of the current urban organizations in historical terms. In the second part I explore the different types of members that participate in the organizations and how they relate in a differentiated manner to Mapuche culture. In the third part of this chapter I highlight the activities which differentiate the organization from the rural community, especially those activities which only make sense in urban space.

2. \textbf{The Organization as a Community}

2.1. \textit{The Space of Refuge}

The few investigations which have explored the relationship between indigenous migrants and Chilean cities place emphasis on a negative conception of urban space; negative in the sense that life in the city would exercise a pressure on the migrants which tended toward the dissolution of their ethnic condition. Urban space is allegedly directed by a hegemonic dynamic in which formal capitalist relations of an instrumental rationality prevail. Yet the rural migrants bring the social characteristics of the community with them to the city. The classical perspective presumes the supremacy of the socio-economic affiliations over those of an ethnic character as a result of this confrontation. As I stated before, this perspective is represented by Weber’s prediction about the disappearance of that which is ethnic in modern society, by the observations of Wilson on the processes of

\textsuperscript{309} Saavedra (2002), p. 64.
de-tribalization in the Copperbelt and by the vision of Park on the American “melting pot,” among others.

In fact, the classical perspective states that in order to become integrated into the social life of the city the migrant must abandon and renounce his culture of origin. The thought goes that the migrant’s ways of understanding the world and behavior are of no more use in the city. The culture of origin of the migrant thus becomes a source of prejudice and subsequent exclusion as does his supposed “ignorance” as to how to behave accordingly in the city.

In consequence, the search for a space of encounter within the city with one’s equals is a collective response to this aggressive environment; a space where one can intensively experience one’s own culture. The migrant associations fulfill this role, which makes them adequate objects of study to observe the culture of origin of the migrants. The first investigations in the 1960s viewed the organizations as a transition space between the place of birth and the host society where resources of integration into the city are generated. Currently, they are viewed as closed systems in which the culture of origin is reproduced independently from the city. For example, let’s review the definition presented for Aymara organizations in the cities of Arica and Iquique in the north of Chile:

“[The associations are] … a space of cultural refuge, of psychological protection against prejudice. Maybe they are the only spaces of the city where the migrant is no longer the ‘Other’ who occupies a space which he feels does not belong to him (…) its constitution as a space where he relates to his people while avoiding being viewed by the ‘Other’, the non-Aymara sector of urban society (…). The Aymara migrant has decided to build a separate space where he is not compelled to feel as a strange and rejected ‘Other’.”

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The objective of the construction of this space of “cultural refuge” is to express an identity that has been silenced from the moment in which the original community was abandoned. In this manner, the feelings of detachment and insecurities which arise during the migratory process have a space where they can be shared. The urban Mapuche organization is understood in a similar way. For example, Gissi explains it in the following manner: “The feeling of loneliness of the migrants alludes to the nostalgia of a body from which they were torn apart. It is nostalgia for the place of origin, for the group as a people; it is nostalgia for the post-reductional community. Nevertheless, the ethnicity is partially recovered in these urban neo-communities.”

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In fact, the urban organizations are the vessel through which the migrants can share their feeling of detachment—the organization as a cultural refuge—but as Gissi proposes, it is also a way of restructuring ethnicity in a new space. This process is possible because the urban indigenous organization is transformed into a neo-community. Similarly,

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311 Gissi (2001), p. 120.
Aravena adopts the idea that the cultural refuge takes on the character of a neo-community:

“The affirmation of urban Mapuche identity is expressed in the center of the Mapuche organization, establishing itself as a sort of ‘community’ to its members. This new space, the Mapuche organization, comes to replace the space occupied by the rural communities. We find ourselves in the presence of a new form of Mapuche community.”  

The reference to the community is a reference to the ancestral, traditional, original community. What now emerges is the possibility of reproducing this cultural space in the city, with the organization occupying a position of cultural resistance to urbanity (Urbanität). Additionally, it would become a place in the city where that which is ethnic could be expressed in its utmost purity; as a highly structured social space.

Nonetheless, the authors who sustain this position do not provide compelling arguments to be able to define the experience of the organization in the city as a substitute for the experience of the rural community. On the one hand, they postulate that the organization would recover a sort of ritual community—a fundamental element in the construction of Mapuche identity—by allowing the performance of Nguillatún, We tripantu and Palliwe in the city. Yet no further exploration into the differences of these rituals in the city has been made. The researchers who sustain such a hypothesis do not go deeper into the social structures of these neo-communities. In other words, they do not pay attention to the diverse origins and characteristics of the members and the dynamics of the organizations themselves. Clearly the problem is that the “neo” in these communities has yet to be defined. Which types of processes of construction of ethnicity are produced within them? What makes them different from or equal to the traditional communities?

2.2. Levels of Communities

Currently, the notion of community is undergoing a sort of revival. Today the community is seen as a principal source of collective identity. For instance, Castells states that the community returns in the context of the informational society as a significant space for the construction of collective projects. The loss of influence of the nation-states and the consolidation of a sphere of global order which determines the relationships between society, economy and politics has an impact on the reduction of the distances between local and global spaces. In reaction to this, subjects often times attempt to retreat

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313 Specifically R. Foester has argued that the ritual is an essential element in building Mapuche identity. See: Foester (1996).
314 Castells (1997).
back into the concept of community. In this case, the community represents the search for social integration.

The formation of contemporary communities is a dynamic process. The current communities are created by groups with particular interests such as those arising from ecological disputes, local economies and/or consumption, among many others. The instrumental rationality mainly leads to the construction of a sense of belonging in these communities. In the sense that they are not the stage of a confrontation between pre-modern and modern forms such as is presumed by such a distinction, they therefore do not appeal to the old distinction between Gemeinschaft and Gesellschaft á la Tönnis. Indeed, the contemporary idea of community superimposes tradition and modernity.

This notion of community has a broad acceptance and has been effective in helping us to better comprehend phenomena such as the proliferation of civil society groups with specific political objectives, communities in cyberspace and collectives of transnational immigrants, among others. Nevertheless, this idea of community is not the one employed when observing indigenous Latin America. In this case, the indigenous community is still widely regarded as ahistorical and oblivious to time; the community as an essentialization of indigenous society. This is the case which I refer to when I speak of the spatial-turn of direction of the current Mapuche movement and its anchor in the reservations as the base of Mapuche identity. In general, this view has been hegemonic in observing ethnic phenomena in Latin America. For example, the so-called “folk studies” referred to Andean indigenous societies in this manner. Without observing the dynamics of movement and communication which its members establish in other social spaces, indigenous settlements are seen as homogeneous cultural and social units of an ancestral origin.

In the case of the Mapuches, three historical moments can be observed in the formation of a concept of community. The first form of ancestral community was based on the traditional *lof*, generally translated as the extended family. The patrilineal extended family was the only basic unit of Mapuche society from which broader territorial alliances were structured (such as the *Wichan mapu*). A second moment begins with the destruction of the traditional *lof* as a result of military defeat, occupation of the ancestral territory and the process of creating reservations. The groups of people sharing a *Título de Merced* gave form to a community, known as the post-reductional community. In the course of the 20th Century, these new social units consolidated their position as a social, economic and cultural reference for Mapuche society. A third moment can be pointed out with the enactment of the Indigenous Law of 1993 which, by establishing the legal statute of the “Indigenous community,” constructs a new ethno-political space in legal terms.

316 Counterpoints to this trend, see: Alber (1990; Imilán (2007); Steinhauf (1992).
317 Article 9 of the Indigenous Law (N° 19.253) defines the indigenous community in the following terms. "For the purposes of this Act Comunidad Indígena means any group of persons belonging to one ethnic
In fact, the current definition of the Mapuche community is product of conflicts, enactment of laws of direct and indirect application, processes of negotiation and socio-cultural policies. In other words, the notion of community has been constructed by a complex set of elements of recognitions and rejections between political agents.  

The notion of community not only occupies a temporal, historical and diachronic sphere, but also one of spatial scale and synchronic horizon. As set out by law, the Mapuche rural community corresponds to the level anchored to the strictest local space. It refers to the community formed in the post-reductional process, one which is understood as consisting of relationships of presence based on the co-residence of its members.

A second level of sense of community can be recognized on a regional scale, which in the case of the Mapuches refers to the so-called territorial identities that seem to reconcile the bigger current consensus as an expression of the ancient Wichan mapu. Both the indigenous community and a regional community are articulated by kinships which simultaneously express relationships of alliance and consanguinity.

A third spatial scale is to be located on a national level. This third sense of community refers to the Mapuche nation (pueblo-nación) in contrast to the Chilean nation, both of which are contained in the negotiation space constructed under the Chilean state. The Mapuche nation represents itself as a socio-cultural unit. The consolidation of this level has allowed the formulation of a Mapuche ethno-national claim.

A fourth level of community is of a global order. Here identification is obtained through recognition as part of an American or global indigenous movement. The first antecedent of this supranational movement can be found at the middle of the 20th Century in the so-called indigenismo, which was more a movement of non-indigenous intellectuals who discussed the indigenous character of Latin American societies from a quasi-romanticist perspective. Consequently, their preoccupation was the search for strategies of integration of the indigenous societies into the modernization projects of the nation-states. Currently at this global level, the indigenous movements are struggling to develop and establish autonomous forms of territorial administration as well as an ideological opposition to neoliberalism and its capitalist form of globalization. Emerging in the mid-1990s, the Zapatista movement in Mexico developed the most consolidated image of a local indigenous movement with global references.

indigenous group and who is in one or more of the following situations: a) It comes from the same family trunk, b) It recognizes a Traditional chieftain c) It owns or has owned indigenous land in common, and d) It comes from a very old village."

320 The territorial identity (identidad territorial) has emerged in recent times in the discourse of the Mapuche movement as reference of regional identity. Ethnographic background from the mid-XXth Century states the regional relationships between rural communities. See Stuchlik (1976).
321 See Chapter 2.
These different spatial scales are not necessarily coherent with each other; they sometimes overlap and reach points of tension and dispute. It is clear that the more local the scale of community the lower the degree of mediation between the relationships of the members of the collective. Likewise, the more the idea of community has to do with a bigger territorial scale, the more direct is its link to a political space of negotiation, which some have referred to as an ethno-political space. In fact, this diversity in the types of relating to the idea of community is what constructs a complex landscape of identification.

In principle, when seen as a neo-community, the urban organization is an attempt to recover a space on a local level. Nevertheless, it’s still possible to pose the hypothesis that, due to the practical impossibility of regaining the character of a rural community, the urban organization is forced to operate on different levels of community from its very conception.

2.3. Organizations in Santiago

The current urban Mapuche organizations resulted out of the 1993 Indigenous Law.\textsuperscript{322} In the past chapters we have reviewed the formation of different organizational references which developed their activities during the 20\textsuperscript{th} Century. Nevertheless, because the current organizations adopted the formalization required by this law in order to access the benefits established within it, the new legal situation significantly restricted the organizational landscape of the Mapuches. Concretely, this meant that the Mapuche organizations and collectives primarily existed within the structures set out by the law.

According to the CONADI registers, the 101 indigenous Mapuche organizations in Santiago counted a total of 5,407 members in 2004, which translates into an average of 50 members per organization. This figure represents 3\% of Santiago’s population which identified itself as Mapuche. It must be pointed out, however, that many held dual memberships, i.e. they were members of more than one organization. At the same time, a distinction must be made between active members, who participate in a permanent form, and passive members, who only take part in specific activities of the organization. According to estimates, the percentage of active members represented approximately 50\% of the members of an organization.\textsuperscript{323}

Seen from a statistical perspective, the urban Mapuche organizations do not represent a massive movement. From a historical perspective, however, the increase in the amount of organizations over the last few years is a relevant phenomenon. Only three

\textsuperscript{322} The Indigenous Law recognizes two forms of association for indigenous peoples. One is the indigenous community in rural regions. The other is the indigenous associations, whose character is functional, that is, its objectives are aimed at carrying out productive or cultural projects. The mapuches in the city can only found urban indigenous associations. In this text urban organization refers to the legal figure of urban indigenous associations.

formalized collectives existed in Santiago as of 1985: Folilche Aflaiai, Mullelche y Ad Mapu; 19 organizations were identified by 1999; six years later, in 2005, that number had reached over one hundred.\footnote{Huaiquilaf (1999).}

The explosive increase in the number of associations over the last ten years has brought forth a very diverse yet highly fragmented landscape. Fragmentation refers to the phenomenon of permanent division which each organization experiences. Although this division process can be understood as a diversification of choice, A. Millaleo puts forth that the concept of fragmentation denotes a landscape of organizations comprised of small collectives which position themselves more in terms of competition than in terms of collaboration.\footnote{Millaleo, A. (2006), p. 148.} The internal division of the associations is produced not only through disputes brought about by the differences in orientation proper to every organization, but principally because of the inadequate administration of projects. The survival of the majority of the organizations, which is based on projects financed by the CONADI, ensures a quasi dependence on state funding. However, this financing has proved to be an important incentive for participation, and probably is one of the causes as to the recent

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Comunas</th>
<th>Nº Organizations</th>
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<tr>
<td>Santiago</td>
<td>16</td>
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<td>Peñalolen</td>
<td>12</td>
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<tr>
<td>La Florida y La Pintana</td>
<td>10</td>
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<tr>
<td>Cerro Navia y La Granja</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Puente Alto y Renca</td>
<td>5</td>
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<tr>
<td>Estación Central</td>
<td>4</td>
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<tr>
<td>El Bosque, Lo Prado, Pudahuel y Quilicura</td>
<td>3</td>
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<tr>
<td>Independencia, Macul, Peñaflor y San Bernardo</td>
<td>2</td>
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<tr>
<td>Huechuraba, La Cisterna, La Reina, Maipú, Pedro Aguirre Cerda, Quinta Normal, y San Ramón</td>
<td>1</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>101</strong></td>
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\footnote{Table elaborated from Millaleo, A. (2006).}
increase in the number of organizations. Beyond the difficulties and conflicts, two distinguishable processes have emerged over the course of the last several years.

First of all, it’s possible to observe a growing process of specialization of the organizations. This refers to those organizations that concentrate their activities on a specific field of action. Among these are organizations dedicated to cultural activities, generally oriented around the practice of Nguillatún, We tripantu and Palliwe. Under the idea of reproducing Mapuche religious practices in the city, these organizations categorize themselves as culturalists. But organizations which work in the field of non-religious cultural dissemination also stand out, such as those involved in the fields of social communication, the arts, music, etc. Other organizations have specialized in traditional medicine. We shall review just such a case later in this chapter. Very few organizations in Santiago have a productive or economic orientation or are dedicated directly to political work.

Secondly, the organizations in Santiago stand out because of the presence of women, not only among their members but in positions of leadership as well. Indeed, around 50% of the leaders are women. This fact stands in strong contradiction to the situation in the communities or in the traditional organizations which are almost exclusively led by men. Only in relatively few occasions is the role of the traditional lonko carried out by a woman. A. Millaleo states that despite the presence of women in positions of leadership, this does not mean that the variable of gender has been transformed in an object of discussion within urban Mapuche society.327

The majority of the organizations have a family-based character; generally all members of the nuclear family participate in the same organization. Habitually the members of a family create and lead an organization, a characteristic which seriously marks the structure of the organization. In consequence, internal quarrels often take on the character of inter-family disputes. This fact probably hinders a massive participation and is one of the underlying elements which facilitate better comprehension of the profound fragmentation mentioned earlier.

3. Organization in La Florida: Shamans and the Lesson of Worldview

3.1. The First Mapuche Refuge in La Florida

“This organization started as a group of Catholic Mapuches who came to mass once a month. We would stay around afterwards, conversing and drinking tea. In the beginning I would serve them but later they told me, ‘No Father, you can boil the water and we will do the rest.’ They would bring sopaipillas, bread and other things. That was in 1983, at the Verbo Divino Seminary in La Florida. It was there that this group was born and then came what one could call the second stage. Some Mapuches started to join the group. Actually, the Catholic thing was not of much interest to them; they wanted to be in a Mapuche group. So they would put up with mass so to

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328 Translation: 1. A: cough! cough! excuse me peñi (bro) but for our group we need.../ 2. A: ... to learn cosmovision – B: no! no! look! you people in the city, you are all "awinkados" ("gone white"), impure! / 3. A: Shaa! and just now we had raised with the kids 300 (300,000 pesos) in the last gig! / 4. B: But peñi (bro), why didn’t you tell me that you were a juridical person, that’s like having a lof (family) but in the city, catch my drift?. From Azkintuwe, Mapuche newspaper, March, 2007.

329 In this section some names of people were changed.
speak. One of them even played the *trutruca* a few times during mass, but you could tell that they did not pay much attention to mass.

I believe that at this time there were practically no organizations in Santiago. There was only one from Sofía Painequeo (*Foliliche Aflaiat*), and an old one from Lorenzo Lemuñir. This one had few people and little strength left. It was around this time that the group in Cerro Navia was formed. It was called *Consejo Mapuche de Santiago* (Mapuche Council of Santiago). I think that in all of Santiago there were no more than four organizations at this time.

After three or four years this group decided to establish itself as an organization. They elected a board of directors and gave themselves a name. And so *Lelfunche* was born. Two types of membership were established in the first body of rules: members who were Mapuches and who could vote and be part of the board of directors, and non-Mapuche collaborators.

After a while we started to feel uncomfortable because of this situation with Catholics and non-Catholics. In the end it was proposed that it would be better to divide things. It was proposed that, *We could take a moment for Mapuche prayer in the patio, with purrún, with dance and everything, then we go in the chapel and do mass.* We did it a few times, but to tell the truth this division didn’t work out too well either.

I had a few ideas about making a job center, and something like a shelter for those who were coming from rural areas. I remember that I was talking about this with a Mapuche family and they were looking at me without saying a word. Suddenly they interrupted me and said, *Do you know what we really need? It is a place where we can be amongst ourselves, where we can come together with our people, with our families and not have to be looking at anybody in the face.*

The first *Nguillatún* in Santiago was in ‘74. Before that none of these ceremonies were ever performed in the city. There was big drought that year and *Nguillatún* was being prepared in the O’Higgins park, very big, but I would say that that was a false *Nguillatún*. People were brought from the south and I went to watch. But the first *Nguillatún* in Santiago was in ‘89. It was organized by a youth group which had a few links to the Socialist Party, and these youths realized that the people of the party were not very interested in the Mapuche issue, and maybe they thought, *Why are we getting involved in something that has nothing to do with us? We have to do our own thing!* And they came up with the idea of doing *Nguillatún*. At first they met with resistance from all sides. But then they convinced Mrs. María Huechilao from Cerro Navia, who now has her own organization. And Sofía Painequeo.
And then they convinced the machi Augusto Ayllapán from Pudahuel, native of Huapi. Then they needed a place.

Something very important took place at this time. The authorities of the congregation handed us a piece of land which was part of the seminary. This land was very big, it had 24 hectares and it was planted with alfalfa. It even had 25 cows. There were problems with the administration of the land and in the end, with people coming and going in the administration, the grounds were abandoned. After a few formalities, the grounds were handed over to us for five years. We got three hectares, which were put in the hands of Lelfunche.

One day while we were at the seminary after lunch, Misael Alcapán and a few other peñis came by. They asked if we would lend them the stalls and some land where they could make Nguillatún. I had been to Nguillatún in the south and thought to myself, ‘But that’s crazy! Nguillatún needs horses and a lot of people; where are they going to get all the people?’ Back then nobody knew how many Mapuche were living in Santiago. This was before the census from ‘92. The stalls were there, so they were lent to them. Our Lelfünche Catholic group was left with our mouths wide open. The group joined in, but they kept a distance, they did not organize. The Nguillatún took place, a big one, very pretty, about a thousand people came.

It is a very interesting phenomenon that the Mapuches who are involved with the church have little to do with other Mapuches. The church absorbs them. I guess it must be more or less the same with the Evangelical Church. Some time after this Nguillatún, and as a result of the relations which were established, the first palín [Palliwe] was organized, which also took place on the grounds in La Florida. That was in 1990. Invitations were sent to President Aylwin and to the Chilean Olympic Committee. The president excused himself for not being able to assist, but the Olympic Committee sent a delegate who brought a trophy, a big one, like made out of marble. Television channels also came, three of them. They even made a seven minute report for “Zoom Deportivo.” After that Lelfunche took part in the organization. We also had very good palifes [Palliwe player], from then on the organization became more Mapuche. That’s to say, it experienced a process of mapuchization.

In March 19992 the superiors of the congregation handed over the grounds for five years. The Lelfunche organization moved its head offices there. We had an office in the city center earlier, which also served as a shop for handcrafted items and things which helped to provide some income for the organization.
A group of people with high organizational talents joined in at that time. Among them was José Pailaf from Huapi and Ernesto Huenupil, a licensed accountant. Some of them had met at the indigenous boarding school located in Suecia Street in Santiago and had a political past. Pailaf had been part of the Young Communist but had gotten out, something that happens to a lot of Mapuches who joined political parties only to realize later that they were being used. But it had been good in terms of developing his organizational abilities.

After that the whole organization moved to the grounds that had been handed over to us. That was in ‘92. At this point the Mapuche part separated completely from the Catholics. We were realizing that it was a forced relationship. The three hectares were beautiful. They had been planted with alfalfa and when you stopped watering it chepica grew up everywhere, which is a beautiful grass. Later we decided that everything that was Mapuche was going to be in the back, and in the front, where the church stands, there we would meet once every month on Sunday to do mass. Those who are interested in mass could come there and the others could gather in the back. I proposed this division. It was not something we were forced to do, we just realized that it was good for the group to eliminate the pressure towards the Catholics. Because what the Mapuches needed was a Mapuche environment."

This narration recounts the formation of Lelfünche, the first organization in the La Florida district and one of the oldest in Santiago still active today. Since the 1990s diverse groups of people have emerged from Lelfünche in order to form their own organizations, for instance Wechekeche ñi Trawùn and Kalfulikán.331

Because its structure is something between the first urban organization (mid-20th century) and the organizations developed after the 1993 Indigenous Law, Lelfünche corresponds to that which we could call a transitional urban Mapuche organization. Lelfünche has a different character than the urban organizations which appear in the context of the post-reductional society and that prevailed with certain continuity until the end of the Unidad Popular period. The character of these first urban organizations can be observed through at least two elements. On the one hand, they are organizations in which the leaders and mentors live in the cities, as do the majority of their members. Although southern cities like Temuco, from which communication with the communities is not so difficult, are the center of their activities, the leaders do not fulfill the characteristics of the traditional lonko. Rather, they adopt an urban life, are learned in the ways of the winka,

330 Interview to L. Rodriguez Tupper, member of Verbo Divino Order, December, 2005.
331 The activities of the organization Kalfulikán will be presented in this chapter, the activities of Wechekeche ñi Trawùn in the Chapter 5.
work as merchants and teachers, and are successful in the Chilean world as well. Seen in these terms, characters such as Coñuepán and Manquilef are urban Mapuches.

On the other hand, they are organizations with a *winka* structure. As their names reveal “*Sociedad de Socorro*” (Aid Society) or “*Sociedad Protectora*” (Society for Protection), they not only take on the labels of 20th Century labor organizations but also have a leadership structure based on a president, a secretary and a treasury; a structure foreign to the traditional Mapuche mode of organization. As reviewed in Chapter 2, the purpose of these organizations is to regain dignity, shield Mapuche culture from injustice and, at least in the majority of cases, to promote integration into Chilean society. Each organization utilizes different strategies yet through their participation in the formal political system and by appealing to the state institutions they share the struggle for alliances with other Chilean political agents. They are organizations whose history of development speaks about a complete political reconfiguration of Mapuche society the climax of which was reached in the midst of the revolutionary years under the administration of the *Unidad Popular* government.

Researches about the history of these organizations put special emphasis on their formal aspects, their leaders, programs, activities and conflicts. But we still lack historical investigations as to the specific relationships which they established with the world of the communities. In others words, we do not know what effect their proposals had on the traditional Mapuche societies which remained in the communities.332 As we have already seen, this question is valid at least for the first half of the 20th Century. In the process of rural reforms, however, the phenomenon of social mobilization would begin to take on a massive dimension.

The history of Lelfünche is different. It represents another modality of coming together in the city and a different way of comprehending the organization. The narration of its history which I presented above focuses attention on the process of a group of Catholic Mapuches who slowly and gradually “go back” to being Mapuche. They distance themselves from Catholic practices and come closer to Mapuche ones. Within the context of the activities carried out under the direction of the *Verbo Divino* congregation in the neighborhood of *La Florida*, the group of participants broadens with the arrival of other Mapuches who do not feel a special attraction to Catholicism but whose interest is to take part in one of the few spaces in which it is possible to meet with other Mapuches.

A turning point can be determined in the organization’s history. The promoter of such encounters as those mentioned above, a member of a Capuchin order, wanted to structure an organization oriented towards social purposes. He proposed to establish a job pool or a shelter which could receive newcomers to the city; in other words, to generate certain conditions so that the migrants could integrate themselves into the city.

332 These leaders, among others, were members of national parliaments, their election was made possible by their participation in national political parties - Liberal, Conservative or Democratic. In other words, it is not possible to attribute the election of these leaders by a vote mostly Mapuche. See: Valdés (2007a).
Nevertheless, these ideas were coldly received; the participating Mapuches have an even simpler request: to have a place where they could be among themselves without being disturbed.

In fact, the original need to come together does not respond to a specific political agenda, the need to establish networks of solidarity or even in support of the integration process, but rather to the need of having an intimate Mapuche space in the city. Precisely such a space of intimacy has been denominated a “cultural refuge.”

This seems to be the basis of the organizations at the beginning of the 1990s. In fact, the story of fragmentation of Lelfünche over the course of the decade provides testimony to the impact of the public policies arising from the Indigenous Law. Moreover, the possibility of developing projects with financial aid from the state generated a new field of organizations oriented towards more specific objectives.

3.2. The Members of the Organization

The description and analysis of the Indigenous Association Kalfulikán can help us to better understand the contemporary urban organizations in the aftermath of the Indigenous Law. Initially part of Lelfünche, in 2001 the founding members of Kalfulikán created their own organization which was closely linked to the development of a project of traditional Mapuche medicine led by machi Manuel Lincovil and his family. The proximity of Lelfünche to the Catholic Church, particularly the Capuchin order, represented an unsurmountable difference that prevented the development of a project of traditional medicine in which medical concepts corresponded to Mapuche religiousness.

In order to carry out the project, in cooperation with the Health Department of the Municipality of La Florida, Kalfulikán organized the construction of a ruka on the grounds of the Los Castaños Clinic. This building and its garden were the meeting point for the association. Although the primary activity of Kalfulikán was the practice of traditional medicine, further projects existed which were oriented towards strengthening other aspects of Mapuche culture. Its mostly adult members cooperated with other Indigenous Associations in their activities.

In this present research, I am interesting in an analysis of the members of the organization and the different origins and experiences which give shape to the internal heterogeneity of the collective. An evaluation of their biographies reveals interesting information as to the meaning that the organization has for those who participate in it. First, I present the stories of two women who were socialized within the rural Mapuche community and migrated at a young age to Santiago, where they have lived ever since. In

333 The Mapuche religious syncretism has been very different to the majority of indigenous cultures in America. Mapuche rituals have few elements of syncretism, Christian and Mapuche rites have remained as two parallel practices and they are often incompatible. See: Foester (1996).
the second group of biographies, I present the case of two non-migrant men whose link to Mapuche culture is of a different nature than that of the two migrant women.

3.2.1. Two Migrant Women

Javiera (28)

I was born in Providencia but I grew up in the south, in Nueva Imperial, Pocuno. There it’s pure countryside. My grandmother spoke in Mapudungún. She spoke to me and I didn’t understand a lot because I was a little girl. But some things I did understand, some other I didn’t. I learned things with her, for example the Witral. I helped her. But when I was nine years-old and going on ten I had to leave her.

I lived in La Pintana back then, when I first came to Santiago. I lived there until I was 18. I didn’t participate in any organization in those years. I knew of nothing. Because back then there wasn’t much, so far as I knew. Not like now, where even the language is taught in schools. But back then, no, it was all very different. It was looked down upon back then, the Mapuche thing, even by the other students. They didn’t call you Mapuche; they called you huasa [person from the countryside]. They never said that you are Mapuche, they would say that you are huasa.

At 18 I left my parent’s home because I married. I met my partner at work. I stopped going to school at 13 and started to work. I didn’t finish elementary school for the simple reason that my mother wasn’t able to provide for my school. A brother of mine paid for my school, but after a while my brother misbehaved, so I preferred to work and help my mother.

In that time I worked for a business closing bags. Back then you could work if you were underage and had authorization. Now it is harder. I worked more or less three years. My mom worked in the same company but retired sooner. I got in through her. I even worked with the same boss until not long ago. But I got sick, so I retired.

Later I worked seasonally. There was a lot of seasonal work back then. We went to Graneros, to Paine [a small city close to Santiago]. In Graneros we rented a room with my sisters and my cousins so we wouldn’t have to pay the bus every day. We experienced hunger. Life wasn’t easy. We worked at plantations with my mom. I even worked while I was pregnant, helping my mother and hiding from my husband. We moved in together when I was 18, and then I got married at 23. Now I am 28. I had my son when I was 19. When I left at 18 we got a place and made a home for ourselves. We got a property in Trinidad, in Santa Raquel [neighborhood in Santiago]. We were
there for about a year, but then thieves broke in and the owner of the place decided to sell the property. We were practically the caretakers. We had a prefabricated house that my brother built. Then we went to my mother’s house and sold our house and applied for a home [social housing]. We received a house and got married.

I met my husband while he was working as a butcher, selling chickens in Franklin. I worked at a local pub. That’s where I met him. I had already quit the other job, and that time I was reproached and I said to myself, ‘I’m leaving.’ After that I found another job and worked at a restaurant. That was after the seasonal jobs. The season was over and then after the seasonal job I started working at a restaurant.

My husband is from Santiago. He wasn’t familiar with the south. I took him to get to know it. He is from Santiago. He was astonished at first; the horses, the water, the bulls, the transport, which you have to sometimes walk for some time before you can get it. All of this surprised him back then. It still does. When you go to the south you go to rest, to relax. Here in the city you can’t rest. Now he works for a company that started up in ‘95. He is salesman. He sells all sorts of sweets, ice creams.

Our home now is in San Bernardo, that’s where I’m from today, far away. We applied for private housing. The houses are not very big. Supposedly private homes should not have closed streets. They should have a lot of plazas, but these don’t have any of that. They are two-storey houses, very pretty, very comfortable. My brother made it bigger, we added more rooms. We only have one son. I don’t know if we’ll have another one. Then if maybe he someday marries and doesn’t have a place to live with his wife, then we could make the house bigger in the future. It’s your own son and you don’t want him to have to go through what we went through: living in other people’s homes, living with a lot of people.

I came to the organization through my mother. She had back pains and went to see the machi at his home. There they discovered that they have family members in common. At first the machi invited my mother and then I started to come and my sister came, too. I always bring my son with me. He is always with me. Sometimes I would like to participate more, but I am always very tired because of my weekend job. But it’s good for me to go out on Saturdays. The trip here is long, but I like it.”

334 Interview made in November 2006.
Marta (52)

“From my mother’s side I come from Maitén, from my father’s side I am from Coyilco. I was about five when I came to Santiago. My mother died and I was raised by an uncle. I remember that it was in winter, in August. I only had my father left. He got married again. After that I grew up with my uncle, I went to live at his home. I went to Catholic school. I wanted to keep my Mapuche language. Because my uncle was not Protestant or Catholic, he was Mapuche. He believed in his own way. There was only a Catholic school and he always said to us: ‘You have to learn to read and write. You have to learn so that if you go to the city they don’t make you feel dumb. At least learn to read so you can take the bus and write a few words.’ That’s why I went to that school, the only one nearby.

Then I grew up. I worked a lot in the countryside. I learned to weave, I harvested potatoes, sowed wheat. I did this to buy my school supplies, because when you go to school you need a lot of things. After that I dried the potatoes and had money. Because young people like to have their own money. And so was my life. It was very hard. And then I came to Santiago.

The first time I came to visit to Santiago I was 15. My sister was the first to come over and later she told me to come here, to visit, to see how it was. I stayed with an aunt to get to know the city and I liked it a lot.

My sister was the first one to come to Santiago. She worked as a cleaning lady in Vitacura. She found work for me. I worked as a babysitter. Back then I was 16 years old. Then I worked as cashier in a bakery, where I worked ‘outdoors.’ It was too expensive to work ‘outdoors’ so I came to work indoors, near Vitacura by Providencia.

It was difficult when I came here, I would even cry. I cried and asked myself, ‘Why did I come here to work? Nobody told me to come here to work.’ My bosses where I worked were good people. They would say that I was very bright, very hard-working. I would worry about things as though they were mine. ‘Not all girls are like you,’ my boss would tell me. I was very special to her. Later I left when I found work somewhere else. The lady there also took care of me like I was her own daughter. She only had sons. I was 18 years-old.

When I came to Santiago I went to San Bernardo. I had an aunt there and I arrived at her house. From San Bernardo I would go to work in Vitacura. I had to wake up very early. I would wake up at six in the morning in order to be up there at nine. Later I rented a place in Los Morros, where I lived on my own.

The food seemed strange to me when I came to Santiago. At one place I worked they only ate seafood. I don’t like seafood, that’s why I resigned. In
another place I worked they only cooked noodles. Back then no one knew of these foods in the countryside. I missed the food.

I worked about five months in a bakery, after that I would go back to work as housemaid. I worked in one house for a year, in the other one it was for two years. I worked almost two years in the other one and then I married. The lady liked me a lot at the place where I was working. Before she died she would come to visit me. She taught me a lot of things. She was like my mother and she loved me like her own daughter. I took care of the house when she was away from Santiago.

I met my husband here in Santiago. I met him at a Palliwe. At the time he played Palín in the Quinta Normal. He had an organization. It was a very special time, all of those who came from the south went there. That was the 1968 and 1969.

I have always spoken Mapudungún. Where I worked I always prayed in Mapudungún in the mornings when I woke up. I never forget that. I come from a Mapuche family, so my grandmother was machi as well. I prefer to speak in Mapudungún rather than in Spanish. I believe that comes from my ancestors, maybe from my spirit. I prefer to talk in Mapudungún. It is not that I find it easier, because I can speak both languages. But I prefer to speak in Mapudungún, to narrate dreams in Mapudungún, because the Mapuche culture is different. I notice when I come in contact with people when the people have a negative spirit.

Later we got married and moved to a small house in Pablo de Rohka, with an aunt, in San Bernardo. The aunt also came from the south. From there we moved to Gran Avenida and rented a place on our own. We looked for a house and rented it. From there we moved to La Florida. In the end we got the house there at the intersection of La Florida and El Parque Avenues. We had an apartment there. That was in 1980, the year my girl was born.

We traveled to the south every year to visit my husband’s family. After I came here I didn’t have any family left. They all died in the countryside. I had some land but I sold it a long time ago. I like the countryside. Here you are always running around, all stressed out.

We have been participating in this organization for seven years. I didn’t participate before, but my husband did. Because I didn’t know much here in Santiago. I just went from work to my house everyday, and when you work indoors you don’t have free any weekends. Back then I didn’t know about organizations or about people with whom I could speak in Mapudungún. Back then there weren’t any Nguillatún, for example. I yearned for that here. When I worked I prayed in Mapudungún and told myself, ‘Hopefully
These two stories correspond to two subsequent generations of migratory processes which are thirty years apart from one another. The protagonists of both these stories received their primary socialization within the framework of the rural community. Land labor and household assistance were part of the regular activities in which these women have participated. Javiera and Marta left their communities to move to Santiago at the age of 10 and 16, respectively. They travelled directly to Santiago, to the homes of close relatives. For Marta, the search for work was the main objective of her trip. For Javiera, the objective was to accompany her mother to the city. After three years in Santiago she was forced to give up her studies; the difficult economic situation at home doesn’t allow her to finish her elementary education. At age 13 she joined the workforce.

Marta found employment as a housemaid, a highly common occupation for female Mapuche migrants. She worked indoors in various upper-class homes of Santiago. Her social life was reduced to Sundays. She especially liked to visit Quinta Normal, where she knew a limited circle of friends of Mapuche origin, among whom was her future husband. Once married she stopped working.

In Javiera’s case her experience in the workforce started in a small industrial workshop and later extended to diverse jobs in the gastronomic sector, among others. She sometimes worked as a rural worker on farms near Santiago during the harvest seasons. It was precisely at the workplace where she met her Chilean husband, with whom she formed a family already early on. She was 18 when became a mother.

In both cases, they lived and worked in diverse sectors of the city. In the following maps we illustrate the respective living and working places of the two.

The paths through which both women transited in order to participate in organizations are very different. On the one hand Marta maintained a yearning to meet with other urban Mapuches since the time of her arrival. During the 1970s there were no Mapuche cultural organizations in Santiago. Together with her husband, they participated in Lelfünche and a few years later they took part in the new organization Kalfulikán.

Although the collective use of the language was very limited, Marta states that she never gave up thinking in Mapuche. The yearning to practice elements of Mapuche culture, such as Nguillatún, separated her from Lelfünche and its attempt at syncretism.

Javiera on the other hand, got involved with the organization after her mother was attended to by the machi. Following this experience, she incorporated herself into an urban Mapuche group for the first time. Javiera interrupted her contact with Mapuche culture when she left the community. Through the organization, in the city she experienced an encounter with her primary socialization experience.

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335 Interview made in November 2006.
In this sense, the relationship to Mapucheness is very different. Marta never stopped speaking Mapudungún or doing her prayers. She formed a family with another Mapuche in which the elements of her culture could be reproduced within a private space on a daily basis. Javiera’s case represented a generalized experience of people who migrated and interrupted their bond with Mapuche society. Javiera stopped speaking the language and formed a family with an urban Chilean to whom life in the community, even though he had respect for it, was a completely foreign experience.

As one can appreciate in these itineraries, whether formal or informal, no Mapuche organization played a role. When these women began to participate in an urban organization only following many years of residence in Santiago, it was in search of continuity with the Mapuche experience of their formative years.

Both stories of migration portray a typical experience for urban Mapuches. We find people who develop a bond with Mapuche culture in the rural communities during their infancy or early youth. They migrate in pursuit of employment in diverse poorly paid jobs
of the city. They join an organization in order to be able to reproduce the practices that they learned in the community or which reminded them of their lives in that community. This type of experience reveals the very intimate character which the social space of the urban organization possesses; collective spaces in which Mapuche personal experiences can be expressed.

The process of construction of a space of cultural refuge is defined as a place in which a revelation of Mapuche identity occurs. Some authors talk about this process as one of “identity conversion” in analogy to that which is known as a conversion of a religious nature.\(^{336}\) In other words, be it because of a denial of their origin in order to be accepted by Chilean society or due to other motives, many urban Mapuches who interrupt their link with Mapuche culture at some point or another undergo a moment of revelation instigated by a specific event which allows them to liberate or rediscover their identity. In general, the revelation transpires within the context of *Nguillatún* in the city or, as in the case of Javiera, mediated by the action of the *machi*, i.e. through highly spiritual practices.

Many Mapuches in the city say they went to their first *Nguillatún* out of curiosity, only to observe what would happen there. Once there, listening to the music, looking at the dances, listening to the prayers from the *machi*, they experience a moment of revelation. They feel that such an event, seen until that moment as a foreign spectacle, generates emotions which are directly linked to their spirituality. This type of experience is richly documented in works about urban organizations.\(^{337}\) Contrary to what could be a conversion of a religious nature, more than the discovery of a new sensibility, in this case what is experienced is the return to an ancestral memory to which they feel they belong and whose expression had been blocked as a form of defense, primarily against discrimination.

### 3.2.2 Two Non-Migrant Men

As commented previously in this work, the literature which deals with urban organizations concentrates almost exclusively on the bond between migrants and their organizations. Nevertheless, the organizations also include another type of biographical journey of its members which are much less documented. They are the stories of members who have no original bond with the traditional community; they are the cases of the non-migrants. The following two narrations represent this new dimension of members who participate in the same organization as in the two previous cases described above.

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337 Galaz (2001); Cuminao (1998); Abarca Cariman (2005).
Jorge, 40.

“My father came to Santiago many years ago. I was born and grew up in Santiago. When I was a kid we lived in Independencia where my father worked as a construction worker. Later when I got married I came to La Florida. Before that we rented different places with my wife. I started to work in a furniture factory, and there I had a fixed income. Then we bought a small house with my wife. She did not work; only now and then did she have a job.

We came here to live in the La Florida before our first son was born, at the end of the 1980s. In that time the neighborhood was growing and everyday new settlements and commercial centers would pop up. Good people lived there, but like everywhere else the young people who don’t go to school and have no job look for entertainment in drugs. Me and my wife, we worried every day when we would see young people taking drugs in the plaza in front of our house. We started to get organized with a few neighbors and wanted to do activities with these youths. I’ve always liked sports so we proposed doing some sports activities, to organize the young people, to try to give them some healthy entertainment. That was important because they go direct from drugs to small crimes, and then there is no chance of getting them out. I was visiting the municipality in that time because of the projects, and a few years ago I met the machi, who was also in the civil organization’s offices taking care of some other projects. We were there talking and he said, ‘But you are also Mapuche!’ Of course he recognized me because of my last name. I told him a little bit about my story and he invited me to participate in the organization that they were starting. Sometime later my wife received the invitation and she started to get closer to the organization, and in the end I also joined.

Some things happened when I started to participate. First of all I had become independent. I didn’t work for someone else anymore, I was working on my own. The group with which we were doing the sports projects dissolved. I wasn’t so sure about participating in the Mapuche community, because I had never been close to the Mapuche culture, but I knew I had to learn at some point. So I came into the community with a lot of humility in order to get to know my roots. So, my sons could also be proud of their Mapuche roots.

Sometime thereafter the whole family got involved in the community work. We have been part of many projects and have supported the machi. Now I have a very strong interest and feel very committed, especially to our youths.”

338 Interview made in November 2006.
Oscar, 42.

“I formed part of Catholic groups in different parts of Santiago for a long time. I was even linked to many people high up in the Catholic Church. That’s when I began to understand that there are many more power issues than faith issues, which didn’t make me feel right. I did not want to participate in political issues. Being in the position of the middle man, I realized that there was no clear relationship between what was being said and what was actually being done. There came a moment when I felt that it was no longer right to keep participating. And I kept on thinking and said… time went on and I said, ‘No. This isn’t right. This is a lie.’ I talked it over with my partner. She was also very active in the social participation thing. At that time we were both able to decide that we did not need the Catholic religion. That’s to say, in a few years we didn’t need to go to mass, we didn’t need the priest, we didn’t need to feel like sinners, we didn’t need to feel bad. We could also not say that someone is more of a saint than somebody else. That’s when I started to rediscover everything that I had experienced with my grandmother. When I got here to the community we would sit down in the ruka in front of the fire. I remembered that, and I felt that it had been my grandmother who had brought me here. I felt it spiritually but I couldn’t express it. When I was six years old I would visit rukas in the south and I would spend the night there. I would eat breakfast with the people, share with them. It was another world.

We were officially involved with the church during the 1980s, from 1980 to 1988. We separated from the church at that time, but I maintained contact with the Catholic Church. We defined ourselves as Catholics until we started to say no, that we didn’t feel that way. In the census of 92, I said out of bravery, ‘I feel Mapuche!’ ‘Well,’ I said, ‘Let’s go for the weak!’ Back then what I said was daring. It’s no joke. And I said, ‘No, really, that’s the way to go.’

I had my first experience when my children were little. We went camping in the south. We stayed at a camping place that was recently opened up by a Mapuche family. They were renting spaces to put up tents. My kids were very small and they empathized with the grandfather of the place. He was a very affable and talked almost only Mapudungún. He would offer us milk every morning and he would stay and talk with us. One day my boy went hand in hand with the grandfather on a walk. I took a picture because this act of tenderness and identification seemed so curious to me. Later I began to think that it would mean something. Then when we were about to leave this gentleman, this grandfather, invited us over to his house and we drank maté tea, and he sang us an allecanto. It’s a happy song. It’s like giving a gift that comes from very deep inside. I was touched, because I understood that he was singing it to
me. I didn’t understand what he was singing about, but I later learned that he was probably singing about his family’s history, where he came from, about how the land was when he was a small boy. I was very touched.

I later started to realize that my family environment didn’t have a strong foundation. I have brothers and sisters who have belonged to other religions, a lot of esoterism. They are of those who don’t miss the visit of the Dalai Lama, but nothing with strength, nothing serious. That’s when I said I have to take this seriously so we integrated into this community. It was a surprise for everyone when they saw us performing dances and taking it seriously. The children were also dancing and more or less talking Mapudungún.”

When comparing the cases of migrants with those of non-migrants what stands out is the experience in participating in social organizations. In the case of the women, the Mapuche organization is the first experience of collective participation in the city. The contrary is true in the case of the two non-migrant men. Rather, the men come to the Mapuche organization after experiences in participation in social organizations.

In the cases presented of the two non-migrant men, their participation in the Indigenous Association is also their first contact with Mapuche culture. Prior to joining up with the organization they had a distant or marginal relationship with the Mapuche culture. In this case, the Mapuche organization represents a continuity, perhaps not in the sense of a primary cultural experience but in terms of social or spiritual work. In fact, it could be said that although the paths traveled are different ways to arrive to the Indigenous Association, they share a common search for spiritual development.

The objective of the Kalfulikán Indigenous Association is not to carry out political work as could be said of other associations in Santiago. The struggle to endow the Mapuches in the city with dignity and to support the process of externalization of Mapuche culture in the city arises as a consequence of their collective activities rather than as the central objective of their work. The principle that unites all members is the formation of an intimate space which permits the development of Mapuche life in the city on a daily basis.

3.2.3. The Sense of Community within Diversity

The cases presented herein highlight the fact that the members of an organization are often times diverse. Three general types of members can be identified. The first group is made up of people who were born and grew up in the communities before migrating to

339 Interview made in November 2006.
Santiago at some point in time. Such is the case of the narrations of the two women previously detailed in this chapter. In general, they have basic knowledge of Mapudungún.

A second group is comprised of people of Mapuche origin who have grown up in Santiago and whose bonds with the community are either weak or non-existent. They usually do not speak Mapudungún and their own Mapuche cultural experience before joining the organization is limited. This segment experiences a particular situation. On the one hand, although they have not participated in Mapuche society, they experience prejudice in the city based on their family names and their appearances. They occupy a particular category once they begin to take part in activities with other Mapuches; their status is not comparable with that of a migrant Mapuche who speaks Mapudungún and who can probably reconstruct the genealogy of his family, an element of distinction within Mapuche society.

The third group is made up of people whose bonds with Mapuche society are rather indirect, such as one of the cases presented earlier or in the case of Chileans who participate in the organization mediated by a Mapuche spouse.

Despite these differences, what unites all of the participants is a bond based on primary relationships. In the context of M. Weber’s theory on social relations\(^340\), it could be argued that a *Vergemeinschaftung* takes place characterized by a sense of belonging based on an emotional or traditional bond. As a pure type of social interaction marked by the typical notion of a bond originating from a rational purpose in agreement from both parties, *Vergesellschaftung* is the opposite of *Vergemeinschaftung*. The case presented in Chapter 3 on the bakers’ unions is representative of a social structure closer to this former type. The *Vergemeinschaftung* is based on shared elements such as language and a shared imaginary which play solely a role as communication mediums for the construction of a community (*Gemeinsamkeit*). The community arises at the moment in which its members orient their actions towards each other. Weber states that the recognition of the previously established elements such as a common history, skin color and language, among others, does not constitute a community in and of itself. In a similar vein, the constitution of a community does not necessarily develop into a *Vergesellschaftung*. In this case, the progression from one form to the other would be the product of the construction of rationally agreed upon objectives. Nevertheless, this distinction is mainly didactic as it must not be forgotten that these concepts refer to ideal types; in reality the different types of relationships merge together.

This brief analysis of the organization based on Weber’s perspective on social relations allows us to accentuate the emotional and experience-based character of the urban organization which goes beyond being solely functional or simply guided by a rationality oriented towards fulfilling objectives. Here we find a significant difference in regards to the organizational landscape of the 20\(^{th}\) Century urban Mapuche associations

whose focus was placed on the formation of scenarios of political negotiation, especially with the Chilean state. I must point out however that, contrary to what is known about their political positions and negotiation agendas, little is known about the structure and collective internal relations within these political organizations.

3.3. The Constitution of the Neo-Community

Scholars have stated that by substituting the rural community the urban organization “reenacts culture in urban lands.”341 The rural community is based on bonds established through a physical presence which reinforce or restitute each other ritually. However, the urban organization results from the convergence of people with very diverse origins who come from different communities. Likewise, the connections to Mapuche culture are diverse within the organization and migrant and non-migrant Mapuches relate to it in different ways. How does a neo-community form out of such different experiences? It would seem that when the idea of the neo-community is postulated as a replacement for the traditional community it automatically implies that a homogeneous Mapuche culture or even a sort of Mapuche meta-culture exists which can be applied independently of its context and its practitioners.

In the following section I will give a description of some of the activities which the organization carries out in order to explain the constitution of the so-called neo-community by means of practical examples.

Learning to weave

In the summer of 2005-06 Kalfulikán organized a witral project, a traditional loom weaving technique. The basics of this technique were taught over a period of several weeks and the course ended with the weaving of a trarilonko. A teacher was hired from a Mapuche organization of La Pintana, a neighboring community. The project was financed by CONADI.

Over a two month period around 15 women met once a week on Saturday afternoons in order to learn or perfect the witral technique. A loom was made available to each of the participants, who sat side by side. They conversed amongst themselves while practicing the technique, something which did not affect their concentration on the loom. They brought their children with them and some were accompanied by their spouses, who sat around a fire set up in the garden and talk. Towards the end of the afternoon, the participants got together in the interior of the ruka where they shared maté, sopaipillas and sandwiches. The conversations revolved around family issues. Usually friends or relatives came and visited during the afternoon. As some of them participated in other

Mapuche organizations, it was an opportunity to talk about Santiago’s organizational landscape. As seen previously, the organizations in Santiago are in permanent transformation; their members circulate among the different organizations and the organizations are constantly dissolving and splitting. Thus, news about the transformations of the organizational landscape are shared at each meeting.

Two sources are identified as the roots of the problems which the organizations go through: the disputes for leadership and the implementation of projects. Whether in terms of leadership or participation, the foundation of the organization is always family-based. This means that quarrels over leadership are family disputes as well. A more recent development is the idea that the leadership of the organizations must not be in the hands of the **winkas**, i.e. the *winka* spouses of Mapuches should not be allowed to act as formal leaders. This is a controversial point in terms of leadership and recognition between the organizations. Another source of conflict—perhaps the most important of all—involves the projects. The problems arising from the administration of resources are a permanent threat to the stability of the organizations. In fact, projects financed by the state must be carefully supervised and the financial administration of such projects, in particular the distribution of benefits and their administration, is a constant source of disputes.

Some sectors criticize that access to benefits from projects is the principal purpose behind the formation of some organizations which, as a result, generates numerous misunderstandings. The flexibility in participation allows members and leaders to be in permanent movement. Generally, it is a whole family who either joins or leaves an organization. Despite this, it is fair to point out that the conflicts in Mapuche organizations around the administration of resources for projects are probably not very different from those of other social organizations. The leaders know that the best method to manage these conflicts is by carrying out short-term initiatives with tangible results, such as in the case of the *witral* workshop.

**Weltanschauung on the chalkboard**

The organization developed another project during the second-half of 2006; a seminar on the topic of *cosmovisión mapuche* (Mapuche worldview). The course was financed by CONADI and took place in a small meeting room used by social organizations at the indigenous municipal office of the *La Florida* neighborhood. The course was held in municipal facilities because it was open to the public. It took place in four sessions, around two hours per session, in which the basic elements of Mapuche *Weltanschauung* were taught. *Machi* Lincovil taught the seminar.

At the first session, *machi* Lincovil stood in front of a group of eight participants sitting around a table. At the beginning he clarified that the contents which he was going to teach, the Mapuche *Weltanschauung*, were based on the knowledge which he acquired
in his community of origin and could therefore present differences with those originating from other communities. The first session consisted of an explanation of the concept *pellé*, translated as energy, which is comprised of eleven other elements as well. After explaining each of the types of energy, he presented the concept of *moguen*: “It is the materialization of energy. It is all of existence, what we see, know, believe. It transcends death,” he explained in a calm tone. In this way, concept after concept succeeded each other on the chalkboard and his explanations were illustrated through expressions in Mapudungún. The teacher permanently warned about the difficulties of translations into Spanish. After all, the Mapuche *Weltanschauung* is a complex philosophical system in which the concepts cannot be simply reduced in order to make them analogous to other systems of belief and thought. Once his explanation was finished, he posed questions to the participants in order to promote their learning.

One of the course participants came from a different region than the teacher and knew the concepts which are explained by other names. The participant frequently asked about the equivalence of concepts. From time to time the discussion took on the appearance of a debate between specialists. Equivalencies to the concepts were searched for between the speakers and attempts were made to explore whether the concepts which they proposed correspond with one other. Each of the speakers used the words in a specific context and searched for phrases in Mapudungún which are expressed in daily situations or under special conditions, such as in the *Nguillatún*. The speakers attempted to reconstruct the contexts of communication in which the concepts are applied. The rest of the participants limited themselves to watching the linguistic proficiency which was being displayed in the room with fascination. The discussions lasted a few minutes and then the seminar continued as programmed.

Most of the participants had a basic knowledge of Mapudungún. Therefore, the *machí* repeatedly warned that a profound comprehension of the concepts is difficult. Concepts of space, territory, wisdom and thought, among others, were presented in the following sessions. The participants took notes and asked questions with interest. The seminar always took place during the week, at a time in which a large number of the inhabitants of the city were traveling back to their homes after work. The same participants attended each session. The portions of *sopaipillas* and *maté* tea provided at each session were enormous.

Carrying out a seminar on Mapuche worldview could seem paradoxical, but in an urban context Mapuche spirituality and philosophy are forced to compete against other systems of thought, mainly against the westernized Judeo-Christian vision. But there are still two important reasons to carry out this type of activities. The first one is the unequal experience which members of the organization have with Mapuche culture, such as could be seen in the biographies presented herein. Secondly, the assorted origins and therefore
the mixed traditions of knowledge between the members turned these encounters into a place of confrontation and recognition of diverse traditions.

The regional variation of Mapuche society has led to an ample group of different types of practices linked to spirituality. These differences are clearly crystallized in the case of Nguillatún. A Nguillatún is carried out by a community or a group within the community in accordance with a particular tradition. Although the ritual shares a structural base, each community has its particular way of performing it. Therefore, when a community invites others to participate in a Nguillatún, those present must humbly accept the procedures established by the Nguillatufe, who can be a lonko, a machi, or a respected person of the community who possesses deep knowledge of the tradition. The participation of different families, the type of prayer, the organization of the dances, the tempos, the incorporation of local elements into the offerings, the moments and methods of performing animal sacrifices, etc., all represent a complex group of elements which regulate a ritual during the course of at least two days and one night (the time must be clearly defined beforehand).

This situation is no different in the city. In fact, it is even more complex. The celebration of Nguillatún is organized and executed by Mapuches originating from a multiplicity of communities. This translates into a multiplicity of ways of performing the ritual. In Santiago, especially during the 1990s, at a time in which the ritual began to take place frequently in the city, in many of these celebrations the participants retired in the middle of the activities because they thought that the ritual was being carried out incorrectly, in which case taking part could be an offense to Nguechén (the Supreme Being). This assumption arises out of the confrontation between different variations of the ritual in which each person believes that his version is the correct one.

A sort of agreement has recently been achieved between the organizations in Santiago. Now, as is the case in the rural communities, whoever invites to a Nguillatún has the complete responsibility over the organization and the invited participants must respect the way in which the ritual is executed. First, in order to have achieved this, the organization who hosts the event must reach an internal agreement. The large organizations, or groups of them in a sector of the city, try to celebrate a Nguillatún at least once a year. This practice requires them to establish negotiation mechanisms which do not exist in traditional communities or whose dimension is at least not known to them.

Activities like a seminar on worldview serve the function of sharing and reaching agreements of knowledge regarding Mapuche culture. The formalization required by city life affects the form in which traditional knowledge is reproduced. Over the course of time, the specific negotiations which take place in Santiago to practice Nguillatún could end up producing a specific form of ritual. In fact, it’s possible that the Nguillatún of Santiago acquires its own identity.
Mapuche health in the clinic

The family of the *machi* is fundamental to the structure of the organization and is responsible for the execution of a traditional medicine project in which the *machi* can offer his knowledge about health supported by the public health system.

Los Castaños Health Clinic is located in an old working class neighborhood in *La Florida*. The clinic offers first aid attention and specialized medicine ranging from pediatrics to psychological attention, with the latter being one of the newer branches offered by the public health system and increasingly in demand. The space set up for the *ruka* is located in the backyard of the clinic’s building where *machi* Manuel Lincovil attends patients twice a week.

The *Makewe* Hospital in the city of Temuco started operations in 1999. This was the first project of Mapuche traditional medicine in collaboration with Chile’s public health care system. In this manner, a complete system of bilingual attention has been set up in the capital city of the Araucania Region which includes the use of the ancestral knowledge of Mapuche shamans. *Machi* Manuel Lincovil participated in this project before later organizing the first *ruka* clinic in Santiago’s *La Pintana* district. In cooperation with the neighborhood clinics of *La Florida*, Cerro Navia, Pudahuel, Lo Prado, El Bosque and Huechuraba, other *rukas* have been established in the few short years since 2000. International NGOs have supported the development of the first projects, which would later receive funding from the Ministry of Health (MINSAL).

Since the 1980s the World Health Organization (WHO) has increasingly favored the development of alternative medicine in order to complement biomedical health care. Since 1990 this paradigm shift in the management of public health has met with rapid acceptance on the part of Latin American nations.\(^{342}\) Chile has been one of the first Latin American countries which has provided a legal and official framework for the operation of traditional medicine.\(^{343}\) Currently, the collaboration between indigenous and biomedicine forms part of the basis of a “policy of holistic attention” in which environmental and social factors play a relevant role.\(^{344}\)

Attention at the *ruka* of *La Florida* is provided twice a week. Although the *ruka* is located in the backyard of the clinic, for which reason it is not visible to most of the patients, all signs of the clinic are bilingual (Spanish and Mapudungún). This is a form of symbolical demarcation of Mapuche presence which is very uncommon in Santiago. The *machi* and his assistants—his wife assists in attending patients and his daughter carries

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\(^{342}\) WHO has supported the development of holistic health care system in which alternative medicines is officially integrated to public health care system. The concept of alternative medicine is broad and refers to very different practices which are to each other. In the Latin American case the concept refers principally to indigenous medicine. For elements of this discussion, see: Knipper (2007).

\(^{343}\) Nigenda/Mora/Aldama, et al. (2001).

\(^{344}\) MINSAL (2007).
out the register of attended cases—arrive an hour before service starts in the mornings. During this time the *ruka* is prepared, cleaned, the fire in its interior is lit and breakfast is made: *maté* tea with *sopaipillas*. Two trees are located at the entrance to the *ruka*, a cinnamon tree and a tree sacred to Mapuches known as the *rehue*. There is also a sculpture which represents the path of the *machi* in his communication with the spiritual world. Offerings can be placed there, especially food. The patients announce their arrival and then sit down in the garden and wait to be called. The *machi* does not feel pressured by the arrival of his patients, whom he pleasantly greets. He asks them if they have brought a urine sample which, alongside personal communication, is a very important method of diagnosis.

The *machi* is surprised about the quantity of children and young people who come to visit him. Most of them suffer from “depression”; at least that is how they have been diagnosed by psychologists. The *machi* views these cases more as cases of spiritual disorientation: “They live in a reality which is too competitive. They cannot find the adequate resources with which to face it,” he says. But although the *machi* is astonished by all the young people who seek his assistance, he is not all surprised by the fact that two-third of the patients he receives are non-Mapuche Chileans.

“People realize that many of the problems which they go through and which express themselves in illnesses cannot be solved with Western medicine. And they recognize that Mapuche medicine has another way of confronting the body which is always linked to the spirit, the mind and the environment.” The words of the *machi* show a clear knowledge of his medical offer for non-Mapuches in contemporary society. In fact, the search for other systems of knowledge and philosophical traditions has gone from being an exotic pursuit to an alternative and massive practice.

In his traditional practice, the *machi* is well-familiar with nature’s medicinal secrets. But above all, as any other shaman, he has the capacity of mediating between the human and the spirit worlds. The destruction of traditional Mapuche society in the aftermath of the creation of the reservations meant a dramatic deterioration of the mechanisms of reproduction of Mapuche knowledge. The traditional leadership of the *lonko* was supported by a strict learning process and by a complete system of role distribution within Mapuche society. The prestige of the *lonko* and his recognition as a political leader was the product of his knowledge of tradition, such as has been generally hypothesized for stateless societies. In the post-reductional context, the reproduction of the *lonko* as an institution was seriously thrown into disarray: the times of the great *lonkos* had come to an end. Since that time the communities have seen in the figure of the *machi* a sort of guardian of their traditional knowledge. Over the course of the 20th Century, the *machi* took on the character of a cultural authority without antecedents in Mapuche history.
The prestige of the *machis* is based on their knowledge of Mapuche tradition, which does not imply that they are traditionalists in their medical practice. Much like modern Mapuche society, today’s *machi* has assimilated other cultural practices in the course of history. In this sense, the *machis* are modern subjects who have the capacity of complementing their knowledge with other traditions.\(^{345}\)

The *machis* establish a complete system of classification of illnesses. First they divide the groups into *winka* and Mapuche illnesses. This distinction presumably arose in colonial times. Cancer, Aids and rheumatism are among those illnesses which belong to the first group. These illnesses must be treated by *winka* medicine. Natural illnesses—or *rekrután*—are considered to fall into the Mapuche category. These illnesses are linked to excessive work or depression. They have influence on organs such as the gallbladder and the liver. Problems with high blood pressure and digestive illnesses are also considered to be natural illnesses. The *machis* cannot treat serious diseases or diseases in advanced stages. Patients who require hospital treatment, surgery or pharmaceutical treatments are referred to centers of biomedical health care. The *pichi-rekrután* (simple natural diseases) are treated with herbs. The prestige of the *machis* is based on their treatment of simple illnesses, which are treated in a holistic way. Within the Mapuche illnesses, those of spiritual character are the most important which the *machis* can currently cure. These are categorized as positive or malignant. The latter are the product of evil element caused by someone who wishes to damage a person and can involve his whole social environment. The diagnosis between positive and malignant can change according to the development of the disease.\(^{346}\)

The *machis* perform various shamanic procedures. Although there is great regional diversity, three different categories of these procedures can be identified: divination, healing and the *Nguillatún*.\(^{347}\) Contrary to the *Nguillatún*, where the role of the shaman revolves around a community, the *machi* in the *ruka* next to the clinic works with the first two, which are regarded as private practices. However, the medical attention offered in the *ruka* concentrates on simple natural illnesses. Only occasionally does the shaman utilize the *kultrún* to make a divination and even less frequently does he performs a *machitún*, a practice based on shamanic ritual. In some of its forms (*ulutun, dutun* and others), the *machitún* is generally reserved for patients of Mapuche origin who participate in the ritual with an understanding of the overlapping which takes place during its performance, a relationship of oneness between shaman, patient, spirits and social and natural forces.

*Machi* Lincovil receives his patients in the cozy environment inside the *ruka* where the fire warms the air and the smoke generates a space of intimacy. The *machi* leads the conversation in a soft tone, takes a look at the urine samples, asks questions and allows

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\(^{345}\) Bacigalupo (2001), p. 89.

\(^{346}\) Bacigalupo (2001), p. 94.

\(^{347}\) Bacigalupo (2004).
the patients to express themselves freely. Generally the patients suffer chronic illnesses like depressions, digestive problems, back pains or problems relating to blood pressure or circulation. Although the patients already come with a diagnosis given to them by the doctors of the clinic, the machi is interested in investigating which reasons the patients themselves have to explain their symptoms. According to the knowledge of the machi, the symptoms are produced by imbalances between body, mind and spirit. As such, he attempts to find causes for an imbalance.

Before the projects of Mapuche traditional medicine began operating in the clinical offices of the Metropolitan Region with the support of the Ministry of Health, the machis attended Mapuches and Chileans in their own homes. In sectors of high density of Mapuche population such as Temuko, the machis advertise their skills on the radio. In other words, the practice of machis working out of the cities has existed since the beginnings of the Mapuche migrations.

The machis practice a type of complementary medical attention. They know their capacities as well as those of other practices, not only of biomedical medicine but also those of popular medicine such as herbal healers and midwives. This is why the practice of the machi is so successful in the Los Castaños Health Clinic. The treatments which involve shamanic powers are basically reserved for Mapuches; the Chilean patients do not demand such practices.

These types of government-backed projects open up a space of recognition between Mapuche society, the state and Chilean society as a whole. The state legitimizes and finances projects of traditional medicine while simultaneously presenting itself as tolerant and open to cultural diversity. There is a clear acknowledgement of both the knowledge and the authorities of Mapuche culture. Nevertheless, it should also be mentioned that traditional medicine has become a comfortable sector for state investment: the state offers a service beneficial to the general population which carries a low conflict potential in relation to others demands of Mapuche organizations, such as claims of a territorial nature.

In Latin America, Chile and Ecuador are the two countries which have shown the greatest advancements in the formalization of indigenous health as part of public health policies. The official development of indigenous medicine in Ecuador, however, generates more conflicts in political terms than it does in Chile. The indigenous movement in Ecuador has presented its health care system as a triumph of indigenous cultures, as a system of knowledge and specialists capable of competing with Western medicine. The principal difference with the case of the Mapuches is that the development of government-backed Mapuche medicine has not presented itself in opposition against or in dispute with the Westernized health care system. The machis execute their practice in a complementary manner; a sort of respectful integration of differences.

In consequence, the development of this type of project opens up a new space of contacts between Mapuche and Chilean society. In this sense, the work of the organization is integrated into the construction of a national Mapuche community in direct communication with another national community: the Chilean. At the same time, the organization takes part in an international movement which seeks the recognition of indigenous medicinal practices as another method of generating knowledge.

4. Chapter Conclusions: The Neo-Community as a Space of Negotiation

The organization is one of the more favored methodological objects of study by researchers who wish to comprehend the ethnification processes which take place in the city. The prevailing idea is that each time that indigenous peoples meet they reproduce their historical forms of social organization. As I have demonstrated, however, the urban organization has a specific character.

The urban organization is an important space for generating awareness in terms of ethnic affiliation and the development of an identity. Nevertheless, the urban organization is neither the repetition nor the replica nor the re-territorialization of the post-reductional community.

Three elements can be pointed out about urban organization based on the antecedents of our case study presented in the present chapter. First of all, although the landscape of current urban organizations is broad, the Mapuche organization prevails as a place of experience-based encounters and of a construction of everyday life much more so than it does a space for the articulation of political objectives. Second, every organization is based on the leadership of a family which is responsible for giving it structure. In spite of this family-based structure, the members of an organization possess very diverse experiences and relationships vis-à-vis Mapuche culture. Thirdly, the organizations are compelled to formalize their existence based on a Western-style model. This not only affects their administrative structures but also the ways in which cultural practices and knowledge are reproduced. As the weaving and worldview workshops illustrate, there is a system of cultural reproduction which operates under a “non-traditional” form, that it to say, workshop and seminars are a very urban manner of knowledge diffusion.

But what type of ethnicity is being constructed under the shelter of the organization? Essentially, I postulate that the urban organization is a space of negotiation between a wide-range of experiences of “Mapucheness.” This diversity of experiences is not limited to the different community or territorial identities; it also encompasses the first generation of migrants and people who were born in Santiago. On a second level, the intercultural health projects supported by the local municipality open up a space of recognition
between Mapuche society and Chilean society. This space is not only institutional; the Chilean inhabitants of a popular neighborhood also recognize and value the Mapuche health system.

Forms of negotiation exist within the urban organization which are only possible in an urban space. In this manner, be it internally or externally, the organization is an experience of negotiation of cultural and social practices. Perhaps it could be said that the most important characteristic of the urban organization is dialogue; a dialogue between Mapuche and other traditions.\(^{349}\)

\(^{349}\) Conception of dialogue versus monologue in construction of identities, see: Taylor (1993).
CHAPTER 5

I am the Mapuche city.
Youth Culture and Mapuche Hip-Hop

1. Introduction

This Chapter is focused on describing and understanding the process of construction of the identity of urban Mapuche who were born and grew up, primarily, in the city of Santiago. The objective of the chapter is to comprehend the form through which Mapuche youngsters – who do not have direct links with the communities of their families; that is to say, who did not experience the primary socialization process in the community – are developing and constructing their ethnic condition in the city.

In the comuna La Florida there is only one organization self-defined as a youth Mapuche organization: Wechekeche ñi Trawün.\textsuperscript{350} The working hypothesis in this chapter is the following: the construction of ethnicity within this collective is carried out through strategies which are typical of youth cultures. The difference between a Mapuche youth group and other juvenile collectives in the city, as well as the form of imbrication between this youth group and the general Mapuche society, presents conflict and consensus about the diversity of forms of Mapuche life. In particular, this double difference sheds light on the tensions inherent to the formation of Mapuche urban identity.

Specifically, the chapter concentrates on the analysis of the musical work of a youth collective as producers of a sort of “fusion music,” which is strongly marked by a Hip-hop aesthetic. The chapter begins with a concise description of the organization. Afterward I will commence with a discussion of conceptual categories, such as subculture and youth culture, which allow the illustration of social spaces of differentiation of identities. This process of construction of identity will be revealed through ethnographical

\textsuperscript{350} In Mapudungún: Meeting of young people.
narratives guided by the analysis of two public presentations by the music group that belongs to the organization.

The first narrative describes a presentation in the context of an indigenous music event in Santiago. It opens the discussion about the features of an urban Mapuche youth group in relation to other ethnic groups in the city. I will argue the capability of Hip-hop as a global culture for the construction of local differences. The second narrative takes place in an event of Mapuche organizations in Santiago. It allows exploration of the games of recognition between urban Mapuche youngsters and migrant adult Mapuche who practice the Mapuche tradition in the city.

Finally I will argue the role of the music production in the construction of an ethnic and urban differentiation of the Mapuche youth.

2. The Club-House –the Sede in a Barrio Popular

Wechekeche ñi Trawün is a collective which is registered as an urban indigenous Association according to indigenous law. The first club-house, rented a short time after the founding members abandoned the organization Lelfunche, is located on the border of a huge fallow land, where a Hospital and a technical high school are currently being built. It is a small, two-storey house, located in a neighborhood built in the mid-1980s as social housing. Despite the poor quality of the building, the houses look well maintained. The main streets are flanked by bushy trees and light-posts, which are painted either red and blue or white and black.

The colors of the posts indicate the territories of football fans. When the posts of a street are colored red and blue, they mark streets which belong to Universidad de Chile football fans. And when they are white and black, the block belongs to fans of Colo-Colo, the most popular Chilean football club. Both fan clubs divide parks and streets throughout the city, and this district is not an exception.

The phenomenon of barras bravas (Chilean hooligans) takes its primary model from British and Argentinean hooligans. In the Chilean case, materializing in the 1990s and later winning ground as a social phenomenon, it has gained attention from the media, which week after week reports on the occurrence of violent episodes. It is by no random chance that its origin coincides with the return of democracy in 1990. The massive recruitment of youngsters from the poblaciones to the barras bravas – semi-anarchic organizations because of their horizontal structures - gives evidence of the disappointment with the new democratic context, which could not offer a means of integration to youngsters who had contained their frustration during the long years of dictatorial repression. Many of these youngsters had struggled against the dictatorship and saw in the
re-democratization process of the country an opportunity for participation and social ascent. However, the new democratic Government worked to dismantle the social movement that had made democracy possible; now it was seen as an obstacle to the extension of neo-liberal economic and social policies. In addition, the fall of the Berlin Wall and the end of the Grand Narratives of social transformation constructed a new global stage in which these youngsters went from spirited struggle to hopeless frustration, and they became an ideologically- and politically-orphaned youth. If in the 1980s the walls in the población were painted with political graffiti related to the anti-dictatorial struggle, nowadays they are dominated by the football fans’ inscriptions.  

The first club-house was situated in an alley of this población. The house was rented through the membership fees from nearly thirty members, and through financial support from various projects. The living-room became a multi-use room, a bedroom utilized as storage, and the kitchen and bathroom were shared with the fellow lodger from the second floor. These facilities allowed the development of activities in a comfortable space. The first album of the music band which belongs to the organization was conceived and recorded here, and it was named after the organization: Wechekeche ŋi Travín, Wechekeche ňi kantun. Since the year 2006 the organization has occupied another house in a similar neighborhood in La Florida. The new club is bigger than the previous one, and has an internal yard that permits outdoor activities. The organization has obtained financial support for the purchase of musical instruments and the construction of a music studio inside the house. A set of drums, a midi-synthesizer, a recording mixer, and a computer for the reproduction of CDs were bought. In the studio, which has been set up in one of the rooms, it has been possible to record two new albums of higher quality.

The primary source of financing for the projects of the organization, most of them oriented towards cultural awareness, comes from contests for governmental funds from the CONADI, thought out exclusively for urban Mapuche organizations. During 2006 the organization participated in a meeting in Argentina together with Mapuche broadcasting organizations. They took part in this encounter as a collective which is not only a music band, but which also works in the production of course material for the teaching of the Mapuche language.

The club-house library was financed by another project. Approximately thirty books were collected on a bookshelf and arranged by theme: history, sociology, and culture. In this collection of new and classical texts, essays and studies written by the emerging Mapuche university intellectuality prevail over winka authors. Scholars between...

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351 The rise of this phenomenon was widely discussed at beginning of the 1990s by the media. However, until now few investigations have been carried out. Some scholars identified a generalized sense of anomie, especially within the poor youth in the new democratic context, as a reason for the of birth of barras bravas. See: Recasens (1996).

352 In Mapudungún: The singing of the young people.
thirty and forty years old with a clear political project are chosen to rewrite the Mapuche history from a Mapuche perspective; that is to say, from a subaltern perspective. Through this work they bring historical oppression to the foreground, and in this way argue for the legitimacy of the actual demands of the Mapuche movement.

The members of the organization meet two times per week. The purposes of such meetings are broad: the formulation of projects and their realization, organization of workshops, and recording of new musical works are the most important activities. On weekends it is possible to stay overnight in the club-house after activities. The most involved members of the organization are the members of the band: four men and three women, youngsters between seventeen and twenty-six years of age. They have all completed high school or studied at the university or at professional institutes in disciplines related to education, and social- or environmental-sciences. All were born in Santiago, their parents have lived for many years in the capital, and most of their grandparents still live in the communities in the south of the country, where the club members regularly spend their vacations. Access to higher education has been increasing in recent years in Chile, but its costs are quite high for a precarious middle class, in a context of privatized education. Students and their families are under financial pressure, and the band-members are no exception.

The environment in the sede is comfortable and relaxed. During the week the meetings are carried out in the evenings. The participants drink mate-tea and talk while sitting on the sofas, listen to music, cooking, or reading and working on their projects. One perceives an environment of friendship.

During of afternoon the sede is the scene of brief and diverse activities. It is a space for the exchange of opinions and information about a wide spectrum of themes of Mapuche interest. Special attention is paid to the conflicts in the communities in the South, mostly land conflicts. Information about the carrying out of trawiün – meetings in Santiago or in the communities with political, cultural, or social purposes – is constantly updated. Another recurrent theme is the development of the Indigenous political world: the internal conflicts of indigenous organizations, as well as the relationship between the organizations and the state institutions. Everyone is broadly informed about these issues.

Everything that happens in the sede gives the impression that the work of the organization is a part of a great movement, a very dynamic movement. The presence of the books of the new Mapuche intellectuality on the bookshelf of the sede is a part of this context. There are different strategies and forms, but all of them aim toward the organization of political work for the Mapuche movement. The members take part in the conversations enthusiastically. They have the sensation that they are part of something bigger than their own activity - in this case, making music. They share the feeling that they contribute to building a superior objective: “the construction of the Mapuche country,” as it has been defined.
While these conversations, filled with passion and involvement, are taking place in the sede, it is common to see groups of neighborhood youngsters on the street. They sit and smoke on the sidewalk, they kill time in the shadows. They wear t-shirts of football teams and from time to time play soccer in the street with a small ball. They wait for Sunday, the day on which they will go to the stadium. There they will have the feeling that they are not alone, that they are part of something bigger, when they jump, sing, and shout together with thousands of youngsters in the tribune. In this sense, what happens in the sede is a part of another symbolic trajectory. What the members of the Wechekeche and the young football fans share is the condition of the young dwellers of a low-middle income neighborhood of Santiago.

3. Subculture and / or Youth Culture? Cultural Producers

The debate around youth cultures as a social phenomenon began with the development of the concept of subculture, which was formed in the first half of the past century. At this time the concept of subculture was used, especially in United States, to describe migrant groups which were “in the process” of integrating into American society; in other words, social groups who were living in two cultural spaces, and consequently maintained cultural elements from the origin society in the context of integration into the host society.353

One of the more systematic developments of this concept was carried out by the scholars of Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies of Birmingham (CCCS). The concept was described by this collective as a notion that would play a role of “double articulation” in the migrant groups. Subcultural practices link elements of the cultures of origin of migrants with the elements of the host country. Later, this group of investigators argued that “Subcultural” refers to a subordinate order in relation to a major society, and is fixed to a specific social class and place; in other words, it possesses working-class and territorial character. From this point on, the concept becomes used as a tool for describing cultural expressions of the working class in relation to the elite, hegemonic culture. In this way, subcultures occupy a subaltern place in the global social structure.

Even though it is possible to find a large number of definitions of subculture - a repertoire as large as the concepts of culture itself - it can be summed up by a notion presented by R.L.Sutherland in 1952, who points out: “Unter Teilkulturen verstehen wir ‘relativ kohärente kulturelle Systeme, die innerhalb des Gesamtsystems unserer nationalen Kultureiner Welt für sich darstellen’. Solche Subkulturen entwickeln

353 The notion of integration defined by the Chicago school has been criticized – as we have already seen in this work - because it refers to the assimilation process to a hegemonic culture.
strukturelle und funktionelle Eigenheiten, die ihre Mitglieder in einem gewissen Grade von der übrigen Gesellschaft unterscheiden."\textsuperscript{354}

This definition emphasizes the existence of a subsystem inside a general system embedded in a national culture. The main problem with this definition arises when we try to delimit the subsystem. A System with a “relative coherence,” and the development of “functional and structural properties” which differentiates it from the general society, are imprecise statements. The main problem is the identification in an unequivocal way of a subculture as an ordered corpus with delimited contents, practices, and values, which distinguish it clearly from the rest of the society.

Until the 1980s the study of subcultures consisted mainly on the observation of groups in the margins of major societies; groups formed by drug addicts, gangs, and any other form of marginalization. The subcultures became groups in which a state of anomie dominates. Indeed, groups which, as a result of the exclusion from the majority of society, construct relative autonomous systems of values and behavior. Talking about Subcultural groups was synonymous with discussing marginalized social collectives which awoke the interest of the dominant bourgeois society. The connotation of marginalization in the concept can be appreciated today in many investigations.

U. Beck\textsuperscript{355}, in his analysis of West German society in the second half of the past century, describes the transition from the industrial society to what he calls “risk society.” The emergence of the risk society is the product of structural transformations in which the conditions of decision and actions of the subject have become increasingly complex. The traditional ties of modernity, such as those based on family, class, and work, gradually play a more limited role in the formation of a contemporary sense of community.

The discussion to define the emergence of practices and discourses developed by youth groups independent of the regulatory structures of institutions - such as the family and the school system - had already begun by the mid-1950’s. At this time the observation of youth expressions - such as beatniks, and subsequently hippies and punks among others - started. These groups are seen as collectives who reject hegemonic societal norms and try to build their own social spaces as an expression of rebellion and criticism against the values of the bourgeois society of Western metropolitan countries. For these cases the concept of "youth subcultures" was initially used, which, as opposed to a class phenomenon - as it had been strictly conceived by the CCCS - arose from a growing differentiation of age groups as a product of the development of industrial society.\textsuperscript{356}

In fact, this differentiation is closely linked to the development of multiple lifestyles and value systems that would overwhelm institutions targeted at traditions based on family and the school system. The distinction between childhood and adulthood becomes narrower, the family and parents lose the ability to introduce children to the

\textsuperscript{355} Beck (1996).
world of work - as it was in the trades transferred from father to son - and to the areas of entertainment and consumption. The lack of definition for the roles of youth - the age trapped between childhood (defined strongly by parents) and adulthood - allows the formation of a very sensitive world, marked by an aesthetic, forms of language, and musical tastes.  

Initially, the concept of youth culture was developed by the pedagogic sciences to understand how this sensitive world takes form outside the institutions of formal education, especially during free time. Youth, in this case, have a defined area of development focused primarily on the use of leisure time - also common to bourgeois society - because the other spheres of social life are still regulated by social institutions like systems of formal education. In this way the use of "subculture" for defining semi-autonomous groups within the larger society has turned into a concept unclear in its defining intention, and has tended to fall into disuse in recent decades, being replaced by youth cultures.

The development of these youth cultures takes place especially in aesthetic spaces. There, much of the autonomy for the construction of youth identities could be developed. As Fornäs points out: "Youth is something which is culturally determined in a discursive interplay with musical, visual and verbal signs that denote what young is in relation to that which is interpreted as childish and adult respectively.”

Many researchers observe youth cultures as spaces for catalyzing problems of society as a whole, through various expressions of cultural resistance which display the difficulties faced by educational institutions - school and family - in providing guidance in a society in constant transformation. These researchers believe that the value of observing youth cultures is that they would be true spearheads of social change.

The youth cultures, as we know them today, were formed in the post-war period in the United States and Europe. In them, whether related to Rock & Roll, the Hippie movement, Punk, Hip-hop, or Techno, it is possible to observe an aesthetic continuity from the *Avantgardes* of the first half of the nineteenth century, especially in the situationists and lyricists, as established by Seifert. It is through an aesthetic proposal linked to art or music that they want to transgress; smashing social conventions and developing a social criticism which must be present on a daily basis. Indeed, the formation of countercultural movements is closely linked with the development of youth cultures during the second half of the last century. They, as well as the Avantgardes, will be considered as having provided opportunities for social experimentation, in which part of their values, aesthetics, and symbols, in the form of a legacy, will be subsequently transferred or institutionalized, such as in the case of the domain of art, and even in the development of teaching methodologies.

In fact, when we observe the formation of ethnicity in Mapuche youth groups as part of a youth culture, the concept is not denoted with a distinct cultural content as something different to the general Mapuche culture. But, furthermore, it refers to a form, a strategic articulation for linking symbolic spaces mediated by actual cultural industries. Likewise, it is understood as a space for experimentation framed in a social segment which distinguishes it as urban youth inside Mapuche society.

One of the fundamental characteristics of a youth culture is its condition of *Kultur der Produzenten*. In other words, participation in a collective youth of this kind is mediated by an active "production" of symbols - through music and art among other things - rather than mere passive consumption of symbols created by cultural industries. Accordingly, the main feature of this condition of "Producers" is the adoption of a culturally active role.

Insofar as the youth collective takes on the attitude of producers, they are in a permanent activity of appropriation and construction of symbols and meanings. Precisely this element is central to the discussion of this chapter; that is to say, the young urban Mapuche "produce" a culture that affirms ethnicity, through the appropriation of symbols of global circulation and redefinition of symbols of local tradition.

4. **Performances for the Urban**

4.1. **On the Stage with Other Indigenous**

In the first week of January, 2006, a feast of solidarity at the Centro Cultural La Barraca in the center of the *comuna* of La Florida takes place.

The wooden shed, which is the main structure of the Cultural Centre, was the scene of the first cultural events of opposition to the dictatorial regime in the *comuna* at the end of the eighties. The humble infrastructure of the Center was then an area of cultural resistance, demonstrated through plays and music concerts. The Center has a close link with grassroots organizations targeting the political left wing. In the late eighties, I and my friends from the neighborhood used to go to activities at the Center; it proved the perfect place for weekends without any kind of cultural offerings. There plays could be seen or music listened to for free. Fifteen years later, the entertainment options exceed the capabilities of the inhabitants of the *comuna*. Just a ten minute walk away one can arrive at two gigantic malls with nearly a thousand stores together. The modest Cultural Center, with its graffiti walls, is flanked by these giants of post-dictatorial consumerism.

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The beginning of the “Peña with indigenous organizations” was announced to start at 19.00. At my arrival, the place is half empty. The stage is in the background and at the edge there are tables. On one side of the entrance gate is a kitchen, which is occupied by a group of women who fry sopaipillas and french fries, and sell beer and beverages. I am meeting with some members of Wechekeche. They greet me briefly and introduce me to relatives and friends who are already placed at a table next to where the food and beverages are being sold.

It is Saturday afternoon and, from outside, the bustle of long lines of cars leaving and entering the malls can be heard. The shed is beginning to fill slowly, while a familiar and quiet atmosphere still dominates. An presenter takes the microphone on stage and announces the first performance. A musician sits down with his guitar, salutes and starts to sing with affected words accompanying a melody on the guitar that nobody seems to listen to. He performs some familiar themes of a repertoire of popular folk music, something from S. Rodriguez, V. Jara, and V. Heredia. While the man plays, the members of the band slowly arrive at the table of our group. Sopaipillas and one liter of beer in plastic cups are shared at the table. The three women of the band stand and go to the dressing room while the men tie their trarilonko on their heads with choreographic movements. We are all at the vast table to drink, to eat, and to greet friends and acquaintances who continue to arrive. Greetings in Spanish mixed with mari mari Peñi, mari mari lamngen! are heard.

The man with the guitar completes his presentation. He gets off the stage among rather tepid applause. The presenter speaks again to thank the artist, promotes the sale of sopaipillas, and, with some excitement, describes the full program of the evening. He promises entertainment for a couple of hours. Meanwhile the members of a band playing Andean music have gotten on the stage, armed with quenas, zampoñas, drums, guitar, and charango. They open with a piece of traditional Andean music. The drums and wind instruments light a bit more enthusiasm in the hall, which fills gradually. The bustle of people talking and the children playing at the free tables in the center of the hall delivers the impression that the public is more entertained by familiar conversation than with the music on the stage.

One of adults at the table approaches me and we begin to talk, among beers and sopaipillas with chili. He tells me that he is proud of the studies of his son and daughter; the first became a lawyer, and the daughter will soon be a sociologist. He worked for a government office for indigenous affairs, and he wants to continue with his engineering studies in the evenings, after work. Until now he could not finance three studies at same time. Therefore, his turn comes when his children have finished studying.

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361 Peña is an event of folk music in the format a café-concert. The first Peña was organized by researcher and composer Violeta Parra in the beginning of 1960 in Santiago. In the course of years the Peña become a very popular kind of celebration.
Meanwhile our table is already full with about fifteen very animated people. All of them live in La Florida in different neighborhoods and are relatives, friends, and members of the Organization. The women of the band return from the dressing rooms, wearing long black dresses and jewels, both in Mapuche traditional fashion. The hairstyles are also traditional: "There is a big mess in the dressing rooms" they say to explain the delay, and continue: "There are an Andean group, Aymara, a large group changing their clothes, and it is chaotic." Without further preamble the band members, seven in total, approach the stage.

The master of ceremonies and the sound technician converse briefly with the band. The musical director delivers a CD to the sound technician and explains the use of the recorded tracks. The instructions are simple and are accompanied with a list of songs that will be played. The master of ceremonies takes the microphone and introduces the band: "Our coming artists are Wechekeche ñi Trawùn, they are a group of young Mapuche of La Florida who merge the music of their ancestral land with contemporary rhythms," repeating exactly the phrase that the musical director conveyed him. Timid applause follows and the Band begins its presentation. The seven members are standing in line on the stage, only with microphones, without instruments; the music is contained on the CD that sounds from the speakers.

The first sample sounds from the speakers. It is a rhythmic base of a "Rhythm and Blues" style, and all sing the chorus: "Look in front of the opponent, feel proud of your race, follow your path, I am Mapuche and what is going on?!" the chorus is repeated twice, melodiously. Immediately a women singer attacks, rapping: "When we were children we did not know the legacy that we had in name and blood, the difference is present when all mocked us for carrying in our body - the history of our people (the chorus responds)." the singer continues with more strength: "Separated from the rest, then came the day when we came together to talk about our ancestors between the differentiated, ignoring the meaning of what had reunited us - we realized that we were brothers and share a history (chorus responds)."

The name of the theme is “Proud,” and is a sort of introduction of the Band. From the recorded base, two different sounds can be recognized: one recorded with synthesizers and another recorded with the sounds of Mapuche traditional instruments, such as the kultrún, a percussion instrument that makes – in this case – a Hip-hop rhythmic pulse. The rapped texts explain that the Mapuche origin was discovered in the city, by young people who were born in Santiago. It recounts in a simple way how discrimination has been experienced, how mobbing at School for the mere fact of carrying a Mapuche surname has been endured. The discovery of a Mapuche origin is accompanied by an attitude of defense, of pride in its history of resistance, disclosed against the condition of historical oppression and updated daily. The message of the song is clear and strong.
Before proceeding to the next song, the musical director salutes the public in Spanish and Mapudungún. The second sampler starts ringing, announcing a *reggaetón* rhythm. The song is called "Wizards," and the joy and excitement of Caribbean rhythms are reinforced by the chorus that announces: "Here they are! Who arrived? The Mapuche with the gift, like magicians will defeat with our worldview." This is a standard *reggaetón*, a rhythmic base made for dancing, which has achieved great commercial success in recent years. The song is playful and fun. Without giving a break the presentation continues with the start of the third song with chorus shouts: "Freedom, freedom, freedom to the Mapuche fight!" Immediately the strong rapping of a male singer steals the stage. He makes a historical review of the Mapuche fight against the invaders and how it is expressed even at present, a situation which in recent years has escalated into violence and police repression. This song is a slogan for combat, street demonstration, or an inflaming assembly speech.

Meanwhile the public is following the presentation closely, although without showing strong signs of enthusiasm. The songs are heard with curiosity and respect. The mixture of sounds and visual elements is not easy to understand at first; it is not easy to circumscribe, to set up in a hermeneutic circle that immediately allows meaning to be ascribed to the whole. The space of the Peña and its guests, the dress of the musicians, the sound of the samplers and the rapped words align in a way that exceeds the standard classifications of popular folk or indigenous music.

The presentation continues with a *ranchera* song, a song with a simple melody, as is customary in this style. It narrates the story of a recent migrant Mapuche in Santiago: "For my work I came to Warria, long ago left my land, I am very sad, because I remember it in the midst of this great city, I am a baker, I travel every day, as long as two hours to go to work, the life is hard here in Santiago, where one must know how to fight, I met some peñis of an organization, with my brothers I feel better, we are all Mapuche and I am not alone anymore, with my people it is like being in my home)."

Although *ranchera* music has its origins in Mexico, it was appropriated in the middle of last century by the Chilean rural culture. So its sound brings obvious links with a peasant origin. Two more songs to go. The next is a *raggamuffin* sample type, a mixture of Hip-hop and reggae, and the last song of the presentation mixes Hip-hop with dance hall: “Young Mapuche we are many, the voice of my ancestors is what I hear, in this land colonized and misappropriated, the echo of the land is not silent now, but we live in the city with pride and scream! I am Mapuche, descendant of this people of great warriors ... (chorus) I want to fly beyond the wind, I want to go back to where my people are, I want to stay with my ancestors, the land that kalfulikán step upon”

With this song, a gentle melody, beautiful and easy to follow, in perfect harmony with the poetry of the chorus: "I want to fly beyond the wind...," the Band ends their presentation. The audience applauds. Musicians leave the stage and immediately another
band forms with some members of Wechekeche and a couple friends who have been waiting at the side of the stage. This new group appears to be a kind of continuity of the show, but without ethnic components. They interpret a couple of songs in the raggamuffin style, in front of an audience that has already lost its interest and mostly turns back to its family conversations.

Once at the table, the members of the Band comment on details of the presentation - some errors in the timing, some segments of forgotten lyrics - but the overall assessment is positive. The musicians stay around the table which is filled with relatives and friends who greet them and invite them to continue the party with drinks and sopaipillas with chili.

The next show is a band playing Andean music. However, when they are presented, the stage is empty. Suddenly from the gates twenty people in a symmetrical row formation, in short and coordinated steps, enter the hall. All are men, dressed in traditional clothes of the Aymara communities in the far north of Chile. The shed shudders at the sound of percussion and single-stringed flutes. The group walks slowly to the center of the hall, which is unoccupied. It is a group of Andean carnival revelers; like a small military formation they should be following a virgin or a patron saint in pilgrimage between villages of the Andes, but here they just find their way to the middle of our shed. This music is different from that of the Andean group which played earlier. If the first had a folkloric character, popular and mass oriented, this is the music of an Andean carnival, a religious-pagan activity with limited diffusion.

The audience stands up, following the rhythm with clapping hands. They await attentively the entry of the brass section that consists of Trumpets, Trombone, and Tuba. The group has taken the center of the shed and does not move from there. Only then the shed looks crowded, a little over five hundred people; this Peña is successful in terms of audience. The brass section blasts with enthusiasm, its power in short melodic figures inviting complicity with the pulse of the music. Immediately dance groups form of those who are familiar with the rhythms that are presented: saya and huaino. The spontaneous dancers reach the dozens; they manage the dances naturally.

My table-mates explain to me that the group of Aymara musicians comes from "La Pintana," a nearby comuna. One of the women at the table who is excited about the atmosphere in the hall laments: "this music is very good to dance, and if I did not have an injured knee I would be dancing." Indeed, the Andean carnival music is dance music. It is music of movement, not contemplation. It is instrumental music with marked pulses. In the Atacama desert or Puna of Tarapacá, in the North of Chile, it is the music of religious celebrations or festivals linked to community work. During my years working in the Atacama desert I had the opportunity to participate in celebrations on religious grounds, linked to community work or of a private nature, in which this music plays a fundamental role in the communion of the guests. In the villages of the Chilean highlands the
The combination of the monotony, duration, and strength of the sounds allows dancing in a kind of collective trance, in a very similar manner to techno-raves, in which the same musical principles are at work.

I am surprised at how many of the participants among the guests participate in these dances. There are several dozen adults, youths, and children. My fellows at the table, the members of the band, still dressed with their traditional Mapuche costumes, incorporate themselves into the collective choreographed movements. They are Mapuches dancing Aymara.

The hall has been transformed into a festival. After one hour of dancing the group withdraws in the same manner in which it entered. The audience has experienced real excitement. It is hard not to be carried away by the power of this music, and the participants of the Peña showed no great resistance. While the group was making its exit the music kept on playing, as if the party would continue elsewhere, as is usual in the Andean carnival and its three or four days of uninterrupted dancing and celebration. After the musicians have left the hall the guests look exhausted. Everyone returns to their seats and demands beverages and beer. In the small kitchen, the half a dozen women struggling to supply the demand nearly collapse.

After a fifteen minute break, the master of ceremonies climbs back onto the stage. It is obvious that he is happy about the course of the activity. Now he announces the final number: "Get ready because our next group will make you dance more than ever," he encourages the audience. Behind him a small band with traditional Rapa Nui costumes has already found its place. Before he ends the introduction, the band interrupts him with sounds from guitars, ukuleles, and percussion. From the same entrance from which minutes earlier the Aymara group exited the hall, a group of dancers makes its appearance formed in four rows: twelve men and twelve women. They are unequivocally Polynesians of Rapa Nui, the island that by historical accident came under the administration of the Chilean state, and not of the French as would have been the logical geopolitical distribution of the empires of the nineteenth century. Judging by their dress, composed of tiny sets made with palm fibers that leave much of the body exposed in the case of the men and the stomachs in the case of the women, they are clearly Polynesians. They are also unequivocally Polynesians because of their sensual movements, the pelvises of the men and hips of the women.

If in the Chilean common sense the Mapuche are seen as a persistent and fighting culture; the Rapa Nui represent a kind of sensuality nonexistent in Chilean society. The longing for the "tropical rhythms" and the sensuality associated with them is taken by the national imagination through the exoticism of the Rapa Nui people and the pride of them being "part" of the Chilean culture. An imagined exoticism is reinforced by the beauty of its people, its paradise island landscapes, and the joy and sensuality of their dances.
The presentation of the Rapa Nui group is designed to be observed. Strength, speed, and showmanship prevail. The public get quickly excited. The dances are well choreographed; the professionalism of the group is indisputable. The members of the musical section, who are on the stage, give explanations of the dances in a few words. They announce: "The next dance represents a day of fishing" or "This is a dance in which men should show their strength." After these brief introductions, sometimes mixed with shouts in the Rapa Nui language, the band plays with great force.

No doubt the display of the bodies of the dancers plays an important role. All the men are tattooed with traditional motifs. The drawings make even more attractive the display of their muscular torsos. Women move their hips and their bellies in an attempt to capture the public attention, but, as in every good spectacle, the center of attention is alternated between the men and women. At my table all stand to get a better view. Women make comments on the male dancers, and among men comments on the female dancers can be heard. After thirty minutes of vibrant spectacle, accompanied by shouts and applause, a lady from the audience is invited to the stage.

"The men will give her a dance of conquest," says the leader of the band on the microphone. A shy woman is pushed toward the center of the dance floor while the audience laughs. The woman is in the center, watching stunned as the twelve men jump around her, moving their hips, playing with a spear in one hand and shouting war cries to the accompanying music. The audience laughs with pleasure; the scene is charged with comic eroticism. One of the dancers, a warrior now in the act of conquest, has "won" the contest of the woman, who receives a short dance as a prize, with movements of stalking her. The public is in a kind of catharsis. It is all very playful and contains a great sense of spectacle: rhythm and intensity.

Then it is the turn of a young man, who will be hunted by the female dancers. With this sketch of seduction of a member of the audience, the production takes the unequivocal form of a show of entertaining, exotic dance, in which the codes are like those of a spectacle for tourism. The staging, marked by the speed of the show, the energy of the artists, and public participation, is complemented professionally with the use of a sensuality that operates as "wild exoticism," which recalls the format of the great cabarets in Havana and Rio do Janeiro.

The presentation ends with applause, whistles, and shouts of approval. The musicians are exhausted; with fresh sweat on their bodies they withdraw from dancing with joy and leave a trail of smiles and excitement.

The evening has come to an end. The official presenter expresses his gratitude for the presence of the audience and delivers information about future events. In a few minutes the shed will be emptied. The last sopaipillas are put on sale, and drinks and beers are stored for a future occasion. The audience is exhausted after four hours of entertainment. Within these four hours, four very particular forms of presentation of the
cultures which meet in Santiago were appreciated and celebrated. The following analysis will be centered on them.

4.2. On the Stage

The described event can be understood as a staging of that which is "indigenous" in the city. This is a "Peña with urban Indigenous Organizations" to which representatives of the major ethnic groups in the country - Aymara, Mapuche, and Rapa Nui - have been invited, through organizations in Santiago. They have been invited to share their music and dance in front of a large audience of not necessarily indigenous origin.

The music and dance of the Aymara, the Andean, and the Polynesian Rapa Nui are the most widespread ethnic cultural expressions among the Chilean population. The education of their dances has been integrated into the public education program as part of what is recognized as “national folklore.” It is not so in the case of the Mapuche, whose musical expressions have remained restricted to a limited sphere within the Mapuche society.

At this event, cultural performances have been presented. Under “performance” can be understood a staging as a form of communication, that expresses and disseminates cultural content. In this case, the staging of the urban ethnic groups is a presentation of music and dance that encapsulates forms and values shared by a group that includes not only the music itself, but the whole behavior and its associated underlying concepts. They are presentations that have a beginning and an end, varying degrees of organization, an audience, and a place for specific staging. As Reinoso points out about musical performances: “...Not only are (musical performances) reflections of culture, but thoughtful cultural forms, in which members of a group return to themselves and to the relationships, actions, symbols, codes, meanings, roles, status, social structures, ethical rules and others components that constitute their public selves.”

To observe the performances as a social practice allows for a focus on the context in which they are being staged as a space of differentiation. The co-presence of these groups can only be carried out in the city, especially in Santiago. Originally the represented indigenous cultures occupy geographical spaces which are very remote from each other: the Andean groups have their ancestral communities 2,500 km North of Santiago, the Rapa Nui 3,500 km from the Chilean coast in the Pacific Ocean, and the Mapuche communities to 600 km South of Santiago. In this specific case, each ethnic group is trying to mark their differences, not only with the "Chilean," but also among themselves.

However, it is not my interest to carry out an analysis of the performances in the tradition of musical anthropology, which would suppose a musicological analysis of the

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presentations.\textsuperscript{363} Instead I focus on two key aspects: the first is the ascription of each of the performances to a semantic field (a sociological music semantic field); the second key element is how one can identify the specificity of the Mapuche performance from this ascription.

Four relevant presentations have been carried out: first of all the Andean music presentation, subsequently the Mapuche presentation, then the Andean music and carnival group, and finally the Rapa Nui show. I will describe briefly the ascription of each of these performances to a sociological music field. In the end the Mapuche case will be dealt with.

\textit{A. Andean music group.} They play a kind of music that was vigorously developed in Chile in the sixties. Back then it was called Neo Folklore. Neo Folklore made a link between an aesthetical balance based on research of the peasants and vernacular elements of popular music within a left-wing political project. Its relationship to the aesthetic co-narration of the social transformation of the sixties allowed its massification and transformation into a genre of popular and urban music. Thus, the search for a future itself, in the sixties, would be achievable to the degree that the deeper cultural roots of Chile and Latin America were rescued. In this way foreign interference would be avoided, in the political, economic, and certainly cultural and aesthetic fields.

The performers and creators of this musical style - often called simply "Latin American folklore" - merged sounds of other geographies of the continent and developed a brilliant time of musical creation in which bands and record labels proliferated, pointing towards the search for Latin American cultural roots. It is a sort of musical version of the Latin American \textit{indigenísmo}, a version of the indigenous music made by the non-indigenous. The Peñas, in fact, emerged as spaces to accommodate these sounds and aesthetics. Today, such as it is understood by the younger generation, this type of institutional music responds to the canon of "Andean folk music." While this group is not part of an indigenous music collective, it also plays with the idea of a "rescue of the roots" - in this case aimed at the Chilean \textit{mestizo} population. In the context of the described activity, it fulfills the role of "introduction to the original roots" (indigenous) that will be developed further in this text.

\textsuperscript{363} Carlos Reinoso, Argentinian anthropologist, in his book "Anthropology of music," critically reviews in detail the various theories developed in this field of work. From the time of the \textit{vergleichende Musikwissenschaft} until the current importance of cultural studies or postmodern anthropology, he concludes that the study of "music as culture" has not developed convincing theories to explain the phenomena of the current world music genre; the hybridization of traditional and vernacular genres with the popular music industry. Cultural studies have pursued this goal, but in one way - according to Reinoso - that has favored the registration of these expressions, rather than the development of models of analysis of the role of music in the construction of current identities. Within the wide variety of research strategies in this field of work, Reinoso points out the "Ethnomusicology of the performance" that started at the end of the 1970s. The researcher identifies three approaches in this realm: "the first approach emphasized the definition of the context of the performance; the second approach stressed the links between music and context, and the third one focused on experience and personal motivation of the researchers (motivation for the elaboration of the investigations)." Reinoso (2006), p. 240.
**B. Andean Carnival.** This presentation is also part of the tradition of Andean music, but its major difference from the above-mentioned group is that it is outside of the commercial music industry. In other words, their production and reception are limited to specific contexts, usually anchored in traditional communities in the Chilean Andes\(^364\). The cult of this music is usually linked to an ethnicity. The usual context for the production and reception of this music is within a festival marked with religious components. While religious holidays in the Andean world can take various configurations - syncretic cults conducted in processions, festivals, the cleaning of water channels, etc. - the staged performance in La Florida ignores these elements, and there are no aspects of this religiosity. It is a performance that replicates forms of a religious festival outside a religious context. It presents a carnival form intrinsically linked to the Andean world. Hence its staging in Santiago would only be possible in a context such as this; that is to say, in a prescribed event for "indigenous cultures."

**C. Rapa Nui presentation.** The dances staged by the Rapa Nui group would be inspired by ritual passages. Other dances narrate stories of everyday life on the island; hunting, fishing, competition among clans, and so on. The performance sets these dances, inspired by a certain ritualism or everyday life, in a form of theatrical entertainment performed with precision by a dance company. Elements such as the rhythm of the show - a very precise coordination between sketches - as well as a constant and successful communication with the public, endow the presentation with a show character, in the sense of modern entertainment. But there is also a particularly striking element that crosses the entire performance: the sensuality.

There is a clear exploitation of gestures in the dance aimed toward creating an atmosphere of stereotypical sensuality; men as machos, and coquettish and fragile women. An exotic sensuality, playful and direct, is being staged. In the ethnographic description, I allude to the similarity between this performance and "exotic shows" for tourist consumption. It could also be understood within the tradition of "national ballets," as introduced in the Soviet Union in the 1920s, resulting from an abstraction of traditional practices, stylized in a form of "high culture," which would permit overcoming local contexts of traditional production and consumption, and at the same time forge national identities.

In the performance of the Andean carnival, the public participation arises spontaneously; the audience felt free to dance with musicians. In the Rapa Nui case, audience participation is mediated and controlled by the artists. The final game of the presentation, when a member of the audience is invited on stage, consists precisely in establishing the difference, marking the distance between artists and the audience. For everyone who attended this event Rapa Nui culture is also exotic and foreign, and the

\(^{364}\) More precisely this music is Aymara, from an ethnic society living in the Andes region south of the Equator shared by Bolivia, Peru and Chile.
group exploits this element. In this case one can say that the specific context of the presentation is irrelevant. It is a performance which is liberated from an "indigenous" context to be staged, in terms of performance, within international codes of Folk Dance Companies, which allow decoding in a global space.

**D. Mapuche performance.** The first element that distinguishes the Mapuche performance from those previous is the impossibility of defining it with a folkloric character. The musical fusion, strongly supported by Hip-hop, makes a fundamental distinction from the others. The staging is not meant to be understood as a repetition of traditional forms; the performance must be understood through the fusion with Hip-hop. That allows us to identify three articulations that permit this kind of music, and through which it establishes differences with the others performances.

First of all, a key element is that Hip-hop belongs to a youth culture. In this sense this performance is built as a separate discourse within adult Mapuche society, and, as a result, it is not meant to be "Mapuche" as a whole. While the link with Hip-hop makes clear its placement within a youth culture, it also makes evident the urban condition of its members.

Secondly, the Mapuche performance rests on the strength of the rapped texts. The text is precisely what is central to Hip-hop music. While members of the band were dressed in traditional outfits - especially the women - and the songs incorporate the sound of traditional musical instruments, the structure of the performance is based on the texts as a means of communication of symbols, codes, roles, and the status of the collective. The songs mix Spanish and Mapudungún lyrics. Here there are other differences with the Rapa Nui group: although the orchestra sings in Rapa Nui language, it is not out of an urgent need to transmit a message in their original language. Language plays a secondary role, as the performance's core is in the dances. In the Mapuche case there is an effort for oral communication, the text, the rapped word, is at the heart of the message. It is in Spanish, but marks a difference with the Chilean in the untranslatability, the nature of "the other," when appointing Mapudungún concepts.

The third articulation is that the performance, far from being a pastoral representation of the indigenous, is aestheticized and contemplative; a kind of political appeal, which calls attention to the status of oppressed people. The aim is to provoke its interlocutors through a call to fight against the powers of the winka culture, expressed in police repression in the ancestral territory as an answer to the legitimate historical claims. It is a call to ethnic consciousness. In this regard, Hip-hop is used as a strategy, a language that has its own code of political expression.

The Mapuche performance indicates that the process of urban Mapuche ethnicity in Santiago is built in a dynamic and complex way. The performance can no longer be reduced either to a stylized form, as it was in the first case, nor to a dislocated

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representation - drawn out of an original space - as we noted with the representation of the Andean carnival, nor it is a exotic version of ethnicity, as in the representation of the Rapa Nui group. It is a hybrid, located at a node of currents in the construction of their ethnicity, where elements of a local (community-city relationship), national (historic lawsuit between the state and the Chilean Mapuche people), and transnational (adoption of an aesthetic of a global order, i.e. Hip-hop) intersect.

4.3. **On the Stage with other Mapuche**

Almost one year after the Peña, in the commune of La Florida an activity for supporting a Mapuche radio station takes place in downtown Santiago. The event is a dinner of solidarity where, for a small sum of money ($4 US), the visitors can taste different dishes of traditional food and participate in a music show. Wechekeche is among those invited.

The members of the group have met early in the club-house to refine the details of their presentation. During the day they talk, clean the house, and cook lunch, but mostly they work on the preparation of the evening show and on the composition of the new songs included on the next album. They practice with the demos that were arranged by the musical director and recorded on the computer of his home. For hours the band practice the new raps. They share the lyrics that each has composed, editing, searching for the best rhymes and melodies to be integrated into the Hip-hop style base. While the band performs its tests, I dedicate myself to reading the books of the library shelf of the organization.

In the evening, the group goes to the event that takes place at the headquarters of the CUT, Central Union of Workers, in the city center. The women of the band are dressed in their traditional attire, while men wear their *trarilonkos*. The Metro ride from La Florida to the downtown lasts about forty minutes. It is Saturday evening and the wagons are filled with people looking discreetly at the group of young people dressed in elegant Mapuche attire. The group arouses curiosity among travelers; it is a picture uncommon on the streets of the city in which the monotonous landscape of Chilean uniformed dress codes was only recently interrupted by small groups of indigenous *otavaleños* from Ecuador, in Andean traditional costumes, trading on the streets of the city center.

At the arrival at the headquarters of the CUT, an ancient multi-storey building in the main avenue of the city, the event has already been underway for two hours. The inner courtyard of this classical building has been roofed, creating a simple and functional shed for the realization of activities. The event is carried out there. Long tables have been prepared for some two-hundred guests. At the front there is a long stage, and in the back more tables provide traditional Mapuche dishes. The atmosphere is familiar. Couples,
children, and elderly people greet each other and immediately form groups of conversation. Almost all those gathered are Mapuche. Many men wear a *trarilonko* and some women, especially older people, a *rebozo* (Traditional dress) and traditional jewels.

On stage a group of adults interprets songs for *purrum* (a traditional dance). Four men with wind instruments and a woman sitting with a *kultrún* on her legs invite people to *purrunear*. Immediately the space in front of the stage is filled with dancers who for five minutes move together following the pulse of *kultrún*, *trutruca*, and *pifilka* in a coordinated manner, forming two rows. A song ends and almost without break another interpretation begins. The music is monotonous, but the dancers move with enthusiasm. When we look around we note that the feast is full. The guests eat Mapuche food, many of them converse in Mapudungún, and they dance traditional music.

For years in the 1960's one of the central parks of Santiago served as a meeting point for the Mapuche arriving in the city. I refer to the meetings at the *Quinta Normal* of Santiago, to which we have already referred elsewhere in this work. In the afternoon the visitors would move towards the nearby bars to eat, and to continue talking and dancing. These Sunday parties had a very different character from what we are now observing, as they had rather the form of a Chilean popular celebration. That is, they did not differ much from a party at any bar frequented by the working class. At these parties Spanish was spoken and its participants wore Sunday urban clothes. This was due to one of the characteristics of urban Mapuche 20 years ago, which was their invisibility through the use of the Spanish language and the consumption culture that was not much different than the standards of other Santiago dwellers. In contrast, this event is visibly Mapuche; not only for the proud use of language, but also due to the traditional costumes, music, and food.

Once the dancing has ceased, the band prepares itself at one side of the stage. At that time a small group of children with their parents approach the band members. Adults greet some of them, congratulating them for their work: "My son has your record and listens to it all day, and we have learned the lyrics. It is very nice what you are doing," a mother exclaims while children observe, attentive to the conversation. The band members talk about the latest presentations and the recording of the next album. Children follow the brief chat with great attention.

The time has come to climb onto the stage; the sound engineer is ready to play the disk with the recorded bases. The band members who are stationed on the stage receive a glass of *mudai* and without further ado the musical director makes a greeting in Mapudungún, followed by its Spanish version:

"Pu peñi, pu lamngen, very good evening to all, we are Wechekeche ñi Trawün, we will present some of the songs from our record: Wechekeche ülkantun, means the singing of the young people, we hope you like it. The first song is called 'Proud of who we are.'

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366 Meeting space mentioned in chapter 3 and 4.
We merge Mapuche music with more contemporary styles such as Hip-hop, reggae, and raggamufin, because the idea is to reach our young peños, our children, so that they are closer to their culture, because it is often the music that is closer to them. Hopefully you like what we are going to play.”

Immediately the music starts. The acoustics of the shed are not good but at least the sound of the rhythmic bases is heard loud and clear. "Proud" is followed immediately by "Ragga Mongelei Taiñ Race," a song in raggamufin style. In front of the stage a couple of children are observing. Few people are at the tables and many guests are already saying goodbye to go back home. It is late to continue with a family celebration, and the journey is long - probably towards a sector on the periphery of Santiago that, at this time of night, takes between one and two hours to reach on a bus from the city center. When the song ends the audience shows its approval with a round of applause, and the band starts immediately with “Ngenemapun,” a song that repeats the verse: “Renewing newen (positive forces) of Warrior, guo! Renewing newen of Warrior, go!” with reggae cadence. Immediately and without a pause a rap breaks in with direct and political lyrics: "Freedom, freedom for the Mapuche fighter" - a shout of street demonstrations that everyone here recognizes.

The shed space is large and the tables are already empty, dishes and remnants of food on their decks. The band continues with the last song. “Mapuches Magicians of the Earth” is a joyful melody that ends the show and seems also to be the end of the feast. At this point in the night a small group of adults still remains, a pair of seniors, and a few children, but no other young people. The audience listened with great respect, but was not aroused with any particular excitement. Children have watched with attention, the rest look rather inexpressive. The presentation ends with applause from the audience and thanks to the band members.

Even though the musical language used by the band tries to build a bridge between traditional and modern sounds through fusion, so that the elderly as well as young people could find identification in the music, the truth is that the notion of fusion is itself modern. A kind of music that a young audience is able to decipher spontaneously, but for adult audiences is rather strange, maybe a little confusing.

From a table that stands at one end of the room, perpendicular to the stage, where eight adults and older people are seated, two elderly ladies dressed in elegant traditional outfits stand and come on stage to share a couple songs in Mapudungún. One of the ladies expressed into the microphone: “I will sing for you, so that when I am no longer here, you say, oh!, that lady sang”. The woman interprets a traditional song a capella. It is a story that is narrated in phrases that are repeated two or three times before going on to the next. The interpretation is long; the shed is filled for five minutes with the voice of the woman who must reach seventy years of age. She ends suddenly, exhausted, “I got tired,” she exclaims in Spanish, and applause comes from the few people in the shed.
During the song, another woman of similar age with a *kultrún* in her hands stood next to the lady. She begins to play immediately and is accompanied by a man who has a *trutruka* and has waited respectfully for his turn. Everyone in the shed comes to dance at the front of the stage. Next to the stage a wind section has organized to support the interpretation. There are about fifteen dancers, among them members of the band Wechekeche. Some dance and others support the wind section. The women with the *kultrún* mark the pulse and rhythm with strong hits, the men are blowing strongly their *pifilkas*, the sound is powerful, the rhythm and movements of the dancers synchronized. For fifteen minutes the music and dancing take a surprising dimension; musicians deplete the last energy of the day with a display that nears delirium. All present are dancing, moving with grace and determination; it is a great closure for the day and the party.

In the next thirty minutes the people clean up the shed and remove the sound equipment. While they are saying goodbye to each other, I approach the sound engineer from the radio station beneficiary of the activity, who officiated as master of ceremonies during the evening, and I ask him about his views on the music of Wechekeche. He responds: “I like what the boys do, but in my opinion when you want to make Mapuche music, Mapuche music must be done,” alluding to pure traditional music.

The presentation of Wechekeche in this activity makes one wonder about how the construction of a particular youth ethnicity imbricates in general Mapuche society. The staging of this identity through fusion music exposes the problem of legitimacy within Mapuche majority society, in this case represented by adults who have migrated to the city and who cultivate traditional musical expressions. Even though the band members are involved in this tradition - they mixed with adults to dance and sing with great enthusiasm, temporarily eliminating the difference between generations - their music is a Hip-hop fusion with a very particular expression of the city. The fusion music reveals the participation in multiple symbolic circuits which do not exclude each other. In the described event, it becomes clear that the sources for construction of a Mapuche ethnicity in the city differ in generational terms.

The emergence of a Mapuche youth culture can result in contention. As previously stated, a youth culture is a product of a modern and urban society, while ethnic societies view themselves as traditional and rural. Consequently, producers of Hip-hop must seek legitimization for their practice within the remaining Mapuche society, specifically with regard to its urban character.
Fig. 10. In Concert. Three moments in the event. Mapuche lady sings a traditional song, Wechekeche’s presentation and final dancing of the participants.
5. **Hip-Hop: Appropriation and Hybridization**

In the link between youth culture and construction of ethnicity, a crucial symbolic universe is being portrayed to a segment of young urban Mapuche. The appropriation of elements of a global culture for the construction of an ethnic identity puts the question of the legitimacy of such a construction at the center of the discussion.

The legitimacy of an expression of identity is based largely on the ability to recognize "authenticity" in such expression. In the case of the Mapuche Hip-hop, this authenticity can be denied for creating a new identity when it is confronted with the idea of an ethnic origin – original and traditional – that is contaminated to distortion by copying foreign expressions, here understood as *winka* in its broadest sense.

Hip-hop, as a set of expressive forms, enjoys a particular effectiveness for deploying youth identities in an urban context. Indeed, it is assumed that Hip-hop offers its own quarrels and strategies for the construction of "authenticity" in relation to other forms of pop culture.

Hip-hop has become the most influential expression of pop culture in youth acceptance in the last 30 years. The expansion of this culture has been possible because Hip-hop corresponds with a pattern, a form of cultural production, rather than to a specific content. Indeed, it could be a language for cultural hybridization in a globalized era.

5.1. **Hip-Hop’s Rise to the Global Stage**

The beginnings of Hip-hop can be traced back to the early 1970s in New York City. In the black neighborhoods of Brooklyn, parties were made in abandoned buildings where the DJ (Disc Jockey) played with records on turntables, making scratches and mixing one melody over another, repeating a melodic section - a loop - to mix it with another simultaneously. While the DJ was doing this, a man on the stage called an MC (Master of Ceremony), with microphone in hand, encouraged the audience to come on the stage and dance. The dance consisted of a series of fragmented movements that will become known as breakdance.

At the same time as the dancers exercised their movements on the stage, the MC, keeping time with short sentences, provided a sort of narration of the dance, for which he required a response from the audience. This way of encouraging the dancers transformed until it turned into actual Rap. Rap is a form of sing-speaking, where the inflexions and the use of slang words in a playful and ironic tone play a central role. In Rap, not only is

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367 In strict rigor, the Hip-hop culture means the practice of three forms of expression: a musical style - Rap - a form of dance - known as break-dance - and a visual iconography expressed in graffiti.

what is being said important, but also the form, the tone, and pulse of the music should be complemented with the intention of the story which the rapper wants to produce.

In 1979 the song “Rapper's Delight” interpreted by the Sugar Hill Gang reached the top American charts. It was the first Rap to emerge from the African-American ghettos and begin the establishment of Hip-hop in the center of the American music industry. Three years later, in 1982, the film “Wild Style,” and in 1983 “Beat Street,” completed the arrival of Hip-hop in the great cultural industry. “Wild Style” tells the story of young Puerto Ricans who paint the Metro trains in New York in the evenings with graffiti. The second, “Beat Street,” is the story of young people who learn and practice breakdance. Both films were transformed into veritable manuals for the development of techniques of graffiti and breakdance, which would enable thousands of young people to acquire the basics for their development. The aesthetics of both films - close to documentary-film style - deliver a powerful picture of the state of the Hip-hop scene in New York of the early 1980s, which will serve as an example to be emulated in different geographies.

The influence of Hip-hop as a musical style after thirty years of development has reached all the corners of global pop culture, both in music and in aesthetics. Breakdance is regarded as a key source in contemporary dance, and graffiti has transformed the aesthetic forms of ownership of urban space. The cultural significance of Hip-hop in the United States has been emphasized by the essayist and journalist B. Kitwana. He notes that Hip-hop has been fundamental in the formation of identity of the generation of African-Americans born between the years 1965 and 1984. This generation, rightly called as "The Hip-hop Generation" by Kitwana, would be composed of the children of those who were involved in the fight for civil rights in the decade of 1960s. The life of this generation has been developed in a legally non-discriminatory society. However, this generation is still experiencing exclusion through its criminalization and ghettoization, as shown by the statistics of unemployment, crime, and lack of access to education in America, in which the African-American population is widely over-represented in relation to the white population and other ethnic groups. This generation experienced more violently than any other minority in the United States the effects of liberal economic policies of the ‘80s and ‘90s, which increased social inequalities.

Thus, Rap became a way to share everyday life, talking about life in the Ghetto in a simple recounting of the future and the dreams of young African-Americans in marginality. Precisely one of the characteristics of Rap texts is the idea of "reality" as a search for verisimilitude through stories that speak of everyday life. The investigator Jagodzinski expressed it in the following form: “Besides the importance of rhythmic

Kitwana (2002).
repetition and the "cut," rap is also the constant slippage between metaphor and literalness, the flipping of metaphor with reality, producing an ironical look at sociopolitical life."

The end of the great social struggles, such as those led by Martin Luther King or Malcolm X in the 1960s, has yielded to a mainly depoliticized African-American generation. Hip-hop, in this sense, as any other performative practice, has the quality of being the expression and, at the same time, discourse that forms a sensibility with different facets. In the 1980s there was a kind of political Rap that appealed to the formation of the black nation; it is not a demand for more rights than those from any other American citizen, but rather an appeal to the recognition of cultural difference. This line has been led by bands like “Public Enemy,” and, as we shall see later, it exerted its influence on Mapuche Hip-hop. Parallel to this version of a combative Hip-hop, many Rappers entered in the greater music industry, attaining millionaire profits. Thus, the formation of an Afro-American celebrity system in the 1980s was supplemented by the emergence of a select group of elite athletes, who consolidated the image of Afro-Americans as entertainers, and show business as a strategy for escaping the condition of marginality.

According to Kitwana, the increase in social inequality in a context of consumer society, linked with an anti-system conscience, converged in the social enhancement of gang culture. If in the 1980s, political rap had prevailed. In the 1990s, it became the consolidation of so-called Gangsta Rap; a kind of Rap that glorifies consumption and sale of drugs, the use of weapons and violence as strategies to obtain "respect," and then money and success.

Much of current Rap has taken codes developed by Gangsta Rap. Meanwhile its erotic cargo opened the doors of massification. The distinction between reality and metaphor, alluded to earlier, found its limit in the figure of Gangsta Rap. In the first half of the nineties, a couple of worldwide-famous rappers died in different clashes between gang shootings. Such incidents confirmed the fact that in Rap lyrics is not possible to distinguish between reality and metaphor; for the followers of Hip-hop, the recounted life in their raps is indeed real.

At the time that Hip-hop became massive in the USA it arrived in Europe. Bands and musicians brought political Rap to Europe. Thus, in countries like France and Germany, the emergence of local Rap is strongly linked to the transmission of political discourse. This allows its appropriation by young people, especially of migrant origin, which form part of the socially excluded segments. In the next section I focus on the processes of appropriation and hybridization of Hip-hop outside the African-American space.

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370 Jagodzinski (2005), p. 68.
371 In this incident Tupac Shakur, a very famous Rapper, was killed in September of 1996.
5.2. Hybridization / Originality: The Problem of Authenticity

In the mid-1980s young people in the French Banlieue developed different organizational models. Many of them were based on the figure of the American Gang; they marked places as theirs and set up territories dominated by different groups. These groups recognized each other through their slang, which had incorporated the words of French *verlan*; words of the language of their parents: Arabic, African dialects, and so on. Prévos points out the new organizations as follows: “Many French banlieue youths may thus be said to share several points with their American counterparts from African-American ghettos: their ‘appropriation’ of the spaces where they evolve, their own ‘slang,’ and similar attitudes toward music, rap, and break-dancing, as well as shared focus on their ‘honor’.”

Towards the end of this decade it was already possible to identify a Hip-hop scene in the two largest cities in France: Paris and Marseille. By that time both cities were characterized by the formation of banlieue where many young people of African origin were victims of poor academic performance, drugs, and unemployment, and, in consequence, racial and social tensions were high. In France there are various ethnic origins - North Africa, Black Africa, and the Caribbean - all coming together in the banlieue, where each of these sources contributes to the creation of a Hip-hop culture.

The city of Marseille developed a productive Hip-hop scene marked by the character of a cosmopolitan city. At the end of the 1980s a band called IAM was formed. This group developed a kind of music that expressed with particular effectiveness the subculture of marginalization in the city. The members of IAM are either foreigners or have different origins. Their multicultural formation - blacks and whites share a space, something unlikely in American Hip-hop - gives a clear identification with the city. This band assumes the role of witnesses in the city: they denounce violence, the drug trade, the rising threat of racism, and poverty. At first references from Afro-American Hip-hop were important, but in the course of time references have turned to Africa in search of different musical and cultural roots. Thus, their music is a collage of styles and expressive forms, where in the same song two or three very different sections can occur. Jacono explains the sociological significance of IAM as follows:

“Their refusal to create a homogeneous musical world thanks to the presence of numerous contrasts is linked with their assertion of the Marseilles identity. It is exactly as if IAM represents the musical form of the geographic, ethnic and cultural diversity of the city itself. Marseilles binds together its inhabitants beyond the cultures of their countries of origin. Through its rap music, IAM unifies musical sources that could not meet elsewhere.”

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Thus, what the Rap of IAM expresses, as in other collectives of Marseille, is the formation of a youth culture that merges the experiences of young people from various ethnic backgrounds, especially from Muslim North Africa and Black Africa. It expresses the experience of sharing the same urban space. The music stages cultural and social conflicts that occur in the interior of the city. It is an everyday and localized experience, in which differences are faced within a shared space. Marseille Hip-hop is an important generator of critical awareness among young people of the banlieue. Here Hip-hop adopts a hybrid form, where elements of a youth culture subjected to the movement of cultural globalization are geographically recontextualized by integrating local traditions. Marseille Hip-hop is a hybrid form that builds an ethnic identity in the context of transnational migration and movement of symbols of a global cultural industry. Some researchers have identified in this operation of Hip-hop a phenomenon of glocalización.³⁷⁴

In the same direction Kaya argues regarding Turkish-German Hip-hop that Rap groups with migrant origins would be a bricolage, composed mainly of three sources.³⁷⁵ The first responds to the culture of the Turkish Anatolia region, from which most of the Turkish migrants in Germany came and which is imagined as "authentic" because it indicates the area of origin of the parents of rappers. The second source responds to the appropriation of symbols of the Hip-hop movement as a global culture. The third is the lifestyle of young Germans, whom the Turkish-German young target. This and other appropriation processes which developed during the 1990s, according to Klein and Friedrich,³⁷⁶ would have led to a discussion on the "authenticity" of these new forms, and therefore would have questioned its "credibility" for the formation of ethnic identities outside the original creation space of the young Afro-American.

The researchers Friedrich and Klein argue that the question of "authenticity" arises insofar as the theory of art and modern literature would have legitimized "the thought of the original" from the idea of the author, the uniqueness of the oeuvre, and its creation date. These three factors would form a unit. The originality of the oeuvre, its authenticity, and the subsequent differentiation of falsification is contained in the oeuvre itself. This tension has been heavily debated since the decade of the 1930s in the work of W. Benjamin.³⁷⁷ However, the transfer of this discussion from so-called high culture into popular culture has recently been possible by transnational migration and the formation of a global culture industry. Through transnational migration, the cultural producers are being relocated. They recontextualized their own production to their new social space, at the same time as they are supported by a diverse and also transnational cultural industry³⁷⁸.

³⁷⁴ Malone (2002); Reese (1998).
³⁷⁷ See the work of W. Benjamin: “Das Kunstwerk im Zeitalter seiner technischen Reproduzierbarkeit“.
³⁷⁸ An interesting example of the formation of new industries that build new transnational cultural geographies of movement are the satellite television channels that produce and transmit content from the countries of North Africa or the Middle East aimed at their migrant populations residing in Europe.
The discussion in this new context of producing pop culture, according to the authors, focuses on the political implications of this shift, as the political component would be proof of authenticity of a cultural expression.

In the words of the scholars of British cultural studies of the 1970s, the political character is lost in the process of appropriation of a cultural production. The emergence of Hip-hop, as a political expression, is linked to a specific social and cultural African-American context. A process of appropriation would become a forgery as expressive means, as it would be stripped of the original political status that saw it arise. From this conception, in relation to its authenticity, four readings have been opened on the current transfer processes of Hip-hop.\textsuperscript{379}

The first reading is represented by the first British cultural studies, which argue – as we have already seen – that the authenticity of Hip-hop is closely linked to its Afro-American origin. In other words, Hip-hop is genuine so long those who practice it are African-Americans. In the decade of the 1990s groups of Afro-American rappers emerged who argued that the origin of Rap is historically associated with ethnic groups in sub-Saharan Africa. Accordingly, the principles of Rap have been transported by the slaves from these communities. The reconstruction of such genealogies speaks in this case about an essencialization in the production of Rap.

The second approximation is located on the opposite pole. It proposes that the global culture of Hip-hop has ceased to be exclusively African-American and that its authenticity is not something given, but something that must be built in every context.

A third reading has been developed especially in France and Germany. It suggests that the authenticity of Hip-hop is an expressive mean of youth migrants living in the banlieue or in marginal conditions in relation to general society. This reading is a sort of essencialization of the social situation of ethnic minorities: it tries to balance them with the context of African-American origin. In France, for example, where in the 1990s French Hip-hop reached the mainstream, the discussion turned on the formation of two types of Rap. One saw Rap in France as a production whose lyrics fall well within the French poetic tradition and whose musical innovation contributes to its overall quality. In this case there is no contradiction between Rap and mainstream. The second group saw Rap in direct relation to the defense of a \textit{banlieue} ideal; that is to say, as a marginal migrant subculture.\textsuperscript{380}

A fourth approximation is suggested by Hip-hop producers themselves outside the context of Afro-American, who linked the idea of authenticity to honesty, which refers to the expression of what they "really" live on a daily basis. There is a certain consensus among researchers on the importance of the concept of "reality" in Rap. Therefore Klein

\begin{footnotesize}
\textsuperscript{379} Klein/Friedrich (2003), pp. 53-55.
\textsuperscript{380} Prévos (2002).
\end{footnotesize}

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and Friedrich argue that producers value this characteristic as a key attribute for authenticity.

The "authenticity" of Mapuche Hip-hop can be built at the intersection of these readings, excluding the first due to its Afro-American essencialization. What is relevant is the resulting strategy through which the appropriation by a social group is legitimized. It is important how Hip-hop producers consider a global pop style as an authentic expression. In the following pages I will tackle the discourse of the Mapuche Hip-hop producers to understand the form in which they appropriate this global youth culture and seek their legitimacy in the space of Mapuche society itself.

6. Authenticity and Realness in Mapuche Hip-Hop

Currently there are at least two groups of young Mapuche producing Hip-hop. Both collectives have recorded albums and make presentations regularly. One of them is Wechekeche ñi Trawün in the comuna of La Florida, Santiago, of whose presentations I have already submitted ethnographic accounts. The second one is Wenewen in the city of Temuco. In this section the discourses of Mapuche Hip-hop producers will be shared as a way of providing a broad reading of the processes of the formation of the groups and their creation, as well as the perception of their role in contemporary Mapuche society.

The song “Proud,” from Wechekeche, with which they begin their performances, talks about the process of self-discovery as a Mapuche in the city. This self-discovery produces a feeling of pride in the history of struggle and resistance of the Mapuche people. The lyrics are quite clear in this regard:

"Proud of whom we are and our history ... listen child! I tell you that Mapuche is your origin for those who laugh when the list is called, what you have is identity and pride of a race (identity is what we have and the pride of a race). Look into the eyes of those who look at you with contempt, you know where you come from and what you have is the blood of warriors who died for you, many of them fell in battle and many resisted, so that someone in their ignorance looks down on you. Join your people! who receive you here as a brother in this new war that we will face (War shout Mapuche).” 381

The discovery of the origins, the search for a Mapuche identity, and the fight for the claim as nation appear to be the main elements of the message of Wechekeche. The process of invisibility of ethnic identity in the city has marked the development of generations of Mapuche migrants in Santiago. The political vision of the group is a call to end this invisibility and launch a new phase in the struggle for recognition. The concept of “mapuchization” is commonly used among young people when they refer to this process.

381 Lyrics of “Proud”, Wechekeche ñi Trawün.
Mapuchization refers to a personal search for family roots and spiritual elements, but also an increasingly strong participation in Mapuche groups and activities. The natural outcome of this process of engagement with Mapuche society is political participation.

Indeed, the formation of the two youth Hip-hop bands has political goals, and an awareness in the search for strategies which enable them to express what it means to be Mapuche in the city. Jano Weichafe of Wenewen explains the initial motivation for creating Mapuche Hip-hop in the city of Temuco:

“It all started in the nineties. At that time there was a group that was called ‘Los brocas guriznaque’ and we started to have contact with people of Hip-hop from Santiago where the movements were also starting; ‘Black panthers,’ ‘hidden guerrilla,’ and others. And we started to have contact to denounce any discrimination towards people of the población. If you came from the población or dressed in a particular manner, or for being Moreno (dark skinned), there was a lot of discrimination.

As product of all the experiences that one has in the población, in conversations with people, participating in activities, this criticism was born, we wondered: why were the Mapuche people, who were living in Temuco or Concepción, being discriminated against? Were they discriminated against because of having certain features? Also because of how history was taught in schools, the issue began to be raised. By and by, one was doing more things, one was wondering more. Then we read; during this search we found the Hip-hop of blacks in the United States. It talked about something that was very similar to that which happened to us, then we started to listen to Public Enemy, and we started to do our own Hip-hop.

We rescued the origins of Hip-hop and Rap of blacks in the United States that they used as a means to rebel and express any discrimination that they experienced as descendents of African-Americans. Public Enemy sang for the establishment of the black nation. So, how did we adapt these elements in the fight to our social reality, our contemporary reality as Mapuche? We took those elements and adapted them here in Temuco, we as members of the Mapuche nation. This is the struggle that is taking place and is going to move forward in spite of all that actual repression.”

The choice of Hip-hop as a means of expression by Wenewen came through the identification with the proposal of the "black American nation." Indeed, the consolidation of a concept of a Mapuche nation at the beginning of the 1990s provided a symbolic bridge between content and method which had been developed in the United States. At this time possibilities were opening in Temuco, the most interesting city for Mapuche political and intellectual movement.

In the case of Wechekeche, the first motivation focuses on the organization of young people in Santiago. The use of Hip-hop becomes a communication strategy,

382 Interview with Jano Weichafe in November 2006.
building speech accessible to the aesthetic sensibility of urban youth, so Ana Millaleo, the
group leader, points out:

“We all participated in different organizations here in the metropolitan area, many
came from communities, they had studied primary school in the South and came to
Santiago. They worked or lived with their family or in the house of the bosses where their
mothers worked. We came together in a Congress with many young Mapuche and we
decided to make a Mapuche youth organization. In regard to this congress, Wechekeche
ñi Trawün was later born. At first we were about six people, and we started to call more
people and delineate what we wanted to reach.

“First, more than anything else we wanted to reinforce the Mapuche identity in
young people living in the city. Because many of them had experienced discrimination,
many did not assume their origins as Mapuche. Even children came and said: ’No, but my
last name is German,’ and it was clearly a Mapuche surname! It turns out that the
grandfather had told him that, and they did not assume themselves as Mapuches. We saw
that they were interested in other things that belong to the Western culture. We began to
go to schools, and we came up with the idea of the music, because there was a movement
of urban movements, Hip-hop, Rock, Punk, and we said, ’Within these young Punks or
hip-hoppers there are Mapuche; how do we get at these young people who are punks and
are Mapuches?’ They did not come together or they had no approach to the Mapuche
culture. We must make music!’ And there we decided to make Mapuche fusion music.”

The adoption of a style of globalized music does not represent a conflict so long it
fulfils a political goal. In this case, and contradicting the traditional views of Cultural
Studies, the appropriation process of Hip-hop is completed with new political content,
recontextualized to an everyday reality. This appropriation empowers a capacity for
cultural resistance; it enhances the contemporary character of the Mapuche culture, as
notes Paul Paillafil from Wechekeche:

“We consider our music to be precisely a form of resistance, cultural resistance
against this overwhelming wave of winka imperialism. Then for us, as Mapuches, it has
never been contradictory to incorporate new elements, because through all of Mapuche
history new elements have been incorporated without changing the Mapuche essence, the
Mapuche raquedúan, the Mapuche vision. For us it is the same. This form of resistance is
part of that, the music which we make is part of that. We incorporate new elements, but
we have never abandoned our ancestral music and we will never leave it aside. So these
new elements are aimed at recovering our brothers who are probably farther away from
their folk, in the aspect of music, they go for a musical tendency or something like that
but in many cases they forget their people, we aim primarily at them and now, if this
message reaches more of them, then that is a lot better.”

Mapuche Hip-hop would definitely work as a way of approaching urban Mapuche
youth who do not identify themselves as Mapuche. It serves the function of discovering
ethnic consciousness through a daily form of expression, through its proximity with a young musical style and its message which seeks identification with the experiences which it narrates. Now then: how do the producers of Mapuche Rap perceive the response of Mapuche society to their music? P. Paillafil and J. Weichafe state:

“The response has been very surprising. At the beginning we questioned ourselves a lot, but it has had a lot of response. Above all we are interested in our Mapuche brothers. Our music has reached many places and is heard in the communities, it has reached community radios, other countries, Argentina, France, Holland, and here in Santiago, of course, the record has been going around a lot. So, the truth is that for us such a good response has been a surprise, even between adult people, between the young people, yes, because the style is modern, people like that, especially the lyrics, the contents which speak of the Mapuche. But the older people were also a surprise.”

“When we have gone to play in the communities, the young, the kids listen to us with a lot of respect. We have turned into a reference for them through the message, because they feel that what we express through our lyrics is also what they are living. It is what they live when they go to school or when they go to live in the poblaciones in Temuco, or in the different peripheries of the cities, in Santiago above all. Even the adults have congratulated us, the lonkos in the communities, because we not only sing, we also practice the culture, we have participated in We tripantu, I dance cholque, I can play instruments, also we play palín, and all of this with the respect that this means.”

The participation in the traditional cultural practices is fundamental. These activities include learning Mapudungún, playing palín, the celebration of We tripantu, and Nguillatún. In addition to making music, both collectives take part in a series of activities: they work with poetry and organize activities to promote the language, among other things.

Wenewen participates in traditional solidarity festivals in the cities of the South together with other non-Mapuche bands; punk or rock bands which are part of a political and musical left-wing scene. His work has achieved notoriety in the city of Temuco. The musical scene in this city is small, and his activity is recognized as a distinctive mark of the cultural youth production. In addition to performing concerts in Santiago, Wechekeche takes part in festivals in the communities in the South, especially in the Puelmapu, the Mapuche region in Argentina. Recently they were interviewed by radio stations and by Chilean public television, which has permitted diffusion beyond the strictly ethnical spaces.

The producers of Mapuche Hip-hop permanently put an emphasis on the idea of “respect.” Respect here is played in two fields: on the one hand they claim respect for their condition as Mapuches, indigenous in the city, which expresses itself in their battle

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383 P. Paillafil.
384 J. Weichafe.
against prejudice. On the other hand is the respect which they expect from the rest of the Mapuche society. They have respect for the traditional elements of Mapuche society, and expect in return to get respect in their condition as city youths who, in consequence, have lived very different experiences from those lived by the Mapuches who have remained in their communities.

Fig. 11. Hip-hop Producers. Above: Frame from TV-Reportage of Chilean public television (TVN) in which Wechekeche ñi Trawün was interviewed (March, 2007). Below: Jano Weichafe from Wenewen in Temuco.
7.  Chapter Conclusions: Mapuche Hip-Hop as Urban Identity

Modern industrial culture developed sources for the construction of identity, such as class, family, and work. The weakening of these sources through the last half of the past century has made way for the emergence of youth cultures, which function as social strategies in the search for establishing new references of identity, for example the “we the Hip-Hoppers” type.

Though young Urban Mapuches are not excluded from this generalized process, nevertheless, as it has been observed, they play in a mixed space. On the one side they link up with the multiple possibilities which are built from that what is urban-juvenile, and, on the other, with the bonds dictated by tradition which is recognized as constitutive of the Mapuche ethnical condition.

Hip-hop is an urban expression, just like the condition of youth cultures is the product of a modern, non-traditional society, such as Mapuche society. Exactly in this point two tensions are set on stage. The young Mapuche find themselves in the process of a genealogical quest, in terms of their cultural identity, which is disposed in a contemporary context which they cannot renounce. But on the other hand, this construction of identity requires the legitimization of the rest of Mapuche society, a society which has historically identified itself with traditional and rural values, in order, precisely, to be culturally differentiated and recognized as Mapuche.

The producers of Mapuche Rap express that their music as been “heard with respect” by the Mapuche from the communities. Nevertheless, they know that they still have to work to obtain the complete acceptance of the traditional cultural authorities. The legitimacy of their music must come, in this case, from their political message which is directly associated with the political struggles for reclamation taking place in the communities.

That which is “urban” has been defined by a long tradition as the place of difference, the space where a diversity of subjects and collectives encounter and coexist with each other. But the “Urban” is also the process in which that which is unknown becomes known, where distrust turns into trust, finally where strange becomes familiar\(^\text{385}\). Mapuche Hip-hop allows this process between the youths in the city. The musical style in its expressive form - sound, lyrics, and attitude - acts as a bridge to other youths in the city. Many urban youths can now associate Mapuche culture - seen before as strange and of radical difference because of its link to another space and time - with a daily and “real” existence in the city. In fact, the Hip-hop aesthetic plays a fundamental role in the communication between Mapuche and non-Mapuche youths in the city, not only to

\(^{385}\) Schroer (2006), p. 244.
awaken an ethnical awareness between the “brothers” who do not recognize themselves as Mapuche, but also to give visibility to Mapuche culture as a contemporary reality and in an active process of development.

Text and aesthetic of Mapuche rap is a double practice of legitimization and recognition for its producers, allowing recognition of oneself in the Mapuche society as an inhabitant of the city, *Mapuche-warriache*, and at the same time as Mapuche between other Chilean youths in the city.
CONCLUSIONS

The diffuse ethnicity

In the last decade the city has experienced a growing process of ethnification. The city has become a privileged scenario through which to observe how the discourse on social conflicts has shifted from problems of social inequality to those of social differences. In this context, the current transnational migrations are, judging by the interest and attention they awaken, one of the most important fields in which the ethnification of the city acquires a relevant role in classifying and categorizing the internal differences of metropolitan urban societies. However, in this case, the Latin American city has its own genealogy regarding its processes of ethnification. This has mostly to do with the internal rural-urban migration, in which the population of indigenous origin plays a leading role.

The millions of migrants, who since the middle of last century have settled in Latin American cities, reterritorialize social networks based on their places of origin as a strategy for integration into the city. The city is transformed in many cases into an extension of the original rural society, where migrants develop social relationships based on primary relations, of a more collective than individual sense and an economic rationality that is not necessarily of the capitalist kind. Even though in the city there is a multiplicity of social networks, each with varying degrees of formalization, the importance of informal networks has been fundamental in giving a particular character to the Latin American city.

In this Latin American context, Santiago de Chile represents a particular case. For the migrant population, informal social networks have played a rather limited role in integration in the city. In general, migrants used social resources based on their origins in a rather narrow way: although migration chains were formed, these had little extension and did not achieve a self-sustainability that would go beyond the first moment of settlement to become a permanent and updated network. This situation led, over time, to a
decline in the importance of networks based on the origin of migrants, until becoming almost invisible.

The establishment of the category *urban indigenous* in Latin America during the early 1990 replaces in many cases the category of migrant peasant. In this way a cultural difference of many migrants who came precisely from indigenous farming communities is accentuated. In Chile, the category of *urban indigenous* arises after the Census of 1992, which identifies 44% of the total Mapuche population as inhabitants of Santiago. In other cities throughout the continent, such as Quito or Mexico City, the term *urban indigenous* re-categorizes migrant groups that already carry out collective practices and build support networks in the city; in the case of the Mapuche people of Santiago this category has a more performative social character. The relevance this category has taken in recent years can be explained by an internal and an external dimension, namely, on the one hand, the institutional recognition by the state and its incorporation into the formulation of public policies, and, on the other hand, the process of ethnic awareness that allows ascription to this category by Mapuche migrants.

The proliferation of ethnic categories to define social conflicts has been closely linked with the end of the Cold War. The post-cold-war world order is sustained in large part by multilateral organizations under the UN which design social and economic policies globally. Precisely those institutions have promoted cultural difference since the 1990's as a central element in the management of civil conflicts, and accordingly, have played a clear role in the ethnification processes. The influence of international development agencies and their promotion of the ethnic concept as a strategy for control and domination through the formulation of specific public policies is currently being discussed in various areas of social criticism. This criticism also applies in Chile when it is argued that the emergence of the Mapuche urban subject is a construction that has been mainly endorsed by the state to comply with commitments related to international agencies such as UNESCO, ILO, and the World Bank. Based on this argument, the "urban Mapuche" fails to respond to a pre-existing reality of the Mapuche migrants in the city, and is a construction aimed at weakening the indigenous movement which is centered in conflicts between local communities and transnational corporations and the state.

Without a doubt the global context has played a role in shaping ethnification. However, the state’s recognition and its public policy has simultaneously encouraged an awakening of ethnic awareness. In fact, social phenomena must always be explained through a combination of factors which converge in a localized way and at a specific moment.

Indeed, to this global policy is added the evolution of the Mapuche political and social movement which has been outlined in this work, whose main feature, since the military defeat of the late nineteenth century, has been the exploration of different ways of integration, and the struggle for survival as a society. This historic struggle has endowed
it with a sense of community that takes on a new expression in the context of the transformation of the city of Santiago, as it is the social space in which this process of ethnification is carried out.

The structural changes in the city which have taken place since the 1990's, a product of aggressive liberal policies, have influenced the destruction of ancient forms of association and social integration. The poor population of the city, among whom are the Mapuche, has suffered this transformation more violently, affected by the radicalization of social inequalities and stigmatization. This social segment has experienced social disintegration produced by ghettoization, the emergence of criminal economies, neglect on the part of the state, and increasing precariousness and exploitation within the labor market.

The inhabitants of the city generate new strategies for accessing resources of power, social cohesion, and for the formation of identity. In this context, Mapuche ethnic roots emerge as a resource for migrants. This resource permits the construction of a new social category of ascription within the city in a context of crisis.

Accordingly, elements such as the development of an institutional character that promotes ethnification, the Mapuche social movement, and the social crisis in Santiago which encourages individuals to find new resources of power and identity, provide an important context for Mapuche ethnification.

Urban ethnicity is a specific form of constructing social difference in the city. This research has focused on how the Mapuche in Santiago differ as a group; that is, what they “do” to differentiate themselves. Even though discourse and practices can be “made,” the differences of which are primarily analytical, I wanted to concentrate instead on practices, primarily because this field is, of the two, the less developed by current Chilean Social sciences. The scope of ethnification discourses in the city is much broader and has already forged its own paths of reflection and research, which have been reviewed at different times during this work. For their part, practices are much less studied. Special attention has been given to ritual practices by scholars, usually with the intention of demonstrating that the Mapuche practices in Santiago are identical or very similar to those carried out in the space of traditional indigenous communities, and thus provide proof of the "authenticity" of the ethnic presence within city.

Nevertheless, an indigenous society is not the carrier of the core of social and cultural elements which it activates regardless of time and space. In this case, the Mapuche society is neither outside of time - ahistorical - nor outside the space, not noticing to whom or what it should relate. Indeed, the location of these two coordinates is critical to understand "the doing" which differentiates the urban Mapuche from the rest of urban society and the Mapuche-warriache from the rest of Mapuche society.

The Mapuche society has always had a high internal and regional diversity; it never constructed dominant forms comparable to a state, which has allowed the development of
many forms of ethnic identification. The history of the Mapuche society must be understood as the sum of economic, cultural, military, and political negotiation processes conducted by its various regional segments. However, a common element that has been expressed in these processes is the high plasticity for adaptation and transformation of the Mapuche society as a whole. Otherwise, the military defeat at the hands of the Chilean Army in the late nineteenth century, which represents the end of territorial autonomy and therefore of social and cultural autonomy, would have meant its demise.

The Mapuche-warriache is part of the internal diversity of Mapuche society. This segment has had to negotiate with the urban context, and in this process has experienced hybridization and the reformulation of their ethnic roots. Therefore, the central question that has mobilized this work is how, despite the adaptation and integration into the city, a Mapuche can still be recognized in the city. Urban social research has traditionally observed ethnicity in the city through objects of study with a strong social structure; social spaces where ethnic relations have a high intensity and are expressed in a clear manner in urban areas. Therefore, ethnic neighborhoods and economies have been privileged objects of study. By looking at ethnic groups through these units, a city composed of a set of cultural mosaics comes into view. This implies first that these units would be clearly identifiable within a recognizable area, and second that each mosaic represents a tight set of relationships with internal consistency.

The particularity of the Mapuches in Santiago is that they form neither neighborhoods nor districts, nor relevant ethnically-based economies. This situation represents a central point of this research project. What is this difference in the city through which it does not allow itself to be studied in these classic terms? This work has explored this question through research on different types of practices. First it was necessary to address the dynamics of migration since the middle of last century, and then to address the current forms of association and their linked practices. Following I give a summary of the main results of the different case studies, which delivers an overview regarding the Mapuche ethnification in Santiago.

Migration

By observing the migration process over the past half century, the first element that stands out is Santiago’s position within the itineraries of Mapuche migrants. More than a type of route that follows steps of increasing complexity, the itineraries have connected two central points: the community, and Santiago. A dual relationship is established, the migrants reside in one space or the other. Intermediate points play a rather marginal role, and the relationship between the two spaces is weak. The lack of studies on internal migration in Chile to qualitatively describe the process by which the population in Santiago grew to five times its number in the second half of last century, does not allow
comparison between the specific cases that we have reviewed with the itineraries of other migrant populations.

The current discussion on phenomena of migration describes, for a wide variety of cases (both internal and transnational), the development of a segment of migrants who practice a movement of coming and going, through which a continuity is created between the spaces of the society of origin and the host society. Mapuche migration has not formed a mobile segment of the population to link the spaces of the community and Santiago in a continuous manner. The flow of people, objects, and messages between these two areas is greatly reduced in the case of the Mapuche in Santiago. The dynamic of migration is unidirectional and forms, finally, two social spaces of high contrast.

One explanation for this fact can be found in the nature of the post-reductional community and the role it gives to the emigrant. Faced with the adverse context that society must confront following the Mapuche reducational process, the community is transformed into a space in which Mapuche society is turned towards itself with a survival instinct. This closure of the community in the face of an aggressive environment allows the reproduction of culture within it, but also, together with the high pressure upon scarce resources - especially land - it results in practical terms in the expulsion of those who emigrate. Thus, the permanent emigration from the communities has not meant an extension of the community; emigration is not expressed in a reterritorialization within the space of Santiago.

Integration in the City

The integration in the city by Mapuche migrants did not take place through a social network based on their home communities. Although, in the cases studied, a chain migration operated composed of members of a network of primary relationships, the migrants quickly trace routes of integration - access to residence, work - in a rather autonomous way. While for similar cases in Latin America scholars state the reterritorialization of indigenous networks in the city - a sort of silent invasion of the city - has created migratory networks with high levels of self sustainability, the Mapuche were confronted with a city whose level of formalization left little space for the development of a migratory network. The Mapuche migrants updated social relations based on communities of origin, but these relations were weak in the process of integration.

In this sense the studied case of bakery workers is paradoxical. On the one hand, the large number of Mapuche migrants occupying this labor field supposes a significant role of ethnicity in access to this work. But in turn, the early unionization of this labor field was a product of a "forced" formalization imposed by the dynamics of the city. While networks among relatives and friends for accessing job positions have continued to operate until today, these are reproduced in the context of the formality of the union. This
is the only case that can be identified in Santiago of a relatively structured network in which Mapuche origin has played a role in accessing resources of integration.

The conditions of integration imposed by the city - places of residence and the diverse work sectors - show that Mapuche migrants built spaces through fleeting encounters and low-levels of structure. Only after the enactment of the Indigenous Law of 1993 has a new context of indigenous partnership been created in Santiago.

The Neo-Community

The urban Mapuche organization (Urban Indigenous Association), born from the Indigenous Law, has been named as a Neo-community in recent research. The semantic link with the traditional community is meant to highlight the function as a space of cultural reproduction. The urban organization is a space of social intimacy, rather than one with declared political objectives. While there are political Mapuche organizations in Santiago which have played a role in the formulation of an emerging ethno-political urban discourse, they are part of a small segment of the organizational landscape; most organizations have the character of those cases discussed in this investigation.

The nuclear family is usually the basis of urban indigenous association that attracts other members from different social networks. These organizations are not the continuation of twentieth-century Mapuche forms of association; political and cultural organizations located in the city whose objective was to struggle against prejudice and find a "respectful integration." The urban indigenous associations are a new social reality. The space of the current urban organization is the space of Mapuche ethnification, where migrants are recognized as part of a shared history and where they can reproduce some traditional practices.

However, these practices carried out in the city have a different character from those carried out in the communities. It is therefore necessary to point out that the use of the prefix "neo" together with the concept of community - as has recently become widespread – is not only an acknowledgement of the spatial transfer of these practices (now in the city and not in rural areas); the particularity of the urban organization is that it arranges a new field of communications. The traditional community was a closed space of protection for the Mapuche society. The indigenous urban association also fulfills the role of being a space of refuge as a meeting place among equals, but the organization administers various communication flows as well; internal flows, and flows oriented toward the outside environment.

Communication is always a way to build consensus. Inside the urban organization, people with different experiences, histories, and relationships with the city (migrants from first or second generation), or origins in various regions (territorial identities), are involved. The urban organization is a space like no other within the Mapuche society.
today, where such differences are negotiated in the effort to build a *Vergemeinschaftung*. In this sense we understand the importance of seminars and workshops on traditional culture and cosmovision, such as those described in this paper. They represent the need for consensus of knowledge, interpretations, and, finally, working objectives within a heterogeneous group. Whether this communication space will result in the formation of a segment of urban Mapuche in Santiago with a relative homogeneity - expressed, for example, in the emergence of a Mapuche ritual of unmistakably urban character - can only be observed in the evolution of this new phenomenon in the course of the coming years.

The second area of communication, which takes shape within the Indigenous Association, is with the remaining urban society. In my research this relationship presents itself in different ways. Participation in an indigenous health project supported by the state, in which one of the observed organizations participates, is a way to establish a bridge of communication between two different systems of knowledge. The interesting element is that this process takes place in a practical area that is very sensitive for the general population, that being medical care. In the Mapuche case, participation in the formal health system does not mean a confrontation, a competition with Western medicine and therefore with Chilean society, but it means a way to integrate differences. The practices of the *machi* play a key role in the construction of complementation discourses.

Another area of communication is expressed in the work of the youth organization and its creation of fusion music, mainly oriented toward the children of migrants. The use of the codes of youth culture to create ethnic difference is an efficient communication strategy for the Mapuche who were born and socialized in the city. The composition of Hip-hop music permits the transmission of a message the de-codification of which is unproblematic for the Mapuche urban generation. But at the same time, upon entering a "scene" of Hip-hop collectives, they build a difference to other urban youth. It is a way to integrate into an area of urban youth cultures based on ethnic difference.

These spaces of communication, internal and towards the environment, transform the association into a contemporary Indigenous reality for Mapuche society; one that requires new contemporary Indigenous reality for Mapuche society; one that requires the observation of urban ethnicity in a context of dialogue, and not as a closed space - enclosed in itself - as has been done so far. It is in this sense that this work redefines the concept of neo-community.
The Diffuse Ethnicity

Considering the results of the investigation: are ethnification strategies sufficiently strong to identify a Mapuche urban society as a distinct phenomenon in the city? What I have observed in my study is that expressions of an urban Mapuche ethnicity are of a partial, hybrid, and fragmentary character. In other words, the Mapuche in the city form a whole, a group whose edges are difficult to nail down. At its borders, its ethnic characteristics fuse with Chilean and urban characteristics. These boundaries are in motion and are only possible to capture at specific times. In these terms, Mapuche ethnicity in Santiago adopts a contemporary form of construction of urban identities.

Since the first thoughts were given toward urban space, it has been argued that the city is the arena of diversity, where the inhabitants are involved in different systems of relationships and acknowledge various identities. However, this presumption has not ceased to be complex in describing and analyzing how collectives are articulated in urban space. This work has sought to establish a dialogue about methodological problems that arise in the investigation of differences within the city. An entire chapter has been devoted to the review of how the formation of ethnicities has been understood by the social sciences. This tradition has observed groups in the city through heavily structured phenomena. An analogy to the research laboratory arises here where variables are isolated in order to build relatively pure objects of observation. The case that I have reviewed presents evidence which refuses to be observed in this way. Mapuche ethnicity in the city is organized in multiple and dynamic forms. So, how to identify the Mapuche in the city?

The ambition to set, appoint, and order, to point out units and distribute parts, and to build classifications that establish differences and similarities, has displayed, in the present case, arbitrariness and bias. The Mapuche, as with many other cases of the ways of building identities in the city, is organized in a rather fluid way; with borders which are rather mobile and permeable, with spaces which are more fleeting than permanent.

The spatialization of the Mapuche in Santiago can only be traced by identifying areas of brief encounters that take place and leave no permanent traces on the outlines of the city. Most places where ethnification practices are carried out are invisible to the rest of the city's inhabitants: physical or virtual places in the form of communication nodes. The Mapuche in the city do not territorialize their ethnicity, but rather build nodes of differentiation, places in which a process of permanent communication difference is built. In this sense, the way in which the Mapuche differentiate in the city has a diffuse nature.

The ethnic roots of the Mapuche migrants arise in particular situations of social life and do not determine the set of practices and discourses of the Mapuche in the city. In this regard, the Mapuche-warriache, as has been described in this paper, is part of a system of identities which its members acknowledge to themselves. A diffuse ethnicity responds to a form of differentiation which takes place in specific social spaces, and, when that happens,
it does so through communication with other discourses and practices. In the cases that are presented in this study, ethnicity always emerges linked to other traditions: bakers linked to trade unions, traditional health practices linked to the state health system, and young second-generation migrants to a global pop culture. These relationships provide the communication context in which difference arises, where ethnicity has different values and functions. In the case of the bakery workers, ethnicity is mainly a resource of power, access to which from within the trade union organization is increasingly difficult. For the group linked to health practices, the appellation as an ethnicity is a way of seeking recognition by the Chilean society of a system of ancestral knowledge. For the young second-generation migrants, ethnicity is a resource for building a unique youth identity within the city.

An essentialist vision on ethnicity would reject the value of what ethnicity is in this context and would rather prefer to observe a coherent and self-contained social body that recognizes itself at all times as ethnic, and which reproduces a culture and social form generated in an ancestral time. Nonetheless it must be remembered that the various ways in which Mapuche ethnicity arise in Santiago are also related to the historic non-state nature of the Mapuche society. The importance of the independence of basic social units, mostly family, is expressed in a very diverse and dynamic associativity in the city. This is the same condition which endowed Mapuche society with a high plasticity.

However, the essentialist perspective, which prefers to see a homogeneous and comprehensive social body, would put the Mapuche-warriache outside history, and this, particularly in the city, is not possible. Understanding the Mapuche as a historical subject means putting it into history, and understanding the contexts in which it operates and develops its own "language"; as a society that makes "acts of speech" at different times. The Mapuche-warriache is an "act of speech" in this language.
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