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Warrior Spirit:
From Invasion to Fusion Music
in the Mapuche Territory of Southern Chile

A Dissertation submitted in partial satisfaction
of the requirements for the degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

in

Music

by

Jacob Eric Rekedal

March 2015

Dissertation Committee:

Dr. Jonathan Ritter, Chairperson

Dr. Deborah Wong

Dr. René T.A. Lysloff

Dr. Juliet McMullin

Dr. Thomas C. Patterson

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The Dissertation of Jacob Eric Rekedal is approved:

Committee Chairperson

University of California, Riverside

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

Foremost, I thank God for the opportunity to do this kind of work. This dissertation bears my name, but it also bears the imprint of many generous individuals and several supporting institutions that made the project possible. A Humanities Graduate Student Research Grant from the University of California, Riverside financed a brief pilot research trip to southern Chile during 2008, as I finished my graduate coursework and prepared my dissertation proposal. From late 2009 until late 2010, I lived in Temuco and conducted fieldwork with a grant from the University of California Pacific Rim Research Program. Between March and December of 2011, I continued my fieldwork with a Fulbright IIE grant, including considerable local support from Fulbright's staff in Chile.

When I first arrived in Temuco for a two-week stay during September of 2008, Johanna Pérez of the non-profit organization Fundación Chol-Chol picked me up at the bus station, gave me a tour of the city and a home-cooked meal, and introduced me to the world of Mapuche artesanía. Two years later, she and her colleagues at the Fundación provided key support during my extended research period. During 2010 and 2011, I was fortunate to befriend Danko Mariman, Isabel Cañet, Fabian Marin and Luz Marina Huenchucoy, of the Mapuche organization Kolectivo We Newen (New Force Collective). These young, pathbreaking individuals have informed and inspired my work in a number of ways, evident from the opening paragraphs. I am also grateful to have studied Mapuzugun for two semesters with Kolectivo We Newen, through classes they launched in 2011 as part of a campaign to make the Mapuche language official in Araucanía.

I owe a debt of gratitude to the poet Erwin Quintupil, who permitted me to attend and document the Mingako Kultural festival in the Mapuche comunidad of Saltapura, and with whom I have shared several fascinating conversations since 2010. I also thank Colelo of the heavy metal group Pewmayén, and now of the group Identidad Mapuche. Upon learning of my interest in Araucanian music, Colelo invited me to performances and expressed a genuine, reciprocal interest in my research. Mapuche hip-hop veteran Jano Weichafe deserves my sincerest thanks for sharing his thoughts about music, activism and the place of hip-hop in Mapuche culture. Jano and Danko made the first comments on the earliest completed sections of this dissertation, which are now published as articles in both Spanish and English. I also thank Juan and Oscar of the hip-hop group Unión de Pobla, who have educated me about the history of regional rap music, and who have inspired audiences since the early days of hip-hop in the cities of Temuco and Padre las Casas.

Guitarist Leo Matus deserves special thanks, as do charango virtuoso Javier Fuentes and cellist Francisco “Titi” Aguilar. These musicians, along with a tight-knit group of collaborators, perform in the open air throughout the year in Temuco and other cities. Their stages are street corners, city buses, bars and peñas, and as a result they project with acoustic instruments like few other musicians I have heard. During 2010, Leo instructed me on guitar, including Iberian and Latin American classical pieces, and standards from the Chilean nueva canción repertoire. Rainy winter afternoons spent with Leo, studying next to a wood stove or a space heater, rank among the fondest memories from my first year in Araucanía.

Lafkenche (coastal Mapuche) musician and artisan Hernán Marinao, and venerated Lafkenche poet Lorenzo Aillapán graciously hosted me at their houses and shared enlightening conversations with me during 2010 and 2011. Hernán has remained a good friend, and he honored my family by performing *ülkantun* when my wife Liliana and I were married.

Among local figures in the artistic milieu who are no longer alive, I was privileged to spend time with the remarkable luthier Antonio Rosales, and with the transcontinental poet and activist Alejandro Stuart. Their passing reminds me of the ephemerality of the experiences that so vividly color life and research abroad, but also of the lasting effects that artists exert, even after they are gone.

On various dark, chilly nights in Temuco, I ventured out to bars to hear local hip-hop, and on certain occasions I struck up conversations which led to interviews and further hanging out. In this context, I reflect fondly upon interactions with MC Thomaz Lobos Ponce, and members of the groups Núcleo 441 and Padrela. These lyricists, who belong to a younger generation that learned from rappers such as Oscar and Juan of Unión de Poblá, invited me to their houses, walked me around their neighborhoods, and talked enthusiastically about their art.

I am grateful as well for my friendships with singer-songwriter Diego Inostroza, and with Andrés Salvadores and Camila Brahm, who accepted me with open arms and made me feel at home in Temuco. Along with roughly thirty other people, these close friends helped mark the peak of my social life during fieldwork by throwing me an unforgettable thirtieth birthday party in 2011.

I have been fortunate to study with a number of excellent academic mentors in recent years. At Union College, historian Teresa Meade introduced me to fieldwork-based research in the Southern Cone, and encouraged me to work across disciplines and pursue my own approach to scholarship. During my final year as an undergraduate, Union hired their first ethnomusicologist, Jennifer Matsue, who kindled my interest in her field even though I was too near the end of my course of study to enroll in her classes. Together with Victoria Martinez from Union's Modern Languages Department, Professor Matsue guided me through a special thesis project while I pursued a master's degree in teaching at Union Graduate College in 2005-2006, and she offered indispensable advice about starting a career in ethnomusicology.

My mentors at UCR have provided unwavering support, and have demonstrated a singular degree of professionalism that I can only hope has rubbed off on me during my years as their student. Jonathan Ritter, my advisor and committee chair, has set a high bar with his own teaching and writing on music, violence and memory in Peru, and he consistently offers his students the attention necessary for them to strive toward his standards. Deborah Wong and René T.A. Lysloff, who have equally high standards, have provoked me to think ethnomusicologically through a striking range of paradigms, including globalization, postcolonialism, interculturalism, feminism, improvisation, critical race studies and postmodernism. Anthropologists Juliet McMullin and Thomas C. Patterson kindly accepted me in their graduate seminars on ethnographic methods, the body, and core anthropological theory at UCR during 2008 and 2009, and I am honored to have them as committee members.

My peers at UCR, particularly Jacky Avila, Shawn Mollenhauer and Miles Shrewsbury, made graduate school all the more remarkable by lacing it with the deep bonds of lasting friendship. These companions are now scattered in different places, each doing something interesting, but we continue to keep tabs on one another and to rejoice in life together from a distance. In 2012, my wife and I developed a close bond with Scott and Mary Crago, who lived in Temuco while Scott researched his Ph.D. dissertation in history. In addition to a lot of good memories, I thank Scott for his editing skills, which have proven valuable to my own dissertation.

In Chile, I am thankful to Juan José “Juanjo” Gutiérrez of the Universidad de la Frontera (UFRO) in Temuco. In 2012 Juanjo furnished me with a room and whatever resources he had available, so that I could teach an elective course entitled “Introducción a la Etnomusicología” (Introduction to Ethnomusicology) through the UFRO’s Centro de Innovación Profesional (Center for Professional Innovation). Juanjo also invited me to give a TEDxUFRO talk in January of 2014, the preparation for which included a rapid, intense course in public speaking that I will not soon forget. Juanjo’s son Felipe has also been a kind friend and an inspiration, and it has been exciting to watch him come into his own as a journalist and author. I first met Felipe independently of Juanjo, at Kolectivo We Newen’s Mapuzugun class in 2011, and he promptly introduced me to Alejandro Stuart and Kolectivo Espiral. These experiences in many ways defined my second year of fieldwork, and have subsequently shaped my network of friends and colleagues in Temuco.

I also thank Carlos del Valle, Dean of the Facultad de Educación, Ciencias Sociales y Humanidades (Faculty of Education, Social Sciences and Humanities) at the UFRO, who served attentively as my host professor during my Fulbright IIE grant period in 2011, and who also permitted me to teach a semester of “Introducción a la Etnomusicología” to his undergraduate students. My two semesters of teaching in 2012 acquainted me more closely with the Chilean university system and afforded me the opportunity to present a novel topic in Araucanía. Most importantly, the experience enabled me to dialogue with an enthusiastic handful of some of the region’s brightest students in the humanities and social sciences.

I also received timely support for my Fulbright IIE grant from Omer Silva, a linguistics professor who retired from the UFRO in 2011. Before leaving his post, Omer introduced me to a number of key people at the university, and helped me to secure my grant. Professor Mabel García, also of the UFRO, has given me valuable advice on research, and I was honored to share a conference panel with her recently in 2014. Anthropologist Rosamel Millaman offered important advice during my first year of fieldwork, as has anthropologist Alvaro Bello more recently.

Finally, and most importantly, I have been blessed with a family that has supported me through thick and thin, without ever questioning whether this dream would come to fruition. My father Kirby, a philosopher-cum-physician, has clearly enjoyed watching one of his kids throw caution to the wind and make a go at it in the humanities. My mother Susan, an enterprising social worker in charge of a child advocacy center in New Jersey, has been quick to appreciate the concern for social problems and

intercultural understanding in the kind of ethnographic methodologies I have been fortunate enough to learn. I believe that when I first called my parents from college to announce my chosen career path, they responded with a concerned silence. In the intervening years, I have heard them gladly accept the challenge to explain the word ethnomusicology to anyone who cares to ask. My brother Jon and my sister Laura have also been deeply supportive of this complicated endeavor, always offering keen professional advice, moral support, and of course the occasional wisecrack when we listen to music together—“Jake, analyze, analyze!” In 2011, at the tail end of two years of fieldwork, Liliana Pérez and I were married in Temuco. She has proven the bravest of all these family members, perhaps not having been warned about the pitfalls of getting hitched to someone who is just setting about writing a dissertation. With our toddler Martín now also in the mix, Lily has been a rock as I finish this project. Additionally, her fascination with Araucanía, its cultural milieu and its otherworldly landscapes, has undoubtedly influenced my writing. Lily’s parents, who live a short walk from us, have also been a deep well of moral support, companionship, and excellent food. It fills me with a sense of thankfulness and joy to announce to all these people that at long last the dissertation is finished.

To the street musicians, rappers, rockers, poets and artisans,
and to those who took me in and became my family.

ABSTRACT OF THE DISSERTATION

Warrior Spirit:
From Invasion to Fusion Music
in the Mapuche Territory of Southern Chile

by

Jacob Eric Rekedal

Doctor of Philosophy, Graduate Program in Music
University of California, Riverside, March 2015
Dr. Jonathan Ritter, Chairperson

This dissertation chronicles the cultural, musical and performative fronts during two centuries of struggle and negotiation between Mapuche and Chilean societies. The perspective is mainly ethnomusicological, including two years of fieldwork in the Araucanía region, concerning new genres of Mapuche fusion music such as rock and hip-hop. This writing demonstrates how Mapuche expressions and representations accrued various forms of value during Chile's modernization—including colonization, nation building, the emergence of modern social movements, and the implementation of neoliberal policies—and how artists contend with and subvert those values today.

The opening chapters are historical. Following the invasion of Araucanía in the 1880s, Mapuche political activism eventually gained traction by carefully managing a relationship with the Chilean political establishment, while also cultivating a unique approach to political processes that incorporated preexisting rituals. Concurrently, the Mapuche transitioned from adversaries to objects of study, while concepts such as

folklore took root in Chilean society. As popular culture took note of Mapuche sounds and symbols toward the mid-twentieth century, non-Mapuche artists and activists codified their progressive ideologies through their embrace of indigeneity, exemplified in art music, and most famously, *nueva canción*.

Based directly on fieldwork, the second half of the thesis discusses how Mapuche cultural continuity has involved both the recovery of traditions and the incorporation of non-traditional elements. I describe the conversion of a *mingako* ritual into a festival of music and poetry in the Mapuche *comunidad* of Saltapura. This transfer from agriculture to expressive culture demonstrates the diminishing value of Mapuche lands, parallel with the increasing value of their expressions, under neoliberal multiculturalism. Meanwhile, Mapuche heavy metal and hip-hop groups such as Pewmayén and Weichafe Newen build their music around ancestral principles of sound, ritual and language, raising the question as to whether Mapuche musical elements thus become ingredients of popular music, or whether popular music becomes Mapuche for incorporating these elements. Through detailed discussions of this music and its broader contexts, this dissertation issues a critique of the culture concept underpinning neoliberal multiculturalism, inherited from the investigations of the Mapuche during the early republican period.

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Chapter 1

Introduction

Mi sangre guerrera se hace escuchar . . .
Espíritu indómito de mi pueblo ancestral

My warrior's blood makes itself heard . . .
Indomitable spirit of my ancestral people¹

-“Rap Reivindikativo” by Wenu Mapu²

“An effective study of culture focuses on the intersections.”

Nestor García Canclini (2001: 12)

“*Ñi Pullu Weichafe*” means “Warrior Spirit” (or My Warrior Spirit) in Mapuzugun, the Mapuche language. The phrase is also the title of a song by the Mapuche hip-hop artist Jano Weichafe, or Jano the Warrior.³ The concept anchors this project, due

¹ The words of Mapuche and Chilean artists, scholars and other individuals in this dissertation are subject to my own translations. Generally, I include the original Spanish and/or Mapuzugun for lyrics, while for prose quotations I use only the English translations.

² In Chile and Araucanía, people frequently use the letter “k” for hard “c” sounds, as a sign of solidarity with the Mapuche, whose language, Mapuzugun, is transcribed with a great deal more k’s than Spanish.

³ The individuals I met, interviewed and heard perform use both stage names and given names. I do not use pseudonyms in my writing. Rather, I refer to artists by their stage

to the song's resonance, and due to Jano's assertion that music is one of the most effective and "dangerous" forms of activism.

The example of Wenu Mapu's song "Rap Reivindikativo," quoted above, also illustrates Jano's point. In the 2009 music video for the song, made by a fellow member of the group *Kolectivo We Newen* (New Force Collective), then Chilean presidential candidate Sebastián Piñera, a right-wing billionaire who won the presidency in December of that year, appears in a Mapuche *manta* (poncho) and *trarilonko* (head band), with a *kultrún* (ceremonial drum).⁴ The entire image is inverted on the screen, producing an upside-down mockery of Piñera's own professed empathy with the ethnic group from the central south of his country, which he had attempted to project by appropriating their traditional attire. In the half-second in which the upside-down image appears, it succinctly calls into question the Chilean political establishment's efforts at courting the Mapuche through symbolic means. Since the dictatorship years of the 1970s and 80s, the negative resonance of direct political conflict has been tamped down by the calculated public support of indigenous *artesanía* (loosely translated as folk art), music, and even ceremonies. In this case, a politician simply dressed up as a Mapuche. What the rap artists are saying, in other words, is that the political establishment's use of Mapuche

names in the context of performances, and by the names they have indicated as their preferences in the context of interviews. Upon conducting interviews, I offered the option of using pseudonyms, however nobody chose to use one. When multiple designations for the same individuals appear, I clarify who those individuals are in order to avoid confusion.

⁴ For the video accompanying "Rap Reivindikativo," see the website of Kolectivo We Newen, <http://www.nodo50.org/kolectivowenewen>.

symbols has a relationship of *inverse proportion* to its genuine interest in working with the Mapuche.



Figure 1.1. Sebastián Piñera dressed in Mapuche attire, inverted, during the video for “Rap Reivindikativo.” (Courtesy of Kolectivo We Newen)

Political debates and judgment values about Piñera aside, the hip-hop artists make another excellent point: the appropriation of the symbolic amounts to the appropriation of a kind of power, and by simply rotating an image, they can swipe it right back. Putting one’s finger on the pulse of this exchange of power constitutes difficult analytical work, the sort that quivers the fieldworker’s hold on the camera or microphone, because it implicates yet again the labor of knowledge gathering about native peoples with the neocolonial project of subordinating them. Put slightly differently, to understand why the

upside-down image achieves so much in just a few frames of video, one must do away with the taken-for-granted premise that supporting local expressions is equivalent to supporting the local culture. The video editor's insubordinate act breaks the broadly accepted article of the social contract that says, if politicians (or candidates) don your artesanía, they are your friends.⁵

The work of Wenu Mapu, Kolectivo We Newen, Jano Weichafe, and a number of other activist musicians exemplifies what many would consider a uniquely Mapuche form of cultural and political *reivindicación*, (revindication, in English). A common term in Chile and Araucanía, *reivindicación* describes the continued resurgence of identities, ideologies, attitudes, cultural forms and political causes, across multiple historical periods (González 1996, 1998, 2011: 939). This concept dovetails with that of authenticity, which a number of scholars have identified as a central factor in processes such as folk revivals and folklore studies (Filene 2000; Bendix 2009), the intercontinental diffusion of artistic traditions associated with indigeneity, such as Andean music (Bigenho 2002; Rios 2005, 2008), and debates about cultural identity in South American countries' development agendas (Romero 2001; Yúdice 2003). In Chile, the concept of *reivindicación* also articulates with a sense of direct revitalization of political power, often without explicit concern for claims of authenticity. In the case of the Mapuche, *reivindicación* refers to

⁵ This use (and inversion) of Piñera's image may subtly refer to Augusto Pinochet's visit to Chol-Chol, just northwest of Temuco, in 1988, when he was photographed in traditional Mapuche attire as well. Historian André Menard (2011: 318) reminds that, only a few months earlier, Pinochet had lost the national plebiscite ending his two decades of authoritarian mandate. Ironically, the majority in Araucanía did not vote to end his government, and when he visited the region in 1989 he was honored by conservative supporters among the Mapuche. Chapter Three contains further details concerning this interesting relationship between Pinochet and Araucanía.

the persistence of a powerful social movement that advocates territorial recuperation and collective rights, while claiming roots in a centuries-long struggle. The term also refers to a range of cultural expressions that at turns reinforce or deliberately break with tradition and authenticity. A classic example is the militant song “Rap Reivindikativo.”



Figure 1.2. Lyricist Wenu Mapu during 2010.

Theme of the Dissertation, and Key Collaborators

In this dissertation I explain the development of the cultural, musical and performative fronts in a centuries-long process of struggle and negotiation between Mapuche and Chilean societies. This writing emerges from a perspective based at once in ethnomusicology, anthropology, history and cultural studies, combined with my fieldwork and lived experience as a North American transplanted to Araucanía for several years. Beginning with the backdrop of two centuries’ worth of turbulent relations between the Mapuche and Chile—and recognizing that their dealings with Chile

encompass only the most recent two centuries of Mapuche history—I pinpoint key performative strategies of resistance that have accompanied the modern-day Mapuche Movement. This movement, moreover, constitutes the principal set of manifestations of resistance to foreign control, subsequent to the territorial wars of the late nineteenth century.

I intend neither to rewrite modern Mapuche or Chilean history, nor to furnish a significantly deeper lens into longstanding Mapuche rituals. A number of better qualified authors have already carried out such studies, and their work is important to Chapter Two, in particular. By contrast, I seek to make a unique contribution by writing about the role of music and performance in the ongoing negotiations of cultural identity and cultural capital (a concept I develop in Chapter Three), and even sovereignty itself, on the borderland that is contemporary Araucanía, or the Ninth Region of Chile. These pages illustrate that the borderland persists both as a physical location, and as a symbolic arena of expressions whose economic and political value have increased notably since Chile's return to democracy in 1990. Thus, I also seek to illustrate how the borderland, articulated in the Spanish-language concept of *frontera*, is both physical, as historians describe it, and symbolic, as musicians and other artists navigate and continually redefine it.

While I have examined rituals to some extent, popular music from a Mapuche or intercultural vantage point really constitutes the bulk of the material I describe ethnographically, along with performers' sentiments and perspectives via interviews. I base this approach at least in part on a practical constraint. Consider that when Chilean

ethnomusicologist María Ester Grebe conducted a remarkable study of Mapuche ritual music in the 1960s and 70s, she wrote that it took her six years to establish the rapport necessary to confidently publish her findings. My own research was based initially on curiosity about fusion popular music, with a two-year plan of investigation, and no prior experience living in the region (although I had lived previously in Santiago).

Under these conditions, in 2010 I asked Mapuche anthropologist Rosamel Millaman where he recommend that I direct my inquiry. Millaman responded by affirming that it was fine for me to be in the region asking questions and drawing conclusions, and that I was right to tread carefully. He advised that I focus on racism in Chilean society, and how it resonates in broader perceptions of the Mapuche and other minority groups. I embraced this advice, and sought out a way to understand the interaction of cultural production with systems of political, ethnic and cultural domination in the age of neoliberal multiculturalism. My findings reveal the cultural and performative contours of an enduring struggle in the late twentieth and early twenty-first centuries, with a context reaching back to Chilean independence.

The following contemporary artists figure prominently in this work: the rappers and poets associated with Kolectivo We Newen from roughly 2006 through 2010, including lyricist Wenu Mapu and lyricist/anthropologist Danko Mariman; rappers Juan and Oscar of the group *Unión de Pobla* (Barrio Union), and formerly of the *Brocas de las Naquis* (which means Kids on the Corner in the street dialect of *Coa*); the singer-songwriter Colelo, and his metal band *Pewmayén* (which means Space of Dreams in Mapuzugun); and the poet and educator Erwin Quintupil, from the *comunidad* (Mapuche

community) of Saltapura. I had the good fortune to meet and converse with a significant number of other performers of rock, hip-hop, and Mapuche music, some of whom also appear in these pages. However, the aforementioned individuals have been the most accommodating to my inquiries, and have most deeply inspired my writing.

I have had less profound relationships with various other artists whose work has nonetheless found its way into this thesis, such as Elisa Avendaño, Martín Curín of the band *We Liwen* (meaning New Dawn in Mapuzugun), and the members of the metal band *Tierra Oscura* (Dark Earth, a reference to the fertility of Araucanian soil). While I write about their music, I do so more cautiously. I also was fortunate to spend time with the *Lafkenche* (coastal Mapuche) musician Hernán Marinao, Lafkenche poet Lorenzo Aillapán, the late Chilean poet Alejandro Stuart, the musicians Susana Cofré, Nico Michel, Leo Matus, Esteban Sáez, Diego Inostroza, and Javier Fuentes, the poet Rayen Kvyeh, and the rappers of the groups Núcleo 441 and Padrela. Some of these remarkable people appear in this writing, while others do not. Still, they have each inspired in some way the content of the following chapters.

Neoliberal Multiculturalism and the Discursive Limits of Indigeneity

Beyond a chronicle of artistic representations of a tense political situation, I trace a process, which the prior discussion of “Rap Reivindikativo” illustrates. I refer to the evolving interest of the state and other powerful entities in the cultural representations of the indigenous peoples who have grappled for a foothold and a sense of autonomy within modern Chile. The dichotomous relationship characterizing symbolic or performative

resistance—the struggle between expression and repression—gives way to insidious forms of appropriation, and subsequently to a more complex relationship. Authoritarian regimes silence dissent forcefully. However, this dynamic is already well understood, and it already draws plenty of attention. Direct repression still rears its head frequently to quash protests, but the deeper relations of power have moved elsewhere.

More compelling are events in contemporary, free societies, under the following conditions: restored democracy, universal freedom of expression, public funding for indigenous and folkloric cultural production, international scrutiny of democratic processes and human rights, and the conflation of multiple forms of freedom with the free market (Hopenhayn 1995). Not only does the state now prop up subaltern expressions (which it recently scorned or ignored), but an entire culture industry has developed that places these expressions front and center, and harvests economic exchange value along with political currency from their autochthonous meanings.

I refer here to neoliberal multiculturalism, a compound term describing interdependent, contradictory cultural and economic policies, particularly since the late 1980s and early 1990s in Chile and other Latin American states, as well as in other regions of the world (see Burdick, Oxhorn and Roberts 2009). Since the early and mid-2000s, social scientists have employed this terminology in a coherent scholarly discourse concerning the paradoxical (read as hypocritical) promotion of ethnic and cultural plurality, alongside the forceful implementation of economic development policies that threaten marginalized sectors. Prominent examples of such scholarship include Diane Haughney's cogent analysis of the invasive logging industry in Mapuche territory (2006,

2007), Yun-Joo Park and Patricia Richards's descriptions of the dual subjectivities of Mapuche workers employed by the Chilean state (2007), Rosamel Millaman's writing on the parallel struggles for Mapuche rights and environmental conservation in Chile (2008a, 2008b), and Charles Hale's accounts of land recuperation and political participation among indigenous and Afro-descendent communities in Guatemala and Honduras (2004, 2005, 2006). In terms of artistic practices, Joanna Crow (2008) has described the relationship between Mapuche poetry and neoliberalism, the former having emerged in recent decades as a distinct art form linked to a uniquely indigenous political consciousness. It is worth exploring both neoliberalism and multiculturalism in a bit more depth.

Neoliberalism, in the words of David Harvey, stands for "a theory of political and economic practices proposing that human well-being can best be advanced by the maximization of entrepreneurial freedoms within an institutional framework characterized by private property rights, individual liberty, unencumbered markets, and free trade" (2007: 22). In Chile, Augusto Pinochet is considered to have implemented neoliberal reforms as a backlash against Marxist political advances, and as a way of aggressively exposing Chile's economy to foreign and private investment. As Patricia Richards (2013: 10) points out, Chile adopted a neoliberal economic model before returning to democracy, whereas other countries in the region did so at the urging of the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank, as conditions accompanying the restoration of democracy. Thus, Pinochet's economic policies were initially understood as inseparable from his use of terror and persecution. What's more, they have lingered

well into the democratic era, largely because they cemented the correlation between Chile's social class divisions and the globalization of the country's economy.

Multiculturalism stands for state-backed discourses and policies supporting ethnic and cultural plurality. While such ideas were entertained by the dictatorship, they were implemented in democracy, for instance through the passing of a more equitable *Ley Indígena* (Indigenous Law) in 1993, which I discuss in Chapter Three.

Multiculturalism articulates particularly well with neoliberalism's appropriation of the concept of freedom. Once a grounding attribute of constitutional democracies, under neoliberalism freedom stands for market liberalism. The deliberate confusion of constitutional freedom and market liberalism translates to the perception of free speech, assembly and so forth, while in reality the state backs the market principle foremost, and other freedoms inasmuch as they do not infringe on market liberalism. This is not to say that life is not good for many people under neoliberal regimes. In Chile, for instance, a climate hospitable to investment has generated economic activity and lowered diplomatic barriers to more powerful countries, in particular the United States, all of which has produced residual benefits for broad sectors of society.

On the other hand, many have argued that neoliberal multicultural states attempt to mold a certain type of minority citizen: one who accepts being valued, and who also conforms with both the terms of that attribution of value—which, for instance, can involve forfeiting ancestral lands—and with the manners in which the state and private industry represent her or him. Drawing on debates about such issues in Guatemala, Charles Hale coined the term “*indio permitido*” (permissible Indian) (Hale 2004).

Indigenous peoples the world over have encountered major problems with neoliberal multiculturalism, as they grapple with the contradiction of a symbolic status never before enjoyed in modern republics, combined with stiff retribution for their non-cooperation with certain development projects (De la Cadena and Starn 2007: 8). Patricia Richards describes this dynamic as it plays out in southern Chile:

Official neoliberal multiculturalism is shaped by transnational and national priorities, and involves constructing some Mapuche as terrorists while simultaneously promoting multicultural policies. Local elites contribute to the shape that neoliberal multiculturalism takes on the ground by actively feeding into the terrorist construction but refusing to consent to multicultural values. Altogether, understanding neoliberal multiculturalism depends on examining the transnational, the national and the local, and discerning the ways in which social forces at each level reinforce, interact with and depart from one another. (2010: 59)

Ethnographic research in the current era ought to examine how the problematic culture concept predominant in earlier eras of social science research articulates with cultural constructs and representations under neoliberal multicultural regimes (see Nahuelpán 2013, and Chapters Two and Three).

Mapuche reivindicación that shirks the discursive limits of indigeneity is a major focus of this research and writing. As I understand it, ethnomusicological work, especially concerning non-traditional or even postmodern(ist) forms of music, ought to respond to Lila Abu-Lughod's call for "writing against culture" (1991) by interrogating the ways in which self/other dichotomies correlate with differentials of power, and what musicians do about it. Hence this project conveys an impetus for cultural critique—or critique of cultural constructs—based in an awareness of the discursive formation of the indigenous subject, through processes similar to those described by Abu-Lughod in her

writing on the culture concept vis-à-vis feminism, and by Judith Butler in her work on the discursive limits of sex (2014[1993]).

Pewmayén, to cite one example, breaks frames with epic rock songs honoring Mapuche culture, its martyrs and its rituals. Furthermore, Colelo draws heavily on Mapuche music in his compositions, couching the ancestral sounds in a format resistant to appropriation. Hip-hop artists do likewise, advancing a tradition of what many refer to as oral literature, consisting of many generations of *epeu* (narratives) and *ülkantun* (song). Like hip-hop, these preexisting forms depict the trials, pleasures, and all around experiences of life in Mapuche territory. Articulating *ülkantun* with hip-hop opens the ancestral repertoire to contemporary interpretations and new audiences, and fosters the comparison of critical postures toward colonialism, among many other elements, between the two song forms.

This tension between authenticity and innovation in discourses about what is variously called *indigeneity* has surfaced in a variety of contexts. For instance, Claudia Briones examines how Mapuche in Argentina simultaneously practice their ancestral spirituality and meet in congresses designed to foster cultural and political unity, while they express themselves through punk and metal music, piercings, or the traditional Argentinian clothing worn on the *pampa* (high grasslands). These “Mapuche formations of self” (2007: 101), she argues, are crucial to the workings of agency, subjectivity and cultural cohesion. From a different angle, Tony Mitchell’s writing on hip-hop (2002, 2003a, 2003b), inspired by Aboriginal rap artists in Australia and several other countries, has raised important questions about what happens when an historically African

American oral art form associated with *resistance* crops up in vernacular and indigenous languages the world over. Does resistance accompany hip-hop wherever it goes? Is *which* language the issue? Is resistance too tired a paradigm for examining rap music? I would add: can hip-hop both articulate with Mapuche culture, and outflank neoliberal multiculturalism? Such examinations of indigenous popular music styles, while still relatively infrequent, demonstrate how the problematics of contemporary indigenous cultural identities and expressions have important implications for popular music generally.

The global community increasingly comprehends indigenous peoples' growing—and not diminishing—presence. Hence, the kinds of issues raised here, as well as by Mitchell, Briones, and many others, are increasingly common. As Marisol de la Cadena and Orin Starn (2007) remind, the heterogeneity of every manner of experience among indigenous peoples today thoroughly contrasts with assumptions only a century ago about their impending disappearance. The inaccuracy of these assumptions is glaringly evident in positive developments today, such as the United Nations' declaration of 1993 as the International Year of the World's Indigenous Peoples, among other declarations, some of which I discuss in these chapters.

Indigenous activism and political organizing has made significant inroads in recent decades, in manners that are increasingly autonomous.⁶ On the other hand,

⁶ In Ecuador, the *Confederación de Nacionalidades Indígenas de Ecuador* (National Confederation of Indigenous Nationalities of Ecuador, or CONAIE) became a major political force during the 1990s, merging with other social movements to form a sizeable indigenous political party. During the intervening years, the CONAIE won political

political advances during the longer course of the twentieth century also owed in part to a complex set of relationships with leftists, including some militant organizations (see Mallon 2005).⁷ Failed attempts at such collaborations have also proven tragic, such as the interventions into rural Peru by the Shining Path guerrillas during the 1980s, that contributed to excessive bloodshed among innocents during the “dirty war” (Ritter 2014). Advocates of neoliberalism have unequivocally taken advantage of such failures, steadily producing what John Beverly has called a “discourse of disillusionment” (2008) in both politics and popular culture. Meanwhile, the twenty-first century Latin American left has fractured between historically militant factions who are now often marginalized from political processes, and governing moderate leftists such as Michelle Bachelet in Chile. Indigenous political activism seems periodically up for reinvention as indigenous cultures reposition themselves in relation to external political movements and parties. For its part, the Mapuche Movement in this century has carefully sidestepped the pitfalls of the alliances with national political parties from the last century, focusing instead on gradually mobilizing a base for efforts such as Wallmapuwen, a largely Mapuche political party formed in 2005.

Popular culture and the Mapuche have a fascinating, complex relationship, which writers on the topic have only begun to describe (see Crow 2014). Moreover, as conflicts over sovereignty, rights, development and cultural policy persist in Mapuche territory,

offices and carried out national-level demonstrations sufficient to influence the government’s agenda on land reform, education, and other crucial issues (Pallares 2002).

⁷ Today, the Zapatistas in Mexico perhaps most vividly embody this pattern. In Bolivia, Evo Morales ascended to the presidency in 2006 as the first indigenous president, and one of few self-professed Leftist presidents at the time in the region.

activists demonstrate a profound awareness of the tactical potential of cultural production. In that light, Chapters Four, Five and Six detail how certain Mapuche activists on the artistic front take issue with—or aim at—their adversaries by outfoxing them in a rivalry of symbolic representation and appropriation. Writing about these issues requires both acknowledging and questioning structural musical and cultural meanings described in past studies, as well as an ethnographic focus that at times hones in on “the particular” (Abu-Lughod 1991, Rice 2003), to illustrate how individuals have lived and performed across periods of cultural change and social and political upheaval. The metaphor for combat derives from the artists themselves. The battleground is performance: the stage, the *peña* (small music gathering), the music festival, even the woven garment (like the manta and trarilonko donned by the candidate Piñera). More importantly, the stakes are liberation: the goals, beyond battling away the controlling efforts of cultural outsiders, are to own one’s cultural destiny, and to develop a set of expressions that are genuinely autonomous (which is not the same as *authentic*). These expressions are themselves prerequisite to political autonomy.

Format of the Dissertation

Following this introduction, Chapters Two and Three explore the expansion of the Chilean nation, and the gradual, contemporaneous development of the political currency of representations of the Mapuche in modern Chile. The dynamics of power and expression underwent a considerable reorganization in the two centuries following Chilean independence from Spain. During these years, the Mapuche in Chilean society

transitioned from military adversaries to objects of investigation, and eventually to members of a modestly empowered ethnic minority. Their expressions accrued new forms of value during Chile's modernization, which encompassed colonization, nation building, and the emergence of modern social movements. That value, however, does not necessarily correlate with political empowerment. Many Mapuche expressions today are framed as products of neoliberal policies that have looked benevolently upon non-threatening indigenous customs, and not as the result of many decades' worth of sacrifice and negotiation on the part of Mapuche organizations, artists and activists.

I devote the first two chapters to opening up this oft-ignored backdrop, in pursuit of a more complex understanding of a history that has fueled countless divisive debates, stereotypes, radical ideologies, and instances of violence, but that has also inspired an enduring sense of hope for more equitable cultural, social and political relations. My fundamental argument is that, as the Mapuche in Chile transitioned from adversaries to objects of study, and finally to marginally integrated members of society, their scrutiny under external systems of knowledge production and their interactions with opportunistic political forces molded the perceptions of them that now predominate in popular culture and political discourses. I do not refer exclusively to the erasure of customs, nor to negative stereotypes, although these factors are important. Rather, these two chapters outline certain peaks and valleys during the insertion of the Mapuche into the relations of power in modern Chile, and the role of, and costs to, their cultural representation in this process.

Part of this trajectory includes the emergence of artesanía as highly valued cultural production. Thus, I begin Chapter Three with a brief testimony by Doña Marcelina Nahuel, an elderly *tejedora* (weaver) who lived through a period of great difficulty early in life that provoked her to move to Santiago. Then, in a process of reverse migration she encountered stability by becoming an *artesana* (female artisan) in her ancestral territory. Nonetheless, weaving has also been the object of cultural appropriation under the neoliberal development model, indicating that the broad valorization of Mapuche textiles has complex connotations in terms of both autonomy and dependence.

By the height of the Cold War era, which in Chile culminated in the early 1970s, new revolutionary attitudes permeated political discourses and popular music alike, exemplified famously by the protagonists of *nueva canción*.⁸ Their art and activism, moreover, has garnered more attention than that of perhaps any other generation in Chilean history. Yet, principle factors in the development of their *modus operandi*, stemming from the Araucanian cultural and political landscape, often remain absent from studies of the period. Thus, the second portion of Chapter Two addresses how the conflictual relationship between the Mapuche and the left remained central to the evolution of the socialist project leading to Salvador Allende's brief presidency, but also to the general divisiveness of the era, as the most fervent leftists found in the Mapuche Movement both an ally and a platform. Exploring this area of the history of modern

⁸ Many authors capitalize *nueva canción* in order to refer specifically to the musical-political movement. Here, for the sake of uniformity I do not capitalize the term, which also refers to a music style.

ideology establishes a unique context for the discussion of musical activism, cultural policy, and ritual in the following chapters, beginning with Chapter Three. I propose understanding the period's spirit of revolution, as well as the visceral backlash against it, by examining the situation in Araucanía. This approach illuminates the place of the folkloric society-object in mid- and late twentieth-century politics. Into the twenty-first century, this backdrop remains deeply influential in the forms of Araucanian music considered *contestataria* (protest-oriented) and *combativa* (combative)—that is, in a lasting revolutionary style.

Beginning with Chapter Four, the writing is based principally on my own fieldwork. Chapter Four traces a particular history of a conviction of autonomy among certain Mapuche artists and activists, focusing on two performative examples of Mapuche rituals: the *mingako*, encompassing collaborative agricultural work and celebration, and the *ngapitún*, having to do with courtship. The *mingako* in this case refers specifically to a small festival called the Mingako Kultural, that takes place yearly in the Mapuche comunidad of Saltapura. Since the 1960s and 70s, the long-running *mingako* ritual, which the Mapuche adapted from the Inca in pre-Columbian times, ceased in its role as a fundamental activity in local agriculture. This change resulted from new farming techniques, government subsidies for machinery, and a variety of other changes during the Agrarian Reform. Today, however, the *mingako* persists as a cultural activity in which poet and educator Erwin Quintupil convenes his neighbors, family and friends, to cultivate local forms of art. Considering that, in the era of neoliberal multiculturalism, indigenous cultural representations are a tremendous, often contested resource, the

mingako has not disappeared, so much as it has shifted focus, from crops to cultural expressions. The conviction of autonomy in the mingako, for that matter, parallels today's struggle against genetically modified crops and corporate seed monopolies. The ngapitún, for its part, refers to the transference of a tumultuous courtship ritual to a rock song also bearing the name "Ngapitún." Colelo, the singer, offered his performance, which took place at the Mingako Kultural in 2010, as a means of transmitting knowledge of the ngapitún ritual to younger generations. Incorporating elements from traditional Mapuche music, the song paints a moving, sonic portrait of romance, masculine violence, sound and scenery, which I analyze in detail.

Chapter Five, "The Stage as a Battleground," is based on other events in 2010 that offer a point of entry into a deep analysis of the role of music in contemporary Araucanian political conflicts. As I note in the opening paragraphs of the chapter, I argue that music has played a consequential role in maintaining Araucanía as one of the last holdouts against the consistent assertion of state sovereignty, now two centuries into Chilean independence from Spain. This backdrop, moreover, now has its context in the previous chapters. For that matter, whereas previous chapters reference in various ways the issues of appropriation and conflicting ideas about cultural representation, Chapter Five examines how performers such as the rap group Unión de Poble and the rock groups Pewmayén and Tierra Oscura take on the issue directly, carving out Mapuche cultural autonomy with a uniquely militant sound. The chapter revolves around performances that took place at the *We Rakizuam* (New Wisdom) festival in 2010, which called attention to an extended hunger strike by thirty-four Mapuche Political Prisoners. I discuss in detail a

song performed at We Rakizuam in honor of the late Alex Lemún, who died during a land occupation in 2002.

The chapter's musical analysis affords me the opportunity to compare and contrast my analytical methods with those of past ethnomusicological projects on Mapuche music. Work by María Ester Grebe (1973, 1974), Caroline Robertson (1979, 2004), and several other researchers is of tremendous value to contemporary studies of Mapuche music. However, in contrast to their work, I explore the fusion expressions of Mapuche rock and hip-hop, utilizing techniques pertaining to poststructuralist ethnomusicology. I also describe the urban subculture of Araucanian rock and hip-hop, in order to contextualize the environment from which such expressions have emerged. Finally, Chapter Five offers a detailed account of the hunger strike, and other tempestuous events in 2010, which marked both the Chilean Bicentennial and a boiling point in state-Mapuche relations. The chapter closes with further descriptions of performances at We Rakizuam, ending with a rumination on the song "Una sola lucha" (Only one struggle) by Martín Curín of We Liwen, performed in this case by Tierra Oscura.

Chapter Six returns to the discussion of hip-hop, already initiated in the opening paragraphs of the introduction. While rap and hip-hop play a role in previous chapters, this set of polyvocal expressions merits its own examination in the form of a complete chapter. The central issues of my writing on hip-hop include: distinguishing between what artists and listeners consider Mapuche and Chilean hip-hop, and tracing their overlapping development in the mixed-ethnic *poblas* (poblaciones, or urban barrios) of

Temuco and Padre las Casas; exploring the relationship between hip-hop and the ceremonial aspects of urban Mapuche culture; hearing (or as the case may be, reading) the testimonies of rappers who have encountered in this art form a way of being and sounding Mapuche; and considering how hip-hop supplies the Mapuche Movement with a unique and potent form of activism. The chapter features a close analysis of the song “Ñi Pullu Weichafe,” by Jano Weichafe and Chilean rockers La Mano Ajena, in which the artists cross fronteras, or borders, by singing collaboratively of the controversial forestry industry in Araucanía. Their song combines the Mapuche and Spanish languages with the sounds of hip-hop, cumbia, klezmer, Gitano music and the blues. Counteracting exclusion, “Ñi Pullu Weichafe” blends languages and musical/cultural signifiers to assert solidarity among different oppressed communities who nonetheless each configure in Chilean national life. This chapter, and its recently published article versions (in both English and Spanish), constitute an important initial study of hip-hop in the complex cultural and political landscape of central-southern Chile.

The Setting, and the Roots of Territorial Conflict

Mapuche culture centers around the historic territory of Wallmapu, ranging between the Pacific and Atlantic Coasts in the Southern Cone, roughly 600 kilometers south of Santiago, Chile. The *Río Biobío* (Biobío River) forms the historic northern border of this territory, east of the Andes.⁹ This research took place principally in the

⁹ The geographical term Biobío appears repeatedly in this dissertation. I adhere to the formal spelling, Biobío. However, in certain instances I use an alternate spelling, Bío Bío, to accurately quote or represent other people’s uses and spellings.

Araucanía region, a smaller section in the heart of Wallmapu on the Chilean side of the Andes. (I also examine issues in the neighboring Biobío region just to the north of Araucanía, and naturally, I traveled to the capital city of Santiago in order to gather certain sources.)

As historian Pablo Mariman explains, autonomous Wallmapu had well developed systems of communication and trade, and the Mapuche lived relatively unbounded to specific plots of land (2006: 54-55). Historian Jorge Pinto (1988, 2003, 2009) describes the Araucanía region as a “frontera,” based on Jackson Turner’s use of the synonymous term “frontier,” at the end of the nineteenth century in the United States. Writing in 1893, Turner argued that in nations with frontiers (such as Chile or the United States), no dynamic shapes historical processes more forcefully than persistent contact with lands and peoples not fully integrated into the national life.

Not unlike the name “Chile,” the designation “Araucanía” has somewhat imprecise origins. The linguist Adalberto Salas (1996: 268-269) writes that, outside of the region, most Chileans have historically referred to the Mapuche as “*Araucanos*,” in contrast to their self-designation as “Mapuche,” which is also used by non-indigenous people within Araucanía for referring to the indigenous group. Furthermore, he notes that historians have frequently used the former term, while anthropologists have used the latter. (Personally, I use the term Mapuche, in order to coincide with the predominant self-designation.) “Araucano,” Salas writes, does not exist in the Mapuche language. Rather, the conquistadors apparently applied the name “Arauco” to a section of the Biobío River. This name might indicate an early Hispanicized version of the Mapuche

word *ragko*, meaning clayey waters; in Mapuzugun, *rag* means clay, and *ko* means water. Salas adds that Arauco might also come from the Quechua word *awka*, meaning rebellious savages, which the encroaching Inca may have used to describe the bellicose Mapuche who awaited them in those territories.

In the second half of the sixteenth century, Spanish poet Alonso de Ercilla traveled to the region amidst the early territorial wars of the colonial period, and described the people he encountered, as well as their land:

Chile fertil Provincia y señalada
En la region Antartica famosa
De remotas naciones respetada
Por fuerte, principal y poderosa
La gente que produce es tan granada
Tan soberbia, gallarda y bellicosa
Que no ha sido por Rey jamas regida
Ni a extranjero dominio sometida. (Ercilla 1589: 3)

Chile fertile and well-known province
In the famous Antarctic region
Respected by remote nations
As strong, and as powerful
The people that it produces are beautiful like the
pomegranate
And so proud, gallant and bellicose
That they have never been governed by a king
Nor submitted to foreign dominance.

Dedicated to King Philip III of Spain, Ercilla's lengthy poem bore the title *La Araucana*. Apparently, the title honored a young woman who interceded during a dispute on the poet's behalf, before the regional governor in the city of Imperial in southern Chile (Biblioteca Nacional 2014). Due in part to Ercilla's wide readership, the name stuck. By the end of the initial colonial incursion south of the Biobío, often called the *Guerra de Arauco* (War of Arauco), the region's inhabitants were commonly called "Araucanos,"

and the region itself either “Arauco” or “Araucanía” (the Chilean republic adopted the latter term).

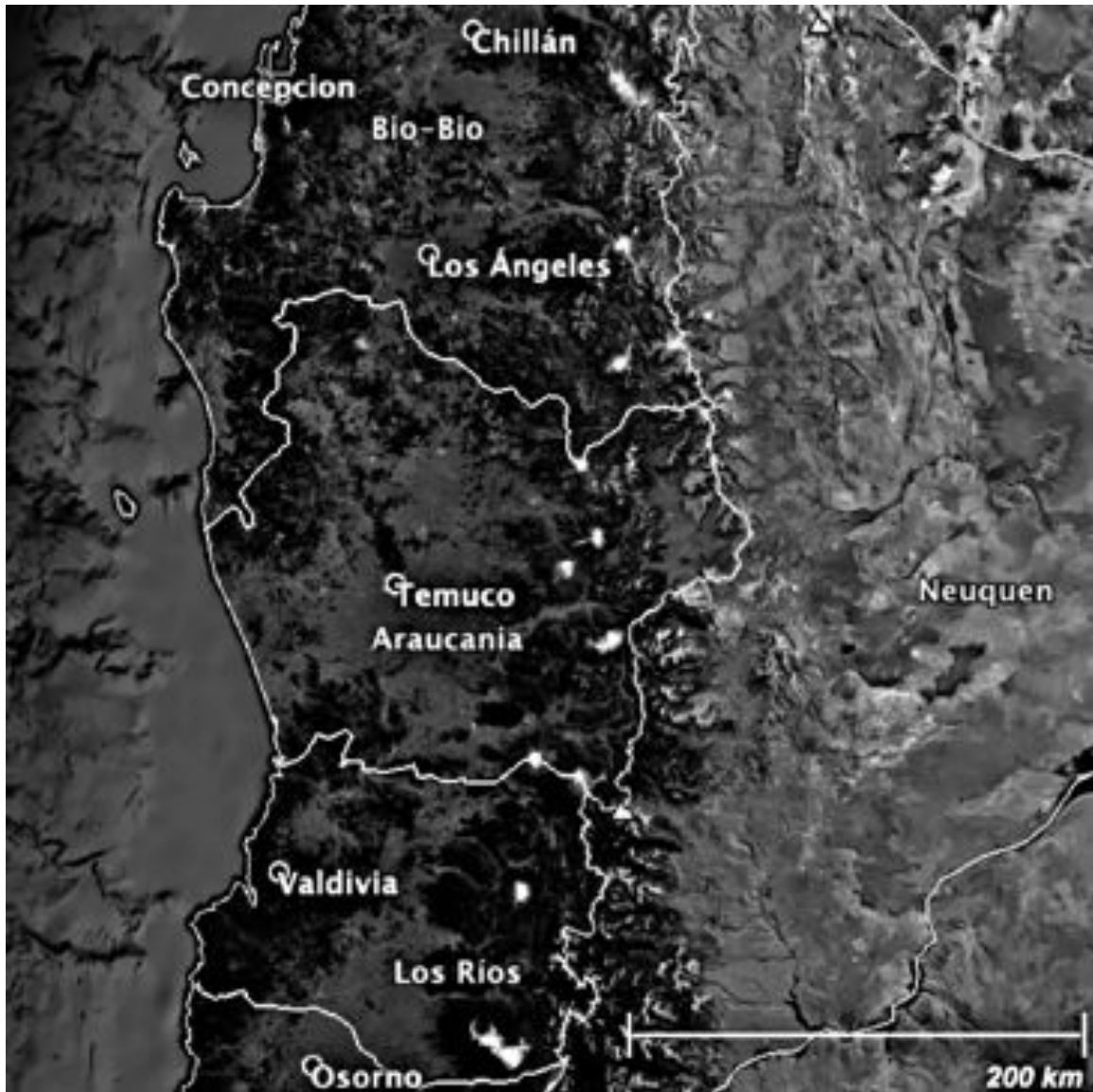


Figure 1.3. Map of Temuco and the Araucanía Region in the central south of Chile.

Historian José Bengoa (2007) recently traced the development of the Araucanian frontera to the complex buffer zone between the Mapuche and the Inca, as the latter pushed south trying to expand their tribute-based empire about a century before the

arrival of the Spanish. Bengoa argues that today's frontera developed in the early seventeenth century, parallel with the increasing stability of the agricultural economy in the Chilean colony's central valley, well north of Temuco. The long, narrow Spanish colony of Chile was hardly sixty years old during the years 1610-1620, that Bengoa describes. While colonists cleared land and developed local agricultural, their economy strengthened, and they felt more secure amidst their indigenous neighbors. Despite urges by the colonial authorities in Cusco for southward expansion, settlers gradually shed the idea that their safety relied on their willingness to travel south for battles in Mapuche territory. By this time, a relatively clear line developed at the Biobío River, 140 kilometers north of Temuco. To the north of the Biobío, a mestizo colony formed, while to the south, the Mapuche consolidated an independent society that never succumbed to colonial control. Independent Mapuche territory was recognized formally in the Treaty of Quilín, in 1641.

From Conflict, Stereotypes and Violence, to the Role of Popular Music in Redefining Territory

Nonetheless, after independence in 1810, the Chilean republic pushed further south, in a process of annexation and occupation that I describe in Chapter Two. Beyond competition for territory, differences between Mapuche and Chilean society regarding resource exploitation, and social and political organization, made the two a difficult blend. Mapuche authority, as Bengoa points out, is "*horizontal and not vertical*, which the Spanish hierarchical mentality simply could not grasp" (2007: 166). This difference has long complicated the imposition of colonial and state models of development and

authority, while feeding the ironic stereotype that the Mapuche are fierce defenders of a territory whose natural resources they have little interest in exploiting, especially compared with today's aggressive development model in Chile.

Jano Weichafe, the rapper whose work inspired much of Chapter Six, recently explained his perspective on the evolution of stereotypes about the Mapuche:

When the Spanish arrived, [the Mapuche to them] were people without a spirit, they were barbarians, lawless people, with neither God nor order. But afterwards, when [the Spanish] began to lose battles to the barbarians, when they were obligated to sign the treaty [of Quilín], and to recognize them legally as a nation, things changed. Later on, the *criollos*, Chileans, when they wanted independence from the Spanish crown, [they began to see the Mapuche as] *Uncle Araucano* . . . as the hero, [like] Popeye. But then during the [War of the] *Pacificación*, again they started to lower the profile [of the Mapuche] . . . and to justify a whole process of extermination and domination. So no, now the Mapuche is lazy, he has his land disorganized, he's an alcoholic, a drunk. (Weichafe and Mariman 2011)

Echoing a common counterpoint to the stereotypes just described, Jano notes that, to the present day, many Mapuche maintain a healthy relationship with the land, in which they “take only what is necessary,” leaving the land to rejuvenate itself as much as possible, without the intervention of chemical fertilizers and industrial farming techniques.

During the course of this research, as during most of Araucanian history, sporadic violence related to territorial disputes generated a resonant frequency of distrust in the region. Periodically, the news reported that *encapuchados* (veiled insurgents) had hijacked and burned a truck, or had burned down the home of an *agricultor* (farmer) of Swiss, German, Spanish or Chilean descent. In 2012 a policeman died in a firefight in the rural area near Ercilla, north of Temuco, and in early 2013 an elderly couple Werner Luchsinger and Vivian McKay died when their house was burned with them in it, on a

forty-hectare plot near the rural town of Vilcún, east of Temuco. Meanwhile, many gather to grieve and protest each year on the anniversaries of the deaths of Alex Lemún, Matías Catrileo, and Jaime Mendoza Collío, three young Mapuche men gunned down by police during land occupations in 2002, 2008 and 2009, respectively; the list of Mapuche martyrs in recent decades is much longer. In addition to the collective sorrow resulting from each of these deaths, violence in Araucanía propagates the constant association between the gorgeous Araucanian countryside, and terrorism, as television news channels compete vigorously for live coverage of the most recent encapuchado attack, or street protest gone awry.

Much is lost in the confusion. As Danko Mariman points out in Chapter Six, arguably the most salient event affecting rural families in the last half-century is rural-urban migration. Understanding anything about the reality of life in Araucanía requires reading into the complex history that has produced the current situation, and exploring particular narratives that diverge from the sensational ones on the television screens and newspaper headlines. Hip-hop, for instance, heralds other networks of information and identification, and other sites of confrontation in the ongoing struggles of Araucanian life. In a recent collection of essays, North American historian Florencia Mallon quotes Mapuche historian Sergio Caniuqueo, who notes that, “during the twentieth century the most profound Mapuche project has arguably consisted in ‘occupying territory and exercising control that has been denied to us’” (Mallon 2009: 155).

What, however, is *territory*? Who, specifically, are the adversaries in this struggle? Certainly fusion Mapuche hip-hop and rock bring to bear different notions of

space and conflict. Sociologist George Lipsitz took on a similar set of questions in his book entitled *Dangerous crossroads: popular music, postmodernism and the poetics of place*:

Models of cultural imperialism based on binary oppositions between a metropolis and its periphery inadequately describe the poly-lateral relations across countries and cultures that characterize contemporary cultural production. Political strategies based solely on seizing state power underestimate the interconnectedness of the global economy and the capacity of capital to neutralize the nation state. Concepts of cultural practice that privilege autonomous, “authentic,” and non-commercial culture as the only path to emancipation do not reflect adequately the complexities of culture and commerce in the contemporary world. (1997:16)

Lipsitz’s appreciation of the dynamics of power vis-à-vis the deterritorialization of popular music discourses in a global economy parallels calls from anthropologists around the same time, for revisions in theories of world systems, the ethnographic field site, and even the very concept of culture (Appadurai 1996; Clifford 1997; Gupta and Ferguson 1997).¹⁰

The fact of the matter is that territory and territorial conflict in Araucanía have always referred to the bountiful, rural landscape, and who controls it. Yet, during the twentieth and twenty-first centuries, while the Mapuche Movement has grappled with the Chilean political system, a new site of struggle has emerged in urban sectors, as well.

¹⁰ While they amount to a generalized revision of certain key concepts underpinning theory and methodology, these anthropological critiques are anything but uniform. As ethnomusicologist Timothy Rice points out, Arjun Appadurai argues that previous conditions described by world systems theories, including the global economic dimensions of colonialism, differ sharply from contemporary circumstances, as of the late twentieth century. By contrast, James Clifford “stresses the continuity between past and present conditions of travel and rootlessness and is instead critical of older anthropological paradigms that ignore them . . .” (Rice 1997: 153).

Here, the challenge is to develop a multi-ethnic coexistence that sheds the sense of lopsided domination characterizing most political processes. Musicians have played a key role in this struggle by opening up the symbolic and performative dimensions of life to new possibilities of indigeneity and interculturalism.

Fundamental Musical and Cultural Information

Who is Mapuche? While the legal terms of ethnic or cultural inclusion are not of strict concern to my arguments in this work, they are of general concern to people in the region, so they are worth clarifying. As opposed to the blood quantum criteria used to determine Native American status in the United States, in Chile the *Corporación Nacional de Desarrollo Indígena* (National Corporation for Indigenous Development, or CONADI) accredits legal indigenous status—as Mapuche, Aymara, Rapa nui, Atacameño, Quechua, Colla, Diaguita, Alacalufe, Kawashkar, Yagán or Yámana—for people who have officially recognized last names of these ethnic groups in their family histories. Typically, individuals interested in this accreditation gather documents from their own family histories and present them to CONADI, which might then facilitate their navigation of the various current legal benefits of indigenous status in Chile.¹¹

As already noted, I do not deeply explore the rituals that have underpinned Mapuche culture for centuries. I take such rituals into account, and in certain instances explain how some of them have changed in empowering ways, however I do not deal explicitly with Mapuche spirituality. That said, for the sake of reference it is important to

¹¹ For the specific rules and procedures governing the accreditation of indigenous status in Chile, see <http://www.chileatiende.cl>.

discuss certain aspects of local musical and cultural practices, and their spiritual grounding.

The name “Mapuche” combines “Mapu” (land) and “che” (people), meaning people of the land (Buendía 2006: 29-30; Salas 1996: 268). The Mapu is elemental to Mapuche culture, and as a result it plays a critical role in Chilean and mestizo culture in Araucanía, as well. The principal Mapuche ceremony concerning the land is the *nguillatún*, which involves several rituals, and typically convenes the members of an entire comunidad, and sometimes multiple comunidades. Like many ceremonies and rituals, the *nguillatún* is lead by a *machi*, a ritual specialist.

Anthropologist Ana Mariella Bacigalupo (2001) explains that the *machi* are female or gender ambiguous, with male *machi* typically employing the same attire and tools as female *machi* for ceremonial purposes. The omnipotent, divine entity, *Ngenechen* (also written Ñenechen, Ngünechen, or Genechen, among other spellings), encapsulates the quadripartite divisions of Mapuche cosmology, often summarized as male/female and young/old. The concept of *Ngenechen* generates some controversy, and several anthropologists have traced debates as to whether it has incorporated Christian meanings in recent generations, such as the wisdom of God, Jesus, the apostles, and so forth (Faron 1964; Dowling Desmadryl 1971: 17; Bacigalupo 2001: 48-49).

During the *nguillatún*, amidst several days of intense communion including the slaughter of an animal, the *machi* makes contact with the divine entity governing the comunidad, in a state of trance that is supported by the playing of instruments such as *pifilkas* (end-blown flutes with one hole) among the other attendees. The divine spirit

bestows blessings and messages via the machi and her appointed interpreters. Nguillatún rituals are extremely common in Araucanía and neighboring regions, and they occur either periodically or out of necessity. For instance, following the massive 2010 earthquake, friends of mine reported that their comunidades engaged in additional *nguillatunes* (the plural spelling), in order to drive away the lingering fear and negative effects that the catastrophe provoked.

Personally, I have not attended a nguillatún. For the same practical constraints reported earlier, I have refrained from exploring Mapuche rituals at such a level. Additionally, I understand that non-Mapuche who attend nguillatún ceremonies often do so because they have a specific, deep connection or commitment with a certain comunidad, which in some instances has a spiritual dimension. I have not sought out such connections, in part out of respect for the profound spirituality of the Mapuche people, and in practical terms because my research has focused on urban forms of expression. The ceremonies and rituals I do discuss—namely, *We Xipantu* (the winter solstice celebration), the mingako and the ngapitún—have emerged as relatively accessible phenomena in urban, mestizo society, due to processes that I describe. By contrast, the nguillatún remains a guarded, sacred affair.

Mapuche music is often but not exclusively linked to rituals. In Chapter Five I describe how alternating pifilka blasts, which popular music performances now frequently incorporate, have their maximum expression in the nguillatún, as indicated by Grebe (1974). For its part, the kultrún is a semi-spherical drum, whose head is often marked into four cardinal divisions by a machi for ritual uses. These divisions render the

instrument a metaphor for the universe itself, and thus the most sacred instrument (Grebe 1973). The machi employ the kultrún, along with several other instruments, in most of their ritual and healing practices, which usually require sound. Thus, the machi, who guards the sacred traditions and is responsible for the health of the comunidad and its residents, is also master of a set of extremely important sounds. Whether the work of the machi is considered music, per se, and whether the Mapuche have a concept of music akin to the Western concept, forms part of the topic of Chapter Five. The quadripartite divisions of cosmology, as I describe later on, find form in the dualistic structures of musical expressions, meaning that Mapuche music has enormous spiritual implications.



Figure 1.4. A *kultrún* (drum), the most important Mapuche ceremonial instrument, and a microcosm for the universe, in the hands of Jano Weichafe.

Other extremely common Mapuche instruments include the *cascahuilla* (bells), *trutruka* (cowhorn trumpet with a long neck made of *colihue*, similar to bamboo), *kulkul*

(cowhorn trumpet with no neck), *trompe* (mouth harp) and *wada* (gourd rattle). Along with the pifilka, the trutruka and trompe occupy a central place in Chapter Five, due to their application in the music of Pewmayén and other fusion groups. While these several instruments are the best known from among Mapuche music, they rank among literally dozens of other instruments used in Wallmapu during recent centuries.¹²

The dance of the *choike-purrún*, or ostrich, often called *rhea* in the Southern Cone, is also an important point of reference. While I do not analyze the dance specifically, choike-purrún does recur as a theme due to its relationship to other events that I describe. Large-scale, communal rituals and ceremonies, such as the nguillatún and We Xipantu, typically incorporate the dance. Young women and men each suspend a manta across their shoulders, often lifting it above their heads as well, while moving barefoot in circular motions around a central altar. The movement, which many consider to represent the life-cycle of the rhea, is governed by a progression of rhythms played on the kultrún (see Grebe 1973). In the pampa of Argentina, *tayil* songs, in which women evoke their ancestors, often occur at the same time. The late ethnomusicologist Carol E. Robertson, who conducted a great deal of research among the Mapuche on the eastern side of the Andes, described the combined effect of the music and dance: “The clockwise and counterclockwise motion of the dancers, the texts and pathways or melodic contours of the women, and the punctuations of pifilkas played by the men work in concert to set

¹² For encyclopedic references concerning these and various other instruments, see studies by José Pérez de Arce (1986, 2007). For a detailed discussion of the effects of urbanization in Araucanía on the diversity of musical instruments in Mapuche comunidades, see Ernesto González Greenhill’s 1986 article entitled “Vigencias de instrumentos musicales mapuches.”

in motion the same forces that were awakening at the moment of Creation” (2004: 184). The tayil songs establish a communion with the ancestors by allowing those present to enter “into the sacred ritual space, and into the time of sacred beings” (Robertson 1979, 2004: 184). It is worth noting that the ubiquity of the dance of the choike-purrún on the western side of the Andes (Chile), which lacks pampa, in all likelihood demonstrates the broad geographical span of common rituals and cultural practices among the residents of Wallmapu during many generations.

Fitting the Pieces Together, and the Paradox of Power and Representation

Also as stated already, this project is equally about new expressions in Araucanian music, as it is about the invading and appropriating forces that many such expressions critically engage. Working at the crossroads of feminist theory and cyborg anthropology, Diane Nelson captured the essence of a similarly oriented study of the place of the Mayan woman in Guatemalan post-civil war identity politics, through her development of the concept of “prosthesis”: “National, ethnic . . . and gender identities are stumped, in the sense of being incomplete, wounded, and rudimentary, as well as being baffled and unsure . . . the mujer Maya as prosthetic sustains and moves nation, ethnicity, modernity, and feminism while she is moved by them” (2001: 314-319). Nelson’s formulation offers an excellent critical example for my analysis of the situation of the Mapuche relative to the discourses of folklore, national identity and leftist activism: without indigenous Chileans, such monumental endeavors would have

remained hobbled. The idea of prosthesis *articulates* with a broader theme in my writing: the place of the Mapuche in Chilean body politic.

I comprehend the processes outlined in Chapters Two and Three—invasion, knowledge production, integration, activism and representation—as crucial steps in the exertion of a particular kind of subjugating power on the Mapuche, whose relationship with the state and other external forces is perpetually awkward and unstable, like that of a poorly fitted prosthesis with the lumbering body it accompanies. On that note, Michel Foucault described the workings of modern political power in terms of *governmentality*:

. . . the ensemble formed by the institutions, procedures, analyses and reflections, the calculations and tactics, that allow the exercise of this very specific albeit complex form of power, which has as its target population, as its principal form of knowledge political economy, and as its essential technical means apparatuses of security. (cited in Turner 2008[1984]: 4)

Following Foucault, cultural and social theories of the body have comprehended the formation of subjects through the interaction of power (particularly that of the sovereign state) with bodies politic, comprised of both collective social bodies, and individual human bodies (the latter being where the rubber hits the road, so to speak) (see Butler 2004).¹³

The seeds of this relationship were sown at the crossroads of sovereignty and new forms of knowledge in the West, at the end of the eighteenth century. Scientific advances in areas such as medicine and agriculture opened new spaces for life, displacing death somewhat from the center of human experience, and inaugurating what Foucault, and

¹³ This use of the term “body” is likely what Judith Butler critiques in her 2004 essay entitled “Bodies and power revisited,” as lacking a clear definition—whose, the individual’s body, or the collective social body? Butler seems to suggest that Foucault, in *Discipline and Punish* (1977[1975]) left this use of the word “body” deliberately open.

later Giorgio Agamben, have termed “biological modernity” (Foucault 1978: 143; Agamben 1998: 10; Turner 2008[1984]: 219-20). In turn, power no longer depended exclusively upon the ability of the powerful to bring injury or death at will to their subjects, but rather on their ability to facilitate life. Morality assumed a new role in modern states, invoked to write constitutions and to justify more exploitative methods of colonization. The power associated with old forms of absolute sovereignty went through a sort of inversion, with the onset of governmentality:

This death that was based on the right of the sovereign is now manifested as simply the reverse of the right of the social body to ensure, maintain, or develop its life . . .

One knows how many times the question has been raised concerning the role of ascetic morality in the first formation of capitalism; but what occurred in the eighteenth century in some Western countries, an event bound up with the development of capitalism, was . . . the entry of phenomena peculiar to the life of the human species into the order of knowledge and power, into the sphere of political techniques.

. . . the period of great ravages from starvation and plague had come to a close . . . [and] the development of the different fields of knowledge concerned with life in general . . . contributed to this relaxation . . . In the space for movement thus conquered . . . [p]ower would no longer be dealing simply with legal subjects over whom the ultimate dominion was death, but with living beings . . . [I]t was the taking charge of life, more than the threat of death, that gave power its access even to the body. (1978: 136-143)¹⁴

In Araucanía, these developments occurred on the heels of the late nineteenth-century Chilean invasion, called the *Guerra de la Pacificación* (War of the Pacification), or the

¹⁴ Foucault refers to this transition as “the threshold of modernity” (1978: 143). Agamben, discussing Foucault’s thesis from *The history of sexuality, vol. I*, describes the same transition as “the threshold of biological modernity,” perhaps reflecting the insertion of the word “biological” in the Italian translation of Foucault’s text. Agamben adds that, “at the threshold of the modern era, natural life begins to be included in the mechanisms and calculations of State power, and politics turns into *biopolitics*” (1998: 10).

Pacificación de la Araucanía (Pacification of Araucanía); I will refer to this event as the Guerra de la Pacificación, or the Pacificación. The massacres of the old times had to cease, at least in theory, and power negotiations transformed into to legal wranglings over land, economic opportunity, political representation, and social conditions. Power gained “access even to the body” through the cultivation of productive populations, for example in the Chilean Agrarian Reform of the 1950s and 60s, and the expansive social programs of the late twentieth and early twenty-first centuries.

Returning to Nelson’s concept, the instability of the whole Araucanian body politic comes joltingly into focus again in Chapter Five, which centers around a music festival honoring Mapuche Political Prisoners on an extended hunger strike. The strike, in turn, marks the ultimate form of rebellion against the workings of power on the body politic, as prisoners literally wrench their bodies from the grips of their captors. One of my goals here is to demystify the roots of the ongoing conflict that continually frustrates social harmony in Araucanía, by pursuing a subtle comprehension of the workings of power.

Understanding contemporary artistic resistance in Mapuche territory requires understanding the extent to which the state has intervened in the minutiae of life there. Twentieth-century social and cultural policies in Araucanía can be conceptualized as prolonged processes of reordering an insubordinate indigenous population into a productive, subordinate one—an extreme example of governmentality. A great deal of external perceptions of Mapuche life went the way of folkloric stage productions, or stereotypes about poverty and social ills such as alcoholism. With the return to

democracy in 1990, many artists adopted a suspicious posture regarding the sudden valorization of the Mapuche as Chile's largest indigenous group, since this valorization has occurred on the state's own terms.

The performances I describe demonstrate how resistance, a term too infrequently unpacked, can take the form of ritual confronting governmentality. For instance, Erwin Quintupil, whose work inspired much of Chapter Four, draws on his own life experiences in Saltapura in order to facilitate artistic meetings based on principles of social gatherings that he inherited from elder members of his family and community. The management, in Foucault's terms, of life in Saltapura, caused the centuries-old mingako ritual to lapse into history. On the other hand, Erwin's revival of the ritual, and his transference of it to the artistic sphere, has proven culturally and politically empowering. Interestingly, resistance has always incorporated the symbolic: the initial conflicts with the Spanish, as Bengoa points out (2007: 21), began with the Mapuche armed and adorned for a spiritual conflict, but the brutality of the Spanish quickly "secularized" their warfare, reducing it to a European-style contest of butchering. Considering the importance of the resurgence of cultural elements to contemporary music, art, and political discourses, I describe how, in this age of governmentality, artists and activists cultivate resistance precisely through calculated acts of reivindicación.

The Sequence of Research

I conducted fieldwork in a combination of venues. In a literal sense, I spent a good deal of time in music venues, including bars and plazas, listening to performances

of unique, regional versions of Mapuche music, rock and hip-hop. I also enjoyed the privilege of traveling to Mapuche *comunidades* (rural communities) on a number of occasions. With the non-profit organization Fundación Chol-Chol, I visited several Mapuche *tejedoras* (weavers), in order to learn about how they integrate their work with a global marketplace, and how that integration affects their woven iconography. While I do not deal directly with textiles, apart from a portion of Chapter Three, my visits with the *tejedoras* were revelatory concerning the concepts of folklore and artesanía; I also explore artesanía in relation to hip-hop in Chapter Six. On a few occasions, I also had the privilege of hearing firsthand and recording *ülkantun*, at the invitation of members of Kolectivo We Newen, and Hernán Marinao, who lives in the coastal town of Puerto Saavedra. Like textiles, *ülkantun* is not the central focus of this study, but it is an important point of reference.

The chronology of the research went as follows: In late 2009, I arrived in Chile with support from the University of California's Pacific Rim Research Program. I made my way to Temuco, where I made contact with several key research consultants.¹⁵ Throughout the southern summer of 2010 (lasting roughly until late March), I attended music events around Temuco, as well as several small festivals in rural locations, including the *4^o Mingako Kultural* (4th Cultural Mingako), which is the subject of Chapter Four. I went to the Mingako at the invitation of rapper Fabian Marin, also known as Wenu Mapu, whom I had contacted before arriving in the region. Fabian introduced

¹⁵ I employ the terms consultant, collaborator and interlocutor rather interchangeably, and I prefer these to informant, which carries investigative connotations that I do not wish my research to reflect.

me to Erwin Quintupil, the event's host, and to Danko Mariman, Isabel Cañet, and several other members of Kolectivo We Newen. Also at the Mingako, I met Colelo of Pewmayén, who later invited me to events where his band performed. During 2010, I interviewed several of these individuals, and of equal importance, I joined them for backyard *asados* (barbeques), where we got to know each other.

Concurrently, I worked as a volunteer with Fundación Chol-Chol, helping in the day-to-day business of running a non-profit organization geared toward fair trade commercialization of local artesanía. Much of what I learned at the Fundación colors my views of multiculturalism and the different forms of capital associated with indigenous cultural production (specifically, see Chapter Three). During the southern winter and spring of 2010, I established relationships with Chilean (non-Mapuche) hip-hop artists in Temuco and Padre las Casas, who helped me to understand the *pesado* (heavy) style of local rap music, as well as the history of hip-hop in the rough-hewn neighborhoods where they live.

From late December 2010 through late February 2011, I took a hiatus to spend time with my family in the United States, where I also gave several university lectures about my research. I returned to Chile in early March on a Fulbright IIE grant, and immersed myself again in fieldwork, while also beginning to prepare the first written products of my research. I reached out to other rap artists, such as Jano Weichafe, and conducted deeper interviews, aided by more than a year's worth of rapport. March of 2011 also marked the beginning of major social movement manifestations on three fronts: the student movement, urging reforms that would outlaw profiteering and predatory

lending in Chile's burgeoning university system; the Mapuche Movement, voicing grievances over the perennial impasses regarding restitution of lost lands and environmental abuses; and the environmental movement itself, infuriated by the plans of a foreign energy conglomerate to construct gargantuan hydroelectric dams and high-tension power lines in pristine sections of Patagonia. Needless to say, it was an interesting time to be in Temuco.

Through a semester-long Mapuzugun class I took in 2011 with Kolectivo We Newen, I met a young journalist named Felipe Gutierrez, who introduced me to the poet Alejandro Stuart, and his artistic group called *Kolectivo Espiral* (Spiral Collective). I participated in several artistic events with Espiral, and grew acquainted with another subculture of musical activism in Araucanía. By the end of 2011, I began to wind down my research, conducting the last several key interviews, and orienting myself towards writing. At the present, in late 2014 and early 2015, I am just now finishing the dissertation, in part because I spent two years teaching adjunct courses in local universities once my fieldwork ended. In retrospect, the time that has passed has allowed me to reflect on the experiences that defined my fieldwork, and this reflection has enriched my writing considerably.

Closing Thoughts: Activism and Gringo Subjectivity

Ustedes los expertos en música
historia, colores, rasgos,
cuentos, decires y documentos
leyes y acontecimientos no escritos
fotografías, letras y poesía
ustedes que saben de yerbas

y escriben
de cordófonos y semillas
ustedes
no saben que mi manta
está poblada de estrellas
menos aún
que el zorro se llevó tres pollos
ayer
ni que estuvieron interrogando
a dos pequeños hombres de la tierra
antes de ayer
en el camino por donde circulan
los suyos
y la autoridad

You all who are experts in music
history, colors, traits,
stories, sayings and documents
laws and unwritten events
photography, letters and poetry
you who know about herbs
and write
about chordophones and seeds
you
don't know that my manta
is populated with stars
and even less
that the fox stole three chickens
yesterday
and less still that they were interrogating
two little men of the earth
the day before yesterday
on the road where they make rounds
your people
and the authorities

-Erwin Quintupil, "Texto para los 'ólogos' y sus semejantes"
(Text for the 'ologists' and people like them) (2010)¹⁶

¹⁶ To my knowledge, this poem is not published. Erwin Quintupil shared it with me in 2012 when I invited him to give a guest lecture in a class I taught at the Universidad de la Frontera. The notes he prepared for the class indicate 2010 as the date of composition.

Surely, in spite of Erwin Quintupil's poem, there must be something unique a researcher can learn, or dare I venture, discover. Rather than try to carry myself like a cultural insider or an activist, I have decided to embrace my unique vantage point as the conventional "-ologist" in the fieldsite.

Furthermore, beyond the local wisdom we ethnographers covet, in the present historical moment we tend to encounter among interlocutors academic social and cultural theories that eclipse our own. Many people we meet in the field have college degrees and access to the same forms of technology as those of us who come from abroad to investigate their ways of life. Under these circumstances, in fieldwork environments already blessed and cursed by globalization, it is crucial to brace oneself for repeated reformulations of theories, hypotheses and methodologies, in order to glean knowledge not only from the people and expressions that impact us, but from the specific ways in which we come into contact with them. I had the pleasure of chatting about postcolonialism with certain interlocutors. Others pursued graduate degrees in the same university that hosted me. Still others were slow to respond to my phone calls and emails while they traveled abroad for conferences and concert tours. I met other researchers who grew frustrated by the way the residents of Araucanía had out-theorized them, or had moved beyond the topics of their inquiries to worry about other things.

Nonetheless, ethnomusicological training has equipped me for a unique type of research. As I explain in Chapter Five, the performance environment itself is permeated with all kinds of extramusical sensations, which the music of course heightens. When I filmed a music festival that called attention to political prisoners on a hunger strike, I felt

a charge in the air, due to the fact that I had a sizeable video camera in my hand. I was visibly implicated in the whole affair, since a videographer is a visible feature of a performance. The stress of the experience motivated me to contemplate my level of political solidarity, which in the long run yielded many important insights. Rendering data from such situations requires working in parallel with other techniques, including making and analyzing recordings, conducting interviews, and of course establishing relationships of trust. In my understanding, this combination of methods constitutes part of a poststructuralist approach to ethnomusicology, which I describe further in Chapter Five, based in part on Deborah Wong's writings about methodology (2004, 2008).

Still, while emerging theories and methodologies might expose ethnographers to new forms of knowing, no disciplinary advances can truly remedy the problems that Erwin Quintupil concisely enumerates in his "Text for the 'ologists'." In light of the political struggles occurring constantly in the region where I conducted my research, a question emerged regarding my own *subjectivity*, what anthropologist Sherry Ortner describes as a person's "cultural and social formations that shape, organize and provoke [her or his] modes of affect, thought, and so on" (2006: 107). Does my position as an ethnographer, educated in progressive academic critiques, automatically align me with the protagonists of Mapuche struggles for territory and autonomy, or give me the right to represent Mapuche people? The answer is a conditional no. Participant observation and ethnographic representation were complicated less by my outsider status to the culture than to the social movement. That is, insider vs. outsider status to a social movement is defined less by shared ideology or culture, than by one's capacity to engage in the risks

of political activism.¹⁷ Regarding activism, I am not an outsider for not being Mapuche, but rather because Mapuche demands have relatively small consequences for my life, well-being or freedom.¹⁸

Presently, I offer only this writing as compensation for the privilege of learning firsthand about life in Araucanía from so many welcoming people. Furthermore, rather than try to engage directly in activism as a writer, I have decided to follow the lead of scholars such as George Lipsitz, who, perhaps echoing Jacques Attali (1985), writes that, “we need to explore the potential of popular culture as a mechanism of communication and education, as a site for experimentation with cultural and social roles not yet possible in politics” (1997: 17).¹⁹ Researching, writing, publishing, and teaching about such possibilities does not inherently constitute activism, yet it by no means constitutes

¹⁷ Subjectivity glances a wide range of theoretical discussions, concerning the falsehood of the objective ethnographic text, and the complexity of the researcher’s vantage point. Scholars such as Kirin Narayan consider researchers’ positions multiple and complex. In Narayan’s words, “Factors such as education, gender, sexual orientation, class, race, or sheer duration of contacts may at different times outweigh the cultural identity we associate with insider or outsider” (1993: 677). Based on my research in WallMapu, I consider political commitment, and not just ideological empathy, an additional key factor determining the researcher’s relationship to those living in the field site.

¹⁸ As a matter of counterpoint, in 1995 anthropologist Nancy Scheper-Hughes reflected on her many years of participant observation with Brazilian and South African community organizations, and interrogated the distinction between ethnographers and political activists, so often defined by culture and ethnicity. She asked at that time whether research in conflict zones ought to include a moral imperative: “What makes anthropology and anthropologists exempt from the human responsibility to take an ethical (and even political) stand on the working out of historical events as we are privileged to witness them?” (1995: 410). One might conclude that ethnography in conflict zones implies an activist undertaking, because without a degree of complicity, the researcher cannot move from gazing to participant observation.

¹⁹ Néstor García Canclini similarly proposes that the effects of cultural imperialism and north-south relations “should compel us researchers to conduct careful analyses of the reconstitution of public spaces and the mechanisms, whether defunct or re-created, by which the multiple voices present in each society are recognized or excluded” (2001: 9).

political detachment, either. As Chandra Mohanty wrote in a classic article on feminist scholarship and colonial discourses, “There can, of course, be no apolitical scholarship” (1988: 62). In that sense, regarding Chapter Six especially, with attention to it’s recombinant capacity in relation to the broad range of other forms of cultural production with which it comes into contact, hip-hop offers an ideal arena for ethnographic analysis.

All told, during my research I came into contact with a wide variety of activism, and my writing often positions activist voices as protagonists. On the other hand, I do not intervene in my own critical (but certainly not *objective*) position, by infusing my own work with ideological or activist content that is more appropriately the terrain of those who inhabit this region of the world permanently, and who more deeply and honestly invest their energies in the struggles that characterize life here. That is, my writing is not the voice of the warrior spirit in Araucanian fusion music, but rather a conversation with it.

Chapter 2

Araucanía Intervened: Cultural Implications of Territorial Conflict and Activism, from the Early Chilean Republic to the Cold War Era

This chapter consists of an historical overview of territorial conflict and activism in Araucanía, from the early nineteenth century through the mid-twentieth century. While most of the events in this chapter are relatively well known in terms of regional history, few writers have considered their lasting influence on performative strategies of resistance that endure into the twenty-first century, and which I elaborate at length in subsequent chapters.

These pages begin in the 1810s and 20s, with a discussion of Araucanía as a borderland that the early Chilean Republic struggled to comprehend and integrate. Lacking the capacity to invade Araucanía following independence from Spain (1810), the state designed a legal framework that would progressively weaken indigenous sovereignty, while obligating Capuchin missionaries and other travelers to gather information about the Mapuche that might facilitate their eventual subordination. After securing the northern borders during the 1870s, the Chilean military headed south to invade Araucanía, unfurling the most violent series of events in the last two centuries of

regional history. Following the invasion, a tenuous sense of order, combined with the relocation of the Mapuche onto *reducciones* (land reductions), propagated the widespread notion of Araucanía as savage, backward and poor.

Subsequently, this chapter describes early twentieth-century political activism, focusing on two parallel threads: the Mapuche Movement's negotiation of demands for autonomy versus demands for positive integration into the state, and the role of ritual and performance in this complex era of activism. Period practices, such as spectacular, staged depictions of traditional music and ceremonies, as well as the structuring of political meetings around ancestral rituals, undoubtedly continue to guide today's pro-Mapuche activism and performance. On the other hand, one senses that the careful negotiations of Mapuche leaders of the day with Chilean political parties, and the influence in their work of external elements such as Protestant Christianity, unsettle certain romanticized notions of cultural and political identity that fuel the most fervent activism today.

An important goal of this chapter is to parse the relationship of the Mapuche Movement with the left, whose influence in Araucanian territorial affairs arguably peaked between the 1930s and the 1970s. Sensing the growing force of the Mapuche political organizations, communists and socialists appropriated the cause of indigenous sovereignty, at once invigorating it, but also limiting its potential to act beyond the scope of the leftist project, which did not wholeheartedly pursue indigenous autonomy. This combined effort nonetheless precipitated the Chilean Agrarian Reform of the 1950s and 60s, which arguably would not have come to pass without Mapuche participation. On the other hand, the state-backed cultural project associated with the Agrarian Reform sought

to phase out rural Chileans' indianness, demonstrating that the otherwise benevolent set of social policies was based in antiquated ideas about racial hierarchy, and not in goals of ethnic minority empowerment. Thus, the Mapuche have long fueled social change, without earning the prerogative to develop their culture within the context of a changing society.

The last section of the chapter moves from the relationship between leftism and the Mapuche Movement, to a discussion of the aesthetics of contemporary militarism—what I call a revolutionary style—that drew on a combination of popular culture, cosmopolitan revolutionary philosophies, and romanticized notions of the Mapuche. Originally articulated by the *Movimiento de Izquierda Revolucionaria* (Left Revolutionary Movement, or MIR), this style remains elemental to social movements and popular culture today, and upon closer inspection it reveals a remarkable history of appropriation and romanticization, but also collaboration and genuine idealism. Later chapters deal more thoroughly with the legacy of this style in music, from nueva canción of the 1960s and 70s, through punk, metal and hip-hop of the 2010s. Chapters Five and Six, moreover, illustrate how certain Mapuche musicians have effectively incorporated elements from punk, metal and hip-hop to bolster the expressions of autonomy in their performances, meaning that we are not simply looking at a one-way street of appropriation. The final section of the present chapter outlines the history of political activism that precipitated a particular, enduring revolutionary style in the 1960s.

The overall picture that emerges here offers comparisons with other indigenous experiences of political mobilization, activism, and cultural renewal, representation and

appropriation in Latin America. Peru, the former seat of both the Inca Empire and the Spanish colony, offers multiple, vivid examples. The place of Mapuche representations in the progressive political discourses that I describe here preceded their representations in popular music and popular culture, which I describe in the following chapter. Likewise, the ruminations on indigenous civilizations by Peruvian intellectuals such as José Carlos Mariátegui accompanied the broad valorization of the Inca past in popular culture, which began as early as the 1920s. Later in the twentieth century, in both Chile and Peru, leftist militants brought a combination of hopes and dangerous forms of radicalism to rural peasants and indigenous communities. The extended, sanguinary conflict between the Shining Path and the military was an enormous manifestation of Cold War-era violence, with a great many indigenous Peruvians caught in the fray. In southern Chile, a similar pattern of events occurred on a smaller scale, which I describe in this chapter, although a full-scale war never broke out in Araucanía during the Cold War. In consequence, the struggle to retain a coherent Mapuche social movement despite these leftist interventions characterizes certain key developments described in the following four chapters.

These pages are admittedly short on musical content. Rather, I offer here a history of the ideologies and values that play out in the events I describe subsequently, with a more direct focus on music, cultural policy, and in certain instances also on ritual. I originally did not plan to write this chapter, but during my research I grew *inquieto* (concerned) about the general lack of attention to the details of a political history that continues to resonate powerfully in the region. Since my investigation revolved principally around field recordings, interviews, and current events, my historical analysis

relies largely (though not exclusively) on secondary sources. The work of scholars such as Héctor Nahuelpán, José Bengoa, Heidi Tinsman, Martín Correa, Raúl Molina, Nancy Yáñez, Rolf Foerster, Sonia Montecinos, Pablo Marimán, Sergio Caniuqueo, José Millalén, Rodrigo Levil, André Menard and Jorge Pavez, has paved the way for the conclusions and syntheses I draw out here, which materialize in light of subsequent events in the twenty-first century, including events I witnessed firsthand. Furthermore, my perspective here is clearly that of a cultural outsider, and the object of study is less the Mapuche, than the interventions into their culture and territory that have generated weighty ideas regarding identity, politics and performance.

Araucanía in the Early Chilean Republic: Invasion, Legality and Knowledge Production Across a Borderland

Well into Chilean independence, Araucanian territory was still considered either a frontera or a war zone, impenetrable by large-scale forces for more than half a century following the withdrawal of the Spanish.²⁰ The region's geographical remoteness, the

²⁰ As noted in the introduction to the dissertation, historian Jorge Pinto develops the concept of *frontera* (borderland) (1988, 2003, 2009), which he traces to the writings of the North American Frederick Jackson Turner. Pinto's idea of *frontera* informs an understanding of the functioning of institutions in regions characterized by contact between multiple societies. In the introduction to his coauthored book entitled *Frontera y misioneros en la Araucanía, 1600 – 1900*, he writes: “. . . I ought to mention that I conceptualize the frontier areas as spaces of contact between two societies that have arrived at different levels of development and that obtain structures upon the base of an equilibrium of a series of elements that operate within them” (1988: 17). Pinto is careful to point out that Turner had based his idea of *frontera* on his perception of the different evolutionary stages of the societies in question, and that his thesis went unquestioned in North America well into the 1930s, and in South America into the 1980s (1988: 21). In contrast, Pinto conceptualizes the *frontera* via a concept of socioeconomic development that is not necessarily evolutionary. He also differentiates between an area of war and a

dense local population, and the extended period of Mapuche independence from both Spain and the Chilean Republic contributed to a general sense of unruliness from the administrative perspective in Santiago. Anthropologist Héctor Nahuelpán notes that, into the 1840s, Chileans venturing into Mapuche territory often did so as part of government-backed expeditions, with the collaboration of Capuchin monks who had been evangelizing there for some time. In 1848, a traveler reflected on his trip to “Araucanía, whose inhabitants were still submerged in the shadows of paganism, and in their savage independence” (Nahuelpán 2013: 73).²¹ For Chile, taking control of Araucanía required establishing a legal framework that would facilitate penetration and conquest, while preventing the region from either erupting into rebellion or falling into a pattern of feudal agricultural exploitation.

Chile signed the Treaty of Tapihue with the Mapuche in 1825. The fledgling republic would not secure its boundaries with Peru, Bolivia and Argentina until the territorial wars of the 1870s and 80s, and for the time being, required all the stability it could achieve. According to historians Martín Correa, Raúl Molina and Nancy Yáñez, the Tapihue accord of 1825 produced a dual effect. This treaty recognized and prolonged the autonomy of Mapuche territory between the Biobío River and Valdivia (a roughly 400-

borderland, indicating that for certain key periods of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, Araucanía was more a war zone than a frontera. Eduardo Barraza Jara and Evelyn Nataly Garrido Monsalve propose conceptualizing the Araucanian *frontera* as a type of “*far west*,” “characterized by the conflict produced by the collision of civilizations that ends with the imposition of the stronger of the two” (2010: 19). Respecting the viewpoint of the latter two authors, rather than “stronger,” I propose terminology such as *more violent* or *more expansionist*.

²¹ Nahuelpán quotes the Prefect Vigilio de Lonigo, whose words appeared first in Nizza’s book entitled *Misión entre los araucanos (1848-1890)*.

kilometer expanse from north to south, and ranging from the Pacific coast to the border with Argentina in the Andes), while also designating the inhabitants of Mapuche territory as compatriots with Chileans in other territories (2005: 18). This contradiction exposed Mapuche lands to Chilean property laws, opening loopholes that facilitated the taking of these lands by non-Mapuche newcomers, for instance if lands were mortgaged in business deals. Subsequently, a string of legislation into the mid-1850s dealt haphazardly with the awkward and conflictual situation of land speculation by outsiders in Mapuche territory.

Historian José Bengoa notes that the Chilean military elite were considered justified in taking large amounts of territory in Araucanía, as the spoils of their conflict with the Spanish, during which the south was strategically important. These elite often managed to acquire land at little or no cost, sometimes by paying Mapuche with a cheap alcohol called *aguardiente*, other times by force. In spite of regulations to the contrary, it was simply accepted in Chilean society that a certain class of military officers could claim expanses of Araucanian territory, which ranged up to 35,000 hectares (86,000 acres).²² Nonetheless, in 1866 Chile passed laws that prohibited the sale of Mapuche lands to non-Mapuche, and declared all lands south of the Malleco River (near Collipulli,

²² Bengoa notes how the influential writer Tomás Guevara (1865-1935) “justifies” these land takeovers by the Chilean military class. Guevara worked as an ethnologist and folklorist, after serving in the War of the Pacific in the 1870s, during which Chile claimed its invaluable northern desert and coastal territories from Peru and Bolivia (leaving the latter landlocked). Bengoa quotes Guevara: “the military class came and snatched this region from barbarism with so much sacrifice, and, as opposed to the civilian class, which had not risked anything, [the military class] had the legitimate option to enjoy these lands, despite the prohibition of this occupation by governments indifferent to their services” (1990: 153).

slightly further south than the Biobío) as *tierras fiscales* (federal lands) (Bengoa 1990: 151). In essence, this legislation introduced a new contradiction: that Mapuche lands would be safe from outside speculation (a protection that the 1825 treaty lacked), but that the expansive, autonomous Mapuche territory recognized in 1825 would now be appropriated by the state.

Through the 1866 laws, the republic did not explicitly intend to safeguard Mapuche lands; hence, the appropriation. Rather, legislators designed these laws to prevent the formation of a *hacienda* (large plantation) system resembling the agricultural economy that had developed previously in the central valley of Chile, to the north of Araucanian territory. The old haciendas in the central valley depended upon large numbers of *inquilinos* (tenant farmers, essentially sharecroppers), who worked huge divisions of land belonging to the heirs of the remnants of Spanish colonial land grants. By the mid- and late nineteenth century, although the Chilean state was not interested in perpetuating Mapuche territorial autonomy, neither was it interested in allowing a hacienda system to develop south of the Biobío River. The military officer Colonel Cornelio Saavedra, in charge of Araucanian matters, proposed in 1866 to divide the newly appropriated Mapuche lands into *hijuelas* (plots) of between 100 and 400 hectares (250-990 acres). Subsequently, these plots went for public auction, with the stipulation that no single bidder could obtain more than one. This plan did not work very well.

Again, quoting Bengoa:

. . . what actually occurred in the Araucanian territory produced different results. For instance, it turned out that at the public auctions, there were characters called "*palos blancos*" (white sticks), who bid on pieces of land in the names of other people. Thus, the prohibitions related to the

concentration of land were left null, and there are numerous cases in which one single new landowner took various thousands of hectares. (1990: 153)

In summary, this series of interventions into Mapuche territory sought both to prevent an autonomous Mapuche region adjacent to the Chilean republic, and also to prevent the development of an oligarchical hacienda system, which itself would have precluded a healthy rural economy. The final results were mixed at best: the new laws alienated the Mapuche by violating former treaties and seizing their lands. Furthermore, corruption in the auction process allowed for rampant speculation, and the consolidation of large territories by non-Mapuche. Many of these large holdings indeed depended upon *inquilino* labor into the twentieth century.

Several other factors increased tensions in Araucanía, precipitating a full-scale military conflict in the 1880s—the *Pacificación*.²³ Firstly, based on the degree of autonomy they had achieved through treaties with the Spanish, the Mapuche did not wholly endorse Chilean independence, but rather formed alliances amongst themselves, and at times with the Spanish or Chileans in different instances, based on specific interests at specific moments. This inconsistent loyalty to the republic did not bode well for the project of unifying Chile's long geography. The Mapuche controlled a huge cross-section of Chile, and could take tactical decisions that did not often favor the southward push of Chilean territory. Furthermore, in addition to the contradictory laws passed

²³ Referring to ongoing tensions in the central south, Chilean Press Secretary Cecilia Pérez raised the specter of this war on January 4, 2014, saying, “Here what’s lacking is increased diligence to arrive at the result everyone is hoping for, which is the pacification of Araucanía” (Berrocal 2014). In light of the government’s conservative stance on most related issues, Pérez’s comments proved flagrant in social media and non-mainstream news sources.

between the 1820s and the 1860s, grievances and confusions increased during the mid-nineteenth century, both for Mapuche and newcomers, since the Mapuche regarded land ownership and resource exploitation much differently than the Chileans and other foreigners did, and because many Mapuche did not speak or read Spanish well enough to fairly negotiate land titles. Mismatched attitudes and communications provoked dissension, opened opportunities for swindling away indigenous lands, and supported racist arguments about the need to assimilate or do away with the Mapuche.

The most intensive investigations about the Mapuche in the early republican period served to uncover and exploit their weaknesses. Beginning in the 1860s, the same decade as the laws that technically appropriated, divided, and permitted the auctioning off of lands south of the Malleco River, Colonel Saavedra led an occupation of Araucanía, which resulted in an array of negotiations and armed confrontations. Nahuelpán (2013: 72) writes that, in 1866, shortly after the beginning of the occupation, the Minister of War sent Saavedra to thoroughly explore the *Lafkenche* (coastal Mapuche) lands south of the Imperial River, which opens to the sea directly west of Temuco. At that time, the Lafkenche organized their territory according to *lof che*, consisting of familial relationships, political alliances and ritual spaces, completely independent of Chilean sovereignty. Saavedra's reconnaissance objectives included pinpointing tactical weaknesses, and identifying where his forces could install themselves. For their part, the Capuchins, who were essential collaborators with the invasion, and who represented the predominant missionaries during the mid-nineteenth century (in the footsteps of the Jesuits and Franciscans from earlier periods), gained a reputation for their detailed

documentation of Mapuche life.²⁴ In return for access to frontier territories, these missionaries agreed, as of 1847, to turn over their records to the authorities in Santiago. So began what Diana Taylor might consider modern Chile's "archive" (2007: 24) of the Mapuche, or what Nahuelpán, drawing on Bourdieu's work, considers their "*legibilidad*" (legibility), produced through careful documentation amidst the particular "*campo de fuerza*" (field of power) of territorial struggle (Nahuelpán 2013: 75-76; Bourdieu 2002).

The conflict subsided somewhat during the 1870s, while Chile focused its military efforts on the distant northern desert and coastal regions, during the *Guerra del Pacífico* (War of the Pacific). However, by the early 1880s the southern occupation escalated into an all-out fight between the Mapuche and the Chilean army. Saavedra lamented the tactics to which he and his troops resorted in order to reign in their adversaries, who frequently slipped into the hills and thick forests of the region, resisting the type of military confrontation that the Chileans had hoped to encounter. Historian Sergio Caniuqueo quotes Saavedra, addressing the Congress in 1883:

The war, carried out by a system of invasions by our army into the interior of the indigenous territory, will always be destructive, expensive and above all unending, meriting yet another qualifier that makes it a thousand times more odious and demoralizing for our army. Since the savage Araucanians, due to the characteristics of the lands of their dominion, stay far from the reach of our soldiers, we are left with no option except the worst and most repugnant that is employed in this type of war, which is to say: burn their houses, take captive their families, snatch their cattle; destroy, in a word, all that can be taken. Is it possible, per chance, to ever

²⁴ One of the best known documents prepared in part by Capuchin missionaries remains the lengthy oral testimony of *Lonco* (chief) Pascual Coña, a Mapuche territorial authority figure whose words were recorded in Mapuzugun and translated to Spanish by the friar Ernesto Wilhelm de Moesbach at the beginning of the twentieth century. In Chapter Three, I refer to Pascual Coña's description of a traditional *ngapitún* courtship ritual.

end the war with these tactics, or to ever reduce the Indians to long-term obedience? (2006: 150-151)

Caniuqueo expands on Saavedra's question, as to whether such a conflict really ever has an end. He notes that, during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, Swiss colonists and Mapuche enjoyed a remarkably peaceful coexistence, sharing agricultural labor, knowledge about medicinal plants, and other aspects of rural life. However, as some of the Swiss and other colonists sought to continually expand their hectares, disputes arose with the Mapuche, who by then were displaced by the Guerra de la Pacificación. The violent and hateful legacy of the war, combined with laws that often contradicted themselves regarding territorial rights, set the stage for a twentieth century fraught with struggle.

During a forty-five year post-war process called the *radicación* (relocation), the government scattered the Mapuche into *reducciones* (reductions), containing today's *comunidades* (communities), each of which was guaranteed with a legal document called a *Título de Merced* (Title of Favor). According to the *Comisión Verdad Histórica y Nuevo Trato* (Commission for Historical Truth and a New Deal), the Chilean government granted 2,918 Títulos de Merced in Araucanía and its two neighboring regions, pertaining to a total of 510,386.67 hectares (1,261,192.9 acres), between 1884 and 1929—a tremendous decrease from the original expanse of 10 million hectares (24,710,500 acres) that scholars attribute to Mapuche territory. Historian Pablo Marimán summarizes this process:

From the south bank of the Bío Bío River to Chiloé [Mapuche land] consisted of 10 million hectares, which were recognized in 28 formal meetings with the Spanish Crown, and in the Treaty of Tapihue in 1825

with the Chilean Republic. However, the so called process of *radicación indígena* between the years 1884 and 1930, left them in possession of only 500,000 hectares. (2006: 54-55)

The borders of the new comunidades frequently cut straight lines across territories previously demarcated by natural geographic features, such as valleys and rivers, or hunting, ranching and planting areas. Additionally, as Bengoa (1990) and other historians point out (see also, Soto 2013), European colonists drawn to the region by beguiling advertisements and arrangements between Chile and different European governments, often received plots that bisected Mapuche lands. This situation further disrupted indigenous society and precipitated disputes on many scales.²⁵

Contrary to Saavedra's design, a tenor of lawlessness emerged. Among impediments to law and order in late nineteenth-century Araucanía, historian Marco Antonio León (2001) lists: the chronic lack of funds for police forces and prisons; the constant, desperate reorganization of security forces, as no configuration seemed capable of bringing order; the lack of incentive for the poorly paid and poorly administered postwar police to enforce or even adhere to the law; and rampant thievery across social, cultural and ethnic sectors. León quotes the *Intendente* (chief government officer) of Cautín Province, which comprises roughly half of Araucanía, lamenting the proliferation of disorder in 1889: “. . . the banditry, which since the founding of the citizenry in the

²⁵ Today, during frequent disagreements over land ownership, many people refer to original Títulos de Merced, on record at the *Archivo Regional* (Regional Archive) in Temuco. However, poorly documented business deals, misunderstood verbal agreements between parties lacking a common language, and allegations of forgery and swindling plague such negotiations. Technically, the *Corporación Nacional de Desarrollo Indígena* (National Corporation of Indigenous Development, or CONADI) is charged with overseeing this perpetually conflictual process.

center of Araucanía, has been growing noticeably, has developed in an alarming manner in the country and in the mountainous areas situated at long distances from the seat of the only court of law upon which this province depends” (2001: 83). These sentiments echo Saavedra’s frustrations, only six years earlier, at the excessive violence he felt compelled to employ in order to flush the local resistance. Geography, as always, complicated efforts at colonizing, and upon the region’s annexation under Chilean sovereignty, it facilitated new forms of social unrest. Time and again, Araucanía has earned the designation *indomable* (indomitable), referring to both its inhabitants and its terrain. León notes that the Mapuche comprised a minority of the incarcerated criminal population during the 1880s and 90s—less than ten percent—adding that adventurers, migrant laborers, vagrants and other “*gente de paso*” (people passing through) all carried out central roles in the region’s social and economic life, including deleterious activities. From these unhinged groups—indicative of the region’s reliance on seasonal labor, its precarious postwar economy, its distance from the capital, and its status as a wild land still largely populated by natives—sprang an ethos of criminality and remoteness that persists in today’s stereotypes and cultural constructions of the south.

Mobilizing a Base for Political Empowerment in Araucanía and Beyond

If nineteenth-century foreign interventions into Araucanía aimed to dismantle Mapuche culture, they did not succeed. On the other hand, where these interventions were designed to perforate the territory with non-Mapuche settlers, haciendas, and forestry plantations, they certainly did succeed. The checkerboard tapestry of laws, land

occupations, and indigenous relocation suffocated the economic activity characteristic of earlier periods in the region. Along with Chilean campesinos and even late-arriving European colonists, the Mapuche struggled to contend with the oligarchical, loophole-ridden republican society. Following the *radicación*, Mapuche and non-Mapuche alike urged for economic, social and political reforms that would favor struggling campesinos. Yet, despite notable advances, the activism of these groups seldom coalesced in a single movement.

Approaches to alleviating the difficult life situations of so many Mapuche in Araucanía throughout the century followed lines of thinking that historians and social scientists have generalized into several main strands. The hegemonic plan proposed by the government was primarily assimilationist, culminating in the repeal of land protections in 1978. Mapuche activists either pursued a better foothold in Chilean society, a path to autonomy, or some combination of the two. Sociologist Patricia Richards writes that the demands of the Mapuche Movement are either “‘integrationist’ because they are demands for inclusion in the state, and thus, for the expansion of citizenship in redistributive terms,” or “‘autonomy demands’ . . . [which] go beyond claims for the expansion of citizenship to assert the basis for an independent nation” (2004: 180-1).

In 1910, an organization called the *Sociedad Caupolicán Defensora de la Araucanía* (Caupolicán Society for the Defense of Araucanía) was formed (named for the sixteenth-century Mapuche military leader, Caupolicán), in order to improve education among the Mapuche, and to work for better political representation. In collaboration with the *Partido Demócrata* (Democratic Party), a Chilean political party, the Sociedad

Caupolicán managed to get Francisco Melivilu Henríquez elected as a *diputado* (congressman) in 1924. As Mario Sznajder points out, this election made Melivilu Henríquez “the first Mapuche to integrate into the state apparatus in Chile” (Sznajder 2003: 22). In 1916, the *Unión Araucana* (Araucanian Union) formed, also as a mechanism for integrating the Mapuche into Chilean society. Bengoa notes that the Unión Araucana was co-managed by Capuchin *padres* (priests or friars) in the area of Padre las Casas, Temuco’s smaller neighbor city. The Unión supported the subdivision of the Mapuche comunidades for the sake of integration into the broader economic system, and the phasing out of Mapuche rituals in favor of Catholicism (2008: 379).

The issue of the subdivision of the comunidades refers to a debate in the early twentieth century, as to whether the comunidades created by the *radicación* process ought to be divided and integrated, rather than left uninvolved, protected by indigenous land laws built into the *radicación*. The Sociedad Caupolicán pushed for legislation to divide the comunidades, and a law to that end was drafted in 1927, though it never passed. The comunidades were not simply indigenous safe havens granted as amnesty at the end of the *Pacificación*. Rather, they represented artificial divisions of territory resulting in unequal access to roads and natural resources, and whose very contours precipitated further disagreements among neighbors. In short, the *radicación* process had left rural Araucanía predisposed to land disputes for generations to come, begging the question as to whether this seemingly haphazard plan actually constituted a deliberate attempt to generate conditions of instability, to justify the further disintegration of Mapuche society at later points in history. During the early twentieth century, land reform had yet to

become the national rallying cry among the left and among indigenous peoples that it is today. To the contrary, a number of early post-Pacificación Mapuche activists and politicians worked to unbind their people from the comunidad system, seeking to subdivide and integrate their land, and to gain further access to the resources and benefits available to Chilean citizens—what Patricia Richards, cited above, calls “citizenship in redistributive terms.”

The Rituals of Political Organization

Symbolic aspects of Mapuche culture became intertwined with social movements during the early twentieth century. However, this involvement indicated a collective sense of alterity before the state, and not necessarily a positive integration with state programs. In other areas of Latin America, such as Peru, the early twentieth century saw a closer embrace of indigenous representations by highly visible cultural projects, such as the theatrical productions of Luis Valcárcel (Mendoza 2008), contemporaneous with the critiques of indigenous oppression by Mariategui. The experience of the Mapuche in Chile was significantly different. Racist and assimilationist discourses gained currency from the results of the Guerra de la Pacificación and the radicación. Authoritative voices have since claimed that, without their traditional rural territory, economy, social system and cultural practices, the Mapuche can no longer claim their status as a unique indigenous people.²⁶ Such was the stance later on of the Pinochet dictatorship, when it

²⁶ Prominent, conservative historians have made significant efforts to articulate this stance. In his book from 2002 entitled *Los Mapuche en la sociedad chilena actual* (The Mapuche in contemporary Chilean society), Alejandro Saavedra Peláez writes: “The

lifted the remaining protections on indigenous lands in 1978, which I describe in detail in the following chapter. Historian Pablo Mariman (1996) observes that such arguments held sway in public policy decisions for most of the twentieth century, until the end of the 1980s.

The reality, though, contrasted with the view underpinning these policies. That is, despite their marginalized position in Chilean society, Mapuche political activists have long incorporated ritual and performance in their work, placing traditional customs at the center of the processes of social and political change they work to enact. To intervene against racism and assimilationism, historical and ethnographic analysis ought to focus more closely on the ways in which institutions not inherently associated with authenticity discourses—community organizations, branches of the government, social movements and political parties—convey symbolic and expressive cultural elements between different periods of history. While such institutions receive a great deal of attention, their effects on indigenous ritual, spirituality, and art are generally considered corrupting, as though cultural continuity ought to somehow have its own engine from one historical period to the next, separate from processes such as political mobilization and urban

Mapuche today have, of course, a culture, but this culture is ‘Mapuche’ only in certain aspects. Certain cultural practices, such as the *nguillatún*, the work of the *machi* and other rituals are, today, quite possibly cultural forms that are ‘similar’ to those of the traditional Mapuche culture, but with other contents and functions . . . The majority of Mapuche culture today, and its most important components, is the same culture belonging to the Chileans and to millions of other human beings who, in today’s world, share important aspects of a common culture” (2002: 209). This type of argument has several glaring holes: it denies the possibility that a culture can adapt to changing conditions on its own terms; it assumes an inevitable assimilationist endpoint of all cultural diversity; and it ignores the assemblage of native and invented traditions that add up to Chilean or “common” culture itself, instead assigning Chilean culture some real value that indigenous cultures somehow lack.

community organization. My goal in the next several paragraphs is to demonstrate how the opposite is true, by tracing some of the most intense periods of social and political change in twentieth-century Araucanian history. Indeed, from pre-colonial times until the present, the continuity of expression and ritual has depended upon institutions that negotiate economic and political power.²⁷

Many activists indeed argued against the subdivision of the *comunidades*, and against the willful assimilation of Mapuche spirituality into the state religion of Catholicism. Political coalitions had to reconcile between autonomy and integration in order to make headway. For example, a different organization, the *Federación Araucana* (Araucanian Federation), also played a significant role in Francisco Melivilu Henríquez's election as diputado in 1924. Founded in 1920 as a culmination of several smaller-scale *sociedades* (Foerster and Montecinos 1988: 34-35), the *Federación* was much less oriented toward integration, cultivating instead a uniquely Mapuche political methodology. Caniuqueo explains:

The *Federación Araucana* based its political practice in *mapuche* institutionality, through the *fūxa xawūin* (grand parliaments), using the *Pentukun* or greeting ritual through which they internalized the spiritual and material existence of the persons and communities [in attendance]; and the *Nūxamkawūin* or conversation, which functioned in the context of a dialogic situation before the grand discourses (*weupitun*) of the leaders. Legitimizing the *xawūin* and its results depended upon the *perimontun* (visions) and *pewma* (dreams). (2006: 176)

²⁷ As social movement scholar Donna Lee Van Cott points out, such institutions are not strictly foreign imports to the Americas: "Indigenous community-level organizations with their own leadership structures, kinship ties, and customary law have existed since the invasion of Europeans destroyed political organizations of larger geographic scope. In some areas, supra-community organizations persisted or were newly formed to facilitate economic production, the reproduction of indigenous cultures, and the defense of collectively held territory" (2005: 9).

Today, the *pentukun* (long greeting), *xawiin* (meeting), and other related rituals still comprise essential aspects of social and political gatherings in a Mapuche context. Organizing meetings around these concepts places those conversant in Mapuche cultural norms in a position of authority, just as proceeding according to Chilean legal and political rituals does the opposite. Furthermore, the Federación's verifying of its proceedings through *perimontun* (visions) and *pewma* (dreams) linked its methodology to Mapuche spiritual practices, such as dream interpretation. Although the Federación Araucana mobilized a base to compete in the Chilean political system, it differed fundamentally from other organizations in that it drew on an inherently Mapuche "institutionality."

The name most commonly associated with the Federación Araucana is Manuel Aburto Panguilef, who directed the organization throughout most of its history. Historians André Menard and Jorge Pavez, who have extensively researched documents related to the Federación, write the following about Panguilef:

On the 25th of December in 1931, Aburto presided over the XI *Congreso Araucano* (Araucanian Congress), which took place in Raguintuleufu, in which he proposed for the first time the aspiration to create a República Indígena. He would never thereafter abandon this ideal, despite subsequent changes in his orientations and political alliances . . . He is [also] remembered especially well for his defense of certain traditional spaces such as indigenous cemeteries or the right to hold nguillatunes on specially designated lands. (2005: 51)

During the 1920s and 30s, the Federación Araucana, the Sociedad Caupolicán, and a number of smaller organizations assembled yearly in large meetings called *Congresos Araucanos*, which Menard and Pavez describe as "multitudinous gatherings that could

congregate more than 20,000 Mapuche during various days of debates and celebrations” (2005: 52).

Aburto Panguilef and his collaborators in the Federación, and its smaller predecessor organizations, directed ceremony and ritual both inward, to cultivate a unique political institutionality, and outward, to demonstrate aspects of their culture to Chilean society. Rolf Foerster and Sonia Montecinos, in their book *Organizaciones, lideres, y contiendas Mapuches (1900 – 1970)*, write: “The first news reports that we have of [Panguilef’s activism] refer to the campaign of raising consciousness—in the world of the *huinca*—which involved a theatrical tour to Santiago and Valparaiso” (1988: 33). This tour demonstrated the “intellectual and moral capacity of the [indigenous] race,” and sought to remediate the fact that in the capital city of Santiago, people had little to no awareness of Mapuche life or culture. Foerster and Montecinos also note that, at an event at the Tupper Theatre in Temuco, Panguilef and company “put on representations of nguillatunes, songs and dances . . . The funds raised in this event went toward the founding of a school in [the rural town of] Loncoche” (1988: 33).

During this same time period, which apparently corresponded with a generalized lack of mutual cultural understanding between Santiago and Araucanía, the Federación and their performers continued to tour and accompany political events. One could imagine the impact of large demonstrations of Mapuche rituals and music, and theatrical displays of the heroic narratives of Mapuche history, not only in Temuco but also in much larger central Chilean cities such as Santiago, Valparaiso and Viña del Mar. The theatre company associated with the Federación bore the name *Llufquehuenú* in

Mapuzugun, which theatre historian Luis Pradenas translates as “‘lake’, ‘luminosity’, ‘lightning bolt’ of or in the sky.” In Spanish the company went by the name *Compañía Dramática Araucana* (Pradenas 2006: 246). Pradenas, as well as Menard and Pavez, describe the lightning-strike performances of the Federación and Lluquehuenú: the group would parade through towns during their tours, blasting pifilkas and trutrukas, before calling people to the local theatre for a stage event and a conference.

The types of performed ceremonies and rituals to which historians refer regarding the Federación Araucana, indicate fusions of cultural and spiritual practices that were integral to political processes of the era, but which are more difficult to imagine today. Pradenas notes that Panguilef was also trained as a Protestant pastor, and that his voluminous writings and oratory indicate a synthesis of biblical revelation with Mapuche dream interpretation. He invoked divine justice in the struggle for political power, territory, and basic rights for the Mapuche, “generating a dynamic, creative thought process in the fertile plasticity of artistic and religious phenomena” (Pradenas 2006: 251). In spite of how the Pacificación and the radicación fueled arguments for the complete assimilation of the Mapuche into Chilean culture, Panguilef and his cohort advocated expanding Mapuche ceremonies, leading by example during their own massive gatherings. Foerster and Montecinos write that Panguilef presided over funerals with the Federación and its predecessor groups (1988: 34). Perhaps shepherding the deceased into the afterlife helped to bridge the prior, more autonomous ways of life, with the new sense of negotiated self-determination.

The biblical and Mapuche beseeching in Panguilef's unique, effective oratory points to a spiritual and cultural synthesis that would soon fall out of favor. In the late twentieth and early twenty-first centuries, Mapuche and New Testament-based spiritualities are considered more thoroughly at odds. For example, Evangelical Protestantism today tends to draw converts fully away from Mapuche spirituality, while Catholicism never achieved the levels of syncretism in Araucanía that it did further north, for instance in the Andes.²⁸ During the resistance to the dictatorship in the 1970s and 80s, indigenous activists sometimes lost credibility if they had ties with church organizations, even though these ties could be very productive (see Reuque Paillalef 2002). Thus, the polarization of spiritual practices in twenty-first century Araucanía might reflect broader schisms that began with the rise of more extreme forms of leftist and rightist ideologies, at the midpoint of the twentieth century.

The Mapuche and the Left: Beginnings of a Troubled Alliance

The level of mobilization by the 1930s was impressive, considering that at the turn of the twentieth century, the Mapuche primarily lived in comunidades that nearly resembled refugee camps. Land disputes were rampant, the political system was rigged against them, and their own internal authorities had lost a great deal of power following the Pacificación. Parallel with the difficult process of radicación, however, Mapuche organizations had managed a level of coalition building, education, and integration into

²⁸ Anglicanism and Luthernism comprise two other prominent, New Testament-based religions in Araucanía. To my knowledge, their spiritual overlays with Mapuche culture are limited or non-existent.

the Chilean political system, sufficient for them to influence national politics, presidential candidates, and public policy. Moreover, platforms were diverse and dynamic, recalling centuries' worth of careful negotiation during the Inca, Spanish and early Chilean incursions.

A number of other Mapuche organizations formed between roughly 1910 and the 1930s, with a remarkable plurality of agendas and affiliations with national organizations that were not necessarily Mapuche or indigenous.²⁹ In 1934, the Sociedad Caupolicán became the *Corporación Araucana* (Araucanian Corporation), when its leaders ceded control to a younger generation of integrationists, led in part by Venancio Coñoepán, who became a diputado and later a cabinet member in the second presidency of Carlos Ibañez del Campo, during the 1950s (Menard and Pavez 2005; Bengoa 2008: 384). José Bengoa reminds that the organizations and institutions that either supported or rejected the division of the comunidades did not coincide with the political right and left: “The Corporación Araucana, closely linked with the conservative[s], defended the comunidades against division; the Capuchin missionaries supported division; the

²⁹ Saavedra Peláez (2002: 71) mentions some of these groups: “The Moderna Araucanía in [the town of] Cunco (1916); The Sociedad Araucana Tucapel in Traiguén (1938); the Sociedad Araucanos Colo-Colo in La Unión (1937); la Federación Araucana Manuel Quepil, the Sociedad Araucana Llamuco, the Sociedad Araucana Cunco (1938), the Sociedad Araucana Futahuillimapu in Río Negro (1938); the Centro de Araucanos los hijos de Arauco [sons of Arauco], in Temuco (1938), the Centro de Estudiantes Fresia, the Colonia Araucana de Traiguén, and the Sociedad Orompello, of Gorbea” (2002: 71). The same historian notes that, “These local organizations along with the Sociedad Galvarino of Santiago (1932) formed the Frente Único de Araucanos de Chile (FUA), which supported [the presidential candidacy of] Pedro Aguirre Cerda and his own group, the Confederación de Trabajadores de Chile (CTCH, or Confederation of Chilean Workers) [in 1938].”

[Santiago-based] Sociedad Galvarino, linked with socialism, also supported division” (2008: 380).

On the other hand, a difficult, decades-long alliance between Mapuche activists and the leftist bloc loomed on the horizon. The political alliances of the Mapuche organizations in the 1920s and 30s reflected a certain pragmatism, but as indigenous mobilization gained momentum, powerful allies appeared among the left. So began intense arguments over class and cultural identity—proletariat or indigenous—which continue to smolder today, regarding whether Mapuche demands are the same or different from those of the Chilean campesino and urban working classes.

Both the Sociedad Caupolicán and the Federación Araucana collaborated with the Partido Demócrata, which had a strong base in Araucanía, particularly among the working poor. Caniuqueo argues that the party offered more of a means to an end, rather than a thorough commitment: “The key issues for the Mapuche, even if they involved land and education [which they shared with the Partido Demócrata], also involved a commitment to defend the Mapuche race, for which the political ties were more functional than truly based in party doctrine . . . ” (2006: 176). This collaboration facilitated the election of Francisco Melivilu Henríquez in 1924, and demonstrated the reach of indigenous mobilization, especially when combined with forces from the Chilean political system.

Menard and Pavez point out that, after Panguilef proposed forming an Indigenous Republic in 1931, delegates from the Chilean *Partido Comunista* (Communist Party, or PC) and the *Federación de Obreros Chilenos* (Chilean Workers’ Federation, or FOCH),

attended the XII Congreso Araucano in 1932. “It is reasonable to say that this congress constituted the first attempt by the PC and the FOCH to harness the power of the Mapuche autonomy movement” (2005: 53). Until then, the Federación Araucana and the Sociedad Caupolicán had run candidates for political office via the Partido Demócrata. Apparently, when someone at the 1932 Congreso Araucano proposed forming a Mapuche political party, the communist delegation shot down the idea, as it could have jeopardized the strong footholds of the PC and the FOCH in the leftist bloc (2005: 54). Nonetheless, the negotiation of a relationship of power had begun. That same year, Chile experienced a coup d’état that temporarily installed a socialist junta. All the while, the effects of the Great Depression increased economic hardships, and the oligarchy maintained armed paramilitary groups to keep at bay the threat of communist insurgents (2005: 53).

In short, the left-right polarization that would mark Chilean political life indelibly had also begun to take shape, while interested players cultivated relationships with the more powerful Mapuche organizations. Such situations were common in many parts of Latin America. As Donna Lee Van Cott explains, “Between the 1920s and 1950s political parties and leftist movements formed dependent peasant organizations in order to co-opt and control indigenous voters and rural workers” (2005: 9).

With the country reeling from the effects of the Great Depression and the general turmoil of the 1930s, the *radicación* gave way to a new era of territorial conflict. During the winter months of June and July 1934, a dispute boiled over in the frigid and tortuous Araucanian countryside beneath the Lonquimay volcano. Left landless, or with untenably small plots, a group of initially just under 1,000 Mapuche and Chilean campesinos, with

the backing of the Chilean *Sindicato Agrícola de Lonquimay* (Lonquimay Agricultural Syndicate), requested that the government purchase a local estate, which they had already inhabited for some time, in order for them to live and farm there legally, paying it off gradually. The Sociedad Puelma Tupper, representing the legacy of the Puelma Tupper family, one of Chile's nineteenth-century landowning dynasties, claimed the land in question, and obtained a court order to remove the campesinos from it. Negotiations broke down when the police violently drove the occupants higher into the mountains, forcing them to take refuge in the *Pehuenche* (mountain-dwelling Mapuche) comunidades. Summarizing these events on their seventieth anniversary in the periodical *Azkintuwe*, Renato Reyes wrote:

With winter setting on . . . the desperation, hunger, cold and hatred gave way to rebellion. Various thousands of campesinos and Mapuche, armed with old rifles and shotguns, attacked the company stores of the nearest *latifundios* (large estates), and prepared for a confrontation . . .

. . . The government moved to smother the rebellion with police troops from Temuko, Victoria, Mulchén and Santa Bárbara, with the support of planes from the Air Force . . .

. . . In early July, a group of rebels held out in the mountains of Llanquen. Those who survived the indiscriminate shootings fell prisoner or fled higher into the mountains, abandoning their families. The women who remained in the improvised encampments were raped and eradicated along with their children in that zone. The government accused them of being "*bandoleros y subversivos*" (bandits and subversives) . . . According to Senator Pradenas—parliamentarian from Temuko at that time—500 people were detained, of whom only twenty-three made it alive to the capital of Cautín Province, the city where their legal proceedings took place. (2004: 7)

The final fight occurred near the *Fundo Ránquil* (Ránquil Estate), marking the incident as the *Masacre de Ránquil* (Massacre at Ránquil).

In conversation with historian Gabriel Salazar, Carlos Altamirano Orrego, grandson of Teresa Puelma, who owned the land where the Massacre at Ránquil took place, recently recalled how his family obtained the huge tract of Araucanian countryside.

The *fundos* (estates) of my grandfather Orrego came from his wife, Teresa Puelma Tupper, daughter of Francisco Puelma Castillo, who was friends with Manuel Bulnes, ex-president of Chile. It occurred that one day General Bulnes said to Francisco Puelma: ‘Look, Pancho (diminutive of Francisco), you are very wealthy, you have a lot of money, and I have some lands that the government rewarded to me for my work putting down the Mapuche. Since I pacified Araucanía . . . why don’t you buy these lands from me, as I’m not a campesino, and what’s more, they’re really far away?’ And so he sold those lands to Francisco Puelma at a bargain price. And the product of that sale later wound up in the hands of my grandmother, Teresa Puelma Tupper. In reality they were various fundos, amounting to 60,000 hectares (nearly 150,000 acres). One was called El Morro, another Quirihueque, another Vilicura, and another El Olko. It was on this last one where the police killed various hundreds of campesinos (the killing at Ránquil). They put them along the banks of the Bío Bío and there they strafed them with bullets so that they would fall directly into the river. (2010: n.p.)

The above account offers a glimpse at the forces with which the campesinos contended, and at the practice of turning over gigantic pieces of land to high-ranking officers as the spoils of war.

Among other events resulting from the ardent ideological and political polarization of the era, the Massacre at Ránquil opened the eyes of many Chileans to the plight of campesinos and workers throughout the country. By 1936, the leftist bloc, including a number of Mapuche organizations, capitalized on this momentum and formed the *Frente Popular* (Popular Front), which secured Pedro Aguirre Cerda’s election as president in 1938, and initiated groundbreaking social programs, before dissolving in 1941.

Agrarian Reform, Socialism and the Mapuche

The Chilean *Reforma Agraria* (Agrarian Reform), a massive culmination of social organizing and watershed legislation during the 1960s and 70s, had its first serious rumblings in the 1950s, as campesino organizations throughout the country rallied around increasingly unified discourses on the need for redistribution of rural lands. National-level calls for reform did not initially include Mapuche demands in an explicit sense, since these demands went through the special *Juzgados de Indios* (Indian Courts), which routed them away from normal judicial processes. However, when the *Juzgados de Indios* proved ineffective for quelling the large number of grievances, Mapuche *comuneros* (residents of the comunidades) began to organize land occupations in the late 1950s and early 60s, which attracted national attention to the cause of land repatriation (Correa, et al. 2005: 92; Comisión Verdad Histórica y Nuevo Trato).

Meanwhile, the overall plurality of Mapuche organizations persisted, with several conglomerations standing out. Historians Correa, Molina and Yáñez summarize how these players linked up with non-indigenous campesino groups: In December of 1953, the *Asociación Nacional Indígena* (National Indigenous Association, or ANI) had its first congress in Temuco, with delegates from the provinces of Arauco, Concepción, Biobío, Malleco, Cautín, Valdivia, Osorno, Llanquihue and Chiloé. All but two of these provinces are outside of the Araucanía region, reflecting the expanding geographic scope of a grass-roots Mapuche social movement. “The ANI . . . was the first to plant the Agrarian Reform as a demand of a Mapuche organization . . . and to promote the alliance

between Mapuche comunidades and the working class” (2005: 89-90). In September of 1961 in Santiago, the ANI, along with other large and influential Mapuche organizations, joined a three-day meeting called the *Congreso Nacional Campesino* (National Campesino Congress), which included 920 delegates from a broad range of indigenous and campesino organizations around Chile. The meeting resulted in the formation of an umbrella group called the *Federación Nacional de Campesinos e Indígenas de Chile* (National Campesino and Indigenous Federation of Chile). This organization in turn linked itself to the *Centro Único de Trabajadores* (Unified Workers’ Center, or CUT), which today remains one of the foremost organizations of industrial laborers in Chile (Correa, et al. 2005: 91; Foerster and Montecinos 1988: 297-300). For the most part, indigenous and non-indigenous activism united during this period behind the common demand for the redistribution of rural lands. Mapuche and other indigenous groups based their case on historic, territorial patrimony. Chilean campesinos required fairer distribution of farmlands in order to leave behind the *inquilino* (sharecropping) and hacienda systems that predominated during most of Chilean history, particularly in the zona central.

The political class paid increasing attention to the relationship between Chile’s stifled economic progress and the unequal distribution of lands during the 1950s and 60s. In 1958, Salvador Allende campaigned for president on a socialist platform uniting the leftist bloc behind the cause of land reform, and narrowly lost to Jorge Alessandri. The increased level of campesino and working-class organization, which nearly yielded a victory for Allende in 1958, provoked Alessandri to pass Law 15,020, the first major

piece of Agrarian Reform legislation. This law created the *Corporación de Reforma Agraria* (Agrarian Reform Corporation, or CORA), charged with increasing the productivity of rural lands, whose sluggish output was thought to result from the antiquated hacienda-inquilino system. The CORA assessed specific plots of land, and decided whether to buy them from their owners and redistribute them to landless campesinos.

By the early 1960s, it was clear that any effective remedy for land inequality would also require solutions to a range of related dilemmas, such as inadequate rural education and healthcare, and the disadvantaged position of campesino women. As Heidi Tinsman describes in her groundbreaking work on gender politics and the Agrarian Reform, the administration of Eduardo Frei Montalva embarked on a more intensive phase of the Agrarian Reform in 1964, with economic and social development policies influenced by the United Nations, the newly formed international Christian Democratic Party (Frei's own party), progressive branches of the Catholic Church, and the Kennedy Administration. In Tinsman's words, these initiatives possessed a "zeal [that] reflected both the heady utopianism and the Cold War Fears of the 1960s" (2002: 1). Poor inquilinos transformed relatively quickly from a massive labor force long taken for granted, into the political cause célèbre of the day. Successfully reforming the rural economy held the potential to bolster Chile's position as an emerging capitalist country with an empowered campesino class and benevolent social policies that, contrary to the Marxist revolutions of the day, reflected the influence of the United States at the height of the Cold War.

The Agrarian Reform's most intensive, holistic initiatives focused on the social, economic and cultural development of rural families, inadvertently throwing into relief the differences between Chilean and Mapuche campesinos. Arguably the most thorough interventions took place in central region of Chile, where the hacienda system was most entrenched. Heidi Tinsman writes:

Cultural transformation was key. As a modernization project, the Agrarian Reform was rooted in a nineteenth century liberalism that juxtaposed barbarism with civilization and equated campesinos, in particular, with subordination and Indianness. One of its chief goals was to turn campesinos into Chilean citizens—autonomous, educated, and fully integrated into the political and economic fabric of national life. (2002: 129)

Tinsman explains that, whereas Marxists sought class confrontation and empowerment through direct appropriation of hacienda lands, the Agrarian Reform based its approach on Christian Democratic and Catholic ideologies about the importance of a healthy family. Men, not women, received property from the CORA, but women benefited from the increased resources at hand for their domestic labor. Autonomy, in this sense, meant owning the means of production (rather than working as sharecropping *inquilinos*), but not necessarily challenging preexisting hierarchies of race and gender. The government, the Christian Democrats, and the Catholic Church developed a number of outreach organizations designed to expand political participation, literacy, healthcare, and even birth control. These projects aimed to cultivate a collective identity of empowered, Catholic, Chilean families.

As noted already, Mapuche organizations were involved in the groundswell support for rural land reform for some time. However, in Araucanía this involvement

took place against the unique backdrop of centuries' worth of territorial conflict along fairly clear cultural and ethnic lines—Mapuche and *winka*. The integration of the Mapuche in Araucanía with the national Agrarian Reform was less than smooth. Upon the passage of Law 15,020, some sixty Mapuche families initiated a *toma* (takeover) of 100 hectares of disputed land near Victoria, sixty kilometers north of Temuco. The police forcefully removed them, and the whole event produced a number of injuries and legal accusations against the comuneros. Of course, as Correa, et al. note, “Although the action did not achieve its objective [of recuperating the terrain] . . . it at least constituted a shot across the bow” (2005: 95). Still, this and a string of similar incidents demonstrated that claims to ancestral territories did not necessarily constitute grounds for expropriation in the view of the CORA, whose position the police probably represented.

The Agrarian Reform's ambivalence toward indigenous territorial patrimony, combined with its approach to cultural development, posed unique challenges to Mapuche campesinos in Araucanía, and illustrated the difficulties of subsuming indigenous causes with left-wing mobilization. Although ardent leftists (such as members of the PC) may have desired more aggressive land expropriation, they could more readily settle on the terms dictated by Frei's centrist government. On the other hand, since Frei's terms included Christian Democratic and Catholic intervention to cultivate a normative model of the Chilean Catholic family, the Mapuche arguably faced unique dilemmas if they wished to collaborate. Under Law 15,020, and Frei's more comprehensive Law 16,640 in 1967, a number of land repatriations did occur in Mapuche territory, but the net

effect was an increase in disputes, and dissatisfaction with the Juzgados de Indios, the CORA, and the overall legal apparatus for recovering lands (Ser Indígena).

Still, beyond consternation, the intensive, grass-roots activism of the 1960s forged powerful ideas about indigenous and working-class self-determination, as much through pitfalls as through successes. In Araucanía, this upwelling articulated with preexisting notions of Mapuche independence, and influenced social movements for decades to come. The Agrarian Reform did not take an explicit interest in indigenous rights and demands. Rather, in Tinsman's words, it aimed "to turn campesinos into Chilean citizens," reflecting hegemonic ideas about the need to assimilate natives, as it were, in order to spur development. Needless to say, this platform did not warmly invite indigenous participation. Furthermore, when lands were determined to fit the criteria for expropriation—that is, they reflected under-exploitation and concentrated ownership—comuneros sometimes acted justifiably, but preemptively, occupying territory without the CORA's clearance. Chileans did likewise: as the 1960s wore on, preemptive tomas grew more frequent, not only on agricultural lands, but also in urban areas where migrant families set up *campamentos* (encampments), and in factories where workers faced unfair treatment. An upshot of the Agrarian Reform was a more politically astute working class, both in the countryside and in the cities. The demands of the underprivileged began to outpace the state's efforts at fostering their autonomy. The resulting tension reflected the widespread need for increased access to resources and living wages, as well as the cumbersome pace of state-backed reform.

The *Unidad Popular* (Popular Unity, or UP), an amalgamation of centrists and leftists that achieved the election of the Salvador Allende as president in 1970, began during the mid-1960s to organize workers, campesinos, students, and *pobladores* (poor, urban dwellers) on a Marxist platform of resource expropriation from the economic elite, and redistribution to the nation's expanding underprivileged and middle classes. Frei's unprecedented appeal to campesinos had nonetheless yielded little in terms of the recovery of lost indigenous lands. Going considerably further than Frei, Allende intended to expropriate and return to the Mapuche any usurped lands pertaining to the Títulos de Merced, the land titles dating to the *radicación*. Allende signed a document outlining this pledge in 1964, in the presence of Mapuche and Chilean leaders, on Temuco's *Cerro Ñielol* (Ñielol Mountain), a symbolic, strategic location during the colonial wars and the War of the *Pacificación* (Foerster and Montecinos 1988: 306).

A potent minority of fervent leftists who organized as of 1965 under the banner of the *Movimiento de Izquierda Revolucionaria* (Left Revolutionary Movement, or MIR) were a boon to the UP, accelerating both its campaigning in the late 1960s, and its reform efforts upon Allende's election in 1970. On the other hand, the MIR also organized many ambitious *tomas* that overstepped the pace and the legality of the UP's expropriation efforts, which Allende had cautiously negotiated with Chile's conservative politicians after winning the presidency on a razor-thin plurality.

The MIR's work in the southern countryside centered around the *Movimiento Campesino Revolucionario* (Campesino Revolutionary Movement, or MCR), fomented by MIR members along with Mapuche *comuneros*. The MCR constituted a formidable

leftist intervention into Mapuche mobilization, as well as one of the most intense and controversial periods in Araucanian land politics. In the southern winter of 1970, just months before the election that put Allende and the UP in power, the MCR began a series of tomas called *corridas de cerco* (running of the fences), in which groups of comuneros walked onto *fundos* (large estates), and reclaimed territory according to the original Títulos de Merced. The idea was to restore Mapuche landholdings to their status from the radicación, because many Títulos had since splintered due to questionable business deals and legislative attacks on Mapuche autonomy. These actions exceeded the framework of the Agrarian Reform, while the UP, which had campaigned on returning such lands, had yet to take office. The cause became more radicalized when, in addition to lands from the Títulos de Merced, the MCR began to retake lands based on pre-radicación ancestral claims (Correa, et al. 2005: 128). A number of *corridas de cerco* yielded positive results, while others provoked violent reactions by non-Mapuche landowners on the defensive. By the time the UP took power, the MCR and the *corridas de cerco* had made the restitution of Mapuche lands one of Chile's most urgent and controversial political issues (Mallon 2003, 2005).

The Advent of a Revolutionary Style, and its Contradictions

MIR and MCR activism boiled into the streets of Temuco a number of times. On October 22, 1971, a twenty-four year-old Mapuche campesino and MCR militant named Moisés Huentelaf died by gunfire during a toma on a fundo called Chesque, near the town of Loncoche, eighty kilometers south of Temuco. According to Miguel Enriquez,

Secretary General of the MIR, the owners of Chesque fired upon Huentelaf and other activists for nearly three hours during the attempted toma, and despite being called in to resolve the conflict, the local governor abstained from the situation. Friends of the landowners reinforced the defensive effort, and in the evening Huentelaf was dead, while police rounded up suspected collaborators in the countryside surrounding the fundo. Enriquez recounted the event with quintessential bravado a week later on November 1, at a march held by the MIR in Temuco to memorialize the death of *Compañero* (Comrade) Huentelaf:

Compañeros:

In the name of the National Directorate of the MIR, we have come to render an homage to Moisés Huentelaf; campesino, Mapuche, revolutionary and militant of our movement, assassinated by the landowning mummies on Friday, October 22 on the fundo Chesque . . . ³⁰

The owners of the fundo, made rich by the exploitation of the campesinos, enjoying bounty and privilege, who don't work the land and thereby generate hunger in Chile; with impunity, well armed and organized, they attacked, shot, injured and assassinated campesinos . . .

The death of Moisés Huentelaf . . . offers us a synthesis of what is happening today in Chile, more clearly than hundreds of treatises on political theory. The workers today in Chile fight for their interests, the dominant classes defend with blood and fire their power and wealth; the institutions of the apparatus of the capitalist State, law and justice, play their historic role, defending the interests of the patrones against the workers; and the government of the Popular Unity, elected by the campesinos and the workers of the whole country, continues making concessions to the patrones. (Enriquez 1971; see Appendix A)

Enriquez's address ties the southern land quarrels and the death of Huentelaf to ongoing problems with the course of socializing the nation's resources, now an entire year into the

³⁰ According to Joan Jara (1984: 98), *momio* (mummy) as the Leftists' term for the oligarchy and the estate owners during the era of the Agrarian Reform and the general upheavals of the mid-1960s, derives from a play by Raul Ruiz, which depicts the old aristocratic families as "decaying yet petrified." In other words, despite their advanced decomposition, they remained entrenched.

UP government. Among what he called the “contradictions of the period,” Enriquez listed the government’s commitment to Marxist reform, alongside its repeated turning of a blind eye as the police and the military put down the efforts of the MIR and the MCR. Martyrdom invigorated these activists, illustrating the political currency of death in this remote corner of Cold War-era armed conflict.

From 1970 until 1973, as the “contradictions” and disillusionment piled up, certain Mapuche activists sought autonomy from the reform efforts of both the state and the more radical leftists, only without alienating the alliances that had thus far proven worthwhile. In 1972, some such activists embarked on a line of intervention similar to that of the MCR, but from a specifically Mapuche standpoint. They published a document that year entitled “Call to the First Congress of the Movement *Netuaiñ Mapu*”; in Mapuzugun, *Netuaiñ Mapu* means “Take Back our Land.”

The fundamental problem that we have as Mapuche revolves around our land, which the usurping gringos robbed from us. These gringos, with the support of the authorities and the law, ran us off with gunfire, and then legalized the thievery that they had committed upon us.

We the Mapuche are poor because we lack land to work, and not because we’re lazy, as they claim.

All the politicians have promised us that they will return our lands to us, but those promises never go beyond language.

The Christian Democrats, when they were in government, promised to improve our living conditions and return land to us, but all told, they did nothing.

The Popular Unity promised us the same, but we have seen that these politicians continue to pass us along interminably, and we have only achieved real results when we struggle for them . . .

We should begin by forming and fortifying committees in the comunidades. We should create local councils of the *Netuaiñ Mapu* Movement, which gather various comunidades, to orient and mutually support their struggles.

We think that our struggle should closely unite the Workers, Students . . . to struggle against the exploitative nationals and foreigners.

The liberation of the exploited is one alone and the Mapuche people will be free when all Chileans are free, from all the *anchimalleñ* (evil spirits)

...

In this Congress we will discuss the problems of each comunidad.

The problems of our lands that have been robbed.

The problems of the credits, seeds, fertilizers, the merchants or the organisms of the state that pay us miserable prices for our products . . .

¡¡¡HUITRAÑE NETUAIÑ MAPU!!! (Unite to retake our land)
LONG LIVE THE STRUGGLE OF THE MAPUCHE PEOPLE AND
THE EXPLOITED CHILEANS!!! LONG LIVE THE MOVEMENT
NETUAIÑ MAPU!!! (Netuaiñ Mapu 1972; see Appendix B)

This proclamation exemplifies a unique perspective on ethnicity and class. Namely, its authors borrow language from a clear Marxist platform of fighting for universal liberation of the exploited, only they base their activism in the Mapuche comunidades, rather than in the universities and cities, as was the case for the MIR. Netuaiñ Mapu also makes clear that the antagonists in the struggle for campesino prosperity are not merely the “dominant classes,” as Enriquez referred to them, but rather they are usurping *anchimalleñ* (spirits), or *gringos*, referring to their skin color and foreign origins. In Araucanía, the term gringo refers variously to someone who has a lighter complexion, who comes from Europe or North America, or who, in a more negative sense, comes from afar to swindle land, knowledge, or something else of value. “Gringo” works interchangeably with *winka*. However, with its North American connotation, “gringo” also refers to a particular enemy in the Cold War conflicts of the day, thereby inviting a defensive alliance with likeminded non-Mapuche leftists. The double marginalization of the Mapuche as indigenous and poor nonetheless opens the possibility for taking aim at multiple antagonists (Spanish invaders, European colonists,

the Chilean elite, North Americans meddling in regional economics and politics, and so forth) with one racialized word, “gringo.”

As the MIR, the MCR, and Netuain Mapu demonstrate, radical activism among the left and the Mapuche had melded to a considerable degree, though not completely, by 1972. However, a bloody military coup d'état replaced Salvador Allende and the UP with a right-wing military dictatorship in 1973, and subsequently this type of collaborative activism went underground. In all likelihood, Marxist revolutionaries have never since worked so intensively with indigenous communities in the central south, and in retrospect, their participation in the region's land controversies garners considerable skepticism. Sergio Caniuqueo calls the relationship between the left and the Mapuche a “strategic alliance,” mainly beneficial for the former, whose pro-indigenous rhetoric peaked during the UP and the years leading up to it. As territorial identity movements brought land disputes to the fore, he argues, the “territorial discourse” availed itself to appropriation (2006: 172-3). The MIR, for their part, found in the Mapuche a logical ally: rural Araucanía was apt for carrying out tomas, and the Mapuche Movement brought to the table preexisting techniques for doing so. Furthermore, the region offered a certain degree of geographic isolation, meaning that head-to-head conflict with resistance to the tomas, although it occurred, was perhaps considered less likely by the activists than in urban militant activism.

For the Mapuche, collaboration with the *miristas* sometimes successfully opened new terrain for farming, which breathed economic vitality into certain pockets of the region. Yet, oral accounts gathered by Mallon (2003, 2005) indicate that, while the MIR

focused hard on reclaiming farmlands in the name of the rural peasantry (necessitating their collaboration with comuneros), successful tomas in the central south often depended upon Mapuche kinship ties that could be activated to spur collaborative agricultural development once lands changed hands. Otherwise, left to their own devices, the miristas themselves were relatively incapable of the labor required to make rural land productive, since many of them hailed from more privileged, urban families, having entered into political activism during their university years. In fact, according to Mallon, miristas often took over fundos without dismantling the labor relations on the estates, continuing instead to treat and rely upon the workers just as the owners had prior to the tomas.

Although a great deal of mobilization dissipated under the violence of military rule following the coup d'état, a certain cosmopolitan revolutionary style of the 1960s and 70s remained, and has continued in subsequent decades to color leftist and pro-indigenous activism. As had the Agrarian Reform, the MIR and the MCR worked with forms of masculinity that corresponded with their modus operandi. Florencia Mallon writes that the “agit-prop” style of the mirista leadership drew in part on the image of the *barbudos* (young, bearded men) who protagonized the Cuban Revolution, namely Fidel Castro and Che Guevara. Together with this aesthetic or look, claims Mallon, Miguel Enriquez and his cohort, “although not consciously aware of it,” synthesized certain key archetypes of Chilean “transgressive working-class masculinity,” such as the *lacho* (womanizer given to verbal bravado), the *roto macanudo* (cool vagrant), and the *huaso* (rancher in an aristocratic sense, or cowhand in a working-class sense) (2003: 181-182). These three terms refer to folkloric or quasi-folkloric notions of manliness, wherein

virility—embodied in a man’s way with women, animals or with words, or in his tough, self-reliance—mitigates class subservience, unemployment, or sexual promiscuity. The miristas were radiantly masculine, youthful, irreverent, intellectual, revolutionary, bohemian, daring, allied with the poor, adroit with words, and willing with arms. Their countercultural tenor clashed with longstanding values held by Chilean communists, socialists, and UP veterans, who shared the MIR’s underlying philosophies, but who also prioritized discipline and family values. The resulting tension suffused the MIR’s tomas and public demonstrations with, in Mallon’s words, “various forms of gendered rebelliousness . . . that had already taken shape in popular culture” (2003: 182).

Conclusion

What Mallon refers to as the miristas’ “gendered rebelliousness,” forged in part through their incursions into Araucanian affairs, as well as through their reading of heady political philosophies and their cosmopolitan sense of revolution, remains deeply influential in today’s social movements and popular culture.³¹ Moreover, the insurrectionary politics accompanying the rise of socialism comprise but one link in a chain of factors in the gradual advent of today’s tumultuous cultural and political

³¹ A recent article in one of Chile’s progressive periodicals, *The clinic*, entitled “El poder del neomirismo en la Confech” (The power of neomirism in the Confech), described the significant resurgence of mirista political ideology among the *Confederación de Estudiantes Chilenos* (Confederation of Chilean Students), the country’s largest organizing body of university students. According to a student interviewed for the piece, “*Siempre va a ser más cool ser mirista que comunista*” (It will always be cooler to be mirista than to be communist) (The clinic 2014). *The clinic* observed that roughly a third of the diverse student organizations under the Confech umbrella adhere to so called mirista doctrine, which is noteworthy in light of the current political power of the student movement.

landscape in Araucanía. In this chapter, I have worked to demonstrate how this terrain formed throughout the history of the Chilean occupation of the region. This history, in turn, contributes a critical piece of the context for the analysis of music and ritual in subsequent chapters, and illuminates the backdrop of stereotypes about the Mapuche as bellicose insurgents.

During the previous two centuries, pathways to either autonomy or positive integration have come at high costs for the Mapuche. Yet, despite a string of hardships in Araucanía, a spirit of cultural continuity runs from the decades of the *Pacificación* and the *radicación*, through the early organizations such as the *Federación Araucana* and the *Sociedad Caupolicán*, the tragic events at Ránquil, and the experience of the Mapuche during the Agrarian Reform and socialism. Progressively, as they resisted assimilation, the Mapuche entered the Chilean cultural imaginary as fierce holdouts from a prior era, who retained beautiful forms of expression that contrasted with their status as savages. (The subsequent chapter deals with key manifestations of this status in popular culture.) As leftists first sought to explicitly harness the momentum of the Mapuche organizations during 1930s, Mapuche rituals seem to have retreated from the context of political meetings. I also suspect that the intervention into Mapuche activism by the *Partido Comunista* and the leftist bloc may have further instigated an historic antagonism between Mapuche spirituality and Christianity; this point requires further research, yet it is well founded. Conspicuously absent in the work of Aburto Panguilef, this antagonism may well have precluded syncretism with Catholicism, and provoked lasting divides between Mapuche who practice their traditional rituals, and certain Evangelical groups.

The resulting alienation between social movements and religious institutions remains a key fault line in Araucanía today, inhibiting more transverse patterns of activism.

As noted at the outset of this chapter, the focus of my investigation here has consisted of the intervention into Mapuche culture by outside forces throughout two centuries, and the resulting value, or currency, attached to Mapuche cultural representations. According to Caniuqueo, activists and scholars alike have commonly glossed over the meaning of the land to the Mapuche, assuming that all they want is to have more of it. In cases of relocations, tomas and migration, he asks, “What happened . . . in terms of leadership or participation in sociocultural spaces?” (2006: 173). Moving people on and off pieces of land causes permanent upheavals for families and communities, whose particular narratives are often absent from the prevailing discourses advocating such changes. Furthermore, this lacuna makes way for arguments about cultural erasure. For instance, historian Alejandro Saavedra Peláez points to the assimilation of the Mapuche through their “pauperization” and “proletarianization,” claiming that they share the same experiences of poverty and activism with non-indigenous Chileans (2002: 62-66). Evidence also suggests that the long-term benefits for the Mapuche from their collaboration with the radical left are questionable. Under the dictatorship that followed the UP government, with the MIR hit hard by repression and driven underground, the legacy of the *corridos de cerco* provoked intense intervention by the military into rural Araucanía. Many gains from the UP years on behalf of the Mapuche were quickly reversed by the military government, in what is commonly

referred to as the *Contra Reforma Agraria* (Counter Agrarian Reform), a phenomenon I deal with in the next chapter.

The coup d'état indeed marked a turning point, temporarily quashing the idealistic uprisings of the previous decades, and inaugurating a different set of power relations. The dictatorship drove opposition militants into exile, imprisoned them, or assassinated them, while it restructured the economy. As I describe later, by the second decade of the regime, neoliberal resource exploitation penetrated Araucanía and most other regions, with the aid of multiculturalist discourses designed to paint minority groups like the Mapuche as faithful subjects, as though the state had pardoned the insurgencies of recent history in exchange for their obedience. The revolutionary style whose roots I outline here fell back from the front lines, defeated by martial law during most of the 1970s and 80s, and calmed by the beseeching of democratic principles during the 1990s. However, by the twenty-first century, new collective attitudes of dissent boiled to the surface as critiques of the neoliberal system gained traction, and the Mapuche Movement insisted that they still lacked compensation for the state's historic debt to them. During my stay in the region, this chapter emerged from my own *inquietude* concerning constructions of Araucanian history and Mapuche culture in the intensely politicized arenas of social movement discourses, government policies, and cultural production.

Chapter 3

Folklore, Multiculturalism, and the Social Order in Chile and Araucanía

The *indio* is endowed with an admirable auditory and visual sensitivity.³² The field of his observations materializes particularly in the environment that surrounds him, which is to say, in the jungle, among the animals that inhabit it, and among the water, and the plants.

-Tomás Guevara, *Folklore araucano* (1911: 10)

“Does difference always smuggle in hierarchy?”

-Lila Abu-Lughod (1991: 146)

What can we discern from Guevara’s accolade of the “*indio*,” which at once celebrates him, and confines him “in the jungle, among the animals that inhabit it”? This chapter retraces certain elements of the historical period of the previous chapter, and extends into the twenty-first century. Whereas Chapter Two offered a particular reading of the political history of Araucanía, featuring certain instances of performance, Chapter Three deals more directly with folklore, cultural production, the arts and cultural policy.

³² The word *indio* (my emphasis added in Guevara’s quotation) refers to anyone of indigenous heritage. At the time of Guevara’s writing, the term probably had both scientific and general social acceptance. Today, to refer to someone an *indio* is generally a derogatory gesture.

Folklore research portraying the humanity of the inhabitants of Araucanía in the early twentieth century intervened somewhat against the stigma of savagery, but without questioning the illusion of racial hierarchy that had originally helped to justify the invasion of the territory. Something not altogether different occurs today, in the various ways in which indigenous cultures are celebrated and propped up as examples of peaceful, democratic cohabitation, while indigenous residents are marginalized from development decisions that directly affect their ways of life and physical surroundings. The principal objective of this chapter is to outline the development of the currency of the representations of different cultural sectors of a democratic nation, with particular emphasis on the Mapuche, from folklore studies in the early republican period, to neoliberal multiculturalism in the twenty-first century.

These pages begin with a brief, impactful testimony from the late Doña Marcelina Nahuel, an elderly tejedora, or weaver, who passed away in 2014, and who explained to me in 2010 the conditions of her life from childhood until when she began making a living with her textiles as an adult. Doña Marcelina migrated to Santiago as an adolescent, and when she returned to Araucanía nearly two decades later, already a mother, she encountered in weaving a way of supporting her family. Her testimony offers a glimpse at how difficult life was for a great deal of people in rural Araucanía in the mid-twentieth century. Additionally, her account is worth comparing and contrasting to the events described later in the chapter regarding the relationship between weaving and mega development projects. Doña Marcelina is considered a master *artesana*, or practitioner of *artesanía*. Before entering into a discussion of how folklore and folkloric

expressions came to play a role in nationalism, among other sweeping historical processes, it is worth hearing, or reading, the words of someone whose art form has emerged as a treasure in the eyes of many, and whose place in society has undoubtedly changed in step with this valorization.

Next, I embark on an historical and philosophical exploration of folklore, leading up to an assessment of its role in the Chilean social order. I describe folklore's advent during the surges of European scientific modernity and romantic nationalism, and how these events unfolded in Chile. I maintain that folklore, both as a scholarly discipline and a set of artistic categories, has supplied a key framework for simultaneously valorizing and subordinating minority groups. As I explain later in the chapter, folklorization served as an influential piece of the foundation for neoliberal cultural policies in later decades, and subaltern voices have struggled to find a means of dealing with its hegemony. On the other hand, the nationalistic and paternalistic tendencies in certain areas of Chilean folklore have long contended with the strength of folkloric traditions in the hands of women, ethnic and cultural minority groups, and residents of far-flung regions, meaning that the field has always been contested.

I also describe here the role of popular culture in establishing the power relations between cultural groups in modern Chile. Parallel to the developing relationship between the Mapuche organizations and the political left, outlined in the previous chapter, popular culture began to embrace and explore Mapuche culture with a new sense of fascination around the 1930s. For progressives in Chile and in many parts of the Americas and Europe, ideas about the embattled indigenous sectors of modern societies contributed to

new notions of morality and pluralism. Composers, among many other actors in popular culture and the arts, worked to depict the heroic histories of their indigenous neighbors. While their exoticist portrayals failed to exceed Western artistic conventions, they nonetheless inaugurated an important set of discourses about the Mapuche and other minority groups. At the same time, the scarce encounters between actual Mapuche and non-Mapuche artists revealed a significant lack of understanding about Mapuche music by cultural outsiders.

Ever the synthesis of folklore, popular culture and revolutionary politics, *nueva canción* marked a critical phase in the development of music's political force in Chile and other Latin American countries. Moreover, *nueva canción* bears a unique relationship with indigenous cultural representations, through which many artists have codified their left-leaning ideologies. Later chapters, which deal directly with the role of popular and folkloric music styles in the political conflicts of twenty-first century Araucanía, build upon the context established here in relation to *nueva canción*. Furthermore, the musical militarism of the 1960s and 70s occurred in direct dialogue with the revolutionary style of the *miristas* and other radicals, introduced in the previous chapter. This revolutionary style, to reiterate, played a major part in the deep polarization of political ideologies characterizing the years of socialism and dictatorship. Considering that the same revolutionary politics continue to influence today's activism, including including activism in favor of Mapuche demands, this chapter presents certain key links between *nueva canción*, the Mapuche, and the central south.

Subsequently, I describe the dictatorship (1973-1990) as a musically productive period. This notion maintains the theme running throughout this writint, concerning the centrality of music to the workings of power in a disciplinary society. While the dictatorship's principal legacy among artists and musicians is one of death and destruction, the regime's cultural policies nonetheless also illustrate a mission to breed obedience and conformity, complementary to the tactics of brute force. Pinochet's government found in folklore the materials to cultivate a common culture of performativity that reflected and reproduced the relations of class, ethnicity and gender corresponding to the hacienda system.

Concurrently, Mapuche cultural activism under the dictatorship also took advantage of the process of folklorization, in order to combat the government's efforts at cultural erasure. As Pinochet implemented laws to privatize collectively held Mapuche lands, thus intervening in ritual spaces and the overall functioning of the comunidades, pro-Mapuche activists convened in a series of Cultural Centers, which gave way rapidly to national-level initiatives geared toward territorial recuperation and the persistence of cultural practices. One interesting product of this mobilization was the folklorization of the the solstice ceremony of We Xipantu. Historically an intimate, family celebration, today We Xipantu also takes place in schools, museums, and plazas, often with the sponsorship of municipalities and other civil institutions.

Starting with an ironic poem by Erwin Quintupil, concerning the ways in which many among the progressive opposition to the dictatorship actually perceived the Mapuche, the final section of this chapter deals with the role of the Mapuche in the

establishment of neoliberal multiculturalism after the transition to democracy in 1990. Put slightly differently, through a close look at economic and cultural development practices in the central south during the democratic period, the last section explains why policies of multiculturalism are crucial to a neoliberal economic and political regime. Paradoxically, the same entities that commit environmental atrocities in Mapuche territory often conspicuously fund cultural development programs, including one I examine here related to textiles. As a result, in regions where vital lands and resources are contested between government, corporations, and indigenous groups, cultural analysis must take into account the precarious political environment, and most importantly, the agency of the region's residents to guide large-scale decisions that will produce enduring effects on their cultural practices and physical surroundings. Based on my research, I regard neoliberal multiculturalism as the end product of more than a century's worth of metamorphosis of the concept of cultural capital, which began in part with early folklore research.

A Weaver's Words

The verb *tejer* means to weave. This action indicates not only weaving together strands of spun wool, but also different forms of work involved in rural life. This art form pertains mainly to Mapuche women (hence *tejedora*, not *tejedor*), although some men also weave. Women like Doña Marcelina Nahuel often also raise sheep, and do all the dying of the wool in their own homes by boiling the leaves and bark of local plants. In short, weaving is closely linked to several other aspects of rural life and work, meaning

that it is most commonly practiced in rural homes. Maintaining the *campo* (farm) is a complex undertaking that requires women and men in the countryside to maximize the resources at hand. Having a tejedora in the family increases both prestige and economic opportunity. Most houses in the Mapuche comunidades of rural Araucanía are simpler than those in the cities. Some have wooden floors with space under the thin planks, and these structures resonate like soft drums as people walk about them. Others have concrete floors and thin carpeting, which mute the sound of footsteps within, but still echo the raindrops that fall steadily on the corrugated rooftops from April until November.

The rain pounded on the roof of Marcelina Nahuel's house in the Lincay sector, south of the small city of Nueva Imperial, one September afternoon in 2010 when I went to visit her, accompanied by three of her daughters. Sitting at the head of her large dining table, doña Marcelina began telling about her long life by explaining that in her early youth, people came around attacking the Mapuche, trying to kill them. By the time of our interview, she was in her late eighties, yet her daughters clarified that she still talks about those early brushes with violence so that people understand why it is so difficult to earn her trust.

I suffered, because when my grandmother said, "They're coming" . . . they'd lock you up in the house. At that time, a person had a *ruka* (a traditional house with a grass roof). This [she pointed to the modern house surrounding her] they didn't build this yet. And I hid . . . with my grandmother. Nothing but rukas. We built a fire, and we put it out, because they were coming after us to kill us. At night they went around. At night they checked up on all the Mapuche, because the Mapuche were too numerous, lazy, they said. They had to be killed . . . I was a girl . . . I was about ten years old. So that's why I don't trust Chileans much . . .

I didn't even spin wool before I went to Santiago, because my grandmother didn't let me spin . . . but later I went to Santiago, when I was eleven. I went to work there. My brother came looking for me [here in

the south], because I was suffering, like I say, scared, full of fear . . . “It’s not going to get any better here,” my older brother told me, and he took me to Santiago, and there I went to work. I met a really kind lady there, and she taught me a lot . . . in Santiago I learned to weave. I worked there, I married there, I was working [there] for eighteen years.

And then I returned [to the south] because my mother in-law said that her favorite son was my husband. So she cried, “Come back, stay here by my side . . . soon I am going to die” . . . And I felt sorry for her. So I said to him, “Let’s go back home, when we can.” And that’s how we came back. I came first alone, with the children . . . to a ruka that my brother in-law made . . .

And . . . my husband worked, he worked the land . . . we harvested a lot. After that my mother in-law was happy, but she didn’t last long, soon she died . . . and my husband, while he was grieving, he also fell ill. I wanted to go back to Santiago again, because I said, “What kind of work am I going to do here, if one day my husband dies?”

I began to weave here . . . Nearly every week I sold ponchos, *lamas* (decorative weavings) . . . So, for a long time I maintained myself on that . . . on weaving, on wool, wool that was of quality, so that I could sell [my weavings] . . . Later my husband died, with seven kids here . . .

Ah, what was I going to do? I would simply have to look after them. So, I began to work, I mean really hard, with the wool, and I planted a little bit as well, a half [hectare] . . . my youngest son was two years old, very small. So I thought, how am I going to feed them? But, I gave them education. I hadn’t had that in my childhood, of course. I never knew how to read or write, nothing. [I wove] by eye, nothing more, only looking. I never studied. But with my head I work, all with my head. And these kids grew up there, and I put them in school. (Nahuel 2010)

Doña Marcelina was a mother and grandmother, and a master of Mapuche weaving, including all of its related tasks. Weaving did not earn her large amounts of money, although it did bring her steady income. She was considered by many the bearer of highly valued wisdom and skills, and her weavings are widely appreciated. Now, three of her daughters are also master weavers. For complex reasons, the economic opportunities and social status for weavers are in some instances quite different now than from when Doña Marcelina began weaving. The explanation for this change begins with a discussion of

the emerging place in modern Chile of indigenous art forms and representations of indigeneity, which I open by tackling the concept of folklore.

Folklore and the Social Order

The development of the field and concept of folklore initially had as much to do with seeking authentic bases for national identities in Europe, as it did with taming wild lands and peoples in the Americas and other areas of the globe. During their prolonged independence, the “legibility” of the native Araucanians revolved principally around their social organization and military capacity, whereas after the last round of all-out wars, a wider array of details about their lives entered into the scope of concerted investigation as well. While foreigners’ humanistic interests in the Mapuche extend back to the work of the *cronistas* (chroniclers) of the Spanish colonial period, systematic study of their culture and expressions has occurred principally in the twentieth and twenty-first centuries. As a result, Mapuche music, for example, apparently remained vague or unknown to most people living north of Araucanía, until it burst into popular culture with considerable impact, nearly at mid-century. Yet, rather than a sense of cultural liberation, this irruption marked the transfer of indigenous cultural production and cultural identity into the realm of materials whose management was central to relations of power, and to maintaining the social order.

Backtracking a bit, it is worth examining folklore itself, which from the late eighteenth century onward, has encompassed a slippery yet powerful concept referring to the intellectual quest for an inner moral or even spiritual fabric to elevate national

identities. At the same time, folklore has served as a basis for comparing the levels of development and inherent virtues of non-Western societies, in the gaze of inquisitive Westerners. To approach the politics of folklore in Chile, it is worth briefly examining this progression.³³ Since its beginnings, folklore has carried with it a unique, confounding ambiguity, standing for, in Richard Dorson's words, "both a field of learning and the whole subject matter of that field" (1972: 1-2). The term, folklore or folk-lore, appeared in 1846, coined by William Thoms to replace "popular antiquities" in circles of English intellectuals curious about the expressive and material culture of the lower classes. Dan Ben-Amos writes that Thoms "unwittingly opened a Pandora's box . . . propos[ing] a name to an as yet unborn, or worse, ill-formed, concept . . . The wider is the acceptance of the term, the vaguer becomes the concept of folklore" (1981: 29, see also Ben-Amos 1972). Despite folklore's importance as an academic field, and its role as a counterweight to the canonical Western traditions of art and poetry, the consternation of Dorson and Ben-Amos stems in part from folklore's role in fraught nationalist projects during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.

The similar German concept of *Volkskunde* appeared as of 1812 in the publications of the Brothers Grimm (Ben-Amos 1981; Dorson 1972: 1-2). The German

³³ In his 1971 book entitled *Arte popular chilena* (Chilean popular art), renowned cultural critic Tomás Lago writes, under the heading, "Folklore: what the people know, and what is known about the people": "There was no interest among last century's civilization in lending importance to the primitive abilities of the popular classes until such an impetus was expressed in the knowledge and study of *folklore*. It happens that this science did not exist with its own name until 1846, when it was first used in London, to signal the importance of understanding 'the traditional knowledge of the uneducated classes that exist in civilized nations.' With respect to this concept the terms *folklore* and *volkskunde* emerged, referring to what the people know, and what one can know about their knowledge" (1971: 13).

term grew out of the influence of Johann Gottfried Herder, the eighteenth-century poet, philosopher and theologian who sought beauty and truth in the language of common people. Regina Bendix summarizes the sentiments motivating Herder's enormous research into oral art forms: "The only origin [of language] for Herder could lie in the peculiar, inventive nature of human beings, and if there had to be a divine origin for language, then it was because God had made human beings in such a way that they could not help but invent it" (1997: 36). Such thinking attributed the same mystical, originary capacities to peasants as to anyone with an education and social status. All people inherently participated in a profound, ongoing process of creation. In the eighteenth century, this stance was iconoclastic in the face of the aristocratic dominion over intellectual discourses.

Furthermore, as Bendix notes, Herder and his likeminded contemporaries "continued the poetic revolt, expanding the legitimating of sentiment within the domain of artistic language" (1997: 36). She refers to debates at the time, which had a considerable impact on the formation of a new social order, concerning whether truth sprang from the poetic or the rational. Pre-Enlightenment Western philosophy had located absolute truth primarily in the divine. Then, with the emergence of the democratic principles underpinning the revolutions in North America and France (and, to an extent, in Central and South America slightly later), new kinds of social truths displaced the seldom questioned authority of divine doctrine. At the same time, German and British folk poetry had commenced gaining admiration as evidence of authentic headwaters of modern culture in their respective regions. According to people like Herder, this

wellspring resided neither in the divine nor in the new revolutionary truths, but rather in the deep history of the regions' inhabitants. Bendix writes, "In German-speaking Europe . . . revolution was delayed as political arguments were absorbed and intertwined into other concerns, such as the discourse on the poetic . . . The poetic revolt contested Enlightenment assumptions, which held that neither poetry nor art, as products of fiction, could contain ultimate truths" (1997: 28). While the "Enlightenment assumptions" eventually won out when it came to precise rules of government, the idea of the folkloric essence of peoples proved immensely influential throughout the period of post-Enlightenment romantic nationalisms. Perhaps contrary to their expectations, the early folklorists managed to insert artistic production and cultural investigation directly into the crucible where modern political ideologies and national identities crystallized.

Nonetheless, a dichotomy had taken shape in the West, between the folkloric and spiritual on the one hand, and the scientific, rational and empirical on the other. Folklore emerged during the late eighteenth century, concurrent with the new scientific disciplines that, as Foucault explains (1978: 136-143), displaced death from the basic experience of life. While this displacement was subtle, and perhaps restricted to certain social classes, it nonetheless opened the way for new forms of collective self-reflection, which precipitated modern national identities, along with debates concerning access to the new resources availed by scientific advances. The technological and industrial revolutions that accompanied the Enlightenment ushered in a sense of limitless possibility, characterized in its extremes by different types of utopianism, social Darwinism, and eugenics. Based originally in the pursuit of poetic authenticity, folklore remained an outsider concept to

the prevailing trends of empiricism that guided modern development. In other words, once named into existence as a category (by Herder, the Grimms, Thoms, and so forth), folklore and things considered folkloric were immediately valorized, but also marginalized from the epistemic categories guiding imperialist expansion, the search for new markets, and the founding of new republics. Stemming initially from its relationship to empiricism, folklore's simultaneous valorization and marginalization remain key to its place in twenty-first century democracies, with Chile offering a particularly vivid example.

Thus folklore and the arts developed their role in modern *realpolitik*. As Theodor Adorno (2002[1945]) points out, the intense priority on scientific advancement, plus the rise of materialism in the early twentieth century, imperiled the traditions of humanism in Germany and other countries. The arts in general, wrote Adorno, had joined the side of the dichotomy containing the folkloric and the spiritual, losing status as a source of truth, but remaining available for manipulation by political movements. He writes of the “decultivation” of the German middle classes, who in the nineteenth century had experienced a deep engagement with music, poetry and philosophy, but whose children in subsequent decades appreciated such things mainly for their entertainment value, as objects of consumption. Adorno understood humanism as the “most substantial counter-tendency against violent nationalism” (2002[1945]: 378), and its deterioration signaled an important precondition for fascism. The Nazis, in turn, made great fodder of their own deranged brand of folklore, whose roots tapped the Wagnerian soil that had buried humanism.

All of the above amounts to a framework for understanding the relationship between folklore and the workings of power in Western modernity. In Latin America, folklore remains closely linked to authenticity. Furthermore, things folkloric remain objects of appropriation and manipulation by political forces. The rest of this chapter outlines a long process of political empowerment, and the role in that process of performative expressions of cultural identity that today often fall under the rubric of the folkloric, or the reconstructive.

What is the value of folklore today? Pierre Bourdieu's concept of capital in the formation of social classes (Bourdieu 1987; Mendoza 2000: 15) is helpful here.³⁴ The French sociologist argued that social classes represent more than one-dimensional, statistical categories, such as numbers of people sharing income levels. Rather, social classes account for the possession of economic, cultural (or informational), social, and symbolic capital, and the ways in which these forms of capital interact in people's lives over time, "according to their *trajectory* in social space" (1987: 4).³⁵ Like the variables in

³⁴ Anthropologist Zoila Mendoza (2000) cites Bourdieu on this topic in her study of highland Peruvian dance troupes who perform different aspects of indigenous and mestizo culture during patron saint festivals, thereby asserting their positions in society.

³⁵ In a lecture from 1987 entitled "What makes a social class?: on the theoretical and practical existence of groups," Bourdieu said, "In a social universe . . . these fundamental social powers are, according to my empirical investigations, firstly *economic* capital, in its various kinds; secondly *cultural* capital or better, informational capital, again in its different kinds; and thirdly two forms of capital that are strongly correlated, *social* capital, which consists of resources based on connections and group membership, and *symbolic* capital, which is the form the different types of capital take once they are perceived and recognized as legitimate. Thus agents are distributed in the overall social space, in the first dimension according to the global *volume* of capital they possess, in the second dimension according to the *composition* of their capital, that is, according to the relative weight in their overall capital of the various forms of capital, especially economic and cultural, and in the third dimension according to the evolution in time of the volume

a multidimensional mathematical model, these composite factors in determining social class each affect each other's values. What does this idea have to do with folklore? I argue that folklore represents a process through which cultural production and cultural identity from different sectors of society gain value by interacting with other societal elements. Scholarly valorization comprises one such element, and political mobilization by indigenous groups another. Over time, people possessing the forms of capital associated with cultural production or cultural identity that have been folklorized, so to speak, also gain capital associated with, in this case, scholarly attention or political mobilization.

Folklore today tends to serve social movements, neoliberal projects, or both. In George Yúdice's words, culture in our century "is the lynchpin of a new epistemic framework in which ideology and much of what Foucault called disciplinary society . . . are absorbed into an economic or ecological rationality, such that management, conservation, access, distribution, and investment . . . take priority" (2003: 1). Culture thus ranks alongside natural resources as an asset to spur development. As Brian Turner notes, "The nature/culture dichotomy becomes increasingly blurred and remote in societies characterized by urbanization, secularization and scientific [development]" (2008[1984]: 103). Put slightly differently, culture—a category into which, in governmental terms, folklore fits neatly—has accumulated different forms of value over the course of the twentieth and early twenty-first centuries, to the point where, as Yúdice

and composition of their capital, that is, according to their *trajectory* in social space" (1987: 4).

also indicates, it “is invoked to solve problems that were previously the province of economics and politics” (2003: 1).

In the current moment in democratic Chile, representations of the authenticity of ethnic minorities are remarkably important to political processes, even if the positivistic debates about nationhood that Herder proposed have faded into the historical backdrop of a polyvocal, postmodern landscape. Precisely against this backdrop, rather than the quasi-divine roots of expression, a key, coveted representation is that of the historically marginalized, preferably rural, ethnic minority. Reflected clearly in cultural policy, this gradual transition from positivism, to pluralism and multiculturalism, signals an important philosophical change between the Enlightenment and the current era.

Chile boasts a vibrant nationalist tradition of folkloric music and dance, plus various styles representing different regions and minority groups. Designating forms of art and expression, and indeed entire human populations, as folkloric, demarcates the symbolic terrain along which Chilean society examines its own composite cultures and subcultures, and negotiates their inclusion and exclusion. As Dorson and Ben-Amos note, definitions of folklore, already vague, broaden as time passes. On the one hand, nationalist folklore validates and highlights aspects of criollo and mestizo identity, which serve as the bases for a hegemonic national identity.³⁶ Nationalist folklore foregrounds the relationship between the *patrón* (landowner), women, and *inquilinos* (workers) on the old haciendas, romanticizing a period of iron-fisted colonization that was at once sexual,

³⁶ For parallel discussions concerning the relationship between folkloric music and dance, and ethnicity and class in Peru, see Thomas Turino’s work on migration and altiplano music performance (1984, 1993), and Zoila Mendoza’s books about the role of folklore in the planning of modern Peru (2008), and ritual dance troupes (2000).

racial, economic and territorial. On the other hand, folklore offers a framework for thinking about the cultures of minority groups, for whom the designation offers a bulwark against racism and outright erasure, but also tends to portray them as static. Next, I will examine folklore as a designation of the Mapuche, and as a broad category articulating with popular music, in both cases with attention to how the concept re-presents class and ethnic relations.

The Mapuche as Folkloric Society-object

In the charter document of the *Sociedad de Folklore Chileno* (Society for Chilean Folklore), founded in Santiago in 1909, ethnologist and folklorist Rodolfo Lenz wrote:

Folklore is a branch of *ethnology*. Ethnology investigates the laws and formation of humanity with the object of presenting a framework for understanding its psychic life. It does not focus on the thinking of the individual, but rather on the collective thinking of peoples . . . It is man as a “social being,” as a product of the culture and of the society that surrounds him, that forms the object of ethnology. (1909: 5)

Lenz, a renowned researcher and collector of Chilean oral literature, was a German expatriot bearing the influence of German folklorists, whom he considered leaders in theory and methodology.³⁷ Lenz concerned himself with cultivating a professional society of researchers in Chile, capable of documenting and demonstrating universal characteristics of humankind that other branches of philosophy had failed to pinpoint (1909: 5-6). Ethnology was, in sum, a cutting edge discipline and an essential piece of

³⁷ In this same founding document of the Society for Chilean Folklore, Lenz (1909: 5) cites as a key influence the 1903 book by the German folklorist Dr. R.F. Kaindl, entitled *Die volkskunde, ihre bedeutung, ihre ziele und ihre methode* (Folklore, its importance, its aims and its methods).

modern thinking, designed in part to integrate disparate social and ethnic groups into the nation. The vocabulary of ethnologists' society-objects was folklore.

Two years later, in the introductory chapter to his detailed monograph entitled *Folklore araucano*, Tomás Guevara recalled:

. . . a phenomenon widely proven by researchers concerning the Araucanian race, [which] is that an indigenous youth who is half-educated, who stays two or three years in school, loses any trace of education and experiences a complete regression to the habits of barbarism upon returning to their natural environment.

The influence of education on the indigenous is irrefutable; but its effects manifest themselves in a very slow manner, because the hereditary tendencies persist for a long time. (1911: 4)

Guevara went on to propose, in a tone ringing of cultural evolutionary or diffusionist thinking, a differential form of education for Araucanian children. Ironically, while asserting biological and psychological differences between indigenous and non-indigenous members of Chilean society, he foreshadowed a debate about education simmering now, a century later, regarding whether or not, and to what degree, Mapuche children ought to have their own language and cosmology involved in their school curriculum.³⁸

This concern, which speaks to the author's work as an educator, also reflects a gradual shift from viewing the Mapuche as military adversaries, to viewing them as a different kind of people who nonetheless require integration or assimilation into national life, albeit in a subordinate position. Indeed, Guevara's writing represents the state of

³⁸ Of course, the argument for intercultural education now finds its base in a multicultural social contract, itself based partly in the negation of biological differences along ethnic lines, and in a carefully expressed cultural relativism underlying state policies toward the Mapuche.

research about the Mapuche some twenty years after the *Pacificación de la Araucanía*. If he was a cultural evolutionist or a diffusionist, then we can only assume that he was up to date on his theory and methodology. In 1911, the social sciences were a long way from the decolonizing, self-reflexive discourses that permeate them today. Rather, as Héctor Nahuelpán reminds, the social sciences inherited the legibility of the Mapuche (and other groups), and the forms of thinking about and exploiting them, from the colonial project's heavy use of documentation, all of which predated modern academia in Chile.³⁹

Folklore araucano contains detailed descriptions of refrains and proverbs, stories, songs, silversmithing, basket-weaving, pottery, cooking, greetings, invocations, fishing, riddles, and even psychology. The author describes the contexts of songs and verbal art forms, primarily in the family home, and in religious settings such as the nguillatún. He concludes that the Mapuche have an extensive oral literature, and that their refrains and proverbs function similarly to those of other cultures. Biography and family traditions encompass common themes in the oral literature he examined, as do ancestors' exploits and feats of battle, political conflicts, onomatopoeia, metaphoric references to animals, and legends of malignant spirits. Guevara conceded that many of the expressions he

³⁹ An anomaly in the colonial and early republican-era practices of gathering information about the Mapuche in order to more adequately antagonize them, is the book entitled *Cautiverio feliz y razón individual de las guerras dilatadas del reino de Chile* (The happy captive and the specific reason for the dilated wars in the kingdom of Chile). The volume was written in 1673 by Francisco Núñez de Pineda y Bascuñan, a Chilean colonial military officer who fell prisoner to the Mapuche for the better part of a year, and contrary to his initial expectation, enjoyed a peaceful and harmonious stay in their territory. As historian Sergio San Martín writes, "His farewell was accompanied by a great deal of sorrow, tears and beautiful words of friendship and affection" (1997: 12). Pineda y Bascuñan's account is an important source for Tomás Guevara's book, *Folklore araucano*, among other early analyses of Araucanian life.

encountered escape the understanding of cultural outsiders. However, he argued that the songs and oral literature that he did find clearly intelligible shared many parallels with oral literature in Chilean Spanish, reflecting the universal characteristics that he and other researchers sought. He understood proverbs and refrains as the documents of a moral code, from which he deduced that the Mapuche sense no clear difference between good and bad, but rather adhere to an obligation to act in the interest of the group, and that their principle taboo or prohibition applies to witchcraft.

One of Guevara's more interesting claims sheds light on the relationship between folklore and the social order in early twentieth century Chile. He at once admired the Mapuche for their proverbs and refrains, and credited their virtuosity wielding these expressions to their lack of development: "This particular form of expressing thoughts articulates perfectly with the ceremonious character of the Araucanian, and with his rudimentary state of culture, since the refrain and the traditional phrases are used more extensively in partially developed societies than in the more advanced ones" (1911: 9). Guevara probably wrote in the context of the perceived gulf between the folkloric and the rational, described in the preceding paragraphs. Still, he made a unique, concerted effort at gaining a better understanding of his Mapuche neighbors.

Musical Folklore in Chilean Society, and the Dance of Gender, Race and Class

In 1912, a year after the publication of *Folklore araucano*, educator and researcher Ismael Parraguez defined musical folklore for the Sociedad de Folklore Chileno, as "that [music] that a people generates by itself" (cited in González y Rolle

2005: 371).⁴⁰ Parraguez's definition reflects how the criteria of authenticity distinguished musical folklore from popular music more broadly. As Chile, or more appropriately Santiago, grew increasingly cosmopolitan, print media and the nascent music recording industry contributed to the construction of a national identity colored by the songs and dances of an older, agrarian way of life. That older way of life pertained to the hacienda system of the *zona central* (central zone), meaning that constructions of authentic national music and dance had complex implications for class and ethnic relations. Additionally, nostalgia lay at the root of musical folklore, rendering the authentic at once illusive and beckoning. For instance, Juan Pablo González and Claudio Rolle point out that, as early as 1910, music critics asked despairingly where *cueca*, then the unofficial national dance, had gone, and why people only danced and sang cueca during the yearly *Fiestas Patrias* (independence celebrations) (2005: 363).⁴¹

Cueca is a genre of both music and dance, historically parallel and similar in musical structure to the *tonada*, a softer-sounding, rural song genre with no corresponding dance. *Cueca típica* (typical cueca) features a stomping, 6/8 rhythm, heavy-handed guitar strumming, tight vocal harmonies, and accompaniment on accordion, harp, *pandeiro* (a uniquely Chilean hexagonal tambourine), and a small,

⁴⁰ González and Rolle cite Parraguez's 1912 book, *Compendio de la historia de la música i biografía de los músicos* (Compendium of the history of music and biography of musicians), in which he elaborates upon this definition.

⁴¹ It is worth noting that cueca is but one permutation of a series of dances considered central to Chilean culture during the colonial and early republican periods. *Zamacueca*, originating in Peru, and *cuando* are often mentioned as antecedents, which during the mid-nineteenth century gave way to cueca (see Dannemann 1975). More than the veracity or actual authenticity of cueca, what concerns the present writing is the value of the ascription of authenticity to the genre, and the symbolism it carries.

wooden, table-shaped percussion instrument called a *tormento*. Urban cueca, often called *cueca chora* (literally, cueca of the port cities), normally includes piano or upright bass. The choreography of the cueca típica is highly formalized, revolving around the dancers' mirrored, semi-circular patterns of steps, called *medialunas* (half-moons). In formal contexts, the male dancer almost invariably dons the regalia of a *huaso*, akin to an aristocratic cowboy or country gentleman, with a tightly woven manta, riding boots (with spurs for advanced dancers), tight, dark-colored pants, and a *chupalla* (a circular, wide-brimmed, Córdoba-style hat). The woman usually either dresses as a *china* (pronounced “cheena”), in a floral dress, representing an indigenous, peasant girl, or as a *huasa*, the feminine counterpart to the male huaso. During the dance, the man postures before the woman, and the two scarcely touch. He executes a strong, precise *zapateo* (stomping pattern), unabashedly exhibiting his masculinity in order to *conquistar* (conquer or enamor) his counterpart. Meanwhile, the female dancer complements the male's role, with her softer footfall, elegant turns and expectant glances. Each dancer carries a handkerchief, which they wave at one another, approximating caresses at the most intimate points of the dance, depending on how well they work together.⁴²

Cueca's gorgeous visual display—the flowing dress, the imposing manta, chupalla and boots, the quick footwork, the masculine expressions of virility and

⁴² While highly standardized, cueca has its variants. Cueca chora, historically situated in urban music joints, involves different references to class and gender, expressed in the music by a more strident vocal style, and in the dance by less aggressive footwork, and clothing that nearly resembles that of Argentinian tango. The male part in *cueca típica* can also be performed by a *roto* (literally, broken), who wears sandals, wool socks, ragged clothing, and typically dances as a drunk, sometimes even involving a bottle in his choreography.

precision, the batting eyelashes and twirling handkerchiefs—are brimming with symbolism. In recent years, the colorful china dress has more or less eclipsed the stoic huasa outfit in popularity among female dancers. China is an informal designation for women and girls who are partly or completely indigenous. The term refers to the supposedly slanted eyes and darker skin of indigenous Chileans, likened with the stereotypical features of Asians, who are often generalized in Latin America under the term china (feminine) or chino (masculine), regardless of their actual ethnicity or nationality.⁴³ The deliberate obfuscation of categories in this common terminology speaks volumes, and raises even more questions, about the place of indigenous women on the hacienda, where they apparently enjoy(ed) a social status comparable with that of the Chinese. Following Diane Nelson’s concept, like a prosthesis, the china herself is marginal, often stowed away, and composed of different materials than the rest of the body (whatever that body is). Her genetics may even be called into question, equated with the Chinese, whose immigrant presence hauls forth a whole range of stigmas. Yet, just as the china does/did indispensable work on the hacienda, she is essential in order to complete a system of meaning. In one sense, she “grounds” (2001: 317) the social relationships among men, who parade their virility via their relationships with her adorned, moving body. Yet, she is more than simply the conduit for male sociability. She is active, embodied and present; she produces pleasure and meaning, and thus constructs the spectacle of the dance, rather than forming a static object within it (2001: 320). In

⁴³ Former Peruvian President Alberto Fujimori is sometimes referred to as *Chinochet*, conflating his Japanese heritage with his authoritarian tactics resembling those of Chilean dictator Augusto Pinochet. I also recall here a rapper from Temuco with quasi-Asian features, whose stage name is Chino, or *Chino Mala Clase* (equivalent to “dirty chink”).

short, there also resides power in this oddly named folkloric construct of indigenous femininity. Perhaps the expanding popularity of her regalia bears lessons for the way Chileans collectively reflect upon the historical legacy of the hacienda.

The male regalia draws on the *rodeo*, a tradition that dates to the hacienda owners' practice of displaying their animals in the plazas of cities and small villages, and holding tournaments to demonstrate their horsemanship and dominion over the bovine. Over time, separate rodeo stadiums evolved, also called *medialunas*, which are similar to rodeo stadiums throughout the Americas.⁴⁴ In a classic anthropological essay about the rodeo, Tomás Lago writes:

It all amounts to a garish combination in which the most luxuriant huasos alternate with beautiful and elegant women. It is impossible not to think about a medieval joust, contemplating the wicker edifice of the medialuna, where a whole ceremony is under way, according to norms that cannot be transgressed. (1953: 134; cited in Skewes 1998: 69)

Anthropologist Juan Carlos Skewes considers the rodeo the longest surviving remnant of the hacienda institutions of the colonial era, whose persistence today results from the ongoing “mode of patriarchal domination” (1998: 70) that the current economic and political systems inherited from the former era.⁴⁵ As Brian Turner notes, “It is possible to conceive of a mode of desire corresponding to every economic mode of production”

⁴⁴ The Chilean rodeo is a particularly repetitive, violent show of skill, in which the well-dressed riders work in pairs to pin relatively small cattle between their horses' chests and the sidewalls of the medialuna. Often, the cows collapse afterward, puffing blood from their nostrils. Usually, musicians play tonadas throughout the rodeo.

⁴⁵ “The rodeo,” argues Skewes, comprises “a ritual event through which the social formation producing it is defined, consecrated and transformed” (1998: 71).

(2008[1984]: 19).⁴⁶ Cueca's choreography ritualizes the ways of the masculine, rural aristocrat, whose strength—sufficient to dominate horses, cattle, and subservient laborers—is counterpoised elegantly by the handkerchief that he uses to convey subtle, physical affection to the female object of his desire, between bouts of insistent zapateo.

The description above applies to an idealized version of cueca, which nonetheless predominates because, just as in 1910, today the genre appears mainly during the Fiestas Patrias. Cueca and tonada do have a solid historical basis in *campesino* (rural) life, where the medialuna and the periodic fiestas generated a time and space in which the social classes mixed, developing their music and dance together. As Skewes notes, the figure of the huaso pertains to both the patrón and the worker. Under the manta, they follow the same choreographed steps, in the rodeo as well as in the dance. The huaso at once evokes the work and sacrifice of the campesino, and the power, recreation and privilege of the patrón (1998: 75), rendering the character's expressions applicable to a wide range of social classes, across a deep expanse of history.⁴⁷

Cueca and tonada earned their indelible place in popular culture through the process that González and Rolle refer to as the “*chilenización*” (Chileanizing) (2005: 364-366) of the nation's territories and cities. From the mid-nineteenth century, through

⁴⁶ Turner draws on the book entitled *The origin of the family, private property and the state* by Engels, who “argued that, within the materialist perspective of history, every society has to produce its means of existence and reproduce its own members. An order of sexuality thus corresponds to an order of property and production. The mode of desire is a set of social relations by which sexual desire is produced, regulated and distributed under a system of kinship, patriarchy and households. These relations of desire determine the eligibility of persons for procreative roles and legitimate sexual unions for the production of persons” (Engels 2000[1884], cited in Turner 2008[1984]: 19-20).

⁴⁷ Skewes draws insights here from Brian Loveman's book entitled *Chile: the legacy of Hispanic capitalism* (2001[1979]).

the military conflicts on the northern borders and in Araucanía, and well into the following decades, the state sent settlers from the zona central to the newly annexed territories, including the southern expanses from Araucanía to Patagonia. At the same time, migrants to Santiago and other cities permanently left behind their rural lifestyles. Both sets of migrants contributed to a market for musical folklore evoking earlier times. Meanwhile, the social and political elite maintained their historic ties with the zona central, and promoted artistic schools of art and literature that romanticized their heritage, parallel with music. Through the periods of nationalism and artistic romanticism, Chile struggled to secure and populate its remote regions, in part by radiating a sense of cultural cohesion from the zona central. In the early twentieth century, while the middle and working classes gained an increasing foothold, the elite continued to promote folklore that symbolized the social order of the hacienda, largely through cueca and tonada. What's more, the old social order persisted in many rural areas of Chile, until the Agrarian Reform of the 1960s, meaning that practitioners of musical folklore today continue to struggle with the weighty legacy of hacienda life that their performance styles represent.



Figure 3.1. Children dancing cueca alongside a military-style brass band, during the local parade for the *Fiestas Patrias* (National Celebrations), in Padre las Casas on September 18, 2008.

Women, Regions, and Minorities Against the Grain of Nationalist Cultural Constructions

Folklore researchers and performers have mitigated these nationalist tendencies. Artists such as Blanca Tejada Ruiz in the 1920s, Derlinda Araya, Esther Martínez, and Petronila Orellana in the 1930s and 40s, and Violeta Parra, Margot Loyola, and Gabriela Pizarro from the mid-twentieth century onward, carried out tremendous projects of investigation and performance that have displaced Chile's national folklore traditions somewhat from their patriarchal associations (González and Rolle 2005: 371). These

women have explored how national traditions of song and dance made their way to distant regions and marginalized groups, inhabiting new contexts along the way. In a recent volume about tonada, Margot Loyola, who is still alive today, writes:

The term *cantora* (female singer) in Chile has an important social connotation, which inevitably directs our attention to the rural areas of the central region of our country . . . The cantora is not inherently different from the rest of the campesina women; rather, she forms part of that same universe, where it falls on a woman to be a little bit of everything: midwife, *rezadora*, *meica*, *santiguadora*, weaver, potter, baker, bonesetter, such that the *canto* (song) is simply part of her life. But above all, the campesina woman is mother and selfless wife, the central thread of the family . . .⁴⁸

Trillas (wheat threshings), *mingacos* (harvest celebrations), and *vendimias* (grape harvests) were frequent places where the cantora was always welcome.⁴⁹ Her presence was also requested at meals and family parties, all of those social spaces that are common but not vulgar, where the cantoras have participated for reasons of social prestige and community solidarity. (2006: 33-38)

Loyola and other prodigious folklorists have demonstrated time and again how women are responsible for perfecting and transmitting the folkloric arts, through their fundamental participation in the rituals of rural life.

Artists from the outlying provinces have also problematized the centralist trend in Chilean folklore. Ethnomusicologist Gregory J. Robinson (2013) describes how, even today, residents of the distant Aysén region of Chilean Patagonia often share more with Argentinian culture than with Chilean culture, due to Aysén's porous border with the

⁴⁸ *Rezadora* refers to a person who prays (in this case, a woman), most likely in a Catholic sense. Chilean Catholics typically use the term *rezar*, referring to ritualistic prayers, as opposed to the term *orar*, commonly associated with Chilean Protestants, which also means to pray, but in a more spontaneous fashion. *Meica* and *santiguadora* refer to ritual specialists who generally treat common illnesses, with practices based in the spiritual syncretism between Catholicism and the indigenous cultures of central and northern Chile.

⁴⁹ I describe in detail the mingaco, or mingako, in Chapter Three.

neighboring country, and its historically insurmountable geographical isolation from Santiago. As a result, the region developed a unique brand of musical folklore bearing a heavy imprint from the Argentinian settlers. When hissed and catcalled for not sounding Chilean during a performance at a folklore festival in the zona central, Eugenio Zúñiga, one of Robinson's interlocutors, rebuked the hostility by describing the isolation his ancestors had suffered from their distant and disinterested compatriots, while their Argentinian neighbors were comparatively more solidary. He addressed the audience: "We're even more Chilean than you yourselves who live here in the central part of the country, because we've suffered the most terrible things . . . in the south of Chile . . . so you can't treat us this way" (2013: 456).

Mapuche music offers another interesting counter-tendency to musical nationalism, glimpsed decades ago through its reception in the capital. Following World War I, Chilean composers began to explore in earnest new musics both at home and abroad. In a recent anthology of articles and essays about music in Chile, Juan Pablo González cites a firsthand account written by composer Carlos Humeres, of a rare appearance of Mapuche musicians at the *Conservatorio Nacional de Música* (National Music Conservatory) in Santiago, in 1928:

Apart from the discordant sounds that the occasional adventuring vagrant from Arauco sometimes makes in our streets, blowing an extremely long bamboo trumpet with a cowhorn bell, which they call "trutruca", we have had no prior evidence to convince us of the existence of Araucanian music.⁵⁰

⁵⁰ The name *Arauco* technically refers to the coastal province of Arauco in the Biobío region, north of Araucanía. However, in folklore and popular culture, Arauco refers broadly to Araucanía and Mapuche territory. Later examples of the name's use in this dissertation include Violeta Parra's song "Arauco tiene una pena" (Arauco has a

A fortunate circumstance has just provided us an answer. The composer Humberto Allende, designated by the Government to represent our country in the “Congress of Popular Arts”, which will take place soon in Prague, managed to bring from Temuco a group of natives to record some discs that he will take as documents on his mission.

This [concert] was a true revelation, plainly convincing even the most skeptical. There is indeed among the Araucanians a music that is perfectly organized . . .

And most surprising was that this art possesses a subtle and refined character, which one would not expect from a people like those of Arauco, whom history has consistently classified as essentially rude and combative . . .

It is the art of a race that, from our point of view, we call primitive because their culture gravitates toward an environment immensely far from our own, but that reveals that it possesses a perfect sense of beauty, perhaps resulting from a forgotten past about which we know nothing . . .

What ideas crossed their minds in front of so many faces that contemplated them curiously from the audience, while the presenter, in an incomprehensible language, referred to them as a naturalist would, applying a magnifying glass to a rare insect he has just trapped? (1928: 445-446, cited in Varas and González 2005: 157-158)

Humeres also notes that the “enigmatic bards” did not respond to the applause, and simply left the hall when they had finished playing. In contrast to the amicable, if paternalistic sentiments of people like Tomás Guevara, well into the twentieth century external perceptions of the Mapuche were tainted by the prolonged, brutal conflict, with surprisingly little positive intercultural exchange. In several years’ time, though, distinctively Mapuche sounds would gain newfound attention, complicating the cultural milieu associated with dominant, early twentieth-century political ideologies.

sadness), and a 2010 television special called “¿Guerrilla en Arauco?” (Local war in Arauco?).

Musical Reverberations of the Turmoil in the 1930s: Indigenismo, Exoticism and Homage

The years of the Frente Popular were few, yet they mark an opening in both politics and popular culture for new, progressive voices. For instance, poets Gabriela Mistral and Pablo Neruda forthrightly supported the coalition, whose blossoming contrasted with global indices of poverty in the 1930s, and with the violence and repression against artists and intellectuals during other crises such as the Spanish Civil War.⁵¹

Mapuche music drew newfound attention from its study by composers Carlos Isamitt and Carlos Lavín, who initiated the tradition of Chilean *indigenista* art music composition based on Mapuche elements, principally between the 1920s and the 40s. As Juan Pablo González explains in a key article on this subject (1993), Lavín delved into Parisian archives containing early sound recordings of indigenous music from the Americas, in search of defining musical characteristics, while Isamitt spent nearly seven years immersed with the Mapuche in Araucanía, closely listening to their music and transcribing it. Both composers successfully isolated aspects they could incorporate into their compositional styles, such as tetrachords played on the *trutruka*, and the superimposition of ternary phrases over binary forms, characteristic of rhythms used for dances. González writes that Isamitt “managed to overcome with astuteness and patience the natural reticence of the Mapuche to give information to a foreigner” (1993: 85), while Lavín, with his removed form of investigation, propagated a stereotypical view of the

⁵¹ For a discussion of writings by Neruda and other literary figures about the Mapuche, see Johanna Crow’s recent book, *The Mapuche in modern Chile* (2013).

Mapuche. Nonetheless, these two composers ushered into the Chilean compositional repertoire a new set of techniques, and a genuine admiration for Mapuche music. González observes that indigenista composition tapered off following this initial period. However, toward the end of the century, and into the twenty-first, “having exceeded the initial phases of imitation and assimilation [of indigenous elements], [and] of the unconditional acceptance of European aesthetic postulates, a more critical relationship emerged [among Chilean composers] with the European artistic tradition” (1993: 88). Today, work by composers such as Eduardo Cáceres exemplifies the current state of this area of Chilean composition (see Díaz 2008).

In the meantime, in the 1940s the composer Fernando Lecaros popularized a genre called *Mapuchina*, which essentially consisted of salon or concert hall music depicting the Mapuche, in late vestiges of the previous century’s musical romanticism. The Mapuche remained a distant, native ethnicity for most of Lecaros’s urban audience, but one which generated increasing fascination as they persisted well into the twentieth century. The music conveyed this status, at times incorporating lyrics in Mapuzugun, with swooping melodies sung by sopranos, and orchestral accompaniment. In their discussion of Lecaros’s song entitled “A Motu Yanei” (in Mapuzugun, “India, because I’m dark”), González and Rolle point to the use of a 6/8 rhythm depicting the kultrún, and a descending, Phrygian tetrachord found both in Mapuche *ülkantun*, and in other types of Chilean music depicting the Mapuche. On the heels of the Massacre at Ránquil, González and Rolle note, music by cultural outsiders was key to the “management of indigenous alterity,” classifying the Mapuche as brave, defeated warriors, whose present condition

stemmed more from their treatment by the Chilean state than from their own internal problems (2005: 404-408).

In the dramatic 1948 performance of “A Motu Yanei” by soprano Rosita Serrano, the singer’s virtuosity and soaring tremolos eclipse the noble message of the song, recalling Mapuche music, but also the programmatic tradition of the romantic era. Interestingly, Serrano became a major star in Germany during the 1930s and 40s, by performing Chilean songs to her own masterful guitar accompaniment; whereas in Chile she depicted the exotic, in Germany she was the exotic. A 2012 documentary by Pablo Berthelon chronicles Serrano’s relationship with the Third Reich, which embraced and promoted her, and filled stadiums for her concerts, before expelling her in 1943 for performing in Sweden at a benefit for Jews (Berthelon 2012). Serrano’s captivating stage presence demonstrates how performative constructions of South American cultures simultaneously played a role in Chile’s democratic governing projects (such as in the era of the Frente Popular), and in Nazi Germany’s problematic artistic panorama. The insertion of ethnic and cultural minority representations into the discursive and performative repertoires of twentieth-century political movements indicates certain positive trends toward social justice and plurality. More to the point, though, the transition from the prior century’s nationalisms, to the modernist projects culminating in the Second World War and the crises of the 1960s and 70s, involved the development of new forms of potent, malleable cultural capital, in which the performing arts and representations of ethnic minorities continued to play a key role.

Meanwhile, around South America, forms of Andean music had begun arriving to the nightclubs of cities such as Lima and Buenos Aires since the 1920s. As Fernando Rios (2008) explains, twentieth-century popular music often drew on the folklorized musical expressions of the Andes, contributing to a modern cultural identity that articulated with the glorious Inca past. By the 1940s and 50s, Bolivian, Peruvian and Chilean artists established themselves in Europe, most notably in Paris, to the point where exiled Chilean performers of *nueva canción* in the 1970s encountered in Europe a deep-seated appreciation for their music. Andean sounds thus became global and cosmopolitan during these decades of upheaval, accompanied by the progressive political views of the urbanites who sympathized with the plight of South America's indigenous and campesino communities. It is important to note the parallel rise in the popularity of Andean music, and Chile's powerful, leftist *indigenista* ideology. Better than any other music genre, *nueva canción* illustrates this relationship, meaning that the borderland between *nueva canción* and Araucanian musical expressions (which are not distinctly Andean, but rather Mapuche) bears many lessons about the precarious, charged relationship between the Mapuche and the Chilean left.

Along these lines, it is also worth noting a pointed musical reaction to the Massacre at Ránquil, the *Cantata Ránquil 1934*, composed in 2012 by Patricio Kunz Obreque, and performed by the group *Cabildo Nuevo* (meaning New Council).⁵² The cantata features gripping narration of the events, with considerable poetic license, incorporating the winds of Lonquimay and the impassioned shouts of the activists

⁵² A *cabildo* was a colonial institution dating to the early days of the Conquista, which represented local elites before the Spanish crown.

credited with organizing the uprising. The narration intersperses different sections of song, typically in three or more male voices, accompanied by guitar, Mapuche instruments such as the *trutruka*, Andean instruments such as the *charango* (small lute), *zampoña* (pan flute) and *quena* (end notch cane flute), as well as a variety of Western percussion instruments. The blending of Chilean-style guitar *punteo* (finger-picking) and *rasgeo* (strumming), with the *trutruka*, and the use of 6/8 rhythms corresponds with a general approach to Mapuche-Chilean fusion music best articulated by the Araucanian rock bands Tierra Oscura and Pewmayén, whose work I describe in chapters three and four. The cantata also builds on the *nueva canción* format pioneered by Quilapayún and Inti-Illimani (both with the artistic direction of Victor Jara), featuring one or two rows of evenly spaced men in indigenous ponchos, foregrounding theatrical stage presence. The *Cantata Popular Santa María de Iquique*, composed by Luis Advis in 1969, and popularized by the group Quilapayún, memorializes a Massacre of miners in the northern city of Iquique in 1907. This cantata brings to bear similar elements as the *Cantata Ránquil 1934*, and represents the predecessor to Kunz Obreque's work. Both of these cantatas unite indigenous and mestizo sounds, while appropriating weighty nomenclature from the Western canon (cantata), to soberly and dramatically recall collective traumas that ignited Chile's modern social movements. Regarding how symbolic aspects of Mapuche culture became intertwined with social movements and popular culture during the early twentieth century, the mayhem of the 1930s made way for political ideologies and artistic expressions that have played critical roles in the unresolved territorial disputes of the intervening decades.

Nueva Canción: Crystallizing the Role of Music in Political Struggle

Around mid-century, Chilean folkloric and popular music styles began to figure more centrally in political debates and outright conflicts, culminating in the role of musicians in the deeply polarized events of the 1960s, 70s and 80s. An anecdote illustrates this polarization. In her book about her life with the great Chilean musician Victor Jara, Joan Jara recounts an incident in 1969, when Victor and poet Jaime Guzman were invited to perform at the elite *Colegio San Jorge* (San Jorge School) in Santiago:

He felt the atmosphere becoming tenser and more polarised between one section of the audience and another. The students were beginning to show their real feelings, some applauding loudly, others hissing and shouting until a fist fight broke out in the gallery. There was a great deal of confusion upstairs and Victor stopped and asked for quiet, to be allowed to finish the recital, suggesting that afterwards there might be a discussion. Insults were shouted at him from the gallery.

“El aparecido” was sung against the noise of growing conflict and he again pleaded for reason rather than violence, being answered with shouts of “communist,” “subversive” and strings of obscenities. Then he became really furious and went straight into the song which expressed his feelings most strongly at that time, “Preguntas por Puerto Montt.”⁵³ As he sang, a large stone, flung from the gallery with great force, hit him in the chest and bounced off his guitar. Then a shower of stones rained on to the stage, one grazing Jaime’s head. Victor stood up as a group of students began running down the aisle with the obvious intention of storming the stage. Other students and teachers rushed to form a protective wall around the performers and to try and stop the others from climbing onto the stage. (1984: 127-128)

⁵³ “El aparecido” (The apparition) is Victor Jara’s song in homage to Che Guevara, written shortly after Che’s death. Jara wrote “Preguntas por Puerto Montt” (Questions for Puerto Montt) following a police massacre of impoverished civilians occupying an open space where they had set up a temporary encampment, in the southern city of Puerto Montt in 1969. The aggression left seven dead, including an infant, and dozens injured (Jara 1984: 124-125)

How did music become so integrated in conflict? The following paragraphs briefly address this question in the context of *nueva canción*. Along with a profound new sense of mestizo poetics and musicality, *nueva canción* encapsulates strong reactions to the colonization of folklore by the political establishment. In this contested arena, the Chilean right contended with Jara, Quilapayún, Inti-Illimani, Patricio Manns, Rolando Alarcón, Isabel and Ángel Parra, the legacy of Violeta Parra, Xaraxú, and many others. The musicians had the advantage of having developed a potent, international movement in the 1960s, before the intense repression began in the 70s. Still, as Joan Jara's anecdote about Victor's performance at the Colegio San Jorge indicates, the violence also began well before Pinochet took office. In other instances, she describes actual fistfights at folk festivals between apolitical performers of Chilean folklore, and the leftist *nueva canción* performers.

Nueva canción, for its part, consists of a pan-regional music genre with a major political force, surging in various countries between the 1950s and the 1970s, with its deeper roots in the progressive ideologies and artistic practices reaching back to the 1930s. Eduardo Carrasco, philosopher and original member of Quilapayún, points out that, from the beginning of the twentieth century until the 1930s, a number of Latin American countries developed popular music styles that achieved international renown, such as "the tango in Argentina and Uruguay, the *son* in Cuba, the *ranchera* in Mexico and the samba in Brazil" (1982: 602). At mid-century, after radio programs had begun to import significant amounts of European and North American commercial music, these local styles served as the bases for renewal or revival movements among the middle

classes. He writes that this quality of revival “helps to explain why this type of song is almost everywhere known as ‘new’” (1982: 602).

What’s more, as early as the 1940s, artists such as Atahualpa Yupanqui (Héctor Roberto Chavero), often regarded as the mainstay of twentieth-century Argentinian folk music (parallel with Loyola, Parra, Pizarro and others in Chile), initiated momentous projects of documentation and transferal of indigenous and campesino songs to popular formats with guitar and voice. In addition to Atahualpa Yupanqui, Argentinian musicologist María Inés García points out that “*nativistas*” (nativists) and “*folcloristas*” (folklorists) such as Ismael Moreno, Alberto Rodríguez, Hilario Cuadros and Antonio Tormo researched and promoted music explicitly from the provinces, contributing to the Argentinian folklore “boom” during the 1950s (2006: 2). As Carrasco notes, the expansive new interest in folkloric and indigenous musics, plus the revivals of national popular musics, occurred rather simultaneously in the Southern Cone countries, and intersected with the “period of violent antagonisms and powerful social and political confrontation” spanning the 1950s-70s (1982: 604).

In Mendoza, Argentina, where a vibrant artistic and intellectual scene had developed during the 1950s, Mercedes Sosa, Armando Tejada Gómez, Oscar Matus, and a handful of other artists (not all of whom were Argentinian) launched the “Nuevo Cancionero” movement in February of 1963, complete with a manifesto (García 2006: 4). Carrasco and others credit this Argentinian music movement with combining the rural and indigenous song forms with a remarkable capacity for poetry among a youthful

generation of mestizo composers. Something similar occurred in Chile, which I describe in the paragraphs below regarding nueva canción's ties to the Mapuche and Araucanía.

Jan Fairley (1984: 107) points out that the term "Nueva Canción" found even broader use upon the consensus of a group of fifty prominent, international musicians, at the *Encuentro de la Canción Protesta* (Protest Song Meeting) in Cuba in 1967. This meeting formally articulated the impetus of many festivals, concerts, and *peñas* (smaller performance gatherings) that took place around Latin America during the previous two decades, and which extended well into subsequent ones. At these events, artists generated a heterogeneous style of popular music oriented toward socialism and political liberation, based foremost in the diverse sounds of the region's folkloric, indigenous, and afro-descendent musics. As the Cuban Revolution got under way, musicians there called their contribution to protest song *nueva trova* instead of nueva canción, distancing themselves somewhat from the extremely critical postures of artists towards governments in other countries, among which Chile stood out.

Cultural and military imperialism played a kind of paradoxical role in nueva canción. On the one hand, media saturation introduced new materials to different parts of Latin America, giving artists access to one another's music without their having to meet personally. On the other hand, many recording artists struggled to free the music industry from corporate consolidation (Carrasco 1982: 601-602). To that end, the Chilean *Juventudes Comunistas* (Communist Youth) started a label called *Discoteca del Canto Popular* (Popular Song Records, or DICAP) in 1968, which managed to press sixty-four titles and 24,000 records by the time the coup interrupted their operation in 1973 (Fairley

1984: 113; Jara 1984: 129). Nueva canción also blossomed parallel with many public policy initiatives around Latin America, including the Chilean Agrarian Reform, which sought to empower the underprivileged and thereby change society generally. Yet, the musicians responded pointedly to the mirroring of these initiatives in the inertia of international Cold War politics. Artists typically expressed a uniquely Latin American posture against the Vietnam War, and against the large number of interventions in Central and South America. A classic example is Quilapayún's 1968 album *Por Vietnam*, which inaugurated the DICAP label, sold thousands of copies, and financed the group's visit to that country.

The nueva canción artists formed an aesthetic or stylistic bridge between the armed struggle and music. Like the militants of the MIR and the MCR, they tapped into what Florencia Mallon (quoted in Chapter Two) refers to as an "agit-prop" style, and "various forms of gendered rebelliousness" that formed a nexus between performance and revolutionary ideology. Chilean nueva canción and Cuban nueva trova contributed to the collective admiration of the young militants (in Cuba, the *barbudos*, or young men with beards), who in a certain sense breathed new life into the political left, and carried out the more aggressive maneuvers leading up to Chile's Popular Unity government.

Again, the band Quilapayún, formed by Chilean university students in the mid-1960s, remains emblematic, also shedding light on the incorporation of ostensibly indigenous elements. Their name is Mapuche for "The Three with Beards," which is ironic because the Mapuche seldom wear beards, and because the band rarely draws on Mapuche music (barring noteworthy exceptions, such as the song "Trompe").

Nonetheless, Quilapayún was far from alone among period groups who used names in Mapuzugun to add an extra countercultural punch to their identity. In retrospect, the awkward incorporation of Mapuche words into nueva canción band names parallels the sometimes tactless interventions into the rural south by young revolutionaries inspired by heady political philosophy. Still, their idealism was genuine, and their work in many ways established a blueprint for the relationship between music and political militarism.

Prominent Links between Nueva Canción, the Mapuche and the Central South

It is also worth pointing out several deeper and more meaningful connections between nueva canción, the Mapuche, and Mapuche territory. Violeta Parra, who had partial indigenous ancestry, spent a great deal of time learning songs from the native inhabitants of various parts of Chile. Among several of her songs that explicitly draw on Mapuche music, “Arauco tiene una pena” (Arauco has a sadness) remains arguably the best known.⁵⁴ The second verse communicates a sentiment that also appears in a traditional Mapuche song, “Fvxa Kuyfi Ñi Mvlen” (For a very long time I have existed), which I discuss in Chapter Three.

Un día llegó de lejos,
Wekufe conquistador,
Buscando montañas de oro,
Que el indio nunca buscó,
Al indio le basta el oro,
Que le relumbra del sol,
Levántate Curimón

⁵⁴ “Arauco tiene una pena” was published on Violeta Parra’s posthumous records entitled *Un río de sangre* (A river of blood) and *Canciones reencontradas en París* (Songs rediscovered in Paris), both in 1971. Juan Pablo González cites the song with the years 1960-1963, probably referring to its composition and performance.

One day there arrived from afar,
Malignant, conquering spirits,
Seeking mountains of gold,
Which the Indian never sought,
For the Indian, sufficient was the gold,
Of the glow of the sun,
Rise up, Curimón

The end of each verse invokes the name of a fallen Mapuche hero. In his discussion “Arauco tiene una pena,” Juan Pablo González (1993: 102-105) highlights Parra’s use of Phrygian cadences, descending arpeggios on major chords with added minor seventh scale degrees, a tetraphonic melody derived from the *trutruka* and the *trompe*, and the ternary division of a binary meter in 6/8, among other facets of Mapuche music.

Victor Jara, ever the paragon of *nueva canción*, visited Araucanía a number of times, often drawing inspiration there for his compositions. Joan Jara recalls:

On one such journey we traveled into the wheat-growing zone of Traigen and then on until we reached Temuco. Turning off the main road on to a stony track, full of potholes, we set out eastwards, toward the cordillera. We drove for miles without seeing a single human being, through lush pasture-land and cornfields, occasionally passing the high wrought-iron gates of a *latifundio*, or a wooden ox-cart with a peasant sitting patiently behind the yoked oxen, deep in his own thoughts. This, too, became one of Victor’s songs, “El carretero” (The cart driver).

Late in the afternoon we came to Cunco, a market centre for the region. It was a typical conglomeration of wooden shacks, faced with rounded tiles of seasoned wood, with tiny windows and roofs steep-pitched against the torrential rains of the south. Many of them stood on stilts, to avoid the thick mud which accumulated on the unpaved, grass-grown streets. The *pensión* (residence) for travelers was a three-roomed shack with hitching-posts for horses outside the door . . . perhaps the strongest impression was of silence. No footsteps, no traffic, a smell of rain-soaked vegetation, silent people who looked at you but did not greet you. Men and women with weatherbeaten faces and heavy clothes, whose feet made no sound on the earth of the road.

It was just before the presidential elections in 1964. We had seen occasional posters along the road for Alessandri or Frei, and more rarely a

rough hand-painted sign for Allende. But as outsiders, we had the impression of a long unexpressed resentment, of too many years of silence, rather than of any organised political movement among the peasants. The landowners and their supporters were more aggressively organised and even armed, feeling themselves threatened by Frei's promises of land reform. Groups of men on horseback gathered outside the store in Cunco, overseers from neighboring latifundios, hostile, and with the air of owning the place. In that remote, silent place, a peasant would have to be very brave to campaign against the landlord. (1984: 91-92)

Victor Jara himself came from humble origins, and he distanced himself somewhat from the more theoretical militarism of the younger *compañeros* (comrades) who had learned about such things in the university. Still, characteristic of the ideological vantage point of many proponents of *nueva canción*, the romanticism of rural Araucanía in Joan Jara's account feels inseparable from the class struggle that she and Victor were in many ways leading.

One of Jara's most interesting songs, "Angelita Huenumán," also grew out of a trip to the south, during which he and Joan met and befriended the Mapuche tejedora (weaver) by that name. The lyrics describe her territory and her marvelous dexterity:

En el valle de Pocuno,
Donde rebota el viento del mar,
Donde la lluvia cría los musgos,
Vive Angelita Huenuman
...
Sus manos bailan en la hebra,
Como alitas de *chincol* (songbird),⁵⁵
Es un milagro como teje,
Hasta el aroma de la flor

⁵⁵ The *chincol* is a small songbird found in the south of Chile, and in many parts of South America.

In the Valley of Pocuno,
Where the wind skirts off the sea,
Where the rain cultivates the mosses,
Lives Angelita Huenuman

. . .
Her hands dance in the threads,
Like the wings of the chincol,
It is a miracle how she weaves,
Even the aroma of a flower

The song “Angelita Huenuman” (1970) has a 6/8 meter, as well as what Juan Pablo González calls a “syncopated, iambic rhythmic base” (1993: 107), with a five-note guitar ostinato throughout, which often rests on the final beat of the measure.⁵⁶ The melody and tonal center alternate between C-mixolydian and D-Aeolian. Altogether, these attributes make the song feel at once windy and detached, yet solemn and beautiful, with clear references to Mapuche music, and to the earthen colors of Mapuche textiles.

In 1965, Patricio Manns recorded one of the most cherished songs in all of Chilean music, “Arriba en la cordillera” (Up in the mountains), based on his experience learning about cattle rustling while hiding out in a Mapuche comunidad in the early 1960s. Manns recalled writing the song for a recent episode of the television show *Do*

Remix:

I remembered . . . in [the town of] Nacimiento, where I was born, I went to see some cousins who lived there. And later they said to me, look, here they’re going to take us prisoner, so take this horse, saddle up, and go from [the town of] Los Angeles, up to a place called Atacalpo . . . I arrived there, and I found a comunidad. And I said to them, look, they’re after me, and I want to hide out here . . . and up there I learned how some guys had gone to Argentina to rob cattle, and they brought them back over the border, via the Atacalpo Pass. It was a ledge, where to one side it was a

⁵⁶ Juan Pablo González refers to Inti-Illimani’s 1979 recording of this song, in pointing out the “pie rítmico yambo sincopado” (syncopated, iambic rhythmic base), however in Victor Jara’s original recording I sense the same characteristic.

kilometer up, and to the other it was a kilometer straight down. It was more or less a meter wide, and you walked it in a straight line. There was nobody on the other side. And one day a kid told me, while we were talking and having a smoke, he said, they killed my father up there. He was the first to die up there. It was because the Argentinian border guards realized that there were people robbing cattle, so they put a checkpoint right at the opening of the pass. And my father [said the kid] was at the head of the group, because they had to go in a straight line. He appeared, and the guard shot, and killed him right away. (2012)

Manns's lyrics tell the story from the perspective of the young man who lost his father:

¿Qué sabes de cordillera,
Si tú naciste tan lejos?
Hay que conocer la piedra,
Que corona el ventisquero,
Hay que recorrer callando,
Los atajos del silencio,
Y cortar por las orillas,
De los lagos cumbreños,
Mi padre anduvo su vida,
Por entre piedras y cerros

La Viuda Blanca en su grupa,
La maldición del arriero,
Llevó a mi viejo esa noche,
A robar ganado ajeno,
Junto al Paso de Atacalpo,
A la entrada del invierno,
Le preguntaron a golpes,
Y él respondió en silencio,
Los guardias cordilleranos,
Clavaron su cruz al viento

What do you know about the mountains,
If you were born so far away?
You have to see the rocks,
That crown the alpine glacier,
You have to wander in a hush,
Through the paths of silence,
And skirt the banks,
Of the high mountain lakes,
My father spent his life,
Among the rocks and the peaks

The White Widow and her seduction,
The curse of the muleteer,
Took my old man that night,
To rob foreign cattle,
At the Atacalpo Pass,
At the start of winter,
They interrogated him while they beat him,
And he responded in silence,
The border guards,
Nailed his cross to the wind

“Arriba en la cordillera” effectively transmits a local tragedy in terms that are universal, referencing the precarious life of the residents of the cordillera, which forms the freezing, vertiginous eastern fringe of every Chilean region. Edged by poverty into criminality, the cattle rustler was redeemed and even crucified through his death, as he attempted to bring sustenance in from across the border, through a pass whose narrowness was metaphoric for his chances of success. From the first line, “¿Qué sabes de cordillera / Si tú naciste tan lejos?” (What do you know about the mountains / If you were born so far away?), the song makes it impossible to judge this character, who could have been any Chilean’s ancestor. The lyrics reference Los Angeles, and several other cities, which lie just on the limits of the south, where the climate grows colder and darker, and where the central valley gives way to Mapuche territory. “Arriba en la cordillera” has transcended nueva canción and the genre of protest songs, perhaps because it memorializes and reconciles the sense of lawlessness long characterizing the frontier.

The Dictatorship as Musically Productive

A compelling thesis among analysts of culture and politics in contemporary Chile maintains that the Pinochet dictatorship, known for its horrible repression against musicians, artists, and many other sectors of society, was not entirely counterproductive when it came to culture and the arts.

In fact, this thesis is not unique to Chile. When Theodor Adorno analyzed the effects of National Socialism on the arts in 1945, his gravest concerns were not for the savage practices of the recently defeated Nazis, but rather for what lay ahead in the postwar period. Specifically, he feared that the lessons of prewar German culture were already lost on postwar society. Adorno described the tendency of *Kulturbolschewismus*, or Cultural Bolshevism, a widespread set of collective sentiments in Weimar and Nazi Germany that abhorred avant-garde music and art, considering them unappealing to the general public. Meanwhile, claimed Adorno, the avant-gardists (he mentioned Schoenberg, Berg and Webern) had expressed “the sufferings, the anguish, the fear . . . long before the political crisis arose, instead of covering it up by idle comfort” (2002[1945]: 380). Despite the defeat of Nazism, he argued, the risk remained large that the enticingly practical and pragmatic logics of modern science and the marketplace would again obscure the collective appreciation for the relationship between art and truth.⁵⁷ In turn, society risked a dangerously careless engagement with music, which would essentially turn it over to the powerful as a means of guiding public opinion. What

⁵⁷ Looking forward from the time of his writing on the topic, Adorno already glimpsed emerging examples of such tensions, between willful ignorance and artistic harbingers of societal problems, for instance in United States cultural policy.

made music a tool for the Nazis, concluded Adorno, was not that it necessarily provoked violence, but that it validated and encouraged the willful unawareness of a political crisis. Central to this assessment was the observation that fascism does not destroy music, but rather makes great use of it.

In his writing during the 1980s, José Joaquín Brunner observed the importance to authoritarian regimes in Latin America, of instilling a “disciplinary culture,” based on the “norms, values and beliefs” necessary for “conformity” (1982: 559). In short, dictatorship is more than simply the constant threat of the use of force against nonconformity. This idea reflects Foucault’s thesis about modernity and the exercise of power. That is, at some point even the most violent regime must cultivate its subjects rather than simply dangle the sword over their heads; the Pinochet regime was not ignorant of this necessity.⁵⁸ As Karen Donoso writes (2012: 3), summarizing ideas by Brunner and other social scientists following his lead, after the initial years of military rule in Chile during the 1970s, the discourse of internal warfare no longer had the same effect, and actually proved detrimental to the economy. Instead, conformity had to be guided by an individualistic, neoliberal economic model, combined with an emphasis on social order whose violation nonetheless remained punishable by force. Put slightly differently, Araucaria Rojas (2009: 52-53) points out that, as the first decade of the regime drew to a

⁵⁸ Aside from the atrocious spectacles of political killings, authoritarianism in late twentieth-century Latin America was abhorrant because it was literally justified by premodern ways of thinking; it insulted people’s sense of development. Interestingly, on October 25, 2013, when asked about her professed empathy with Pinochet’s use of force forty years earlier during the coup d’état, presidential candidate Evelyn Matthei responded, “It is always lawful to kill people for the sake of imposing your political project.”

close, a profound tension developed between its simultaneous implementation of a new, powerful form of nationalism, and a free-market economic system favoring corporate and foreign investment. This tension permeated the new culture industry, characterized by a unique blend of entertainment, folklore, and repression, which Rojas terms the “*consenso neoliberal*” (neoliberal consensus).

On September 18 (Independence Day) in 1979, the government declared cueca the *Danza Nacional* (national dance). Rojas notes that the idea started with the folklorist Miguel Gutiérrez, who had asked the *Secretaría Nacional de Cultura* (National Secretary of Culture) if something could be done to support cueca. Gutiérrez soon had an audience with Pinochet himself, who offered materials for a small institute, and a decree law effecting cueca’s new status. Subsequent to the declaration and celebration of the decree on Independence Day in 1979, September 17 was declared *Día Nacional de la Cueca* (National Cueca Day), and another decree mandated cueca and other folkloric dances as key parts of the national physical education curriculum. New literature explored and validated cueca’s history, and official public displays and ceremonies incorporated the traditional vestiment of the huaso. The Huasos Quincheros, a group specializing in cueca and tonada, apparently embodied the nationalistic tendencies, credited with having said in the 1960s that cueca and tonada are the true national dances, while protest song is not Chilean (Rojas 2009: 53-55).

In the long-term, the dictatorship remains notorious for its policies of cultural blackout. Yet, without minimizing the history of repression, assassination and exile that befell many of Chile’s artists and musicians (among a great deal of other people), it is

also worth calling attention to the enduring legacy of the “neoliberal consensus.”

Araucaria Rojas argues that neoliberalism exacerbates the tensions around folkloric notions of culture. Like Hale’s concept of the “indio permitido” (permitted Indian), positive folkloric constructions emerge when they do not contradict the economic, social and political order. As Juan Pablo González and Claudio Rolle describe eloquently in the first volume of their social history of Chilean popular music (2005), cueca is the centerpiece of a hegemonic system of folklore radiating from the hacienda system. I would add that the other folkloric constructions emerge as other cultural sectors develop their relationships with the governing classes. As the examples above from nueva canción also illustrate, folklore in Chile has always had a close relationship to the political system, and to its polemics. The declaration of cueca as the national dance concretized that relationship, bringing folklore squarely into the realm of the state’s official ceremonies.

Mapuche Cultural Activism During the Dictatorship: Territorial Losses, Cultural Centers, and the Folklorization of We Xipantu

From 1974 through 79, the dictatorship developed and passed legislation that was severely detrimental to the rural-dwelling Mapuche, most notoriously through Decree Laws 701 in 1974, and 2568 in 1979. Concurrently, the initial shock of the coup d’état gave way to a status quo of authoritarianism, and the regime’s relationship to non-governmental institutions began to take shape.

Despite the narrow territorial *reducciones* (reductions) that it allotted to Mapuche families, the *radicación* nonetheless stipulated a protected status for those indigenous

parcels. This status lasted from the late 1920s until the 1970s, when the government declared its authority to eliminate it in favor of individual ownership and the integration of Mapuche lands into the free market economy (see Parmelee). This move by the dictatorship coincided with its heavy subsidizing of large agribusinesses all around Araucanía and the neighboring Biobío Region, containing Concepción, via Decree Law 701, passed in 1974. In her discussion of Decree Law 2568, Diane Haughney (2006: 55-57) cites period documents by the government's *Instituto de Desarrollo Agropecuario* (Institute of Agricultural Development, or INDAP) that negate the existence of indigenous peoples in Chile, advocating instead the support of local customs only "when they are positive for national integration and do not hurt the Common Good or National Security."

Discord over Decree Law 2568 marks an important moment in which Mapuche activism found new footing, without the aggressive collaboration of the recently defunct MIR or MCR. Additionally, the law marks a violation of cultural rights that has fueled arguments for Mapuche autonomy every since. Activist Rosa Isolde Reuque Paillalef explains in an extensive testimonial how the drafting of the law provoked new forms of solidarity in favor of the campesinos. For instance, the Archbishops of Araucanía and Temuco heeded a moral imperative to raise the issue of the law before the public, and opened a series of discussions through the Indigenous Institute of the Archdiocese. As Reuque explains, these meetings initiated entirely new institutions devoted to solidarity, namely the *Centros Culturales Mapuche de Chile* (Mapuche Cultural Centers of Chile, or CCM), which convened between 1978 and 1980. In March of 1980, they received legal

recognition as the *Asociación Gremial de Pequeños Agricultores y Artesanos Ad-Mapu* (Ad-Mapu Association of Artisans and Small Farmers, or simply Ad-Mapu) (Reuque 2002: 106; Quintupil 2011). Ad-Mapu, in turn, took on tremendous symbolic importance as a national-level indigenous organization throughout the Pinochet years (Mariman 2011).

Despite many gains, though, this pattern of mobilization failed to prevent the passage of Decree Law 2568, in part due to a gradual realization by activists that privatization would not outright eliminate Mapuche lands. Rather, Diane Haughney suggests that the law's objective for the dictatorship lay not in removing the Mapuche from their territory, per se, but rather in exposing them to incentives and subsidies only available to private landholders, and interfering with ceremonial uses of collective lands, thereby impeding Mapuche culture generally (2006: 63-65). In short, the law catalyzed cultural disintegration and local-level conflict.

Ad-Mapu had a *Grupo de Teatro Mapuche* (Mapuche Theatre Group) beginning in the early 1980s, composed of Mapuche youth who met in the city of Temuco, and who sympathized with the Socialist Party (Quintupil 2011). As sociologist Cristián Martínez points out, the group coalesced into a nucleus of skilled activists. The Ad-Mapu performers managed to obtain a significant amount of funding from donors in Holland, which they channeled to the rest of the organization. During a crisis of leadership within Ad-Mapu in the mid-1980s, the theatre troupe's income supported nearly the entire organization (Martínez 2009: 606). Ad-Mapu's stage performers achieved a unique visibility, which they owed in part to their fundraising success. Unfortunately, the

organization also struggled with perpetual infighting, and with conflictual ties to non-Mapuche political parties, the Church, and other solidarity organizations, all of which led it to fracture on the eve of democracy.

The Ad-Mapu performers have made a lasting impression on the cultural landscape through their folklorization of the Mapuche winter solstice ceremony of *We Xipantu*, meaning New Cycle. While this celebration has not necessarily lost importance in Mapuche culture, it does indeed offer a glimpse at the effects of multiculturalism in the conversion of an intimate, family observance, into a large festival. Considered a semi-official regional holiday, We Xipantu is typically preplanned for June 24, coinciding with the Catholic celebration of San Juan. For the Mapuche, the winter solstice marks annual changes in climate and ecology, which the Mapuche associate with the renovation of vital energies. Bathing in frigid, natural bodies of water at the darkest point of the solstice night imparts these energies on a person. Araucanian winters are cold and rainy, meaning that celebrations of We Xipantu were historically family affairs, carried out inside the house (apart from the bathing), among small groups of people. By contrast, today's We Xipantu celebrations are frequently much larger, relying on the sponsorship of indigenous organizations, schools and municipalities. These celebrations often feature short *rogativas* (prayer ceremonies) that give way to music and dance performances, and an abundant lunch.

Land-grabs, Hydroelectric Dams, and Mapuche Weavers: Democracy and Neoliberal Cultural Politics in Central-Southern Chile

El muchacho progresista leyendo el diario comentó:
¿Por qué no pondrán gentes?
¡Ponen puros indios!

Las mujeres en la foto
viejas mujeres con rostro de tierra
emitían el sufragio en Imperial.⁵⁹

¡Se olvidó!
¡En la letra de su discurso estuvimos tantas veces . . . !
Y olvidó.
En la numerosa multitud cotidiana de Temuco
no nos vieron.

Por la puerta abierta del bar
entró el frío de la mañana
y sonreí
calladamente sin hallar qué responder
al muchacho progresista que leyendo el diario comentó.

The young progressive
reading the newspaper commented:
Why don't they show actual people?
They show nothing but Indians!

The women in the photo
old women with earthen faces
emitted suffrage in Imperial.

He forgot!
In his discourses we appeared so many times . . . !
And he forgot.
In the quotidian multitude of Temuco
they didn't see us.

Through the open door of the bar
entered the cold of the morning

⁵⁹ “Imperial” refers to the historic Araucanian city of Nueva Imperial, thirty kilometers west of Temuco. People in the region typically refer to it as simply “Imperial,” dropping the “Nueva.”

and I smiled
quietly without finding a good response
to the young progressive
who, reading the newspaper, commented.

The verses above, from a 1988 poem by Erwin, “Sin título” (Untitled), describe the reaction of a young man, a “progressive,” upon seeing images in the newspaper of Mapuche women from the town of Nueva Imperial, whose votes (suffrage) contributed to the end of the dictatorship.⁶⁰ That year, Chile held a national referendum over whether to extend or terminate Pinochet’s mandate, offering voters the option of “No” (as in no more Pinochet), or “Yes,” for eight more years. The “No” vote won, 55 percent to 44 percent, initiating a new era, and turning power over to the *Concertación por la Democracia* (Coalition for Democracy), a bloc containing most of the center-left political parties. Erwin’s poem describes the precarious relationship between the Mapuche and the Concertación. Despite much optimism, this relationship soured in the years following the referendum. In a description of the poem on the Poesía Mapuche (Mapuche Poetry) blog, he writes, “It is hardly overstating things to say that in the years leading up to that point, [the young progressive] had not participated whatsoever in the struggle against the dictatorship. I’ve seen him again since then, somewhat more mature, walking the streets of Temuco. He’s one of those people who swallowed up our dreams.”

This section deals with the unique correspondence that emerged between multiculturalism and neoliberalism in the Araucanía and Biobío regions, during and after the transition to democracy. By the mid-2000s, government, the private sector, non-

⁶⁰ Erwin wrote the poem “Sin título” (Untitled) in 1988. However, as the bibliography reflects, it was published in the literary journal *Pentukun* in 1995.

profit/non-governmental organizations, and artists fell into a new orientation, resulting from new cultural policies, and from new precedents set during disputes over territorial sovereignty. The paradoxical effect of a scandalous hydroelectric project on the work of Mapuche weavers in certain comunidades illustrates how the economic development model has interacted with discourses of cultural identity and authenticity since 1990. After describing how this new orientation materialized, I will return to the issue of how artists and musicians have redefined their sense of autonomy in the new context.

The Concertación was essential to ending the dictatorship. Pinochet had used multiple strategies to weaken the indigenous social movement, including direct repression, but also a phenomenon known as *asistencialismo*. In Chile, this term (roughly translated as welfarism) describes investment for the direct benefit of communities, but in a manner that also creates dependence (or the suspicion of dependence) upon such investment, or that employs it as a smokescreen for broader injustices. In short, *asistencialismo* refers to ostensibly positive intervention that falls somewhere between subsidizing, enabling, or distracting attention from larger problems. One could argue that *asistencialismo* produced a strange effect in Araucanía upon the 1988 plebiscite. Quoting Haughney, “In . . . areas [of the region] with a substantial Mapuche population, voters favored Pinochet in almost the reverse percentage of the total national vote: 52 percent [favoring him] to 44 percent [against him], with 3.1 percent null or blank” (2006: 64). To explain these results, she refers to historian José Bengoa, sociologist Pedro Marimán, and political scientist José Marimán, who point out that, in Araucanía, the dictatorship provided rural housing subsidies, pension benefits, and unemployment relief during a

severe economic downturn in the early 1980s. Additionally, they suggest that voters may have feared reprisal for contradicting the regime, had it won, while many of the dictatorship's most fervent opponents boycotted the referendum, calling it a ruse. Among the rural poor, and particularly among the Mapuche, a combination of repression, land privatization, and asistencialismo had produced enormous barriers to any overarching sense of unity.

When Pinochet formally left power in 1990, a complex process of reconciliation for human rights violations began, while the government also worked to renew its social contract with indigenous groups. The social and cultural impacts of the dictatorship and the return to democracy find their maximum scrutiny in studies of memory and reconciliation. After nearly two decades of insular, patriarchal authoritarianism, ever compounded by geographical isolation, in the late 1980s Chileans found themselves in the spotlight of global debates about how to move forward after years of persecution and systematic political violence. With the wounds raw, equitable economic progress seemed to offer a set of common goals that assuaged both memory and conscience, unifying Pinochet's aggressive development policies with the Concertación's priorities on healing and multiculturalism. Events around the referendum and the change of government are among the best documented in Chilean history, but I describe an area of this transition that has received somewhat less attention. Namely, as the Mingako Kultural demonstrates, cultural and economic policies in the post-Pinochet era have actually further entrenched certain ideologies of regional and ethnic autonomy in Araucanía, and this effect has rippled into cultural production and the arts.

In the central south, balancing the restoration of social justice with the effects of Pinochet's development agenda proved vexing. At the start of the dictatorship, a process called the *Contra Reforma Agraria* (Counter Agrarian Reform) had involved the seizing of lands gained by many campesinos through the Agrarian Reform. The bulk of these lands were left with the CORA (Agrarian Reform Corporation). In a recent documentary entitled *Newen Mapuche* (Force of the Mapuche), Elena Varela points out that, from 1978 through 1982, the dictatorship divided out the CORA's lands, returning only twenty-five percent of them to campesinos. The remaining parcels were passed free of charge to the Agriculture Ministry's *Corporación Nacional Forestal* (National Forestry Corporation, or CONAF), which in turn gave them to heavily subsidized tree plantations under Decree Law 701, passed in 1974. The three largest tree plantation owners include the Luksic, Matte and Angelini families, who in the first decade of the twenty-first century held a combined total of approximately 1,000,000 hectares, and whose fortunes each ranked among the top two-hundred in the world (Varela 2011). The trees that they cultivate, moreover, are typically a foreign breed of pine, notorious for leaving the soil dry, acidic and ill-suited for farming. The land-grab that these corporate entities enjoyed became the bedrock of export-based, neoliberal development in the central south, and it could not realistically be reversed when democracy returned.

Antagonisms gave way to a sense of collaboration when, from 1989 until 1993, pro-democracy politicians worked with indigenous leaders to redefine their relationship in legal terms. Concertación political candidate Patricio Aylwin, who's period in office began in 1990, held a meeting in Nueva Imperial in 1989, in which he promised that the

new government would recognize indigenous groups as “peoples,” and develop a new *Ley Indígena* (Indigenous Law) to replace the discriminatory policies of the previous two decades. (Haughney 2006: 65; Martínez 2009: 596). The promise resonated with the United Nations / International Labor Organization Resolution 169, also from 1989, that recognizes and supports the “cultural and other specificities of indigenous and tribal peoples,” and requires their “consultation and participation . . . in policy and development processes that affect them” (International Labour Organization 2014). In 1993, Chile passed the new Indigenous Law, which created CONADI, put in place numerous subsidies and grants for indigenous citizens, and recognized the unique histories and cultural practices of indigenous groups. However, the law did not consider these groups as “nations,” since that term raised hackles among politicians, of both the right and the Concertación, about threats to Chilean national sovereignty.⁶¹ In fact, as Haughney notes, the very mention of the term “peoples” generated conflict among lawmakers, because under new international norms, “peoples” technically could stand in the way of development projects that infringed on their cultural practices or collective rights (Haughney 2006: 77; Ñuke Mapu 2014).

Complicating this situation was the fact that, before leaving power, Pinochet had prepared a number of hurdles to dismantling his policies, including the packing of the Supreme Court and the Senate. As a result, while rhetoric of democratic reform in Chile reflected global changes concerning ethnic rights and minority participation in governing

⁶¹ For a critical discussion of indigenous sovereignty discourses in multiple contexts, including the reluctance of the United Nations to recommend full indigenous sovereignty, see Michael F. Brown’s essay entitled “Sovereignty’s betrayals” (2007).

processes, Chile did not ratify Convention 169 locally for another fifteen years. Even then, human rights organizations have signaled a general lack of institutionality capable of integrating indigenous citizens' viewpoints in development decisions. Mapuche organizations splintered and took different sides in light of this unbalanced distribution of power. A relatively new group called the *Consejo de Todas las Tierras* (Council of all the Lands), whose members included a number of people formerly involved with Ad-Mapu, began a new round of unsanctioned tomas de tierra in the early 1990s (Guzmán, et al., 2003; Martínez 2009). Their actions produced a clear stance in favor of land recuperation based on past, broken promises by the government. On the other hand, these tomas also provoked the first serious stigmatizing during the democratic period of Mapuche activism as radical.

A serious failure of the 1993 indigenous legislation involved the 2004 construction of a major hydroelectric dam at Ralco, just downstream from the glacial source of the powerful Biobío River, which runs from the Andes to the port cities of Concepción and Talcahuano. Built by the Spanish corporation ENDESA, the Ralco dam cost 570 million dollars, flooded 3,500 hectares of Pehuenche ancestral land, relocated 500 indigenous residents, and left a Pehuenche cemetery at the bottom of a reservoir (Aylwin 2004).⁶² When, prior to the project's execution, CONADI's advisory board categorically rejected it, the government fired the board's dissenters, including the head of entire organization (Varela 2011). As had Decree Law 2568 in the late 1970s, the

⁶² The *pehuen* is the seed of the Araucaria tree. Both the seed and the tree are culturally emblematic of the Pehuenche, whose name translates as people (che) of the pehuen. In broad strokes, the Pehuenche are considered the mountain-dwelling Mapuche.

Ralco scandal invigorated the Mapuche Movement. Tomas de tierra increased, as did violence between the police and activists. Confrontations led to the application of dictatorship-era anti-terror legislation, various instances of martyrdom, and a series of hunger strikes, all during the Concertación's initial period in power, which ended in 2010.

These incidents of violence and turmoil, though, are only part of the picture. During the same period, the government stepped up efforts at funding university studies for Mapuche youth, implemented a wide variety of agricultural assistance programs, made significant efforts at valorizing and financing Mapuche artisans, and even got around to ratifying Convention 169, in 2008. This paradoxical relationship between the Mapuche and the state at once empowers and discredits both the Mapuche Movement and the state's efforts at establishing multicultural harmony, and makes the two sides simultaneously enemies and allies.

Critical theorists keen to these dynamics began discussing them in terms of postmodernism during the 1990s. In the lapsing of the metanarratives that had once guided nationalism and much twentieth-century political ideology in Latin America, Martín Hopenhayn glimpsed the emerging complicity between neoliberalism and multiculturalism:

The exaltation of diversity leads to the exaltation of the market, considered as the only social institution that orders without coercion, guaranteeing a diversity of tastes, projects, languages and strategies . . . Deregulation is the correlative in the practical sphere of the theoretical celebration of diversity. In the face of this wager, in which everything is potentially permissible, problems of social disparity, structural heterogeneity, insufficient development, and the like lose relevance. (1995: 98-99)

Nelly Richard pointed to a crisis in historical memory; again, the economic model is key: “An end-of-century globalization that moves at the fleeting speed of the commodity with neither time nor desire to ask about what each novelty leaves behind, dissipating the value of the historicity painfully ciphered in the experience of the dictatorship, making what we thought indelible ever more difficult to perceive” (2001: 19-20).⁶³

The simultaneous abundance of social assistance, and marginalization of campesinos and indigenous citizens from debates about development projects, parallels other socioeconomic contradictions, which illustrate a general reorganization of the relationship between power and resistance. For example, the higher education system has expanded access considerably, yet it remains plagued by predatory lending to students, illegal profiteering by university administrators, and an aggravated income distribution gap. In 2008, John Beverly referred to the governing leftists in Latin America as the “neoliberal left,” which leaves the continent’s armed resistance fighters with a difficult, moving target. The armed resistance itself has grown nebulous. The MIR and the MCR, the most fervent radicals of the old left, once conducted daylight occupations of factories and farms, along with public rallies in which they clearly stated their goals and ideologies. Today, militarized Mapuche organizations, such as the *Coordinadora Arauco-*

⁶³ In his 1997 book entitled *Política cultural de la memoria histórica: derechos humanos y discursos culturales en Chile* (Cultural politics of historical memory: human rights and cultural discourses in Chile), Hernán Vidal argues that, in the post-dictatorship reconciliation process, the disarticulation of investigative and judicial processes equated to a general disarticulation between the concepts of truth and justice. In other words, the investigative efforts that produced the *Informe Rettig*, the principal official document about human rights abuses, were not sufficient to authorize the Supreme Court to prosecute all human rights violators, since the dictatorship had left in place a number of measures amounting to the prolonged amnesty of many of these criminals.

Malleco (or CAM), rely on strict secrecy, demonstrating that the days of grand public discourses about head-on struggle have ended. The student movement now carries out massive, non-violent protests, that inevitably disintegrate into a hail of rocks and Molotov cocktails launched by *encapuchados* (masked rioters), who themselves mainly advocate disorder. In sum, as the postmodernist cultural theorists would have it, the state has employed its development model to disperse the elements of repression, coercion and conflict into the colloid spaces of multiculturalism and globalization. Resistance, in turn, struggles for a foothold.

Hydroelectric projects synthesize these factors tellingly. The dam at Ralco, installed by ENDESA, was accompanied by an infusion of resources to the local Mapuche comunidades. Since its first dam project in the region, Pangué, constructed in 1993 upstream from the later Ralco site, ENDESA has been embroiled in legal battles and intense debates with environmentalists and the Pehuenche. In 1992, during the planning of the Pangué dam, ENDESA founded the *Fundación Pehuen* (Pehuen Foundation), a non-profit organization that channels resources (principally from the corporation) to the comunidades of Ayin Mapu, Pitril, El Barco, Callaqui, Ralco-Lepoy, and Quepuca-Ralco, all of which are situated near the upper Biobío River. In 2004 alone, the year of the construction of the dam at Ralco, Fundación Pehuen spent a total of 143 million Chilean pesos (approximately 238,000 dollars) on categories that it defined as agricultural productivity, tourism and microfinance, housing and infrastructure, education, culture, community organizations, social assistance, and project management assistance (Fundación Pehuen 2004: 22). Compared to the 570 million dollars spent on

the dam itself, this sum is quite small, yet it was probably of unprecedented proportion in the local beneficiary economy. Environmentalists and indigenous rights advocates categorize Fundación Pehuen as a smokescreen. In the words of José Aylwin, director of the Temuco-based non-governmental organization called *Observatorio Ciudadano* (Citizen's Observatory), "ENDESA . . . utilized scheming and money to weaken Pehuenche opposition, and to buy the will power of the families whose lands would be flooded by Ralco" (2004).

Cultural production and the arts have entered into these polemics. From 2011 through 2013, Fundación Pehuen collaborated with Fundación Chol-Chol, a much smaller non-profit/non-governmental organization, on a project called *Alto Biobío* (Upper Biobío), designed to revitalize traditional textiles in the six comunidades where Pehuen operates. For its part, since the early 2000s Fundación Chol-Chol has built a network of Mapuche *tejedoras* (weavers), grant writers, and fair trade advocates, with upscale artesanía markets around the world. These efforts have created a steady, if modest, income stream for several dozen campesino women, while encouraging them to incorporate the aesthetic demands of a foreign clientele. The Alto Biobío project activities included: facilitating teaching between the *tejedoras*; establishing a self-sufficient organizational structure among the weavers, including training, leadership and management; commercialization; and periodic follow-up consultation by Fundación Chol-Chol (Fundación Chol-Chol 2014). I happened to be at Fundación Chol-Chol's office near Temuco one day in 2011, working as a volunteer, when a large group of *tejedoras* from Alto Biobío arrived for a meeting. The atmosphere was jovial, with

abundant food and conversation. Colleagues at Fundación Chol-Chol commented enthusiastically about their collaboration with the Pehuenche tejedoras, describing fascinating exchanges of techniques, colors and iconography from the mountains, that were atypical in the valleys and on the coasts. While Mapuche textiles are coveted for their cultural authenticity, they have always reflected the economic and social circumstances of the women who weave them (Rekedal 2011). Today, the weavings bear the imprint of the participation of non-profit organizations, the tastes of buyers in foreign markets, the increasing value placed on cultural diversity within Chile, and in a certain way, demand for hydroelectric energy.

Redefining Autonomy through the Arts and Institutions

Particularly since the early 2000s, Chilean performing artists have both enjoyed an increasing variety of institutional support, and have cultivated dynamic, new ways of proclaiming and exerting their independence. In 1992, the government passed legislation inaugurating the *Fondo Nacional para el Desarrollo Cultural y las Artes* (National Fund for the Development of Culture and the Arts, or FONDART). In 2003, the *Consejo Nacional de la Cultura y las Artes* (National Council for Culture and the Arts, or CNCA) was created, with the objective of “supporting the development of the arts and the diffusion of culture, contributing to conserving, augmenting, and putting the Nation’s cultural patrimony within the reach of the people, and promoting the people’s participation in the cultural life of the country” (Consejo Nacional de la Cultura y las Artes 2014). One of the most important functions of the CNCA is the management of

funding competitions, including those pertaining to FONDART, and to more recently added competitions for music, literature, theatre, film and education, many of which emphasize cultural patrimony.

Winning a government grant opens major possibilities, yet some have criticized these programs for creating a sense that state funding alone amounts to true validation. In response, a number of alternative formats have appeared, such as artists' collectives (or *kolectivos*, often spelled with a "k" as a form of linguistic defiance), online crowdsourcing initiatives, and mutually supportive creative people who apply the word *red*, which means network. Kolectivo *We Newen* (New Force) and Kolectivo *Espiral* (Spiral) were both active in Temuco during my research. The former, still in operation, began with a focus on hip-hop and documentary filmmaking, and evolved into an organization of young Mapuche activists working for the officialization of the Mapuzugun language in Chile. The latter revolved around the efforts of the late poet and political activist Alejandro Stuart, functioning as a local node of artists, musicians and journalists committed to the social movements. A palpable tension has developed between the government's arts initiatives, and the plethora of artistic organizations that question, or advocate changing, the state's development agenda and economic model. In my view, this tension indicates artists' healthy exploration of new possibilities, in a climate where the state no longer has the prerogative to blatantly repress expressions that it finds inconvenient. Rather, the state now exerts its influence by investing in the arts, signaling a new relationship between power and creativity.

An independent music crowdsourcing project called *Contienda Nacional* (meaning National Contention, but also playing on the word *tienda*, meaning store) claims an egalitarian approach to the allocation of its resources, yet it relies on a capitalist marketplace for sustenance (Contienda Nacional 2014). Contienda Nacional features a large, red star in its logo, recalling the early 1970s, during which music, and ideas about egalitarianism, were both agents of enormous social change. The deployment of the red star exemplifies how, in a visual plane, artists mobilize charged iconography from different historical contexts, and recycle it in order to convey specific aspects of their mission, but not to represent its totality. The evolving relationship between power and creativity opens spaces for these partial and recycled meanings, which themselves indicate an overall decrease in ideological polarization, as well as artists' willingness to confront and reinterpret recent history, despite the trauma it invokes.

Conclusion

Juan Pablo González recently observed that, since the return to democracy in Chile, “The use of the concept of *folkloric roots* has been institutionalized in festivals, but has now also been expanded to authorial societies, prizes, the music industry, the communications media, and the educational and cultural work of the state” (2011: 941). This absorption, as it were, of the notions of cultural roots into the workings of the state and other major institutions, surely indicates a new proximity between power and *culture*. Similarly, George Yúdice (quoted earlier) has observed that culture today is invoked to solve problems that historically belonged to the purview of other types of resources. In

this chapter, I have labored to trace the historical development of this dance between political power and cultural capital or cultural representations. The Mapuche, I argue, have played a characteristic role in such processes, with the folkloric constructions describing them emerging in tandem with their relationship to the governing classes.

I argue that, particularly in Chile, cases for conformity and nonconformity with the economic, social and political order are made repeatedly through music, among other forms of cultural production. Chapters One and Two introduced the notion that sovereignty during late modernity changed, to revolve around the cultivation of life rather than the threat of death. Facilitated by the new scientific disciplines, this transfer opened the way for new political platforms and ideologies based on development, and eventually multiculturalism. With folklore, and later with neoliberal multiculturalism, music and artesanía are endowed with a unique currency, and they also partake in new polemics. In subtle ways, folklorization has facilitated discourses of conformity, by mobilizing the resources of the state and other major institutions for the celebration of the expressions of minority groups. I would certainly not argue that all folklore breeds conformity, however the very concept of it does play an undeniable role in neoliberal cultural policy.

Careful examination of the interlocking histories of folklore on the one hand, and popular music and popular culture on the other, also reveals a fascinating trajectory in the place of indigenous Chileans in modern (and postmodern) Chile. As late as the 1920s, Chilean composers marveled at the “enigmatic” sounds of Mapuche music, during the rare opportunities they had to listen to it. By the 1930s and 40s, composers such as Carlos Isamitt, Carlos Lavín and Fernando Lecaros availed Mapuche-influenced music to a

broad listening public, timed with the spread of new progressive political ideologies. As noted, these efforts were largely exoticist, and in retrospect they tell us a good deal about the prosthetic implantation of the Mapuche and other indigenous groups in new forms of idealism. Yet, these new representations of indigenous cultures were undoubtedly influential in the landmark social policies of the 1950s and 60s.

Nueva canción offers another fascinating case study, due to its establishment of an enduring paradigm for protest music, along with certain interesting links with Mapuche music and culture. Despite certain commonalities, I do not consider Mapuche fusion music, such as that of Pewmayén, which I analyze in detail later on, as directly descending from nueva canción. However, I do consider certain nationalistic, hegemonic discourses about folklore and indigenous cultures in the twenty-first century to have descended directly from Pinochet-era cultural policies that were a calculated reaction to nueva canción. In turn, the innovative Mapuche music I heard firsthand during my fieldwork is often closely tied to efforts at breaking with the lingering effects of these reactionary policies. Folklore could be both nationalistic and subversive during the era of nueva canción. Had he not been assassinated in 1973, it would have been interesting to hear Victor Jara's reaction to the dictatorship's proclamation of cueca as the national dance several years later. For its part, cueca is inseparable from the economy and social structure of the hacienda, which in turn is inseparable from enormous impacts on Chile's indigenous peoples.

These multiple political and ideological dimensions of folklore, which itself encompasses expressions emanating from the Mapuche, the Chilean campesinos, the

criollos, and various other sectors of society, bear an important lesson. That is, symbolic manifestations related to a given minority culture—be they music, dance, textiles, or any variety of other things—are not inherently expressions of autonomy. In analyzing cultural production and political conflict, it is worth heeding ethnomusicologist Deborah Wong’s caution, against “asserting a simpleminded politics of empowerment in which performance is the magic wand of identity,” or “creating a linear assumption of actualization” (2004: 6). As Chapter Two described, Mapuche activism has long struggled to balance competing ideologies of either integration or autonomy. As Chapter Three has illustrated, staking out a place for the local culture within the post-dictatorship economic development model has opened new opportunities for casting Mapuche expressions as signs of a healthy Chilean multiculturalism, which is not synonymous with directly empowering those multiple cultures living within Chile’s borders. For instance, the cultural capital that weavers command corresponds with various potential manifestations of value: the weavers can simultaneously advance their cultural identity and the wealth of their comunidades, yet they can also contribute to a justification for the neoliberal framework that brought ENDESA to the Alto Biobío in the first place, by cooperating with the appropriation of their highly visible, symbolically charged work.

From a research perspective, in order to know more about that dynamic, one must avoid snap judgments, and instead seek out a dialogue with the people involved. Looking forward, it is important to note that culture bearers also find new forms of power in the neoliberal, multicultural state. Through ethnographic inquiry and analysis, the following three chapters move beyond these general historical currents, into the details of how

individuals in Araucanía wield their creativity and their inherited wisdom in the spirit of cultural and political autonomy.

Chapter 4

Mingako Kultural and Ngapitún: Rituals of Autonomy and Renewal in Twenty-first-century Araucanía

Hablamos de la recuperación ancestral,
Del territorio,
Cultivamos la mente con leyes,
Convenios, profesiones y sueños, ilusos,
Yo tan solo quiero hacerle la revolución a mi propio estado,
Y recuperar mi territorio ancestral,
Desde el *Pikun-* al *Huillimapu*,⁶⁴
Tañi rakizuam, y sembrar en mis tierras,
Palabras ancestrales

We talk of ancestral recuperation,
Of territory,
We cultivate the mind with laws,
Agreements, professions and hopes, as dreamers,
I just want to spark a revolution in my own state,
And recover my ancestral territory,
From the northern to the southern expanses,
Our wisdom, and cultivate in my lands,
Ancestral words

“*Tañi Rakizuam*” (Our Wisdom),
original poem read by Emerson Marin Licanleo at the 4^o Mingako Kultural⁶⁵

⁶⁴ The words in this poem in Mapuzugun appear in italics. *Pikun* means north, and *Huilli* south; *Pikunmapu*, then, means the land to the north, while *Huillimapu* refers to the land to the south. Generally, *Pikun* extends north of Araucanía, and *Huilli* south to the Chiloé Archipelago. *Tañi* means our, and *rakizuam* means wisdom.

⁶⁵ I transcribed this poem by Emerson Marin Licanleo entitled “*Tañi Rakizuam*,” along with a subsequent poem by Danko Mariman (a.k.a. Salvador Mariman) entitled “*La Tierra Lloro por los Hijos que No Volverán*” (The Land Cries for its Children who will

A Day in the Country

A child's running footsteps clomped across the floorboards, echoing through the open space of the old community center, while an afternoon breeze drew a shy creak from the hinges of the wooden window frames. Since he didn't bother anyone, no one corralled the little runner, whose joyous footfall blurred the line between stage and playroom whenever he appeared. Guitarists, poets, and people who simply wished to address the audience took turns sitting before the group, speaking their minds and sharing their creativity. Outside, the summer sun lit the quilted, rural landscape draping the rolling hills for various kilometers in each direction. Inside, amidst the aromas of native trees and flowers, we enjoyed poetry, music and long conversations about life in Mapuche territory. This was the atmosphere during the *4^o Mingako Kultural* (Fourth Cultural Mingako), in the summer of 2010. Attendees shared a strong sense of freedom from any outside intervention, and this freedom produced a relaxed intimacy ideal for artistic expression. Although some of the performers had already gained local and even international renown, the Mingako featured no sense of grand achievement—no talk of grants, major expositions, or concert tours. As I soon learned, this sense of autonomy grew out of many years' work in the tumultuous arenas of Mapuche and Chilean music, poetry and political activism.

not Return), from my own field recordings. To my knowledge, both poems remain unpublished.



Figure 4.1. Front of the community center in Saltapura, and view of the surrounding countryside.

This chapter constitutes an “ethnography of the particular” (Abu-Lughod 1991), concerning the relationship between rituals and popular music (which I elaborate further in the next chapter), and the manifestation of *autonomy* as a principle in certain individuals’ lives, activism and art. Two phenomena, the Mingako Kultural, and the marriage ritual called the ngapitún, figure prominently in the analysis. The first is a small artistic festival, and the second is the topic of a song that a Mapuche rocker named Colelo performed at this festival in 2010. Derived from the agricultural concepts of *minga* and *mingako*, the festival is a harvest (and planting) of autonomous, indigenous creativity.

The annual gathering is the brainchild of poet and educator Erwin Quintupil, and it takes place in Saltapura, the rural *comunidad Mapuche* where he grew up; 2010 was the 4^o (*cuarto*, or fourth) Mingako. Erwin designed the Mingako after growing up happily in Saltapura in the 1960s, experiencing life as a student and young professional in the city of Concepción in the 70s and 80s, and subsequently moving back to Saltapura in search of a more meaningful existence. All the while, he honed his skills as an artist and activist. Erwin's own trajectory has produced in him a unique perspective on rural life and local forms of expression, as well as a pointed critique of outsider meddling—artistic, political, or socioeconomic—in rural Araucanía. The result is a stubborn and deeply creative notion of independence that materializes each summer in the Mingako.

The song “Ngapitún” depicts the kidnapping of a young woman by a determined lover, which sets their marriage in motion. An expression of spirituality, masculine violence and romantic love, the song recontextualizes a fabled ritual as an epic rock performance. Colelo has normally performed “Ngapitún” as part of an original repertoire with his band, *Pewmayén* (meaning Space of Dreams in Mapuzugun), active mainly between 2007 and 2013. Beyond rock with Mapuche lyrics, Pewmayén's art unfurls into new areas of musical meaning, which I explore here through a discussion of the sounds involved in “Ngapitún,” both the ritual and the song.

I propose three lines of inquiry around the mingako and the ngapitún: First, what do these performances indicate about the state of Mapuche rituals in twenty-first century Araucanía, where the economic and social circumstances that originally precipitated them

persist, but no longer predominate?⁶⁶ Second, what kind of relationship exists between rituals such as the mingako and the ngapitún, and the Mapuche Movement, considered the source of the most conspicuous expressions of autonomy? Third, how can we critically examine the place and resonance in contemporary society of these performances of rituals, in the sense that they are revitalized, often in an artistic context, versus the traditional performance of rituals, in the sense that they were originally conducted in response to particular circumstances of life? To address these questions, I briefly trace the anthropological concept of ritual, its place in discussions of performance and social change, and my ethnographic methodology concerning these issues. Next, I follow the development of Erwin's mingako concept, from his childhood through his career as an artist, activist, and educator. Finally, I describe Colelo's song "Ngapitún" as he performed it at the 4^o Mingako Kultural, moving from the song to a critical inquiry about Mapuche gender relations, and the difficulties of questioning sexual violence and its glorification in oppressed communities.

Ritual in a Changing World, and Ethnography of the Particular

Examining the shifting place of Mapuche rituals in contemporary society yields a unique glimpse at the nexus between ritual, performance, and efforts at expanding ethnic/cultural and regional autonomy. Studies of resistance and the negotiation of

⁶⁶ In writing that the economic and social circumstances that originally precipitated these rituals persist, but no longer predominate, I mean that, even though the rural sector comprises the majority of the region geographically, at this point more Mapuche live in cities than in the country. Most traditional rituals respond to specific conditions of life in connection with the land, in rural settings. Census data and testimony from Mapuche artists and intellectuals in Chapter Six further clarify this point.

subaltern cultural identities within modern, democratic Latin American states have advanced understandings of these dynamics.⁶⁷ This chapter deals with a situation that is perhaps unique to Araucanía. That is, as many regional residents are aware, cultural management policies in the recent democratic era, such as those described in the later parts of Chapter Three, have in certain instances actually stoked arguments for separatism and autonomy. A central goal of this chapter, and indeed of the entire dissertation, is to clarify through ethnography this paradoxical relationship between democracy and resistance.

In Chapter One, I suggested understanding resistance in the context of the Mingako Kultural as ritual confronting governmentality (following Foucault's definition of this latter term). In Chile, the concept of resistance usually conjures up defiance of the dictatorship during the 1970s and 80s, or more recently, ongoing conflicts over development projects pitting the state and multinational corporations against indigenous

⁶⁷ For instance, many regard carnival celebrations as sites of resistance, due to the line their practitioners walk between reinforcing and inverting social hierarchies (Dirks 1994: 486; Ritter 2013: 111). Other dance-oriented celebrations, such as patron saint festivals in the Peruvian Andes, have become sites of negotiation between competing regional identities, based in either the indigenous peasant or mestizo landowning sectors of highland society. As Zoila Mendoza (1994, 2000a, 2000b) illustrates, the value placed on folkloric cultural expressions in Peru fuels tension between competing *comparsas* (dance troupes), which articulate unique identities and values through movement, sound and imagery. Raul Romero (2001) demonstrates how, also in contemporary Peru, pre-Hispanic traditions whose economic and social bases are now subsumed under modern capitalism, are ritualized in dance-dramas, which themselves spark intense, productive debates about cultural identity. Both Romero and Thomas Turino (1993) describe how Peruvian rural-urban migrants place musical performances at the center of their struggles to maintain ties with their communities of origin, setting off additional debates about cultural authenticity on a geographical plane, in addition to an historical one. Ritual, then, serves to periodically challenge and reestablish the orientation of different sectors of society.

groups, rural residents and environmentalists. Ritual-versus-governmentality implies something slightly more subtle, but not disconnected from these general notions of resistance. In this case, Erwin and Colelo deploy performances and recontextualized versions of the rituals of their culture both to promote understanding of Mapuche life and identity, and to create a certain distance from what Thomas Turino calls the “larger hegemonic strategy” (1993: 140-141) through which the state reaches out to them. They interact with the state, as citizens of Chile, yet they develop ways of winnowing out appropriation by cultural outsiders, working instead toward an autonomous cultural reivindicación that parallels the political and territorial reivindicación they seek. In concrete terms, as the rural economy undergoes drastic transformations, the mingako shifts to a dual focus on cultivating artistic expression and tackling challenges unique to rural life, many of which stem from rural-urban migration. As the Mapuche incorporate Chilean practices of courtship and marriage, thereby weakening their preexisting institutions regarding these processes, the ngapitún transforms into a rock song. Both rituals remain deeply impactful, for reasons I explore in the following paragraphs.

Fundamental to this chapter is the notion that, although rituals convey longstanding values and mark out important aspects of social structure and symbolic meaning, they are neither static nor ahistorical. Furthermore, sociocultural change precipitates deliberate adaptations in the content and context of rituals. Developments in the anthropological idea of what a ritual is reflect such adaptations. Earlier areas of social science research focused on the capacity of rituals to, in Clifford Geertz’s words, “reinforce the traditional social ties between individuals . . . [and satisfy the individual’s]

cognitive and affective demands for a stable, comprehensible, and coercible world.”⁶⁸

Geertz added that, “Where [this] functional approach has been least impressive, however, is in dealing with social change” (1973: 142-143).⁶⁹

In recent decades, as social change has affected anthropology considerably, the concept of ritual has attained a certain fluidity with that of performance. For instance, Victor Turner adopted a view of both ritual and performance that appreciated the moments “in all ritualized movement . . . when those being moved in accordance with a cultural script [are] liberated from normative demands . . . In this gap between ordered worlds almost anything may happen” (1974: 13). Pierre Bourdieu (1990[1980]) added a critical element with practice theory and habitus, acknowledging the importance of cultural, social and economic structures, while arguing that people create meaning not only by adhering to these structures, but also by deviating from and subverting them.⁷⁰ It is worth noting Jean and John Comaroff’s observation (1993: xvi) that scholars from disciplines other than anthropology—namely cultural studies—have expanded the ritual concept so that it now stands for everyday behaviors, often without rigorous explanation

⁶⁸ Geertz refers to the functionalism of Radcliffe-Brown, the sociology of Durkheim, and the “social-psychological approach” of Frazer, Tyler and Malinowski (1973: 142-143).

⁶⁹ As Sherry Ortner (2006) summarizes, anthropology broke from the functionalism Geertz described through symbolic anthropology, structuralism, and Marxist political economy, whose practitioners sought out, respectively, deeper meanings, underlying logical systems, and the effects of capitalism. For an account of anthropologists’ attempts during the twentieth century to remediate the ahistorical nature of functionalism and structuralism, see Mary Des Chene’s 1997 essay entitled “Locating the past.”

⁷⁰ Bourdieu was not the first to discuss this human element, so to speak, however by directly confronting the “objectivism” of social science analysis, he expressed it quite successfully. For instance, he points out that Saussurean semiology and structuralism, when taken in a strict sense, maintain “that immediate understanding is possible only if the agents are objectively attuned so as to associate the same meaning with the same sign” (1990[1980]: 26).

as to what it actually implies. On the other hand, the nexus between performance and ritual brings new ballast to discussions of both concepts, since analysts of performance thrive precisely in the liminal spaces where classical anthropology fell short, and where cultural studies scholars venture less frequently. Along these lines, Deborah Wong (2004: 6) has observed that Turner's work on ritual and performance, together with Judith Butler's application of speech act theory to the body, are fundamental to our current understandings of performativity. Practically collapsing the two concepts entirely, Richard Schechner recently wrote, "Performances . . . consist of ritualized gestures and sounds . . . twice-behaved, coded, transmittable behaviors" (1995[1993]: 52).

In step with these conceptual changes, a variety of methods have emerged for researching and writing about rituals. My chosen tactic for elucidating the development of the Mingako Kultural during Erwin's long career is "ethnography of the particular." Lila Abu-Lughod recommended this approach in her 1991 essay entitled "Writing against culture," as a means of writing against generalizations that convey a contrived sense of authority in ethnographies depicting supposedly bounded cultures. The recommendation followed her enlightening discussion of the construction of the self/other dichotomy in fieldwork along a differential of power. Despite significant methodological and theoretical revisions of prior notions of ethnographic authority, including the writing culture movement of the 1980s, she posited that most such efforts overlooked feminist and ethnic or cultural "halfie" researcher subjectivities and perspectives, which are key angles from which to glimpse the unbalanced relationship of power between self and other at the core of the anthropological concept of culture. Drawing on work by Marilyn

Strathern, Abu-Lughod pointed out that feminism and anthropology have different ways of structuring knowledge, boundaries, and the relationship to subject matter (1991: 138), and that neither the feminist nor the halfie anthropologist can “comfortably assume the self of anthropology” (1991: 140). This very impossibility reveals key problems in the concept of culture, and the categorical manner by which anthropologists characterize the people they study. Instead of issuing conclusive statements about how a given people correspond with given cultural institutions or traits, Abu-Lughod proposed that, through “ethnography of the particular,” we can describe how individuals, families and specific groups of people actually live those characteristics. “By focusing closely on particular individuals and their changing relationships,” she advised, “one would necessarily subvert the most problematic connotations of culture: homogeneity, coherence, and timelessness” (1991: 161).⁷¹

⁷¹ It is worth noting that ethnomusicologists have proposed similar approaches to Abu-Lughod’s, namely Timothy Rice’s “subject-centered musical ethnography” (2003). However this approach grew out of a different set of concerns, and had different implications. By the end of the 1990s, the apparent reorganization of the cultural world into the broad “scapes” that Arjun Appadurai observed (1996), rather than the fixed, bounded culture groups known to earlier generations of ethnographers, had generated serious anxieties among ethnomusicologists, whose subject matter—both music and people—suddenly seemed to scatter around the globe like seeds on the wind. Rice (2003), Steven Feld (1996, 2000), René T.A. Lysloff (1997), and a number of other ethnomusicologists eloquently clarified some of the issues rattling their discipline during this period. Rice in particular tackled methodology. He distilled three central aspects of musical experience—time, place and metaphor—and prescribed a means of accounting for them among what James Clifford (1997) called the “routes rather than roots,” of globalized culture (Rice 2003: 153). He reasoned that ethnography could more dynamically focus on the individual subject, vis-à-vis the central aspects of musical experience he identified. Interestingly, Rice’s theoretical and methodological adaptations seem to have responded to the threat posed by globalization to the coherence of the subject-object of ethnographic research. In other words, older methodologies could no longer hit a moving target, so he developed a more sophisticated scope. While his three

Take, for instance, the concept of *autonomy*, so commonly mentioned in relation to the Mapuche. Among other things, autonomy can stand for decentralizing the Chilean government, increasing the Araucanía region's dominion over its own resources, restoring lost Mapuche lands, improving the region's social conditions, or some combination of these. I might well describe autonomy as a common value held, or pursued, by many regional residents, activists, artists, politicians, academics and so forth, yet in treating it as such I would undoubtedly fail to reconcile its various meanings. Furthermore, I would have no obligation to define autonomy across time, but rather would be free to work with contemporary snapshots of the concept, which would risk overlooking how it has changed over the course of history. Instead, I have chosen to let the concept develop through Erwin's narration of his own life and career, during which he engaged in various cultural and political processes. Many such processes have since ended, yet they continue to color his unique conviction of autonomy, which culminates in the annual Mingako Kultural. Likewise with the concept of *reivindicación*, which I described briefly in Chapter One, but which I have since allowed to develop on its own amidst the other events I describe.

axes are useful to contemporary fieldwork, his prescription falls short of addressing, from a uniquely ethnomusicological perspective, the increasingly brittle nature of the lopsided power relationship between ethnographer and subject-object. While also inextricable from globalization, this weakening of the ethnographer's hold on representational authority is a product of things more fundamental than the rearrangement of physical space alone.

Into the 4^o Mingako Kultural de Saltapura

Attendees at the 4^o Mingako Kultural included: Erwin Quintupil, the founder and manager of the event; roughly fifteen or twenty neighbors, mostly residents of Saltapura and other local comunidades; Erwin's sister Flor, who currently resides in the old family home, along with a few other siblings; his niece Loreto; a small handful of poets and musicians who had traveled from Temuco, and from as far away as Talca, Santiago, the archipelago of Chiloé to the south, or from comunidades elsewhere in Araucanía; and members of the arts and activism group Kolectivo We Newen (New Force Collective). Performers and attendees mingled, talked, ate together, and lounged in the tall grass outside the center. We picked apples and wild herbs, tried out one another's instruments, and got to know each other. People who did not consider themselves artists presented original poetry for the first time, and the group basically blended into a hodgepodge of camping, eating, singing and conversation. People hear about the event by word of mouth, and normally twenty to forty people show up, many of whom stay for two or three days. One couple arrived with their little girl, all three riding an oxcart, a traditional and still widespread form of travel in Araucanía. Shunning external financing and media attention, the Mingako is literally a family affair, based at the host's childhood *campo* (country home), with inevitable late nights around the woodstove or the campfire, hearing about the old days in Saltapura from Erwin and his sisters.

I arrived Friday evening, and stayed the entire weekend. Erwin explained how to get from Temuco to Saltapura, which was not very simple, despite the distance of only fifty kilometers. I left in the morning from Temuco on an westbound bus to the smaller

city of Nueva Imperial, where I waited for an hour or so to board another bus, the only one going to Saltapura for the day. No buses would return until Monday, so getting home was left to improvisation. The ride from the town of Nueva Imperial south into the countryside was a long, bumpy sixteen kilometers on gravel and dirt roads. The vehicle, a mammoth, dusty throwback to the 1980s whose broken windows clung together with packing tape, was probably inherited from Santiago or another large city during past renovations to the urban public transportation system. Many of the passengers were elderly, reflecting a demographic shift away from youth living in the countryside, where economic opportunities are wanting. The radio blasted foreign hits from the same era as the bus itself, and I distinctly remember rumbling along to the sound of Cyndi Lauper's "Girls Just Want to Have Fun."

Erwin greeted me at the top of the long driveway to his campo, the rural home where he grew up, and where his sister Flor now lives. I said, "Hi, I'm Jake," and he replied stoically, "I know who you are." The house was austere: old, wooden planks hung from the frame, with wide windows and doors that let sunlight in during the day, and the warm light of the kitchen out into the yard at night. Rural houses in Araucanía are typically spartan, outwardly ramshackle but full of activity, work, and the life of the family. People often comment that, despite widespread poverty conditions, Araucanian campesinos typically eat well, reflecting the quality of the local soil and the ingenuity of those who work it. In the evening I pitched my tent, then shared a big meal and a long conversation in the kitchen with Erwin, his sisters, and a few other travelers who arrived as early as I did. One of Erwin's sisters played the *trompe* (mouth harp), and Erwin told a

few stories. The night sky cast out a canvas of bright stars as we slept, the family in the house, and most of the travelers in tents arrayed in the unkempt, inviting grass.



Figure 4.2. Attendees at the 4^o Mingako Kultural in Saltapura, walking through fields between the Quintupil house and the venue.

The next morning, we made our way to the community center, about four or five kilometers up a gravel road from the house. Colelo arrived on Saturday morning, in a pick-up truck with several members of Kolectivo We Newen. Shortly afterwards, I shared a conversation with Colelo, Fabian Marin (a.k.a. Wenu Mapu), and Danko Mariman, a young poet and anthropologist with a significant track record, whose collaboration has been fundamental to my research; of the three of them, I had only met Fabian previously. In a beautiful little clearing on the other side of a pliable, barbed-wire fence, on the border of a sloping farm field and a grove of pine trees, we cracked a few cans of Brahma beer, which tasted marvelous in the hot morning. The three of them poured a bit on the ground as an offering before drinking. Fabian and Colelo related stories about being

invited to perform at events sponsored by the government and by public universities, both in Santiago and Temuco. Once at the Universidad de la Frontera in Temuco, in the middle of Pewmayén's set, riot police unleashed their *guanacos* (water cannons) on the audience, soaking the stage as well. At other times, the authorities had simply cut the power. The discussion prompted jokes about the Mingako, because an hour or so earlier we had all been flummoxed trying to connect a microphone to an antediluvian PA system. We talked for a while about music and postcolonialism—Danko being an avid reader of Frantz Fanon—before walking back up the road to the venue, and ducking once again through the relenting barbed wire.

Danko showed a documentary he had recently finished, while people meandered around, some watching, others conversing. A soccer ball occasionally smacked into a window, and we all sighed with relief when the glass remained intact. We ate and talked over an abundant lunch of *cazuela*, a country-style soup of with large pieces of corn, meat, potatoes and squash. Erwin showed me the green and red varieties of *aji* (hot peppers) on the table, and explained to me how to eat them, or alternately, how to crush them into a paste. Colelo sat on the other side of me while we ate. I asked him about his music, and he asked me what I was doing in Araucanía, not to mention in Saltapura. After lunch, Erwin opened the floor, and a string of more than ten people took turns sharing their poetry, music, thoughts and experiences.

Erwin's niece, Loreto, and Genoveva, from Kolectivo We Newen, both of whom were university students at the time, gave a presentation about the Mapuche student *hogares* (homes) in Valdivia and Temuco. Colelo performed several songs, including

“Ngapitún,” and explained what it means to be a Mapuche rocker. A Chilean guitarist named Mauro Rojas, from Santiago, performed original songs and poetry, and several neighbors from Saltapura and other nearby comunidades presented poetry as well. Fabian sang “Rap Reivindikativo” and two other songs, and discussed how his migration to the city had accompanied his development as a rapper. Carla Guaquin, who traveled over 400 kilometers to arrive from Chiloé, read original poetry decrying the economic servitude of the Chiloé archipelago to salmon industry. Emerson Licanleo, a neighbor from Saltapura who does not consider himself a poet, nonetheless read four original pieces, including the verses quoted at the beginning of the chapter.

Danko read five poems he had written about migration and loss, based partly on the years he spent as a university student in Boston, and partly on his reflections about life in the city of Temuco. From “La tierra llora por los hijos que no volverán” (The land cries for its children who will not return), he read the following:

Hijo de la miseria, porque así te han hecho,
Vives en la extrema pobreza,
Comes las migajas de dolor,
Cada noche despiertas con disparos, botellas y frío,
¿Valía la pena el esfuerzo? . . .

El empobrecimiento te obliga una vez más a migrar,
A la casa de los parientes en la capital,
En la población, en la vega, en la cárcel

Vas lleno de ilusión y con los zapatos sucios,
Si te dan trabajo será en la construcción,
En una panadería,
Pero jamás permitirán que vuelas,
Porque los angeles tienen otro color . . .

Despojados el Mapuche se registró sin tierra,
Ahora no te puedes desarrollar,

Así esta forma de empobrecimiento te obliga a migrar,
Y la tierra llora por los hijos que no volverán

Child of misery, because that's what they've made of you,
You live in extreme poverty,
You eat the crumbs of affliction,
Every night you are startled from your sleep by gunshots, broken
bottles, and cold,
Was it worth the effort?

Poverty obliged you once more to migrate,
To the house of some relatives in the capital,
In the población, in the marketplace, in the prison

You go full of illusion and with dirty shoes,
If they give you a job it will be in construction,
In a bakery,
But they'll never let you fly,
Because the angels there are of a different color . . .

Bereft, the Mapuche was registered as landless,
Now you can't develop,
And this form of poverty obliges you to migrate,
And the land cries for its children who will not return

This poem resonated particularly well in the company of Erwin, Fabian, and others who had lived a similar experience. After leaving the rural south to study and work elsewhere, both Danko and Erwin eventually returned to a much happier existence in Araucanía.



Figure 4.3. Erwin Quintupil at the 4^o Mingako Kultural.

The Mingako, and Erwin's Story

The word *mingako* in Mapuzugun derives from the terms *minga* or *minka*, which in different most of western South America refer to cooperative labor, in some instances agricultural. For the Mapuche, the *mingako* reflects both exchange with the Inca, and significant differences between these two societies, which had considerable contact prior to the arrival of the Spanish. Bengoa (2007: 148-151) points out that the Inca brought agricultural practices from much drier regions in the central Andes, and implemented them as far south as the Aconcagua Valley and the central region of modern Chile. Marking the southernmost expansion of Incan administration, these arid valleys on the

western side of the mountains sufficiently resembled their territories in climate and soil quality, for the Inca to construct their large irrigation systems. Management of a complex agricultural network and major irrigation projects required a structure of authority that the Inca also implemented (see Murra 1984).

Several hundred kilometers to the south, the Mapuche on the western side of the southern Andes have long inhabited a much wetter, more fertile region, which required neither Inca irrigation nor political order. Nonetheless, the Mapuche adopted Andean crops such as corn, legumes, potatoes and hot peppers, which thrived in the colder, rainier climate. The *minga* (or *mingako*), which persists today in many parts of Chile, involves families' exchanging labor during heavy work periods, followed by an abundant celebration courtesy of the beneficiary of the collaboration. The Inca relied on the familial *minga* for domestic agriculture, along with a larger, state-imposed practice called the *mita*, for infrastructure projects (Bengoa 2007: 151). By contrast, since heavy rainfall in their territory precluded the need for irrigation, the Mapuche adopted only the *minga*, yet they still benefited from the agricultural diversity that the Inca introduced.

Many have espoused that Mapuche philosophies of human freedom and attachment to the land consider capitalist forms of resource exploitation particularly abhorrent (San Martín 2002[1996]; Marimán, et al. 2006; Hernández 2007[2001]; Mariman 2010; Tranamil 2010). Despite a thriving pre-Colombian society, the archaeological record in Araucanía and Wallmapu boasts little architectural grandeur, signaling the lack of slavery, and likewise the lack of tribute-based political-economic domination, characteristic of Inca society. Any study of autonomy or social movements

in Mapuche territory ought to consider the rich ecology that these people have enjoyed for centuries, and its impact on their social and political organization. In the 1950s, some twenty years after the end of the *radicación*, anthropologist Louis Faron observed among the Mapuche a “tenaciously stable social system,” imperiled by the lack of impetus or desire to adapt to capitalism or to the reservation system (1961: xv).⁷²

The *mingako* has withstood the region’s tumultuous history, but not without significant alterations. In the 1960s, Erwin Quintupil lived through the Chilean Agrarian Reform in Saltapura, the Mapuche *comunidad* where he was raised. When I interviewed Erwin in 2011, he described changes in local agricultural practices, particularly as of 1970, when Allende’s Popular Unity government intensified reform efforts. At that time, wheat, which had arrived with the Spanish rather than with the Inca (Bengoa 2000: 11, 33), bore a unique importance to local agriculture, in part because the Agrarian Reform sought to convert the fertile region into the nation’s bread basket. However, the contradiction between the small plots of land pertaining to *campesinos* with limited resources, and the extra-regional demand for large amounts of wheat, rendered the plan

⁷² Today, threats to rural-dwelling Mapuche and other *campesinos* continue to revolve around agriculture and ecology. From 2009 until 2014, Chilean lawmakers debated whether to allow the privatization of seed varieties, which would have allotted genetically-modified seed and crop producers a major legal and economic advantage, allowing them to file lawsuits against small agriculturalists who inadvertently cultivated hybrid crops with copyrighted seeds due to natural processes of cross-pollination (for example, the wind). Additionally, privatizing seed varieties potentially threatens the traditional seed exchange between *campesinos* (often called a *trawün*), that dates to pre-Colombian times, and that many people credit with the gradual, careful development of both local agricultural knowledge, and the region’s famously rich crop varieties. In early 2014, the government rejected the proposal to give such permissions to large agribusinesses, but only after a new social movement developed, “*en defensa de la semilla*” (in defense of the seed) (Vizcay Gomez 2014).

infeasible. Still, during Erwin's adolescence the crop was a primary focus of cooperative agricultural activities in Saltapura:

Folks were organized in a committee of small agriculturalists, which gathered in my house, I recall. And as a result, they arranged for the arrival of a harvest machine, that they neither pushed nor pulled with oxen, but rather with a tractor—one of these same ones you see functioning today, to harvest wheat. And it was pretty much like seeing a ship arrive from another planet. We all knew about these things, obviously, but it wasn't something that we worked with *there*, it was unusual. In those times, the majority of the people still cut wheat by hand, or with harvest machines that were pulled by oxen, *las máquinas espigadoras* we called them . . . they were really long, metallic, and they were pulled by a pair of oxen, and in front there was a system of blades, that threw the wheat . . . and an elevator that deposited everything inside a cart drawn by oxen as well.⁷³

It was a beautiful *faena* (job), because there were a lot of people involved with it at that time. And all of a sudden there arrived these things that we were unfamiliar with, like the new harvest machine, and it did everything at the same time, without oxen, without more than one guy that went riding up on top, who wasn't from the comunidad . . .

The government . . . channeled, coordinated, supervised all this activity, as well as the handing over, to organized groups, of a tool of this nature, always with an operator, whom the government also placed there. And the harvest that had taken three days, now took less than one. (Quintupil 2011)

Erwin relates that, in the brief time of the Popular Unity, government agencies facilitated planting, harvesting and commercialization, in order to lessen the effects of price fluctuations and unpredictable weather conditions on small farmers. By contrast, both before and after the Popular Unity, *latifundistas* (large landholders) enjoyed disproportionate advantages, stemming from their access to better machinery, and from their capacity to lower prices without endangering their profit margins. Mapuche and

⁷³ In an ethnography entitled *Mapuche social structure: institutional reintegration in a patrilineal society*, based on research during the 1950s and published in 1961, Louis Faron describes agricultural practices predating the Agrarian Reform, including the use and sharing among campesinos of the ox-drawn harvest machines that Erwin mentions.

other small-holding campesinos generated their own advantages in the form of collectivity, both in the traditional mingakos, and in the small agriculturalist groups that generated a critical mass for the government to send harvest machines and other implements.

Song, Verse and Memory in Saltapura

Erwin recalls the beginning of his life in the following terms: “. . . I was born at some point, far from here, but when I was left in Saltapura, I was very small, so I have no memories of when that happened, or how it happened . . . ” (2011). A loving couple raised him in Saltapura, having adopted him when his biological family from Talcahuano, near the large city of Concepción further north, could not manage to raise him. Erwin’s adoptive mother was his biological paternal aunt, and the powerful bond he formed with his adoptive parents, who were fond of singing, reading and storytelling, set the course for much of his adult life. His personal history contradicts the typical pattern of rural-urban migration: after his birth in the city, Erwin’s biological family left him to be raised in the countryside, where he grew up in an untroubled environment, enriched by an indigenous culture and an endangered language. As a boy, he ventured to Concepción to study. Many years later as an adult, he returned to Saltapura to seek a more meaningful way of life. He has spent his happiest days in the rural south, where hard times typically drive people away.

Music, particularly the traditional *ülkantun* (songs), and storytelling marked Erwin’s youth. Like many of his generation in rural Araucanía, Erwin grew up in a

household fluent in both Spanish and Mapuzugun. He especially remembers hearing his parents and his aunts and uncles sing about love, with a twist of *picardía* (sauciness), humorously recounting the romantic adventures of youth.⁷⁴ As a young adult, Erwin began to record the songs of the *viejos* (old folks), as he affectionately refers to his elders. Despite having heard them sing many times, recording was never an easy task:

I recorded my mother, my father, just once. Somewhere I have my uncles also, some songs of theirs. Another uncle who passed away, I have a few of his . . . But I have few, very few songs recorded. It's that the occasion doesn't present itself very often, you know? To get together with some of the *viejos*, who are the ones that know how to sing . . . because generally it's not premeditated, but rather it's spontaneous. Song is always spontaneous, it just wells up. And they go until they get tired. And obviously, they sing for mutual enjoyment, to have a good time . . . (2011)

At a We Xipantu celebration in 2010, in the mountain town of Cunco where he now works as a teacher, Erwin performed *ülkantun* that he had collected. He introduced a love song called “Weñelfe” (Morning Star), by explaining that the ancestors asked permission from nature for all that they needed, “even for a drink of water.” The song is a plea from a young woman, a *kuñifal* (orphan), who asks the morning star, who is a man, to come and find her, and end her loneliness, for now she is an adult. Much more serious than the *picardía* songs, “Weñelfe” deals with the spiritual sustenance of love and companionship.

⁷⁴ In his book from 1911 entitled *Folklore araucano*, Tomás Guevara writes, “The most numerous among all [the Mapuche songs] are erotic ones” (1911: 119). Mischa Titiev, in his brief publication from 1949 entitled *Social singing among the Mapuche*, transcribes a number of songs concerning specific issues between couples, highlighting the importance of singing to family life and romantic love.

In Saltapura in 1981, Erwin recorded his mother, Carmela Ñancupil Lienleo, singing “Fvxa Kuyfi Ñi Mvlen” (For a very long time I have existed):⁷⁵

Fvxa kuyfi ñi mvlen (iñce)
Kuifi ñi mvlen, apuen
Akuy ga wigka
iñce ga ñi mvlen

Nien ga ñi luma karote
nien ga ñi temu karote
Kewafiñ ga wigka

Kvla pataka xipantu
kewan ga iñce
Kvla pataka xipantu
kewafiñ ga pu wigka

Waxay ga ñi temu karote
Waxay ga ñi luma karote, apuen
kvla pataka xipantu

Pvnoenew ga wigka
Pvnopaenew ga wigka

Coz kura mew
kafvlvtuñmaenew ga ñi coz kura
xayenko mew

Ilkagerkelu ga wigka
Xewa xvzvzkelu ga
coz kura mew ga wigka
Kafvlvtuñmapaenew ga ñi xayenko.

For a very long time I have existed
For a very long time I have existed, certainly
When the *wigka* arrived
to where I live

⁷⁵ One of Erwin’s sisters, Miriam Raguileo, aided him with the translation of this song from Mapuzugun to Spanish. My English translation, included here alongside the original Mapuzugun, is based on their Spanish translation, plus my own limited knowledge of Mapuzugun. *Luma* and *temu* are local tree varieties. *Wigka*, more commonly written *winka* or *wingka*, as well as *huinca*, refers to an invasive, destructive outsider.

I had my garrote of *luma*
I had my garrote of *temu*
I fought the wigka

Three-hundred years
I fought
Three-hundred years
we fought the wigka

My garrote of *temu* broke
My garrote of *luma* broke, certainly
after three-hundred years

The wigka defiled me
The wigka defiled us

For the yellow stone
He came to wrench from me and from the water
all the gold

Gluttonous, as they are, the wigka
like a dog, before gold, the wigka
They snatched all that they found
from my waterfall

“Fvxa Kuyfi Ñi Mvlen” is remarkable for the longevity it attributes to both the oral song tradition of ũlkantun, and to sentiments of autonomy and resistance. Erwin recently commented to me that, after recording the song, he realized that both of his parents sang it, and that all the elders in his comunidad seemed to know it. The subject of the song is both “iñce” (I), and “inciñ” (we), implying that, beyond the singer herself, a group of people identify with the message. The latter pronoun is not transcribed, but implied in the use of the first-person plural verb “kewafiñ” (we fought), in the lines, “Kvla pataka xipantu / kewafiñ ga pu wigka” (Three-hundred years / we fought the wigka).

Elizabeth Jelin (2002: 42-44), who has illuminated many of the contested aspects of memory following situations of war and conflict, argues that notions of inclusion or exclusion built into grammatical structures such as first-person plural pronouns, may relate directly to what she terms either “literal” or “exemplary” memory.⁷⁶ The former stands for a less processed and thus more unwieldy management of collective experiences, namely trauma. The latter indicates a group’s successful processing and conversion of these experiences into part of the collective identity, such that they can be mobilized to fortify a culture and enact important lessons for the future. In this way, in “Fvxa Kuyfi Ñi Mvlen” Erwin’s mother has conveyed to him an example of *ülkantun* as a sung, rhetorical mechanism for establishing community, processing the violence of colonialism, understanding the other (“*wigka*,” or invaders), and perhaps even articulating with the anticolonial critiques he hears in hip-hop, contemporary poetry, and other later genres. As Jonathan Ritter points out in relation to post-dirty war testimonial songs in Andean Peru, sung testimonies evoking powerful, collective experiences can be more impactful and more constructive than ideological songs of protest (2014: 220).⁷⁷ In sum, as an *ülkantun* that charts centuries-old collective memories of colonial violence, “Fvxa Kuyfi Ñi Mvlen” transcends the more ephemeral forms of protest music common in more recent history. Logically, then, Mapuzugun and *ülkantun* potentially bring

⁷⁶ Jelin cites the example of the first-person plural pronouns in Guaraní, “*ore*, [which] marks the boundary between the speaker and his or her community from the ‘other,’ . . . [and] *ñande*, [which] is an inclusive ‘us’ that invites the interlocutor to be part of the community” (2002: 43).

⁷⁷ Ritter begins this exploration of testimonial songs by considering them as an example of Pierre Nora’s concept of “sites . . . [and] sounds of memory” (Nora 1989; Ritter 2014: 220)

enormous political and cultural resources to the panorama of sung expressions favoring Mapuche reivindicación and autonomy. It remains up to people like Erwin to mobilize *ülkantun* in this way.

The song also constitutes an interesting historical document. The “*wigka*” came to pilfer gold, a specific reference to the Spanish, and perhaps also to the Inca. By the time of Chilean independence, and later the *Pacificación*, the spoils of war in *Araucanía* encompassed principally the region’s fertile lands, rather than minerals. Furthermore, the economic staples wrought from Chilean mining in the post-colonial era are concentrated in the northern *Atacama Desert*, consisting foremost of nitrate in the late nineteenth century, and copper ever since. According to anthropologist Ziley Mora (2009[1992]: 42-43), the Mapuche have long regarded gold as extremely powerful, and spiritually dangerous for mundane use. Since the colonial era, the Mapuche have mastered silversmithing, viewing silver as practical in a material sense, and protective in a spiritual sense. In this context, the invaders’ “gluttony” for gold betrayed their foolhardy barbarism.

When Erwin says, “Song is always spontaneous, it just wells up,” he inadvertently pinpoints *ülkantun*’s treasured status, as one of the most insulated expressions of a marginalized culture. Spontaneity is a virtue in *ülkantun*, and hearing the old songs in an unintervened context constitutes a privilege. Recordings from such contexts are relatively scarce, and this scarcity seems to have augmented a general fascination with *ülkantun*, particularly in light of Chile’s more amicable, pluralistic cultural policies in the democratic period. Field recordings by people like Erwin, who grew up in the

comunidades, are few and far between, and garner respect. At the same time, spontaneity is not the same as authenticity. Both concepts indicate a certain cultural value, perhaps understood as truth or sincerity, yet the former applies to forms and expressions of any era, while the latter applies to the supposed wellsprings of tradition. Spontaneity's value also manifests itself in the Mingako Kultural, where the objective is to create an organic space for expression and dialogue. (In fact, precisely in this spirit, the event's original name was *Encuentro en la palabra*, meaning Encounter in the word.)

In early October of 2011, I rode a bus from Temuco up to Cunco, toward the mountains, to visit Erwin at his house. In the dim light of a cold, rainy afternoon, we sat at his table and shared a big meal of lamb stew with red wine. He picked up his guitar and sang forlorn Mexican corridos over lumbering $\frac{3}{4}$ rhythms. As the low strings sent heavy notes rolling through the humid, late-winter air, Erwin's renditions of songs such as "Máquina 501" (Locomotive 501), dating from the Mexican Revolution, resonated a sense of loneliness that has made corridos and rancheras a natural fit for Chile's quiet, drizzly south. I asked where he had learned this music, and he replied that it was always on the radio when he was younger. Several generations in Chile have incorporated corridos and rancheras into their most cherished song styles, right along with cuecas and tonadas, particularly in the countryside. Erwin heard them in song tournaments as a kid, performed by accordion and guitar duos. He added, "I sang corridos while I looked after the animals and walked around the hills" (2011).

Radio diffusion of foreign music styles corresponds with patterns of globalization that diversified Chilean folkloric and popular musics during the mid-twentieth century.

As Jan Fairley points out, in the 1960s the blossoming of the stylistically diverse nueva canción movement in Chile drew on the work of folklorists such as Margot Loyola, Violeta Parra and Gabriela Pizarro, in addition to an increasing sense of cosmopolitanism owing to media penetration, and even cultural imperialism (Fairley 1985). Musicians' selective adaptation of foreign styles to local situations illustrates shared sentiments between diverse social strata and ethnic groups across and beyond Latin America. Classic versions of Mexican-style corridos in the nueva canción repertoire, for example, include Víctor Jara's recordings of "Juan Sin Tierra" (Landless Juan) (1969) and "Corrido de Pancho Villa" (1970). Today, singers dressed as *charros* (Mexican-style horsemen) sing unique local variations of corridos and rancheras in Chile. Along with Mexican music, during his youth Erwin heard on the radio many relatively new Chilean songs that explored traditional themes, rhythms and vocal styles, including many recordings by Violeta and even Nicanor Parra, whose poems have for many years been set to music.

Erwin said during our interview, "I think that poetry entered [my life] through song, through Mapuche song" (2011). As a poet who writes primarily in Spanish (the language he knows best), and who has a special fondness for Mexican corridos and rancheras, and Chilean cuecas and tonadas, his own art is not *ülkantun*. On the other hand, his prolonged contact with *ülkantun* informs his appreciation of certain other types of expression as extensions of what he values in the ancestral genre. For instance, Erwin has invited rappers to multiple Mingako Kultural events, exploring hip-hop as a form of music that, like *ülkantun*, deals with the complexities, trials and pleasures of life in a particular context. The old songs, then, are not Erwin's strong suit, yet their practitioners

demonstrated to him what it means to sing and compose. This flexible, respectful attitude toward expression, spontaneity and authenticity is liberating. One does not have to master a traditional genre in order to carry it into the current moment. Rather, locating the continuum of *ülkantun* with other types of music, and with Spanish-language or mixed-language poetry, frees the older expressions from their status as a kind of performed archaeology, and invites audiences to identify with their subject matter, in addition to appreciating their long history.

Performance and Activism in Concepción

At ten years of age, in 1969, Erwin traveled north to the city of Concepción, to continue his studies and live with his biological mother. At this point his time in Saltapura was limited to summer vacations. While he succeeded academically, the move initially disillusioned him. Having so enjoyed life with his adoptive parents in Saltapura, he reasoned at first that having another set of parents was a great stroke of luck. Unfortunately, he failed to establish a bond with his newfound relatives: “My biological father died many years ago, in 1982, the same year I graduated from the university. And I have a biological brother also, who’s alive. But neither of them mean much to me. That is, I could live the rest of my life without them” (2011). Regarding his biological mother, he says:

Her world and mine are completely different. In reality, she never really knew me . . . She never realized that she had an *hijo indio* (Indian son), for example. That her son, biologically speaking, in reality wasn’t her son, she never assimilated it. She thought I was her son. And she tells me the whole story that she loves me and whatever else. If she doesn’t know me, what the hell do you think? You can’t love what you don’t know. (2011)

The biological family was Mapuche only on the father's side. While paternal lineage is sufficient for legal status as Mapuche, their lack of interest in either their own background, or in the source of their son's happiness in his rural upbringing, contributed to Erwin's feelings of distance and ambivalence toward them.

As a student at the University of Concepción, Erwin began his work in the arts.

The year was 1976, and the political climate was tense:

Of course, the dictatorship had just begun, meaning that the whole security apparatus was installed all over the place. Obviously, the university was occupied . . . What's more, the University of Concepción was—until the coup d'état—it was a red university, because the Left Revolutionary Movement (MIR) began there, you know? Sure, because one of the leaders, [Miguel] Enriquez, was a medical student . . . in the Faculty of Medicine at that university. And the other leaders of that movement as well, they were all from that university. So, after the coup the university remained very much intervened. And when I entered, in '76, we were just over two years into it. It was all fresh. (2011)

Erwin's initial impression was that the performing arts during the 1970s and 80s in Concepción reflected an ongoing ideological war, despite the declared victory of the right: “. . . all the artistic activity of the era . . . behind it there was always some kind of political motive, the parties, the parties of the left. It's as though there was always a need to generate cultural fronts, like a screen, we referred to it . . . a curtain, you know? And behind it there was always something hidden” (2011).

Erwin never bought fully into the leftist ideological rhetoric or the party lines. At the same time, while studying pedagogy in biology and chemistry, his interest in performance blossomed, so he got involved with a group of students working with theatre and literature:

. . . a guy who studied education approached me, because we crossed paths so many times; he was a little weird, too. He wore his hair long, he was from the middle class, he lived really close to the university, in a privileged sector, in reality. By contrast I lived far away . . . And . . . I don't remember if the first thing he suggested was to start a literary journal, or form a theatre troupe . . . But we wound up doing both of these things . . . in reality he was the manager of a group of students of pedagogy, of different subdisciplines. There were people from languages, people from pre-adolescent education, there was a girl from special education, there were two of us from biology, I don't remember from which other courses. Anyway, that was how I ultimately got involved in things artistic and cultural. (2011)

This particular student group had no clear activist angle. Rather, they performed plays such as *La Mala Nochebuena de Don Etcetera* (The Bad Christmas Eve of Mr. Etcetera), about a grumpy old man whose spirit softens at Christmas time, and *Cenicienta* (Cinderella). Basically, they worked to open a space for theatre in the neighborhoods of Concepción, without provoking the ire of the military regime. After the production of *Cenicienta*, Erwin withdrew from the group, having learned the basics of acting and drama.

Having left the student group at the university, where he continued to study, Erwin joined a *Centro Cultural Mapuche* (Mapuche Cultural Center) in Concepción.

I learned that there was an *agrupación cultural* (cultural organization), an *agrupación mapuche*, in Concepción, that met in one of the churches on Sundays, and I went to see what I could do there. Up to that point, since I had gone to Concepción, I had never connected with anybody who was Mapuche, except those in my family, you know? My aunts, I guess, but not in a permanent way. I got involved in that group, and I worked with them a lot. And the mission of that group revolved principally around the issue of the *Ley* (law) of the dictatorship at that time, the law of 1978. So, yes, I also went political, if you want to put it that way, in my vision of things. [That was the law] that divides the comunidades . . . that transforms, in other words, collective property, which existed until that time, into private property. (2011)

The group that Erwin joined was particularly concerned about the Decree Law 2568, which removed protections on collectively held indigenous lands established during the *radicación*.

Erwin's Centro Cultural Mapuche belonged to the same network of Mapuche Cultural Centers that Reuque describes, and as such bore many similar characteristics. In contrast to the years of the Popular Unity (1970-1973), from the mid-1970s into the 80s, cultivating solidarity and awareness, and channeling resources to indigenous welfare, were tricky business. In Erwin's words:

We worked very hard, we did a lot of things around that issue. So, those were my first experiences in organizing work, and the resources were always scarce. The possibility that some foreign agency, foreign solidarity, let's say, would help us out, was remote. We weren't really militant, like the [political] parties were, because, of course, those in exile generated resources abroad, but they channeled them through their parties, at the beginning, at least . . . [So] the possibilities of getting foreign resources were really remote, meaning that we had to do things by whatever means we could. We simply depended on local solidarity. So, the [Catholic] Church played an important part in that moment as well, one part of the Church, at least. In the Bishopric of Concepción, I remember, there was this guy, he's still around, Alejandro Goic . . . He was one of those clergy [working in solidarity], now he has a role at the national level . . . With him, sometimes we had conversations, and since he was a maximum authority of the Church in Concepción . . . he had personal links with the *Vicaría de la Solidaridad* (Vicariate of Solidarity). (2011)⁷⁸

The Church played something of a neutral role, with sufficient political power of its own to host meetings where people questioned the government's authority, yet without risking the kind of repressive backlash that most dissidents suffered.

⁷⁸ In operation from 1976 until 1992, the *Vicaría de la Solidaridad* (Vicariate of Solidarity) was an arm of the Catholic Church based in the Bishopric of Santiago that, contrary to Pinochet's orders, worked explicitly for the social, economic, technical and spiritual needs of victims of political persecution.

Erwin recalls that the Church also opened a space on the airwaves in Concepción, using a station it ran to play types of Latin American folkloric musics that by the mid-1970s were all but outlawed due to the antagonism between the dictatorship and the *nueva canción* movement. As the airwaves slipped gradually towards freedom again, a program called “América morena mía” (America my Brown Beauty), from a station called Radio Talcahuano, named for the coastal village neighboring Concepción, began to play music by Violeta Parra, Héctor Pavez, and even by such overtly dissident artists as Víctor Jara and Quilapayún. The program belonged to a group of leftists using what Erwin refers to as a “*chapa* (veil) of a cultural center” (2011), called the *Centro Cultural del Bio Bío* (Bio Bío Cultural Center), which operated until 1984 or 1985. While listening to these radio programs, Erwin heard a call for people to come and develop artistic *talleres* (workshops) in Talcahuano. He responded to the call.

A lot of people showed up, I also went, and I joined that group. I wound up leading it, serving as a director. [Later] when it died out, things changed, and everyone got politicized. But all the folks who [initially] arrived, they weren't militant at all. It was strictly people from the *población* . . . not even from the middle class . . . I was the only one with university studies . . . Everyone else either had just basic education, or hadn't finished, or they'd abandoned their studies. There were a few more who were a bit older, like me, but they didn't have the same level of education that I did, you follow? They were of the *pueblo*, as they'd say . . . poor families . . . And everyone was really enthusiastic and committed to what they were doing.

We formed a literature workshop, we formed another one for music, we formed another for theatre . . . and I think that was it at the beginning. But all the while they were doing the radio program. I wound up making librettos for the radio . . . I did a lot of things. And later I got more into the area of production and management, also. We put on music recitals; that is, when there were recitals, it was basically us who put them together. We occupied a gym that pertained to a church, on the road to Talcahuano, because the priest there was a sympathizer with all this activity, and that's how it worked, you know?

The thinness of the resources available for either activism or the arts during the 1970s and early 80s constitutes an ongoing theme: “We did it with nothing, you know? We didn’t depend on any government funds, because obviously there were none, and because, what’s more, we were the dissident voice, against the dictatorship. That was my *escuela* (school or training ground)” (2011).

This “*escuela*,” the milieu of performance and activism in Talcahuano and Concepción during the first half of the dictatorship, represents an interesting crossroads. Erwin remembers that many of the pobladores who entered the talleres and Centros Culturales were initially apolitical, whereas the militant artists and activists more often hailed from privileged or middle-class backgrounds, having attended the university. As noted in the previous chapter, the MIR itself was based in the radical, intellectual leftism of a nucleus of students at the University of Concepción, and their elitism sometimes proved alienating. On the other hand, the talleres and Centros Culturales served as a kind of flux between the artistic and the political, where a person could enter to learn about the arts, and come out on the other side with a sharpened leftist ideology. These gatherings were a grey area between the sanctioned and the unsanctioned, where the periodic endorsement of the Church also lent insulation from political repression. As people grappled with the onset of authoritarianism, these spaces probably offered a sense of shelter from the storm.

Erwin pointed out that such efforts flourished, and eventually gave way to open, public protests during the 1980s:

I dedicated myself to working outside of the university, in these spaces . . . [that] were politicized. There was the Socialist Party, the Communist Party, the MIR . . . and the human rights advocates were getting into it . . . By the 80s it was all really solid, to the effect that when it came time for the first national protest, which was in 83, we were already a consolidated group. And at that time our original efforts also began to weaken, because people had become so politicized, with the phenomenon of the protests . . . People didn't need the space of the taller anymore, or of the Centro Cultural, as a place to mobilize, because now they had the street . . . And the issue became how to sabotage the government, and you had to *jugarsela por entera* (play for keeps). (2011)

The importance to the resistance movement of the smaller-scale talleres and Centros Culturales subsided as people began to protest fearlessly in broad daylight. The larger activist institutions took over, including political parties, as well as the Ad-Mapu organization on behalf of the Mapuche, which itself grew out of a network of Centros Culturales.

Erwin made a point of telling me that the Mapuche activism in which he was personally involved had little or no contact with the non-Mapuche efforts, nor with the artistic initiatives:

The two spaces never touched. The Centro Cultural Mapuche was never part of this artistic-cultural movement, because its work was not artistic . . . but rather it was about the *reivindicación mapuche* . . . the issue of the Law [2568] at that exact time, more than anything else. And of all the people we met with—they were very heterogeneous, there were older people and younger people—nobody had artistic motives. (2011)

The fact that Erwin's Centro Cultural Mapuche was neither oriented toward the arts nor toward the broader leftist movement might speak to the tragic fallout from the recent alliances between Mapuche comunidades and the MCR, dating to the Popular Unity era. Once the dictatorship began, land appropriations that had resulted from these alliances were quickly reversed, while the military intervened violently in the Araucanian

countryside (Mallon 2005). As noted, Law 2568 in the late 1970s supplied a new footing for Mapuche activism, ironically contributing to a stronger sense of autonomy.

For his part, Erwin did actually bridge the gap, bringing Mapuche themes into his artistic circles, and vice versa:

Still, on one occasion it occurred to me to do a recital of poetry and song. I think it was in 81, around then . . . And from having read [Pablo] Neruda and [his book] *Canto general*, I found that he had written a story about the time of the arrival of the Spanish, and all that. And I started to work with it, and I looked for people from the Centro Cultural Mapuche, and I found three people. And at the other [non-Mapuche] centro cultural artístico, I recruited one, so I got together a group of five people, including me. And I took it upon myself to do everything, even the librettos. I invited an actress, who actually just died last year, who was a sympathizer and militant with the Socialist Party, and I asked her to teach us, and to help us with the interpretation of the poetry, because one section was . . . similar to a cantata. But it was the poetry of Neruda, relating historical events, and we also incorporated songs in Mapuzugun. All the music was Mapuche music . . . Well, I was very young then, and I had a different view of things. But it was a nice piece of work . . . There is no recording of the performance, because at that time there weren't resources for anything, we didn't even have money to buy a cassette recorder. (2011)

Many musical and theatrical performances have adapted Neruda's *Canto general* to the stage, the most famous example being the 1981 album entitled *Las alturas de Machu Picchu* (The Heights of Macchu Picchu), by Chilean rockers Los Jaivas. To Erwin's knowledge, though, no one other than his own group has interpreted the work with entirely Mapuche music.

Erwin graduated from the University of Concepción with a teaching degree in 1982, as the activist role of the Centros Culturales began to give way to the broader protests. He stayed in Concepción for several more years, developing performances and workshops of traditional Chilean music. One frequent collaborator was the renowned

guitarist and vocalist, Patricia Chavarría, who today remains a close friend. Chavarría had studied folklore since an early age, including with Gabriela Pizarro, and had established her career as a recording artist and researcher of campesino guitar styles since the late 1960s. Erwin describes their work together, which began when he asked her to help him run a folklore workshop in one of the Centros Culturales:

I remember that, a friend of mine who's still alive, the folklorist Patricia Chavarría . . . She used to live near me, and sometimes we got together at her house . . . we had some lettuce, a can of mackerel, a bottle of white wine, and that would be our session . . . and there wasn't anything more than that . . . everything revolved around a can of mackerel [laughs] . . . And Patricia is a mother of folklore, man, you know? We lived in that era, and we did things like that. Patricia also helped me out a lot, because when I arranged traditional Chilean folklore workshops, I looked for her . . . Those were really tough years for her, economically, and she had to go out in the streets and sing to maintain things. So I accompanied her in all of that. (2011)

Patricia and Erwin put on various events with major figures in Chilean music. They hosted Gabriela Pizarro in Concepción, and Erwin hosted Jorge Yáñez in the Centro Cultural del Bío Bío. In the Centro Cultural Mapuche in which he participated, Erwin hosted Schwenke y Nilo. These and other noteworthy collaborators, including Eduardo Peralta, Grupo Abril and Grupo Chamal, traveled to Concepción to perform with them, out of a sense of solidarity. Typically they charged nothing.

Erwin recounts an occasion in which he went to Santiago in search of Gabriela Pizarro, who by then had logged nearly three decades as one of Chile's top folklorists, researching and performing music from nearly all the country's regions. The meeting put him in direct contact with the fabled Parra family, as well.

Señora Gabriela Pizarro . . . I went to simply look for her [in Santiago] . . . the woman lived in a población out on the edge of the world, with her

kids. That's where I met Tío Roberto ("Uncle" Roberto Parra), the brother of Violeta Parra, because I arrived to the house, and there was Doña Gabriela with her kids . . . and there was also Doña Catalina Parra . . . Tío Robert's widow [Roberto died in 1995]. And they were there in the house, and [Doña Gabriela] said, "You arrived at a good time, stay for a bit, because we're going to have *once* [afternoon tea]. And Tío Roberto," said Doña Gabriela, "he's right over there [out of view], he's just working on something." So she hollered and called him over, so we could have tea together. And I had no idea what the hell they were talking about . . . Sure enough it was the viejo [Roberto Parra]. And then, typical, the little can of mackerel, and some tea. Some of the poorest tea, the cheapest, because there were a lot of us. So, that's how we shared the experience, and they introduced us all.

. . . I had to go downtown . . . and Tío Roberto said, "We're also headed there, we'll escort you," because I was asking how to get to a certain place . . . And on the bus I went along talking with Tío Roberto, the first time I had seen him personally, in reality. But the thing about the story is that, during the trip, he told me that he had written a book, and it had been edited, and he showed it to me . . . *La negra Ester* (Black Esther). . . Afterwards, that work was a huge success, boom, *La Negra Ester*.⁷⁹ So, I was flipping through it, while it was just recently edited . . . but without having any idea . . .

I was in that walk of life, I met those people, in that way, no? I spent a night here, a night there. And later, Doña Gabriela traveled [south], and she stayed in the house of my friend Patricia, because they were friends; the viejita [Gabriela Pizarro] has since passed away. And I organized the recital, the publicity, all that business. I managed to get an interview in the newspaper with her, to promote the *huifa* (affair). I designed the poster; I did everything, and then we went out and hung flyers all around the streets of Concepción. (2011)

During these encounters, Erwin was struck by the artists' humility and accessibility, which fit well with his low-cost, do-it-yourself style, that Chileans usually refer to as *autogestión* (self-management). This approach to staging performances

⁷⁹ *La Negra Ester* (Black Esther), is in many ways Roberto Parra's signature work. Originally a book written in *décimas* (ten-line stanzas of poetry), it deals with the love between a singer named Roberto, and Ester, a prostitute, in the port town of San Antonio during the 1930s and 40s. As a play, *La Negra Ester* debuted in 1988, and today many consider it the hallmark work of Chilean theatre.

illustrates both the solidarity of the people involved (as national cultural figures, they could have charged a lot of money to perform), and a deliberate distancing from the larger funding sources and more powerful institutions operating during those years. For instance, Erwin claims that he never arranged an event in a theatre, but instead used smaller spaces, whatever he could find. Theatres were for events with official support, so they were out of the question. As he reflects back on his projects with Patricia Chavarría in Concepción, during which he crossed paths with people like Gabriela Pizarro and Roberto Parra, Erwin adds, “I would say that these were the Mingakos of the time. We all had that spirit of *everyone pitches in* . . . when we put on recitals, and we wanted to invite people from Santiago, the artists came, they didn’t charge a peso, and they even paid their own bus fare” (2011).

Still, the environment was exhausting. In 1986, Erwin, Patricia embarked on one final project, together with musician Nancy Ramírez. Patricia had the idea, and Erwin ran with it by writing a narrative, which Patricia and Nancy then interpreted with guitar and voice. They staged a historical play that they called a “*Recital*” (a cognate with the English word recital), set to traditional Chilean music of tonadas and cuecas. The narrative ranged from pre-Hispanic times up through the dictatorship, ending with an infamous triple political murder from 1985, called the “*caso degollados*” (case of the slit throats).⁸⁰ “When that was done, I came back to Saltapura . . . I was in kind of an

⁸⁰ The *caso degollados* (case of the slit throats) refers to an infamous triple political murder in 1985. On March 29, in front of a private school in Santiago, in broad daylight, a parent named José Manuel Parada, and a teacher named Manuel Guerrero, were kidnapped by the police. Another teacher, who tried to intervene, suffered a gunshot wound to the stomach. The disappeared were involved with the Vicaría de la Solidaridad,

existential crisis, so I talked to Patricia, and I said that, when we were done with the recitals, I wanted to return home” (2011). Soon democracy would begin, a transition that Erwin experienced with his family, in Saltapura. In 1990, the same year as the democratic transition, Erwin returned once more to Talcahuano to work as a teacher, and to collaborate with a non-governmental organization working on development issues in the neighboring coastal villages. He also collaborated with Patricia again as of 1990. In addition to these activities, though, he had by then spent several years reestablishing his connections in Saltapura, and setting the course for the eventual Mingako Kultural.

A Reflection on We Xipantu

Having laid out a significant portion of the background to the Mingako Kultural, as well as certain important developments in the anthropological concept of ritual, it is worth considering Erwin’s reflections on We Xipantu. The current practices associated with We Xipantu developed parallel with Erwin’s own initiatives, but with much different results. Specifically, as described in the previous chapter, the Ad-mapu theatre troupe initiated the conversion of the winter solstice celebration into a semi-official regional holiday, involving observances in mestizo, civil society. The transition from ritual to performance is significant, indicating that We Xipantu has gone from an intimate experience to a public display. The meanings conveyed in performance are strong, but

the Communist Party, and the teachers’ union. On March 30, their bodies were found near the airport, along with the body of artist Santiago Nattino, who had disappeared on March 28. All three had their throats slit. At this late stage of the dictatorship, the caso degollados was particularly scandalous, provoking the resignation of the Director General of the Carabineros (the state police force), and the life sentencing of the police functionaries who carried out the act.

they are much different from those experienced in ceremony. Erwin maintains that We Xipantu has, in some respects, been colonized. He points out that, prior to the 1980s, the celebration was in decline, until the Ad-Mapu theatre troupe decided to make a stage performance out of it.

In the old days, no one got the whole comunidad together in one place for We Xipantu . . . So, the form of We Xipantu today is a modern expression, since it developed in the city . . . from a dramatization . . . by the theatre troupe associated with Ad-Mapu during the 1980s . . . What they did was . . . reproduce things such as We Xipantu, [and] things like marriages, no?, certain rituals, to put it one way . . . from traditional Mapuche life, and take them to the stage, as a way of revitalizing them . . . because they were clear about the fact that . . . in many sectors, they were losing many customs . . . We Xipantu . . . they managed to get onstage . . . so that the audience would realize, “yeah, the old folks celebrated We Xipantu” . . . And they started to celebrate We Xipantu as an organization, in the headquarters . . . And they also began to celebrate it in other spaces. Now, even in the schools, We Xipantu appears on the calendar as a formal holiday.

CONADI . . . I’ve come to understand promotes the celebration of We Xipantu by the comunidades. And the comunidades receive resources for the celebrations. This can be understood as a very positive development, but at the end of the day what they promote is the party . . . The party isn’t the important part. You can celebrate We Xipantu with a few pieces of bread and some *yerba mate*, because We Xipantu was traditionally celebrated in people’s houses. Imagine how heavily the rain used to fall here . . . And no one had a house big enough for everyone to be in the same place . . . It was a meeting among family, and it was a special day . . . I don’t disagree with the fact that now it’s done so massively. But we shouldn’t lose the ritual meaning.

And the other thing is that We Xipantu is Mapuche, not Christian . . . But there are churches that are promoting We Xipantu and celebrating it. So they’re going to wind up celebrating We Xipantu with the Cross, with the *Padre Nuestro* (“Our Father” Prayer), and praying with the rosary . . . But it’s not *Día de San Juan* (Day of San Juan) . . . It’s not the same date, because . . . the viejos couldn’t have been so ridiculous as to say that the 24th of June was the day the year changed . . . Because the viejos arrived at their conclusion by observing the space around them . . . I think that the Church latched onto this festivity . . . to evangelize, to transform to Christianity, the indigenous people, our ancestors, in this case. They did the same thing throughout the length and breadth of America. (2011)

The development of a performance from a ritual gets to the heart of the issues concerning my research. The staging (literally, onstage) of indigenous ceremonies bears a distinct, exploitable value, related to the political centrality of multiculturalism. Furthermore, as Erwin contends, the case of We Xipantu also points to a longer history, concerning the role of Catholic syncretism in the project of colonization. In certain ways, We Xipantu's recontextualization as a festival resembles parallel developments in the central and northern Andes. For instance, Michelle Wibbelsman explains how, in Ecuadorian Otavalo communities, the "politics of discursive inversion" (2009: 75) that have taken hold particularly since the quincentennial of the arrival of Columbus, have involved an increased emphasis on indigenous rituals and festivals such as Inti Raymi, rather than the Catholic celebration of San Juan. On the other hand, while for the Otavalo this inversion reflects the impact of an indigenous movement on the execution and terminology associated with major calendrical festivals, Erwin characterizes recent changes in We Xipantu as symptoms of appropriation by outside forces, since in prior eras he considers the event to have had no festival connotation whatsoever.

A Reflection on Public Funding for the Arts and Culture

The previous chapter also mentioned the development of key public funding initiatives for the arts, since the transition to democracy. Again, to further contextualize Erwin's conviction of autonomy, it is worth considering his reflections on this topic. Erwin is staunchly independent when it comes to his art, and he puts this approach in

dialogue with his cultural identity. At the 4^o Mingako Kultural, he took a moment to draw attention to the lack of support from either NGOs or the government. In lieu of the FONDART logos displayed at many publicly financed events, the Mingako bore a Mapuche flag, hung proudly on the wall. Erwin gave me his opinion of FONDART. As a point of reference, he wistfully recalled how he had personally made all the arrangements for Gabriela Pizarro's pro bono visit to Concepción in the 1980s, including hanging the flyers around the streets of Concepción. He continued:

That's where I get that position, which I have today. I perceive that there are certain people . . . since they created FONDART with the Concertación . . . who basically say, "We're not going to do anything if we don't have a grant that will support us," you know? "And we'll need a nice salary, too." I'm not saying that it's illegitimate that they want to make a living, but I don't think it's the only option. It conditions you. It conditions you for a certain framework. If you're going to work with such and such funds, then you have to conform to the tastes of the funding source, you know? Of course, that means they can question you. And in all likelihood that questioning often implies excluding a project, regardless of its quality. I have that suspicion . . . So that's why I imagine that things like the Mingako, that have no pretensions of being a mega-event . . . it's really not necessary to have those resources . . . there's no pretension of having a mass audience, or of being a news item that everyone hears about as it unfolds. (2011)

In addition to what many consider the outsized validation that state backing lends to any project, Erwin expresses a parallel concern, that applicants for state funding alter or even distort their work in order to obtain such backing.

Back to Saltapura: Death, Family, and the Meaning of Gatherings

Attachment to place also inspires sentiments of autonomy. The word autonomy appears constantly in reference to the Mapuche Movement, particularly in discussions of

territory and natural resources. On the other hand, less attention goes toward exploring the attachment to place that underlies this sense of autonomy. Such attachment is undoubtedly subjective, and as a result, difficult to generalize. Erwin's experience, like anyone's, is completely unique, yet his own relationship with Saltapura, and with the people and ways of life there, informs his philosophy of autonomy in ways that he makes clear. In 1986, after seventeen years in Concepción, Erwin had returned to Saltapura. Life in the city had grown tiresome. He later recalled, "I came back because I felt that I had nothing on this planet or in this universe that sustained me, and I said to myself, if there's something that makes me live, truly, it's probably in Saltapura, in the house" (2011).

In the early 1990s, within a year of one another, his adoptive parents passed away. In the meantime, after moving home, he had shared one of the happiest periods of his life with them. The poem entitled "Detrás de una galaxia, en la pantalla de mis ojos" (Beyond the galaxy, on the surface of my eyes) (Quintupil 2010: 14) deals with their passing:

Detrás de una galaxia, en la pantalla de mis ojos,
hay una estrella parpadeante y solitaria,
desde el día en que mi madre ha muerto.

Detrás de una galaxia hay una estrella parpadeante y solitaria
que navega por el camino más breve
en busca del sitio en que los rayos verdes del sol no la abandonen,
que navega en busca del astro más refulgente,
y que ha dejado su huella sobre el lomo de *Xeg Xeg*.⁸¹

⁸¹ Xeg Xeg refers to Xeg Xeg Filu, the mythical serpent who delivered the people who would become the Mapuche from the wrath of another great serpent, Kay Kay Filu. As the origin story goes, Xeg Xeg, of the land, fought with Kay Kay, of the sea. The latter made the waters rise, and so the people climbed the heights of Xeg Xeg, who offered them protection. Xeg Xeg, then, signifies land, and more specifically, highlands and sacred mountains (Millalén 2006: 21-22).

Mi madre quiere llegar a los brazos de su bien amado y
asomarse a la curvatura del firmamento y verme. Mi padre
la espera al otro lado de un mar de estrellas tranquilas.

Yo estoy bajo el techo de la casa, en un costado de la Vía Láctea,
en un costado del mar, entre la humedad de Saltapura,
bajo el arco iris de la medianoche,
mientras me llueve con lentitud la ausencia de sus miradas.

Beyond the galaxy, upon the surface of my eyes,
there is a star, blinking and solitary,
from the day that my mother has died.

Beyond the galaxy there is a star, blinking and solitary
that steers the shortest course
in search of the place where the green rays of the sun don't
abandon her,
that navigates in search of the brightest star,
and that has left her footprint on the back of *Xeg Xeg*.

My mother wants to arrive to the arms of her beloved
and lean out over the firmament to see me. My father
waits for her on the other side of a sea of tranquil stars.

I am beneath the roof of the house, on a flank of the Milky Way,
on a bank of the sea, amidst the moisture of Saltapura,
under the midnight rainbow,
while the absence of their glances slowly rains down upon me.

In this poem, the galaxy is the great beyond, that for the Mapuche is the heavenly home of the departed. Erwin's mother shines down on him as a star, "that has left her footprint on the back of Xeg Xeg," meaning that she has walked the earth. She is now above with her husband, while the poet remains below in Saltapura, which in a cosmic sense lies on the shores of the galaxy, or a sea of stars. The loved ones' absence rains down like water, in a metaphor particularly apt for a region where rain is as common as sun for much of the year. The poem locates Saltapura as a point in the universe, perhaps at its center, offering an immediate view of the great beyond.

Attitudes and customs related to death bear the marks of historical change, and point to deeper meanings of family gatherings. Erwin notes that, today, death is basically a Catholic affair, “full of crosses,” and terribly sad. He explained to me his understanding of funerals in his culture, from older times:

According to the old stories, when people died, it was an event that required the presence of everyone in the family. And families were always dispersed, because, suppose that my sister had married, but upon her marriage she moved to the house of her husband; and sometimes the guy would live really far away. In the old days, there was basically just the horse to use as transportation, if you had to go somewhere fast . . . So, to get word to my sister that, let’s say, my other brother or my father had died . . . I could spend two or three days traveling . . . And in those times it was considered essential for all the people to be present who were important to the person who died, in order to have a proper funeral . . . They had to use smoke to maintain the body against the process of decomposition. I imagine that they buried people pretty well smoked, blackened, [laughs]! But . . . the important thing was that the corpse had to be surrounded by all the important people, in order to be buried . . . And they had to prepare *mudai* (a fermented wheat drink), and they had to prepare a whole lot of things. They didn’t always have the resources on hand, so they had to come up with them somehow. And the deceased person simply had to wait . . . All of this indicates to me that the moment of death wasn’t so tragic back then . . . It was more of a social affair. (2011)

Funerals were a significant motive for bringing people together. The deceased could not be interred without all the loved ones present, and the very efforts they made in order to be present were cause for celebration. Erwin argues that family gatherings in general were once more important than they are today, for the same reasons. From his childhood, he recalls instances when relatives would show up. It was expected that all of the cousins, nieces and nephews, aunts and uncles, be present, since visitors traveled great distances, in many cases walking or on horseback. The Mingako Kultural represents an exercise in

putting these values in practice, despite the fact that their practical function has lapsed due to faster transportation and communication.

Musical Analysis from the 4^o Mingako Kultural: Colelo's "Ngapitún"

Colelo sat before the small crowd with his acoustic guitar across his lap and his long hair pulled back like a Samurai. "The ngapitún," he began, "is the *rapto* (kidnapping) of the woman." Upon hearing this, Erwin's sister and another older woman in the audience sighed in recognition.

Erwin broke in, "So around here it's not voluntary?"

After some laughter, Colelo continued, "No, this happened just five years ago in my family, we still do this." Interested murmurs filled the air, while the musician smiled and glanced around the room, waiting for his turn to continue.

Colelo's band, *Pewmayén* (Space of Dreams), is a fusion Mapuche-metal group from Padre las Casas, now internationally known for their work. The band has performed many times in bars and concert halls, and they also have made a point of appearing at social manifestations and music festivals with an activist angle. At a different moment during the 4^o Mingako Kultural, Colelo called attention to Pewmayén's fundraising work on behalf of Mapuche political prisoners. On this particular day, he appeared alone with his acoustic guitar, sharing Pewmayén's creative center of gravity, his own songwriting, in an intimate way, unplugged.



Figure 4.4. Colelo at the 4^o Mingako Kultural.

Colelo continued, “This is also a manner, as we’re all discussing, of preserving this theme, and teaching it to people, to the children, so that they know about this ceremony, this moment in the life of a Mapuche that is so important, a *ngapitún* . . . First there are just gazes. It all begins with gazing at one another.” The song opens with a relatively slow, arpeggiated melody on the guitar, over an E-minor chord, in 4/4 time.

Colelo sings:

Miradas,
Solo miradas,
Que me llevan a dormir,
En el fondo de tu alma

Se acerca,
El galope en el silencio,
En el momento señalado,
En la paz del *calfuhueno*⁸²

⁸² The lyrics in Mapuzugun in these lines include: *calfuhueno*, blue sky; and *ruka*, a traditional house.

A un acuerdo ya se ha llegado,
En la *ruka* en comunión,
Rebosando fuerza en mí

Los amigos elegidos,
Acompañenme en mi emoción,
Cada latido mi destino,
Para siempre por amor

Glances,
Only glances,
That carry me to sleep,
In the depths of your soul

It comes closer,
The gallop in the silence,
In the exact moment,
In the peace of sky

An agreement has already been reached,
In communion in the *ruka*,
Energy overflowing in me

The selected friends,
Accompany me in my excitement,
Every heartbeat and my destiny,
Forever, for love

These lyrics describe the beginning of the process of the ngapitún. The lovers look into each other's eyes, and find peace there, falling asleep in the depth of one another's souls. The reference to sleep coincides with the importance of dreaming in Colelo's music. However, the peace is tenuous for now. "Se acerca / El galope en el silencio" (Coming closer / Is the gallop through the silence); something powerful is on its way, the flight of a horse's hooves. In the meantime, Colelo sings of an agreement, reached beforehand in the *ruka* (house), in communion between two parties. The "amigos elegidos" (selected

friends) will accompany the young man on his mission, which exhilarates his heart with love.

After these opening verses, the right hand transitions abruptly to a *galope* (gallop) rhythm, a swift, 6/8 strum common in Chile. Often employed in topical songs, the galope is smoother and less percussive or ornamented than other typical strums, such as those associated with the song genre of tonada, or with the dance genre of cueca. However, Colelo hits the down beats particularly hard, producing a unique galope that resembles the beating of the kultrún.

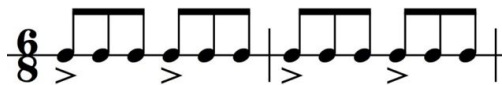


Figure 4.5. Colelo's galope strum, resembling a kultrún rhythm.

In her pioneering study of the instrument from 1973, Chilean ethnomusicologist María Ester Grebe notated prominent kultrún rhythms associated with the dance of the *choike-purrún* (ostrich, in Mapuzugun), one of the most emblematic dances of Mapuche culture. Among several different rhythms she transcribed, pertaining to different sections of the dance, the following bear traits similar to Colelo's galope rhythm on the guitar:

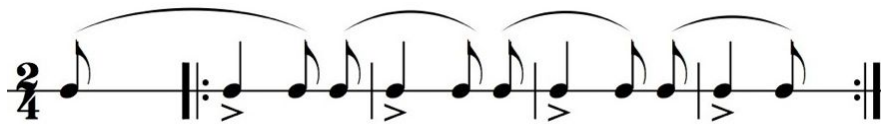


Figure 4.6. Choike-purrún rhythm, section "a"; adapted from of María Ester Grebe's transcription (1973: 19).

Screaming and striking, and in the end,
The act will be consummated

The man rides, accompanied by his closest friends, chest to the wind, breaking through the silence of the night, beneath a starry sky. Filled with spiritual magic, he is bound for his lover. He bursts uninvited into the woman's house, for this is a kidnapping. The other women in her family are there to defend her, punching, kicking, screaming. In the end, he rides off with her. The lyrics continue:

Es el canto del *kulkul*,⁸³
Que me hace renacer,
La pasión de un ngapitún,
A los pies de *Ngenechen*,
A mi *yowe* yo la llevaré
Como siempre soñé,
Y *yumbrel*,
En los altos se alzaré,
Por allí un ancestral

Unidos,
Solo el *canelo* de testigo,
Nos guiará hacia el *pewmayén*,
Justo en un amanecer,
Choike-purrún,
Danzaremos sobre el viento,
Junto a *ñi pu tremen*,
Celebrando muy contento,
Y en armonía de mi pueblo,
Su equilibrio encontrará,
Cosmovisión sin fin,
Y a la sombra de *kuyen*,
Tierra Mapuche nos verá,
En una mezcla de una sangre,
Libre hasta la inmensidad

⁸³ The lyrics in Mapuzugun in these lines include: *kulkul*, cow-horn trumpet that, unlike the *truktruka*, has no long neck of bamboo-like colihue; *Ngenechen*, supreme deity; *yowe*, people, in the sense of immediate family; *yumbrel*, rainbow; *canelo*, the most sacred tree; *pewmayén*, space or land of dreams; *choike-purrún*, dance of the ostrich; *ñi pu tremen*, all of my people, or ancestors; and *kuyen*, moon.

It's the song of the *kulkul*,
That makes me reborn,
The passion of a *ngapitún*,
At the feet of *Ngenechen*,
To my people I will take her,
As I always dreamed of doing,
And the rainbow,
Will stretch across the heights,
Of our ancestry

Together,
With only the *canelo* as witness,
Our dreams will guide us,
And right at dawn,
Choike-purrún,
We will dance upon the wind,
Together with all of our people,
Celebrating in the happiness,
And the harmony of my people,
They will find their equilibrium,
Endless cosmology,
And beneath the shadow of the moon,
Mapuche territory will see us,
Mixed as one blood,
Free to eternity

The song of the *kulkul*, another type of cow-horn trumpet used for calling people to meetings, celebrations, and games of *palin* (traditional Mapuche hockey) (Pérez de Arce 2007: 284), rejuvenates the protagonist of the ritual, who performs the *ngapitún* passionately, at the feet of *Ngenechen*, the supreme deity. The pair is united, with only the *canelo*, the most sacred tree, as witness, which guides them to *pewmayén*, the land of dreams. In the light of the dawn, they dance *choike-purrún* on the wind, celebrating in perfect harmony, as their blood mixes.

“*Ngapitún*” is in many ways a song about sounds, with a form that develops parallel to the tension and release of the ritual. The E-minor arpeggio at the beginning

foregrounds the intensity of a complex, pending consummation, as well as the tenderness motivating the lovers to enter into their pact. The stage is set for something grand when the singer signals the sound of an approaching gallop across the silence. The heavy gallop carries the young man headlong into the world of his betrothed, where he demonstrates his love by enduring the violence that awaits him there, amidst screams. The kulkul blasts to announce the success of the ngapitún, and the lovers celebrate by dancing choike-purrún together. The harmonic structure of the song follows the resolution from violence to love, transitioning to the key of G-major, via the subdominant C-major chord, on the word “armonía” (harmony). The song ends on a B-minor chord, ambivalently invoking both the keys of E-minor and G-major, and maintaining a sense of both tension and release.

The Ngapitún and Questions about Mapuche Feminism and Gender Relations

This song raises a number of questions about gender relations and violence that point the way to an important area of inquiry requiring further ethnographic research: Who is the woman here, and what has just happened to her? Was she just raped, or was the narrator, as he himself claimed, really the sufferer of violence as he extracted his consenting lover from the house? Does this song point to a different kind of relationship between romantic love and bodily contact? How many versions of this couple have existed over the generations? Is the relationship depicted in the song considered one of equality? Is there a female discourse somewhere out there concerning the ngapitún? The lack of immediate answers to these questions reflects the need for more attention, in this

work and others, to the gendered discourses embedded within acts of cultural reivindicación related to the Mapuche Movement.

Protracted political conflicts resonate in cultural narratives, and this particular song makes me wonder whether maintaining a united front against external oppression renders it more difficult to question gender inequality. If this is partly a political question, then how can we understand the place of women in a movement that relies heavily on the male warrior trope? I do not mean to suggest that a uniquely Mapuche feminism is impossible; indeed, it exists, and as sociologist Patricia Richards has pointed out, it has traveled a hard road. While researching her 2004 book on the unique political demands of indigenous women and *pobladoras* (women of the poblaciones), Richards found that Mapuche women frequently (though not always) take an activist stance first as Mapuche, and second as women.

Yet, this arrangement of priorities does not strictly reflect dilemmas in local activism or Mapuche gender roles. Richards writes that, “Two issues were repeatedly underscored by Mapuche women: The limitations of the concept of gender and the particularities of Mapuche women’s rights” (2005: 201). Many of her interlocutors reported that Western feminism fails to account for Mapuche cultural specificities, while Mapuche cultural and political activism often ignores unique issues faced by Mapuche women. Richards has also described in clear terms how some proponents (both female and male) of Mapuche self-determination have rejected feminism as a Western construct

introduced by cultural outsiders.⁸⁴ Such individuals claim that feminism threatens both the cohesion of the Mapuche Movement, and the comprehension of the dualistic relationship between Mapuche women and men in traditional settings (2005: 200-202).⁸⁵

What resources can Mapuche women leverage against this double bind? In reflecting on these issues, I recall how a tejedora once told me that her husband was terribly machista and jealous, and would not let her leave the house to work. But he quieted right down when she began to sell her weavings, and quickly earned enough money to remodel the kitchen, where previously he had confined her. I can write with confidence that I have never heard about such dynamics in any purportedly serious discussions of Mapuche weavings, which indicates that gender relations take a back seat to the celebration of Mapuche expressive culture. The fact that most authoritative discourses about Mapuche weavings are anthropological, but not necessarily testimonial,

⁸⁴ This rejection recalls Chandra Mohanty's observation that Western feminism's lack of a critical self-examination concerning its own place in a broader imperialist framework has historically resulted in its "conflation with imperialism in the eyes of particular third-world women" (1988: 64).

⁸⁵ Offering something of an explanation for this perspective that Richards encountered, in a recent essay entitled "Rape and the war against Native women," Andrea Smith writes: "Native women who are survivors of violence often find themselves caught between the tendency within Native communities to remain silent about sexual and domestic violence in order to maintain a united front against racism and colonialism and the insistence on the part of the white-dominated antiviolence movement that survivors cannot heal from violence unless they leave their communities. The reason Native women are constantly marginalized in male-dominated discourses about racism and colonialism and in white-dominated discourses about sexism is the inability of both discourses to address the inextricable relationship between gender violence and colonialism. That is, the issue is not simply that violence against women happens during colonization but that the colonial process is itself structured by sexual violence. It is not possible for Native nations to decolonize themselves until they address gender violence because it is through this kind of violence that colonization has been successful" (2005: 63-64).

reflects poorly upon anthropologists' willingness to address colonialism's reliance upon gender inequality and sexual violence.

Feminism is by no means foreign to Chile, and various feminist voices have issued effective critiques of Chilean patriarchy and machismo. On the other hand, gender relations among the Mapuche remain distant from the more vocal discussions of gender relations in Chile. I suspect that the marginalization of Mapuche gender relations in these other discourses results in part from external perceptions of Mapuche culture as occult, guided, for instance, by *machi*, whose gender identities are poorly understood among non-Mapuche. Additionally, it is likely that feminists and other progressives have considered that drawing attention to problems with Mapuche gender relations would risk reinscribing profoundly racist discourses inherited from centuries of colonialism. As Andrea Smith points out in reference to Native Americans in North America, the association established in colonial literature, between Native peoples and heathenness, filth, and sexual promiscuity, rationalized their eradication and confinement in territorial reductions: "Because Indian bodies are 'dirty,' they are considered sexually violable and 'rapable'" (2005: 65).

Historical Context and Interpretation of the song "Ngapitún"

Today, according to Colelo, the *ngapitún* ritual still occurs, though in general it is considered a historical phenomenon. At the start of the twentieth century, a *lonco* (local territorial leader) named Pascual Coña, from the coastal area near Puerto Saavedra, dictated a lengthy testimonial to a Bavarian Capuchin Friar named Ernesto Wilhelm de

Moesbach. Lonco Pascual Coña's story remains one of the most complete, original documents in Mapuzugun. Among detailed descriptions of many aspects of life where he resided, Pascual Coña said the following about the ngapitún:

In the old days the indigenous men obtained women through various means: they bought the girl or ran off with her; they stole a married woman or snatched a young nubile.

Marriage by force was the most common . . .

A man intending to marry gathers his neighbors to ask for their help.⁸⁶ He . . . selects the two strongest men. To one he says, "When we enter the house situate yourself near the father's bed, and get a firm hold of him . . . otherwise he'll hit us" . . .

They enter the house, where everyone is in a deep sleep . . . Some bring meat to keep the dogs quiet. The two strong men go and stay near the bed of the parents, to punch them as soon as they wake up and try to get out of bed. The others get the girl out of her bed.

"Who is it?" she says; as she speaks, they've already taken her.

"Help!" she screams, "there are people here; they're taking me away!" . . .

The mother gets furious and says with rage, "You've done bad things here, you damn dog, you've robbed me of my daughter. What kind of uncouth, womanizing animal messes up my house and runs off with my girl? You couldn't come and ask for her properly?" . . .

The future husband carries her up on the haunches of the horse [behind his saddle]; she is tied to him by the waist, so the two are intertwined. That's how they carry the girl off. They all follow in a single throng; on the road they make a clamor of victory and sound their flutes; they shout with all their strength.⁸⁷

The ruckus angers the kidnapped bride even more. "Now they're making fun of me, those fools," she says in her anger. So instead of looking at the guy carrying her on the haunches as her husband, the young lady bites him and pinches his back. To each victory cry she responds with a bite; she takes pieces of flesh off his back . . . (2006[1930]: 246-250).

Pascual Coña also described that, the following day, the bride receives consolation and advice from the women of her new husband's family. They tell her that the experience is

⁸⁶ According to Moesbach's translation, although Pascual Coña begins the discussion of the marriage ritual in the past tense, upon introducing these details he switches to the present.

⁸⁷ The flutes that Pascual Coña mentions are probably pifilkas.

common, and that she'll get used to it. Meanwhile, the groom holds a feast to celebrate the marriage. If the bride persists in her unhappiness, she might run away, typically returning to her parents' house. At that point, the groom gives his in-laws an ultimatum: either they return the girl, or face another attack. If the marriage eventually holds, then the groom rewards his in-laws with gifts and festivities. Thus, Coña's description frames the event as an economic arrangement between the groom and his in-laws.

Based on his research during the early twentieth century, the ethnologist Tomás Guevara concluded that, following the disruption of Mapuche society during the Guerra de la Pacificación, the ngapitún became a purely symbolic ritual, for which the economic and social basis had already diminished. He noted that a persistent aspect of the ngapitún into the twentieth century involved the groom's hosting of a banquet, and his bestowing large gifts upon his in-laws, such as valuable animals (1904: 15-20). Today, Mapuche marriages still often require this customary bride price. I have heard Mapuche friends and acquaintances discuss the prospect of marriage, commenting that they will have to put away money for a horse. The bride price, together with the strained economy in central-southern Chile, might partially account for a general decline in young people's interest in marriage. Confirming whether or not this combination of factors has affected marriage rates would require additional research, yet for the present analysis it provides an interesting backdrop for Colelo's musical exploration of the ngapitún. Guevara also wrote that, following the Pacificación, violence against women decreased (1913: 207). This observation is difficult to corroborate, and it also might suggest that Guevara sought to

justify the recent invasion through his reports about developments in Mapuche social life.

For his part, Coña suggested that the women could be quite violent as well.

Discussions of the historical frequency and the details of the ngapitún are somewhat speculative. For instance, Guevara may have tried to demonstrate that the invasion and the relocation process had produced the conditions for the Mapuche to assimilate into Chilean society. The ritual's flamboyance draws a lot of attention, but it was probably not as common in all regions as Pascual Coña claimed that it was where he resided. At mid-century, the ethnographer and Benedictine nun, Sister M. Inez Hilger, collected oral testimonies about many older aspects of life. In the mountain region of Coñaripe where she conducted her research, nearly 200 kilometers east of Puerto Saavedra, she reported that a marriage was typically arranged by the parents, and the bride price was determined according to the wealth of the groom's family. When the bride and groom lived a significant distance apart, the groom traveled with his relatives, and camped near the bride's house. They offered whatever gifts they could, at which point the parents of the bride escorted her to her new family, and the visitors left peacefully, accompanied by the bride. Hilger reports that kidnappings were less common, resulting from instances when the bride's father would not consent to the union, or when a married man desired an additional bride. In other cases, couples who could not obtain their parents' approval met secretly at night and eloped (1957: 131-133; 1966: 98-105). I have also heard stories of Chilean men running off with their brides on horseback against the in-laws' remonstrations, suggesting that the ngapitún might represent the Mapuche version of practices common among various sectors of society during the colonial and

early republican eras. In summary, the generalized patrilocal marriage customs of the Mapuche, combined with an array of behaviors resulting from tension in courtship situations, or from efforts at subverting the authority of either or both sets of parents, offer a colorful range of imagery about what an epic *ngapitún* might have entailed.

Colelo's "*Ngapitún*" is central to a repertoire commonly referred to as fusion Mapuche-metal, by the band Pewmayén. As Héctor Muñoz and Nathalie Peret note in their writing on metal and political action in Araucanía, Pewmayén's sound grows out of their equal mastery of Mapuche music and rock (2011: 43). The idea that Mapuche plus metal amounts to fusion (rather than simply metal concerning Mapuche culture in a topical sense) implies that, in addition to a culture or an ethnicity, Mapuche is a distinct musical category. Colelo's songs draw on uniquely Mapuche musical structures, patterns, and expressions, such as the *kultrún* rhythms in the transcriptions above. Moreover, he incorporates ideas about sound that grow out of his culture's rituals and customs. As in the song, the role of sound in the historical accounts of the *ngapitún* is significant: screaming, hoof beats, flutes, victory cries. Colelo's song effectively aligns the force conveyed by these sounds with the social and cultural critique that his brand of metal transmits. In Araucanía, where so many social problems are related in one way or another to the strife of the Mapuche, the fuller meanings of metal emerge when that metal is Mapuche. As Jacques Attali writes, "A sign: music has always been one. But it has been a deritualized, autonomous, commercial sign for too short a time for the study of its production and enjoyment to begin there" (1985: 24). In other words, the historical and cultural backdrops over which modern musical production is superimposed hold the keys

to music's deeper meanings. In this view, Pewmayén's metal merely represents the most recent phase of Mapuche sound concerning such intense experiences as the ngapitún.

“Rompiendo el silencio” (breaking the silence) is a key line, which takes the song into a space of rupture, force and uncertainty. The lyrics and the sounds describe a violent intervention to wrench the woman from the arms of her defenders—parents, girlfriends, siblings. The ngapitún sounds like a paramilitary attack on the social structure of the family, an assault on stability that itself has attained the status of sanctioned ritual. The event seemingly reflects an inherent, internal instability in Mapuche society: why would any coherent cultural or social system require such violence for something as basic and recurring as marriage? At a quick glance, the ngapitún could serve to rationalize the savage label of any analysis determining that the Mapuche are noble savages, a fascinating ethnic group, but now fit for erasure by assimilation into a society that looks less fondly upon behaviors such as lovestruck kidnapping. Yet, there is more to the story. The older ethnographies report that the ngapitún occurred in the cases of a minority of marriages, making it illogical to simply write off the Mapuche as violent in things related to courtship. On the other hand, deflating the historical importance of the ngapitún for what we might assume are statistical reasons that are now impossible to investigate is also counterproductive, because indeed there is great meaning here.

I propose considering that conformity is silence. Seesawing between whether or not the ngapitún was ever widespread amounts to a negotiation of conformity with the neocolonial mentality that violence ought to be repressed out of the main rituals of courtship, channeled instead into the invisibility of the micro-social environment of the

conjugal household, where rather than having it out grandly in public one time, the married couple is free to bicker and fight passive-aggressively for the duration of their marriage. I do not claim that beginning married life with a ngapitún necessarily precludes the typical dysfunctions of modern, Western marriages; that would be going way too far. Rather, I propose understanding the romanticism of a sung depiction of a ngapitún as a break with the silence of conformity to a colonizing model of courtship that is no less dysfunctional, and certainly no less violent. Reflecting upon rituals such as the ngapitún allows us to make a mental break with the current way of doing things related to courtship, and in the chaotic, mysterious space of an historical record rife with lacunae, imagine other forms of love-taking and lovemaking. Colelo insinuates an heroic romance. Set against the Araucanian topography, it would include wild adventures on horseback, long hair in the wind, flying through pastures and over brooks, fording rivers beneath majestic volcanoes, outrunning a posse of irate in-laws, flutes and kulkuls blasting, for this is a musical affair, as scratching and punching give way to caressing and passion. The woman is silenced, since recognizing her suffering, or the role of rape, could undermine the fluidity between ritual and heavy metal. In another day or so, peace is restored with a feast, courtesy of the young man who has just claimed what is his in the world. This thrilling, bruising journey through the borderlands of memory, imagination and masculine violence is where we find the power today of this particular old ritual. This is a break with silence that a rock musician understands better than anybody.

Nighttime at the 4^o Mingako Kultural

After the presentations and performances, as the glowing, late-day sun approached the treetops of the farm fields to the west of us, we packed up the instruments and the old PA system and headed back to the house where Erwin grew up. Some people went in pick-up trucks with the gear, back down the gravel road between the community center and the house. Most of us followed Erwin on foot, cutting through neighbors' fields, on a path navigable only by locals. At the house, we enjoyed *once* (afternoon tea) around a table on the porch. During the conversation, Loreto and others who studied in the universities far from their homes described how being a Mapuche student can feel like being outnumbered two-hundred to one. We also discussed problems facing small farmers in the south, such as seed monopolies by large corporations, which threaten local crop varieties. Erwin put out coffee mugs for everyone, and Fabian, the author of "Rap Reivindikativo," wound up with a mug bearing the slogan "100% Piñera," with the candidate's picture. The situation got a good laugh out of the group, and I never found out whether Erwin gave him the mug on purpose, or how it arrived in the house in the first place.

When night had fallen, Fabian asked Erwin if we could build a fire. In the darkness, Erwin led us up a small hill on the property, past a flock of sheep, to a big brush pile. We dragged thick, spindly branches back down the hill, broke them up by stomping on them, and built a roaring campfire. Amid the din, someone asked me to play some music, so I sheepishly took out my mandolin. Back in the United States, I had played on fairly large stages with bluegrass bands, but in this situation, after only about a

month in Araucanía, I felt muted and nervous by the constant rush of new experiences I was trying to understand. I hesitantly played a bluegrass song called “Columbus Stockade Blues,” which garnered minimal applause. By now, Fabian was walking a slow circle around the group, pouring a strong, local liquor called *aguardiente* into a glass, and extending it to people, one at a time. Each person poured a bit on the ground (as an offering), then sipped or drained the glass, and handed it back to Fabian, who moved on around the circle. He reached me as I finished my song, handed me the glass, and said, “Narcorridos?” We both laughed as I downed the firewater. The embers glowed hotter while the group loosened up. Someone brought Erwin’s guitar out of the house, but no one played it at first. I offered to tune it, and then improvised a bit of twelve-bar blues, before deferring to whomever else might be better qualified to get a campfire jam going. Mauro also played a few songs, and then left the guitar on the bench.

Suddenly we heard a kulkul blast from an adjacent farm field, and we all turned our attention toward it. Excited voices and footsteps approached, punctuated by another blast, this time closer and louder. The cow-horn trumpet whipped the dogs from the surrounding farms into a frenzy, and I could sense the whole countryside coming alive with sound and celebration. Soon Colelo and several neighbors appeared in the firelight, having paraded in through the darkness. We greeted them with laughter and embraces, and made room around the fire. Someone passed the guitar to Colelo. I heard the sparks of the fire and the remaining moisture hissing out of the burning wood, as the group hushed in anticipation.

Colelo cut through the stillness with a triple-meter *punteo* (fingerpicking), and sang “Juan Sin Tierra” (Landless Juan), a Mexican corrido by Jorge Saldaña, about the rise and fall of Emiliano Zapata and the Mexican Revolution. The corrido describes how a peasant winds up without the land that Zapata had promised him, and how Zapata himself winds up dead. The irony of Saldaña’s piece makes it emblematic of the simultaneous centrality and marginalization of peasants in many political movements. Víctor Jara conveyed a similar sense of revolutionary hope and tragedy when he recorded “Juan Sin Tierra” in 1969, on the eve of socialism in Chile. Colelo’s performance at the campfire also resonated with the love for corridos among Araucanian campesinos, who themselves have struggled through consecutive upheavals and movements that claim them as a cause.

After Colelo played a few more numbers, someone asked for a kultrún, and a neighbor named Fernando headed off to his house to look for one. After he returned, several people passed the instrument around, but no one played it for nearly an hour. Rather, they held it close to the fire to warm it up. Ariel, an attendee who is also an expert on Mapuche ceremonies and iconography, sat with the instrument between his knees, facing the fire, gently tapping it with the *palos* (sticks) used for playing it, to gradually loosen the hide. Finally, the kultrún was warm, and Fabian broke into an upbeat, triple-meter rhythm. Two people accompanied him with pifilkas (wooden flutes with one opening), and a truktruka. Before long, Erwin encouraged everyone to stand up and follow him in a circle around the fire, while the kultrún belted out its rhythm. Erwin showed us how to take two small steps with each foot, so that even the uninitiated could

participate. “It’s easy,” he said, “just follow me.” Several people held *mantas* (large cloaks) up over their heads, swinging them back and forth like the wings of a bird. This joyous frolic around the midnight fire was the dance of the ostrich, the dance of the choike-purrún.

Conclusion

I have worked here to critically discuss the nexus between traditional Mapuche song and dance, corridos about the Mexican Revolution, heavy metal, neoliberalism and multiculturalism, and the relationship between the arts and the Mapuche Movement. The Mingako Kultural and the recontextualization of the ngapitún as a rock song unite these factors, installing them in the same performance environment, and generating new, coherent meanings through them. Contextualizing such performances requires examining the wide range of historical and cultural processes through which people like Erwin and Colelo have developed their particular expressions. I do not mean to follow directly in the footsteps of functionalism, by outlining a totality of experiences that hang together in equilibrium through rituals. Rather, I have labored to describe in the broadest and deepest sense possible the heterogeneous and often discontinuous elements that I perceive—contingent upon my own limitations as a researcher—as having amounted to the palpable spirit of autonomy on a particular occasion, the 4^o Mingako Kultural. Upon interviewing Erwin, I learned that the Mingako Kultural has its roots in a long career of art and activism, and in a particular critique of Chilean cultural policy. Tracing his career has

opened a unique glimpse at recent history, and the gradual manner through which a person develops their art and their political posture.

The content of this chapter offers several responses to the questions I raised in the opening paragraphs. For one thing, to those in the social sciences and humanities who study these themes, I propose a more dynamic view of the power of rituals in contemporary society. This view must account for the continuity between, on the one hand, the capacity of traditional sounds, movements and expressions to cast social relations, and personal agency within those relations, and on the other hand, the forms of popular music, poetry, and contemporary art that members of the same culture now deploy to express their positions relative to their families, communities, social institutions and political movements. While the contexts of performances and rituals from one era to the next shift markedly, missing the continuity between forms, genres and generations risks asserting an assimilationist reading, which cherishes indigenous peoples as historical subject-objects, but not as vital actors in today's world.

For its part, We Xipantu (described in this and the previous chapter) demonstrates how, in recent years, Araucanian civic life has absorbed certain Mapuche celebrations, thereby altering both the overall perception of those celebrations, and their very importance. In a way, We Xipantu indicates a unique form of syncretism, partly with the opportunistic approach of Catholic administration since colonial times, but also with democratic Chile's approach to managing municipalities, schools, and secular events. After all, the global trend toward cherishing diversity, in tandem with the redress of grievances over recent human rights violations, today provoke governing officials to

conspicuously reach out to indigenous and ethnic minority groups. In the case of We Xipantu, as Erwin tells it, a core group of activists comprising Ad-Mapu's thespian troupe brought the ancestral festivity to public view during the 1980s, by staging it in theatres. Again, the role of performance and generational change is key. We Xipantu probably bears no less significance now than it did during previous generations; the difference lies in the fact that, like many aspects of Mapuche culture, it now constitutes a site of negotiation between integration and autonomy, or between a stage performance and a spiritual ceremony. In this way, We Xipantu serves as a metaritual for sociocultural change, for cultural, political, and economic struggle, and for the development of cultural capital.

The performances of rituals that I have described both destabilize and reshape social relations, weaving them into new patterns, that materialize in the social contexts that also give way to new artistic genres, such as Mexican folkloric music transplanted via radio to the Araucanian countryside a half-century ago, or heavy metal played by Mapuche youth who have migrated to the city. These processes speak to the historical moment in which people like Erwin and Colelo operate: the music and customs of Erwin's viejos, or his elders, form a continuum with the poetry, theatre and folk songs of his generation, and with the heavy metal and hip-hop of Colelo and his peers. Furthermore, following a corrido about Emiliano Zapata with the choike-purrún dance, around a campfire at an autonomous cultural festival in the Araucanian countryside, indicates a synthesis of attitudes about cultural identity and performance that breaks with the categories underpinning state or institutional management of the arts. In conclusion,

these artists clearly distinguish between cultural and political reivindicación, and understand how to manage them both.

Chapter 5

The Stage as a Battleground: We Rakizum, the 2010 Hunger Strike, and Temuco's *Combatiente* Musical Subculture

El estado quiere que nosotros seamos parte de su folklore.

The state wants us to be part of its folklore.

–Matías Catrileo, Mapuche activist, shortly before
his assassination during a toma de tierra⁸⁸

The game of music thus resembles the game of power: monopolize the right to violence; provoke anxiety and then provide a feeling of security; provoke disorder and then propose order; create a problem in order to solve it.

–Jacques Attali, *Noise* (1985: 28)

As she presented the first musical act, the host said, “We’re going to receive them with an *afafan*. We’re going to leave the applauses aside, because this is a *trawün*, a Mapuche activity.”⁸⁹ With that, the audience accompanied her, shouting “Yayayayayayayayaaaaaaah!” This *afafan*, a Mapuche holler of affirmation, followed

⁸⁸ Testimony by Matías Catrileo, including the words quoted here, is online: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=sgGk_BdQb7E.

⁸⁹ *Trawün* is Mapuche term referring broadly to gatherings and meetings.

each of the performances that night at the *We Rakizuam* (New Wisdom, in Mapuzugun) music festival.⁹⁰ Performers included hip-hop groups Unión de Pobla and *Wechekeche Ñi Trawün* (Gathering of Youth, in Mapuzugun), poets Lorenzo Aillapán and Kvyen Tranamil, singer and *dirigente* (local authority) Elisa Avendaño, singers Joel Maripil and Martín Curín, rapper *Wenu Mapu* (Star Realm, in Mapuzugun), rock bands Pewmayén and *Tierra Oscura* (in Spanish, Dark Earth, referring to nutrient-rich soil), and even a local African dance ensemble. Each performer or act is a prominent player in the Araucanian cultural scene, and apart from this last group, most are Mapuche (with the exception of certain members of Unión de Pobla and *Tierra Oscura*).⁹¹

We Rakizuam took place on September 4, 2010, at the crossroads of several major events in recent Araucanian and Chilean history: a prolonged hunger strike by a group of thirty-four *Presos Políticos Mapuche* (Mapuche Political Prisoners, or PPM), protesting their prosecution under dictatorship-era antiterror legislation; heightening tensions in the Araucanian territorial conflict; the plight of thirty-three miners trapped underground in the north of Chile, which produced both a scandal regarding mine safety regulations, and a moment of national pride upon the miners' rescue; and finally, the celebration of the Chilean Bicentennial, on September 18, 2010. As the weeks of patriotism approached their culmination in September, the members of *Kolectivo We Newen* convened this group of Mapuche artists for the *We Rakizuam* festival, adding the

⁹⁰ The Mapuche word *rakizuam* refers to thought, the verb to think, or wisdom. See Nahuelpan (2014: 79).

⁹¹ For reasons of length, this chapter does not include descriptions of the performances by the African dance ensemble or most of the hip-hop groups. However, hip-hop is the subject of the following chapter.

subtext, “*nada que celebrar*” (nothing to celebrate). With the late Matías Catrileo’s assertion as a point of reference, this chapter explores the dialectic of representation and agency in the relationship between the Mapuche and the Chilean state, particularly during a period devoted to the affirmation of national sovereignty (see Brown 2007).

I argue that music has played a consequential role in maintaining Araucanía as one of the last holdouts against the consistent assertion of state sovereignty, now two centuries into Chilean independence from Spain. During both the rise of socialism in the 1960s, and the dictatorship in the 1970s and 80s, many musicians around Chile (not only in Araucanía) literally acted as cultural warriors, at turns exiled or martyred under Pinochet, as the armed conflict irrupted into civilian life. The succession of democratic governments beginning in 1990 has worked hard to construct a sense of multicultural harmony, with its own subtext of the celebration of diversity. Yet, something remains unsettled, audible in the song “Batalla verbal” (Verbal battle), performed by Unión de Pobla at We Rakizuam. With the Mapuche instruments *trutruka* and *trompe* prominent in the heavy, pulsing mix, the lyricist Juan sang:

Que somos hartos de sus palabras,
Que nos engañan,
El suelo mapuche se recupera por las buenas,
O por las malas,
Problemas desigualdades,
Que se aclara la mirada,
Que la justicia chilena no nos favorece en nada,
Porque ¿dónde está el maldito de seguridad ciudadana,
Que disparó a Alex Lemún el siete de noviembre,
Por la mañana?
Voy por el joven que luchaba,
Su tierra recuperaba,
Con un arma de servicio de Carabineros de Chile,

Su vida fue arrematada,
Que el maldito uniformado de la cara

We're tired of your words,
And your deceits,
Mapuche land will be regained
By whatever means necessary,
Problems and inequalities,
We see them clearly,
Chilean justice doesn't favor us in anything,
Because, where is the damned public security,
That shot Alex Lemún on November 7,
In the morning?
I'm with the young fighter,
Who was recovering his land,
With a service weapon of the Carabineros de Chile,
His life was ended,
The damned officer should show his face

The chorus affirms:

Listo para la batalla
La batalla verbal
A los pacos del estado
Y al sistema policial

Ready for the battle,
The verbal battle,
Against the cops of the state,
And the police system

As I will explain shortly, Alex Lemún was a young activist who died by police gunfire in 2002.

The lyrics above register the gravity of cultural production and cultural representation in regions where territorial struggles persist long into periods of democratic reform. On the one hand, the artists whose work I discuss in this chapter have revived the sense of combined performance and combat, now in the context of the Araucanian territorial conflict. On the other hand, they have simply done what is

necessary to conserve and promote Mapuche autonomy, through sound, under the current form of government.

These developments are significant to the broader understanding of music in democratic societies, and to the study of Mapuche music in general. For some time, Mapuche music has undergone scrutiny from the perspectives of folklore, comparative musicology, and structuralist ethnomusicology. Some of the strongest musicological work concerning the Mapuche has focused on elements adaptable to non-Mapuche compositional styles. In reality, few studies have produced significant insights about how Mapuche musicians forestall cultural erasure, usher in social and cultural change, and articulate ideologies of self-determination.

To this end, I include here a close analysis of the song “Weichafe Alex Lemún” (Warrior Alex Lemún) by the band Pewmayén, in order to both call attention to these remarkable expressions, and to develop new critical tools for analyzing Mapuche popular music. Next, I reflect on the musical subculture in Temuco from which such expressions emerge, as well as the cultural and political events that have rocked the central south in recent years, several of which boiled over in 2010 and 2011. Finally, I return to descriptions of performances at We Rakizuam, which constituted one of the more remarkable music events during my field research. All told, by recounting We Rakizuam and the events surrounding it, this chapter illustrates certain key musical dimensions of the territorial conflict, at a significant crossroads in recent history. At the same time, this chapter offers a framework for the study of new musical expressions that are inherently Mapuche.



Figure 5.1. Juan of the group Unión de Poble at We Rakizuam in 2010.

Embodied Understanding

I stake no claim to authoritative knowledge concerning Mapuche music or culture. I am not Mapuche, and neither am I from Araucanía. As a result, my most important instances of learning about Mapuche music, by experiencing it live, or by trying my hand at it, are probably considerably more limited than those of other researchers on the topic. Furthermore, my most immediate musical interactions in the region have often involved other styles that are not strictly Mapuche. On that note, in Araucanía, established musical categories such as Mapuche, folklore, nueva canción, rock, metal, hardcore, hip-hop,

jazz, *docta* (classical), and so forth, blur frequently, and I am not really interested in maintaining their distinction; the blurring is where the magic happens, in my opinion.

Regarding what I write here, I seek to break with past patterns of examining Mapuche music, initially by revealing the very facts of my own subjectivity. Were I a local, or were I studying this music from a more traditionalist or structuralist perspective, this chapter would undoubtedly have come out differently. I do not mean to suggest that the locals are all traditionalists or structuralists, nor that they possess a less privileged vantage point. The latter claim would reify the colonialist assertion of external objectivity as prerequisite for the validity of research findings in foreign countries, among the people of foreign cultures. Rather, a local would probably write this chapter from a stance more deeply informed by musical praxis, biographical detail, and a host of other types of information that have been unavailable to me outside of the short time I have lived in the region; these would all constitute advantages that I lack. Still, just as the artists whose work I describe are changing Mapuche music, and changing popular music by making it Mapuche, I labor to bring a unique disciplinary orientation to the study of music in Araucanía.

For one thing, departing from structuralism, I embrace and even exploit my own particularities as a researcher—something few analysts of Mapuche music have done, with the exception of Caroline Robertson (1979). I acknowledge that We Rakizuam left me thoroughly impressed by the music, moved by the events the festival dealt with, and exhausted from the mixed feelings produced by taking notes, pictures and videos, as a foreigner in the midst of a tense political situation. The ways in which music resonates

between our ears, reverberates through our bodies, and catalyzes our understandings of our surroundings, is the stuff of what Deborah Wong, based in considerable reflection on the problematics of ethnography since the 1970s, refers to as “performative ethnography” (2008: 78). Put another way, musical structure is just one aspect of musical experience, the various dimensions of which constantly produce, shape, and reshape attitudes, understandings, and identifications. Accessing insights from these processes, and translating them to writing, are key to the ethnography of musical performance. This accessing begins with understanding one’s role in the musical environment, and one’s role as a writer about the musical environment.

Some of my deepest insights from We Rakizaum emerged through filming. Prior to the event, I had discussed with Danko Mariman, of Kolectivo We Newen, the possibility of collaborating with my camera and editing software. We agreed to share equipment, access and footage, as well as the tasks of editing and post-production. Later, he would publish the footage online. I realized as we began to film, that carrying equipment around the performance hall while crouching, leaning, and extending my body for interesting camera angles, made me a public feature of the event. The experience was visceral: I felt my pulse quicken, my palms sweat, and my stomach and throat tighten, while I held the camera steady and walked in slow circles around the stage, taking footage in a packed house. At one of the set breaks, the sisters of two of the PPM went to the microphone and described the conditions of their striking family members. I knew I would be responsible for making this information public, as my recording gear was plugged into the soundboard. I also knew that I had entered something of taboo territory

for gringos and other foreigners, who occasionally lose their visas and face expulsion from Chile for associating themselves with the social movements, and particularly with Mapuche activism.

How does my in-the-moment response relate to the musical content of this chapter? Essentially, everyone in the room had a unique relationship to power, and my body's reactions indicated my own. The musicians and the audience had congregated to question the external powers that had intervened in their territory and deemed certain fellow Mapuche as terrorists. The PPM, represented at the event by their family members, had been removed from civil society, placed in what Giorgio Agamben (1998) considers the "bare life" situation of political captivity. In this situation, the individual forfeits the rights of regular, imprisoned citizens, and the state gains the privilege of acting beyond the rules of its own sovereignty, established in the social contract. The state reverts to a more primordial form of absolute power over these particular subjects, which in technical terms is not permitted in modern democracies. The state claims an "exception" (Agamben 1998: 17; Turner 2008[1984]: 3) to law and order, justified through the declaration of an emergency, which the political prisoners have provoked through acts that fall outside the rubric of regular criminal activity. The allegations generally include burning logging trucks, taking over fundos without the approval of the government's organism in charge of indigenous affairs (CONADI), and engaging in direct combat with the police, who in Chile are technically a branch of the military. In short, through their alleged affronts to private property (a sacrosanct element of neoliberal capitalism), to the landowning class, and to state security forces, they have

gained the designation of “indigenous ‘terrorist’,” which Charles Hale aptly considers the “maximum term of opprobrium” (2004: 19-20) in contemporary state-indigenous relations in Latin America.

Bereft of the normal rights of imprisoned citizens, the captive combatants face trials without due process, with secret witnesses who may include undercover police agents. Their bodies become the only elements of their subject position over which they retain a degree of control in this extra-sovereign situation. On a hunger strike, the prisoners invoke this last element remaining under their dominion, threatening to remove it, too, from the equation, if the captors do not relent and grant at least a degree of genuine democratic procedure. In a reverse of the premodern dynamics of torture in Western civilization (see Foucault 1977[1975]), the prisoners now initiate their own physical deterioration, and draw attention to it, while the captors work to restore the prisoners’ health and shield the events from view, in order to mitigate the effects of the strike.

I will offer further details of the hunger strike later in the chapter. For now, suffice it to note that the performances at We Rakizuam crystallized the relationship between these two types of spectacle—that of the striking prisoners, and that of fusion Mapuche rock and hip-hop. My own stress response confirmed that I had entered a precarious space for a gringo, but more importantly, that the cost of asserting Mapuche autonomy and a dynamic indigenous cultural identity requires breaking open the brackets that the state and civil society have prepared for these people. Jacques Attali, whose words I also quoted at the beginning of this chapter (“The game of music resembles the

game of power . . . ”), has argued that power depends, beyond a monopoly on violence, upon the spectacles of chaos, and of the restoration of order. The novelty of his argument lies in its application to music, a parallel process of managing the perceptions of order and chaos. This chapter, then, concerns a vivid set of examples in which music literally introduces chaos into the perception of political and social order. With tools drawn from hip-hop, hard rock, and Mapuche music, artists intervene against the expectations created for them by folklore and traditionalism, of stasis, structure, strict primary orality, and erasure via assimilation.

Towards a Poststructuralist Ethnomusicology of Mapuche Popular Music

If Mapuche music is breaking into new territories of sound and meaning, then its analysis ought to do likewise. As described in Chapter Three, Chilean folklorists began examining Mapuche music around the turn of the twentieth century, with musicologists and composers joining the effort concertedly between the 1920s and the 1940s. Chilean *indigenista* music (that is, Chilean music influenced or inspired by Mapuche or other indigenous sounds) tapered off somewhat around mid-century, and picked up again as *nueva canción* artists, as well as classical composers, contributed to the valorization of indigenous heritages later in the century.

Ethnomusicological research about the Mapuche gained traction during the 1970s and 80s. María Ester Grebe (1973, 1974), Caroline Robertson (1979), Ernesto González Greenhill (1986) and Ana María Oyarce (1986), among others, have gathered important data regarding organology, basic musical characteristics, the role of music in rituals, and

the role of rituals in culture. These researchers described in their work certain imminent threats to Mapuche musical practices, stemming from contact with Chile and Argentina, and they cast these threats in sharp relief by focusing on structural musical and cultural attributes. In a classic article on dualism among the Mapuche, drawing on structuralist anthropological theory, Grebe noted:

The truth is that, although dualism appears, at first glance, as the dominant system in Mapuche spiritual life, its coherence is not total, but partial, due in large part to the considerable impact of the process of acculturation, which carries with it changes in cultural structure and function. (1974: 50)

As noted in Chapter Three, Robertson identified encroaching impediments to the transmission of the *tayil* song form, such as Evangelical fanaticism, and the state's denial of indigenous authority systems in Argentina (1979). In an exhaustive study of organology among three comunidades in Araucanía several years later, González Greenhill determined that, "The comunidad with the greatest degree of contact with global Chilean society presents the smallest number of instruments in use, while the comunidad with the minimum degree of contact presents the greatest number of instruments in use" (1986: 31).

González Greenhill arrived at another interesting conclusion: ". . . it appears that the Mapuche perception of musical phenomena is always in relation to a context, to a given situation, whether religious or not, that justifies making music" (1986: 28). This second point suggests that the Mapuche orient themselves to *musicking* (see Small 1998) in a manner considerably different from their Chilean neighbors. The same observation reappeared slightly later, in an article by musicologist Juan Pablo González about Chilean indigenista music.

It is convenient to remember that, for the Mapuche, music does not exist as an isolated event. Their perception of musical phenomena is always related to a context. They do not possess a concept of either “music” or “musical instrument,” [since] these form an indissoluble whole with the context in which they are practiced. The whole of music-context cannot be deconstructed into its different parts without being altered . . . Neither are there spectators, [since] everyone is a participant in the collective musical practices of the Mapuche.

Thus, attempts to integrate Mapuche elements into Chilean musical practices should be understood as attempts to bestow a sonic origin upon a music with different meaning and function. (1993: 80)

This article, entitled “Estilo y función social de la música chilena de raíz mapuche” (Style and social function of Chilean music with Mapuche roots”), details various types of indigenista music composition, including folklore, operas, zarzuelas, salon music, rock and nueva canción.⁹²

Here, I am interested in the inverse situation, wherein Mapuche artists adopt non-Mapuche music styles. According to the abovementioned studies, contact between

⁹² According to musicologist Rafael Díaz, as well as Juan Pablo González, the Chilean composer Eduardo Cáceres has achieved something unique in his *Cantos ceremoniales para aprendizaje de machi* (Ceremonial songs for machi apprenticeship) (2010[2004]). They maintain that Cáceres not only represents Mapuche sounds through techniques such as reharmonization and leitmotif. Rather, the composer opens his style and his consciousness “to the multiplicity of the musical phenomena that surround us,” and therefore questions the conventions of the Western conservatory, while favoring other psychic and spiritual orientations to sound. Díaz suggests that Cáceres offers “a host of (re)significations of Mapuche music culture, transplanted to the context of contemporary Chilean art music,” thereby readjusting “the *fronteras* and the position of contemporary Chilean music, generating alterity in its own canonic nucleus . . . (2008: 7-8). Upon listening to this music, one realizes that Cáceres does not simply reference the songs of the machi, but actually creates these songs, orchestrated for four voices with conservatory training, while obeying the Mapuche system of tonality. Cáceres’s unique compositional style and prolonged personal contact with the Mapuche are factors that most composers cannot access, meaning that most Chilean music considered indigenista does not manage to explore Mapuche sounds so faithfully. The analyses of Cáceres’s work by Rafael Díaz and Juan Pablo González represent musicological concerns for interculturalism and the opening of the Western canon.

Mapuche music and Chilean society and has yielded erasure, appropriation by cultural outsiders, and homage. Juan Pablo González (1993) notes that outsiders' academic interests in Mapuche music has also led, to a certain degree, to its codification and folklorization. This phenomenon of folklorization, which I explored in previous chapters, remains an important point of reference here. In Chapter Three, I wrote that this process has served as a central element in the foundation of neoliberal cultural policies, and I described the relation between codified forms of musical folklore, and the disciplinary society that the dictatorship sought to cultivate. In this chapter, I suggest considering the overall impact of Chilean culture on Mapuche music as reductive, or even truncating. At the same time, the increasingly broad realm of Mapuche popular music, encompassing rock and hip-hop, among other genres, has remained alien to the so called serious analysis of music. In fact, the two major studies that have closely examined the work of groups like Tierra Oscura and Pewmayén pertain to anthropologists Héctor Muñoz and Nathalie Peret (2011), and journalist and rock critic Nelson Zapata (2009). These studies offer excellent biographical and cultural details, and also demonstrate that researchers in parallel disciplines have advanced beyond music scholars in engaging with these new areas of music.

Considering the “indissoluble” link between Mapuche music and other social and cultural contexts, two questions guide my writing on Mapuche popular music as a distinct set of musical art forms. Firstly, is it possible to divorce Mapuche expressive sounds from their original contexts, such as calendrical and medicinal rites and rituals, or situations of courtship, and insert them simply as sounds in other forms of music? Secondly, to

examine the issue from a different angle, do the sounds and sonorous effects of Mapuche instruments become tools for the production of popular music, or does popular music become Mapuche, for having incorporated these qualities? In these pages, I will join the chain of academics working to respectfully and faithfully describe Mapuche music. Where I differ from my predecessors, though, is in my focus on these new forms of expression, which allows me to incorporate analytical tools from popular music studies and contemporary (poststructuralist) ethnomusicology, while exploring radical processes of cultural, social and political change.

The subsequent section will include a description of the song “Weichafe Alex Lemún” by Pewmayén, which I analyze from a crossroads of different methods of studying musical meaning. The endeavor begs an additional question regarding methodology: how can a single exercise in musical analysis articulate with the tenets of both Mapuche music analysis, and popular music analysis? As noted already, ethnomusicologists and musicologists have clearly stated their understanding that “the Mapuche perception of musical phenomena is always in relation to a context” (González Greenhill 1986: 28). It seems that scholars have located essential meanings, or absolute cultural values, in Mapuche musical praxis. By striking contrast, analysts of popular music understand musical performance as unhinged from absolute meanings and values, subject instead to constant reinvention and resignification amidst the shifting sands of global, postmodern society.

In his writing on heavy metal during the 1990s, musicologist Robert Walser laid out certain fundamental tools emerging at the time for the analysis of popular music.

Drawing on Fredric Jameson's ideas concerning genres (Jameson 1982: 322-324), Walser noted that genres of popular music are not absolute, but perpetually recombinatory. Furthermore, this apparent instability actually constitutes an advantage, freeing the discussion of music from fixed categories, and instead guiding its triangulation based on (but not adhering strictly to) preexisting genres. Based on literary criticism, Walser drew parallels with the concept of discourse, which refers to "any socially produced way of thinking or communicating" (1997: 28-29):

Like genres and discourses, musical meanings are contingent but never arbitrary. There is never any *essential* correspondence between particular musical signs or processes and specific social meanings, yet such signs and processes would never circulate if they did not produce such meanings. Musical meanings are always grounded socially and historically, and they operate on an ideological field of conflicting interests, institutions and memories. If this makes them extremely difficult to analyze, it does so by forcing analysis to confront the complexity and antagonism of culture. This is a poststructuralist view of music in that it sees all signification as provisional, and it seeks for no essential truths inherent in structures, regarding all meanings as produced through the interaction of texts and readers. (1997: 29)

After all, suggested Walser, the goal of any musical analysis should not be the reification of genres or the identification of static signs, but rather the exploration of music's resonance in society: "The challenge is to analyze signification dialectically, working between the levels of specific details and generic categories toward social meaning" (1997: 28).

My own approach to analyzing music is also poststructuralist. I take seriously the fixed signs and referents identified by the ethnomusicological research carried out in Araucanía during past decades. However, I explore the meanings woven by the recombination of these elements in fusion music, among a complex group of performers

and listeners, in a charged, twenty-first-century environment. If my discussion of “Weichafe Alex Lemún” digresses from time to time into seemingly disparate ideas about musical and cultural meaning, this is not for lack of focus. Rather, a remarkable piece of music opens pathways to a great variety of issues, the references to which subtly contribute to the experiences of performing and listening. As opposed to Walser’s musicological approach, my own is *ethnomusicological*, not because I focus on people of an *ethnicity*, but because I rely on *ethnographic* methods.⁹³ Before writing these paragraphs, I lived in Araucanía for several years, gradually learning about musical and cultural meanings, and collectively held social and political attitudes. The reputation of ethnomusicology and anthropology as colonialist disciplines whose practitioners isolate and scrutinize absolute characteristics of indigenous *razas* (races), reminds me to continually focus on moments when musicians themselves break open preexisting categories, just as I labor to do through the present writing. Finally, my methodology could also apply to the study of music pertaining to groups of people who share artistic activities, but not the same precise cultural background; such has been the case in past projects I have undertaken on bluegrass in the United States. In short, my version of poststructuralist ethnomusicology comprehends “ethno-” as referring to ethnographic methodology, and “musicology” as a dynamic, interdisciplinary set of tools for perceiving and describing musical meaning.

⁹³ For a critical discussion of the merits and shortcomings of Walser’s approach, see Deborah Wong’s review of his book (Wong 1998).

Musical Analysis: “Weichafe Alex Lemún”

On September 7, 2002, seventeen-year-old Alex Lemún, of the comunidad Montuitui Mapu, was participating in a toma de tierra on the Fundo Santa Elisa near Ercilla, when violence erupted between the comuneros and the police. According to what Lemún’s parents told Elena Varela, the land was hotly disputed since roughly 2001, between the comunidades and the forestry businesses Mininco and Arauco (from the Matte and Angelini groups, respectively), among others. The young Mapuche was unarmed, but nonetheless he sustained a bullet to the upper neck. After several days on life support, he passed away. The lyrics of “Weichafe Alex Lemún” describe the situation:

Día siete de noviembre,
2002 era el presente,
Montuitui Mapu sentía,⁹⁴
Entre forestales, se moría,
Y la lucha, por su tierra, se abrazó,
Wewaiñ cantaba el viento,
Tierra libre es el consejo,
Que dejaron los ancestros,
En su sangre derramada,
Lo entendió el peñi Lemún,
Y lo guardó

En su corazón,
Envuelto en afafan,
Su juventud airosa,
Anhela a esta tierra,
Liberada

Resguardo policial,
Protegía y protege al forestal,

⁹⁴ The following words in Mapuzugun are central to this song: *Montuitui Mapu*, Alex Lemún’s comunidad; *Wewaiñ*, we will triumph; *peñi*, brother, as men refer to one another; and *weichafe*, warrior.

Esa tarde de noviembre,
En sus manos, armas cargadas,
De muerte, injusticia, e impunidad

Un disparo mortal,
Rompió el atardecer,
Clavándose en la frente,
Del *peñi* Alex Lemún,
Wallmapu lo sabe

Weichafe Alex Lemún,
Tu sangre corre por mis venas,
Weichafe Alex Lemún,
Te traerá la luna llena,
Weichafe Alex Lemún,
Mi canto es tuyo en las estrellas,
Weichafe Alex Lemún,
Weichafe Alex Lemún

En las calles vivo está,
En poblaciones, en la marcha social,
Se levanta día a día,
En tierra y autonomía,
Tu mensaje, tu bandera, tu verdad

Un disparo mortal,
Rompió el atardecer,
Clavándose en la frente,
Del *peñi* Alex Lemún,
Wallmapu lo sabe.

It was the seventh of November,
2002 was the year,
Montuitui Mapu felt it,
Amidst the tree plantations, he died,
And the struggle, for his land, he embraced,
Wewaiñ sang the wind,
Free territory is the counsel,
That the ancestors left,
In his spilled blood,
Peñi Alex Lemún understood it,
And he guarded it

In his heart,
Wrapped in afafan,
His fleeting youth,
Longs for this land,
To be freed

Police guards,
Protected and still protect the plantation,
That afternoon in November,
In their hands, weapons loaded,
With death, injustice, and impunity

A deadly shot,
Ruptured the sunset,
Penetrating the skull,
Of peñi Alex Lemún,
Wallmapu knows it

Weichafe Alex Lemún,
Your blood runs in my veins,
Weichafe Alex Lemún,
The full moon will bring you back,
Weichafe Alex Lemún,
Mi song is yours in the heavens,
Weichafe Alex Lemún,
Weichafe Alex Lemún

In the streets he's alive,
In poblaciones, and social protests,
He gets up day to day,
With land and autonomy,
Your message, your flad, your truth

A deadly shot,
Ruptured the sunset,
Penetrating the skull,
Of peñi Alex Lemún,
Wallmapu knows it.

The song features the following instrumentation on the studio album: two electric guitars, trutruka, electric bass, trompe, pifilka, vocals, and drum kit. Standard instrumentation for Pewmayén includes the two guitars, bass, vocals, drum kit, trutruka

and kultrún. Certain numbers also include pifilka and trompe. The live performance at We Rakizuam in 2010 lacked the trompe and pifilka, perhaps reflecting the difficulties of using these quieter instruments in a live rock setting. Typically, the drummer integrates the kultrún with the rest of the kit. Although Colelo plays guitar when performing as a soloist, he normally sings and plays trutruka with Pewmayén, leaving the guitar work to the other members of the band.

Mapuche instrumental music, especially when it involves the kultrún and the trutruka, can be quite powerful. In the words of Pewmayén guitarist Rodrigo Riquelme: “Rock has force, power and crudeness, just like the Mapuche concept of nature” (cited in Zapata 2009: 370). The dance of the choike-purrún, for instance, can go on for a number of cycles, each lasting several minutes, with rhythmic variations distinguishing the sections. The whole event revolves around the beating of the kultrún, which can fill a wide, open-air space with sound. *Rogativas* (Spanish for prayer ceremonies) can include several machi playing kultrúns together, creating a veritable wall of sound.

Pewmayén has articulated these powerful sounds with the aesthetics of hard rock and metal remarkably well. It is worth noting that rock guitarists began embracing the use of distortion during the 1960s, and perfected it in the heavy metal of the 1980s. The different varieties of rock music developed during the same processes of migration and social change that, according to the data cited above, also produced considerable detrimental effects on Mapuche musical practices in traditional contexts. Thus, the development of urban Mapuche popular music indicates an important process of creative adaptation to new circumstances. Despite its obvious worth, the persistent focus on rural

traditions in studies of Mapuche music produces a disproportionate emphasis on cultural loss, overlooking how uniquely Mapuche forms of genres like heavy metal have appeared at the same time, crafted by musicians whose musical sensibilities are deeply rooted in their culture. For instance, Chapter Four includes a discussion of a solo, acoustic guitar and vocal performance of the song “Ngapitún.” The full band version of the piece uses the kultrún to tremendous effect, creating an electrified soundscape based on a choike-purrún rhythm.

“Weichafe Alex Lemún” is played entirely in a 4/4 meter, although the drummer transfers between either a laid-back or a more aggressive approach, generating a clear distinction between two alternating sections. The piece opens with the lead guitar presenting one of the three haunting vocal melodies, from the verses beginning with “En su corazón” (In his heart) and “Un disparo mortal” (A deadly shot), while the second guitar plays a harmony line at the interval of a third above this melody. During the first iteration of the opening melody, the bass and drums play a pulse at the beginning of each bar, withholding the rhythmic development of the piece.

(♩ = 75)

The musical notation shows a lead guitar line in 4/4 time. The tempo is marked as (♩ = 75). The key signature has one sharp (F#). The melody consists of four measures. The first measure is in D minor (Dm), the second in A major (A), the third in B minor (Bm), and the fourth in F# minor (F#m). The melody is written in eighth and quarter notes. The final measure features a power chord accompaniment.

Figure 5.2. Lead guitar opening melody and power chords from “Weichafe Alex Lemún.” The same melody corresponds with the verses beginning with “En su corazón” and “Un disparo mortal.”

The transcription above also demonstrates the introduction of certain important chords in the piece, which modulates between the keys of B-minor, D-minor, G-minor and D-

major. On the second repeat of the opening melody, the bass, drums, and trompe enter. At this point, the bass echoes the lead guitar, while the drums play the laid-back rhythm. On the studio version of “Weichafe Alex Lemún,” with the quieter pifilka and trompe clearly audible, the second repeat of the opening bars includes the trompe playing on the beat, foreshadowing a pulse characteristic of Mapuche music, which develops more prominently later in the song.

Before further invoking Mapuche music, though, “Weichafe Alex Lemún” transitions into the more aggressive rock drum beat, and the melody, now carried by the voice, changes as Colelo narrates the death of Alex Lemún. Power chords and moaning electric guitar fills underpin the forthright lyrics of the first two verses. The chord progression surges with the tension of the events the singer describes; rather than transcribe the second melody, here I offer a chord chart to demonstrate the overall development of the piece.

4/4		
Gm	/	
Día siete de noviembre,	2002 era el presente,	
Cm	/	
Montuitui Mapu sentía,	Entre forestales, se moría,	
Dm Cm	Bm	
Y la lucha, por su tierra,	se abrazó,	
Gm	/	
Wewaiñ cantaba el viento,	Tierra libre es el consejo,	
Cm	/	
Que dejaron los ancestros,	En su sangre derramada,	
Dm Cm	Bm	
Lo entendió el peñi Lemún,	Y lo guardó	

Figure 5.3. Chords and lyrics of the first verses of “Weichafe Alex Lemún.”

Colelo emphasizes the second syllable of the first word of certain strophes, just before dropping in pitch to sing the lyrics that follow. Thus, “Wewaiñ” (pronounced “Way-wine”), a rather melodic Mapuche word that translates as “We will triumph,” anticipates by three beats a pair of high, bent notes by the lead guitar, echoing the lyric at the same pitch. Colelo’s forceful utterance of “Wewaiñ” translates fluidly to an expression on the electric guitar, demonstrating how a word in Mapuzugun helps to construct a new musical discourse.

The song then shifts back to the opening melody (transcribed in the notation above), now with the drums persisting on the aggressive rhythm, and the two electric guitars playing power chords, while Colelo sings the melody longingly, on the verse beginning with the words “En su corazón.” Like in the song “Ngapitún,” the lyrics reference other sounds outside of the performance. “Envuelto en *afafan*” (Wrapped in *afafan*) describes Lemún as wrapped in the war cry of the *weichafe*.⁹⁵ The initial melody ends, and the narrative section resumes, with the verses beginning on “Resguardo policial,” recounting the use of firearms and the impunity of the *latifundistas* and the security forces. The original melody then returns in the vocal part, with the verse beginning on “Un disparo mortal,” while the guitars again play power chords; all the while, the drums have remained on the aggressive rhythm. At the end of this verse, Colelo holds a long note from the second syllable of the word “sabe,” from “Wallmapu lo sabe” (Wallmapu knows it), while the drummer breaks his rhythm with a roll, and the

⁹⁵ In their more recent song entitled “Afafan,” Pewmayén develops the concept of this war cry, or holler of affirmation, through metal.

two guitarists play a slow riff together. The rhythmic collapse of this moment marks the climax of the intense recounting of events thus far, and makes way for a new section.

Now the band enters the heart of the song. The drummer falls into the more laid-back rhythm, while the guitarists play an ostinato that is more drawn out than the power chords from the previous section. The song takes on a feel similar to reggae, except that the distortion is still heavy, and each instrument projects fully, producing a weighty, metal sound. The lyrics introduce the anthem-like chorus melody for the first time, beginning on the lines, “Weichafe Alex Lemún / Tu sangre corre por mis venas” (Warrior Alex Lemún / Your blood flows in my veins):

Figure 5.4. Melody, lyrics and chords from the chorus of “Weichafe Alex Lemún.”

The vocal melody and chord progression in this transcription repeat four times, in a cosmic outpouring (note the reference to the stars) of solidarity and fraternity with the martyr:

Weichafe Alex Lemún,
 Tu sangre corre por mis venas,
 Weichafe Alex Lemún,
 Te traerá la luna llena,
 Weichafe Alex Lemún,
 Mi canto es tuyo en las estrellas,
 Weichafe Alex Lemún,
 Weichafe Alex Lemún

Weichafe Alex Lemún,
 Your blood runs in my veins,
 Weichafe Alex Lemún,
 The full moon will bring you back,

Weichafe Alex Lemún,
Mi song is yours in the heavens,
Weichafe Alex Lemún,
Weichafe Alex Lemún

The chord progression affirms the celebration of the young weichafe, modulating into the key of D-major, and arriving on the home chord and the tonic at the end of the first iteration of the chorus melody. This is the first instance of a full D-major chord in the song.

The slower chorus section, marking the apogee of the song, has a clear pulse, with the pifilkas and the trompe sounding on the beat in the studio version. These two instruments frequently maintain such a pulse in Mapuche music. This pulse, moreover, gets to the heart of understandings of Mapuche music in its social and cultural contexts. Most discourses concerning Mapuche cosmology reference symmetrical divisions of the universe, and of many other aspects of life. In the 1970s, María Ester Grebe characterized “*dualismo*” (dualism) as “an integral, interpretative system of the universe, [that] postulates the existence of two dissimilar, heterogeneous and irreducible beginnings . . . This system . . . produces the origin of the polar order of the universe, one of the oldest forms of human thought” (1974: 47). Music, she continued, is a cultural universal, and “an exaltation of the perception of time, that in one form or another inevitably expresses dualism, if dualism persists as an interpretative system in a particular culture” (1974: 50). (On the contrary, acculturation could stifle this structural dimension of culture.) Grebe

arrived at these conclusions from, generally, her reading of structuralist anthropology, and specifically, her prolonged ethnographic study of Mapuche music.⁹⁶

Both the passage of time and the order of the cosmos, she argued, are understood either as cyclical, repetitive processes, or as oscillations between *thesis* and *arsis*, which produce the subdivisions and categories of time, of inclusion and exclusion, and of the very sounds constituting language and music. Recalling that Mapuche deities are arranged into pairs and tetrads (dualistic groupings) based on gender and age, she wrote the following:

According to a traditional belief spread vastly among the Mapuche, sonic duplication or multiplication augments the power of musical sound, reinforcing its communicative capacity with the gods and spirits. It also augments therapeutic powers, considering the belief that sound drives out or expels the bad, sickness and malignant spirits. Consequently, the persistent presence of pairs of musicians and dual symbolisms in the use of ritual-oriented musical instruments is not uncanny. All of this responds to the internal coherence of ancient cultural patterns emitted from the cosmology of the Mapuche people. (1974: 75)

In sum, Grebe observed that Mapuche music, often governed by clear pulses on the kultrún, which itself is a symmetrical metaphor for the universe (Grebe 1973), exemplifies the remarkably clear translation of a dualistic cosmovisión to musical praxis.⁹⁷

⁹⁶ Grebe also described a number of examples in Mapuche culture, of the dualistic distinctions in markers of the passage of time (often rooted in biological processes), and in elements as various as the values attributed to colors, the ages and genders of deities, and the norms for conversations, toasts, travel, work reciprocity, and marriage ceremonies.

⁹⁷ In reality, an enormous variety of musics and cultures incorporate dualistic instruments, techniques and symbols, including many styles of Western popular music. Grebe acknowledges this point in her analysis, yet insists that Mapuche music and culture are particularly dualistic, and that these aspects persist where the culture has not been

Additionally, instruments such as the pifilka, which is not a drum but rather a one-note, end-blown flute with one hole, are used to generate and accentuate musical pulses. Grebe points out that the pifilkas (she writes “*pifülkas*”) are typically played by pairs of men, who group themselves according to their instruments’ tessituras, at the ideal distance of a major or minor third.⁹⁸ Thus, rather than a repetitive beat, the pifilkas oscillate at a pitch differential. In her article on dualism, Grebe offers the following transcriptions:



Figure 5.5. “*Toques típicos de dos pifülkas*” (typical playing for two pifülkas), adapted from transcriptions by María Ester Grebe (1974: 75).

Grebe also notes that, in larger ceremonies and celebrations, various individuals might show up with pifilkas, and arrange themselves into two groups whose pitch ranges are approximately coordinated, but not exact. “. . . in this case, the resulting sounds amount to two alternating sonorous fields of richly colored, random timbre” (1974: 75).

significantly intervened. In the present discussion, it would be unreasonable to attribute the dualistic structure of Pewmayén’s music solely to its roots in Mapuche culture, since rock relies heavily on binary rhythms, among other dualistic elements. Rather, the particular way in which the chorus section unfolds indicates an important fusion of two dualistic approaches to music.

⁹⁸ More recently, a small proportion of pifilkas are made with two holes, so that one musician can play both notes. However, as in Andean zampoña playing, the hocketed approach, involving two or more musicians who each have their own instrument, conserves energy, and corresponds to the social contexts of these instruments.

Applied to popular music, the spontaneity of pifilka playing, and the deliberately inconsistent tessituras between pifilkas, generate a unique combination of rhythmic punctuation and brief instances of consonance or dissonance. On certain occasions, I have heard inspired audience members begin playing pifilkas to accompany solo artists performing songs for guitar and voice that incorporate Mapuche rhythms. Acoustics permitting, Pewmayén, Tierra Oscura, and other groups incorporate pifilkas frequently onstage. Barring the most intense heavy metal sounds of these bands, a pifilka played directly into a microphone generally cuts through most performance soundscapes without the musicians having to strain themselves.

In the studio recording of “Weichafe Alex Lemún,” the pifilkas play the following pulse during the main chorus, shown here together with the vocal line:

The image shows two staves of musical notation in 4/4 time, key of D major. The top staff is labeled 'Pifilkas' and features a rhythmic pulse of eighth notes with accents, starting on the second measure. The bottom staff is labeled 'Voice' and shows a vocal melody with lyrics. Above the voice staff, four chords are indicated: (Bm), (G), (A), and (D). The lyrics are: 'Wei - chafe A - lex Le - mún' and 'Tu sangre co - rre en mis ve - nas'.

Figure 5.6. Pifilka pulse and chorus vocal melody, studio recording of “Weichafe Alex Lemún.”

Needless to say, the pifilkas do not conform to the chord progression. Their dissonance, however, is in part deliberate, and in part mitigated by the distortion of the electric guitars and the heavy drum rhythm. Were the pifilkas tuned to the chord progression, or even to C-sharp and A, instead of C-natural and A, something important might be lost. Also, were this a classical composition, the pifilkas would call attention more conspicuously to

the contrasting set of Mapuche and Occidental musical principles. In heavy metal, though, over these chords, and a vocal melody that oscillates between the notes D and C-sharp, the first pifilka makes its mark with a short, airy blast on C-natural, before losing itself elegantly in the wall of sound. This subtle, repetitive diversion from the (Western) tonal center makes “Weichafe Alex Lemún” all the more Mapuche, introducing a new musical discourse through genre synthesis. The pifilka indicates not only tonal but cultural dissonance, an effective reminder that the musicians, the subject matter, and much of the audience pertain to a different music culture. Heavy metal, already brimming with forms of dissonance perfected during the history of rock music, offers an excellent soundscape for integrating these two musical worlds.

An additional aspect of rhythm during the chorus of “Weichafe Alex Lemún” could also bear associations with Mapuche music. Firstly, as noted, when the song enters this section, the drums fall into a laid-back approach to the 4/4 meter, the guitars play an ostinato on sixteenth notes with a more relaxed feel than the power chords of the previous section, and the vocals follow the new melody. In terms of rhythm, the bass plays alternately with the guitar ostinato, or with the pifilka/trompe pulse. The whole rhythm opens up, perhaps recalling the ways in which the kultrún transitions between segments during the dance of the choike-purrún. In its full form, the dance has numerous sections, with alternating tempos and meters. The rhythmic transition in “Weichafe Alex Lemún” could be interpreted as a reference to this practice. Like in the case of dualism, it is difficult to ascribe such a characteristic exclusively to Mapuche origins, particularly in a rock performance. On the other hand, the chorus includes the most distinctly Mapuche

sounds, as well as the most important lyrics. Introducing the section with a certain opening up of the rhythm, then, reminds at least this listener of choike-purrún.

The use of the trutruka in “Weichafe Alex Lemún” also merits discussion. The trutruka is a remarkably dynamic instrument. Despite its force, it is frequently used to play subtle melodies with a wide variety of notes, requiring a sophisticated ombiture. In the music of Pewmayén, Colelo incorporates the instrument nearly always at full bore, during the most intense moments. In the studio version of “Weichafe Alex Lemún,” the trutruka enters during the final section of the song, when the opening melody is played one last time on the lead guitar, over the aggressive drum approach.

The image shows a musical score for two instruments: Trutruka and Guitar. The score is in 4/4 time and consists of two bars. The Trutruka part is written on a treble clef staff with a key signature of one sharp (F#). The first bar contains a series of notes: a quarter rest, followed by eighth notes G4, A4, B4, and C5, then a quarter note D5, and finally a quarter note C5. The second bar contains eighth notes G4, A4, B4, C5, D5, C5, B4, A4, and G4. The Guitar part is written on a treble clef staff with the same key signature. The first bar is labeled with a D minor chord (Dm) and contains a sequence of notes: D4, F4, A4, B4, C5, B4, A4, G4, and F4. The second bar is labeled with an A minor chord (A) and contains a sequence of notes: A3, C4, E4, F4, G4, F4, E4, D4, and C4.

Figure 5.7. Trutruka blast and lead guitar melody, first two bars of closing section, studio recording of “Weichafe Alex Lemún.”

The effect of the trutruka is impressive. Whereas the dissonance of the pifilka fades quickly into the backdrop due to its short attack, the trutruka persists at full volume during its entire blast, heaving a loud minor sixth and minor second onto the D-minor and A-minor chords, respectively. The live version at We Rakizum included the trutruka throughout, instead of the pifilka and trompe; again, this instrumental decision probably had to do with acoustics.

The final instrument worth discussing in the context of “Weichafe Alex Lemún” is the trompe, essentially the same as a metal mouth harp (jaw harp or Jew’s harp) found in many parts of the world. In the present song, the trompe appears together with the pifilkas, pulsing on one tone, whereas the pifilkas have two pitches. In 1986, Ernesto González Greenhill and Ana María Oyarce examined the trompe from an organological standpoint, and wrote that, unlike all or nearly all other Mapuche instruments, this one pertains almost exclusively to non-ceremonial contexts; for instance, the trompe is commonly associated with courtship songs. The researchers suggested that this status may result from the trompe’s foreign origins, whereas the other Mapuche instruments typically come from within the culture. While the trompe is relatively popular today, they argued that it declined in popularity as of the 1950s, when radio penetrated the countryside. They also noted that prior studies had posited that the instrument arrived to Mapuche territory with German and other European immigrants in the nineteenth century. Still, they disputed this argument, pointing out that the jaw harp peaked in popularity in Europe during the earlier colonial period, and that the word trompe is Hispanic. If indeed the instrument arrived with the Spanish, then its role in Mapuche music is considerably more longstanding. They also pointed out that the Mapuche have had the metallurgical capacities to make the instrument since well before the nineteenth-century wave of northern European immigration to the region. Finally, and perhaps most intriguingly, they note that the trompe possibly articulates with older musical practices associated with a larger, simpler musical bow, called the *paupawén*, long used by the

Mapuche and other inhabitants of the southern Cone (see Pérez de Arce 2007: 332-339).⁹⁹

I suggest considering the trompe as a reflection of gradual musical change. If the instrument now fulfills or in some way extends the former role of the paupawén, then perhaps it is not so incongruous with the rest of Mapuche music. Rather, the trompe indicates the adaptation of new materials to Mapuche music, both during colonial and early republican times, in the use of metallurgy to produce the instrument, and in its present adaptation to recorded popular music. If indeed the trompe declined in use with the introduction of radio in the Araucanian countryside, today it has resurfaced as a feature of the expanding field of Mapuche music, including expressions that have appropriated and recycled sounds that have arrived via radio to Wallmapu.

Combatiente: a Musical Subculture of Urban Araucanía

Matías Catrileo's discontented assertion, that "El estado quiere que nosotros seamos parte de su folklore" (The state wants us to be part of its folklore), cuts to the core of my thesis. Indeed, after some reflection on We Rakizuam, martyrdom, and the new forms of tonality and distortion in Mapuche heavy metal, the term folklore, as a descriptor of Mapuche musical expressions, rings antiquated and even treacherously oversimplified.¹⁰⁰

⁹⁹ A correlation might also exist between the trompe and the similar-sounding *chinko*, made from found items in the southern forests by the *Huilliche* (or *Williche*) people, who are considered the southern branch of the Mapuche (see Hernández 2001).

¹⁰⁰ The territorial conflict in Araucanía has inspired artistic manifestations of support all around Chile, and abroad. For instance, at the 2013 *Festival del Huaso de Olmué* (Olmué

Catrileo, for his part, was an agronomy student at the Universidad de la Frontera in Temuco, and an activist committed to territorial recuperation, when he was shot by the police during a toma de tierra at age twenty-three, on January 3, 2008.¹⁰¹ He is known for having asserted that the Mapuche must have their lands restored in order to exist as a people, and for his genuine empathy and collaboration with the PPM and the comunidades in conflict. Matías Catrileo's words remain recorded in an interview posted on Youtube less than three weeks after his death, and his family has published a posthumous book containing twenty-three of his poems, six of which have been set to music by pianist Javier Karmy.¹⁰²

Catrileo's concern for the arts offers a glimpse at a distinct musical subculture that has developed in Araucanía, parallel with the social movements that have shaken up the region's politics, and with the diffusion of rock, hip-hop, folklore, and their sub-genres. This subculture is at once southern, rainy and cold, as well as indigenista and *combatiente* (combatant). In the introduction to his history of Araucanian rock, Nelson Zapata writes:

Huaso Festival), a major, national folkloric music celebration, the classic northern Chilean folk-fusion band Illapu played their song "Homenaje a Matías Catrileo" (Homage to Matías Catrileo), which included Mapuche musical elements, and footage from Catrileo's interview playing on a giant screen behind the stage. In one sense, the performance was ironic because it brought the late activist's image squarely into the spotlight of a folklore festival. On the other hand, Illapu's own record of participation in the protest song movement, and their exile under Pinochet, not to mention their superb musicianship, lend them the credibility to stage such a performance. All told, "Homenaje a Matías Catrileo" reminds that nueva canción and folklore are brimming with musicalized political postures that can be mobilized (or not) at the will of the performers.

¹⁰¹ For more biographical details, see the website in honor of Matías Catrileo, <http://www.matiascatrileo.cl>.

¹⁰² For discussion of Catrileo's poetry and its musicalization, see <http://poesiamapuche.blogspot.com>.

There are occasions when the nights are so cold in Temuco, that the old, faithful leather jacket doesn't keep you warm enough to go to a rock show, some place in this young city that isn't even 130 years old.

Thus, the outfit includes flannel lumberjack shirts, a wool hat and big boots, which wind up conforming to a fairly southern aesthetic.

What's more, as is the case nearly ten months out of the year, it rains torrentially.

Still, it's possible to get to the destination. Damp and cold, but nothing a *piscola* (a cheap, local cocktail) can't fix.

Up on the dark stage, a local group sounds out through amplification that is acceptable, but not otherworldly. How would they sound with a great PA?, some ask. (2009: 9)

I have heard a number of concerts played on these stages, particularly between 2010 and 2012, but more recently as well. In these performance spaces, the region's unique social, cultural and political conditions and attitudes merge with the dreary, cold and wet climate, to produce something completely unique in the local music scene. In 2012, I asked members of the rap group Núcleo 441 about the effect of the prolonged dark, rainy season on their art. Invariably, they said it inspired them, provoking them to explore the darker, heavier aspects of their music

Zapata captures how the local scene developed, beginning with early rock groups in the 1950s and 60s, who emulated the sounds of rockabilly, Elvis Presley and the Beatles, before generating uniquely Chilean and eventually Araucanian and other regional versions of rock. The dictatorship was not without rock, though the cultural policies and the overall repression of the arts did no great favors for the style.

Interestingly, during the 1980s, rock in its various forms had to subsist in small spaces which were often poorly financed, dimly lit, and as noted, cold. The conditions reflected the disconnect between musicians and the public institutions that normally furnish large performance venues. As of the 1990s, rockers reestablished their links with municipal

authorities, and began to put on larger shows in gymnasiums and plazas. However, Temuco's pubs and so called underground joints had already begun to play a key role in local music, as they did in many parts of the world.¹⁰³ Today, the precedent of the early 1990s continues, with performances of punk, metal, hard rock, and related sub-genres, as well as hip-hop (which I describe in the following chapter), occurring in a combination of bars, festivals, and echoey, concrete gymnasiums. A lot of the music has integrated naturally with the local bar scene, where the supposedly orderly society outside the walls of the venue is kept at arms length, either by the venue's physical attributes, its operating hours, or both.

In 1996, a young Mapuche visual and musical artist named Cristián Collipal founded the group Pirulonko in Temuco. Zapata points out that, to the ears of many, Pirulonko was “punk *progresivo étnico*” (ethnic progressive punk). Other groups at the time were incorporating Mapuche instruments, and as always, Chilean musicians in various genres were composing and performing different types of homage to the Mapuche. Still, based on testimony by the members of Pirulonko, Zapata approaches something more subtle in their art. He describes one of their first major appearances, at the Universidad de la Frontera in 1998:

. . . the vocalist appeared on the improvised stage with his eyes blindfolded and two enormous knives crossed around his neck. Behind him . . . [the band] played a basic punk rock, but intense, and a rhythm that was practically suffocating on that hot summer day.

For the era, the spectacle was uncommon. The singer, in a trance, filled the room with a psychotic, ancestral stage presence, representing a

¹⁰³ See Jennifer Matsue's recent book entitled *Making music in Japan's underground: the Tokyo hardcore scene* (2009). I refer to Matsue's study again in Chapter Six, where I also further elaborate on the concept of “underground.”

machi expelling a malignant spirit. In Mapudugun . . . he was doing a *keymi*, or a healing ritual.¹⁰⁴ (2009: 246)

Bassist Sergio Caniuqueo told journalist Daniel Villalobos that *Pirulonko* means “head filled with worms” in Mapuzugun. The name refers to a condition in which a *carnero*, or sheep, bangs its head against a fence post too many times, and develops a wound. When the wound festers, worms grow in it, and drive the animal crazy. The name, explained the bassist, refers to someone “who is crazy in the head, who is restless, who breaks open new categories, which was precisely one of the ideas of the group” (cited in Zapata 2009: 247).

Zapata aptly locates *Pirulonko* in the era during the 1990s when, with the dictatorship gone, Mapuche social, political and artistic organizations found new force and freedom. Yet, the Mapuche also faced economic hardships and the difficulties of rural-urban migration, which I describe further in Chapter Six. *Pirulonko* apparently stopped playing in 2000, though *Collipal* has recently assembled a new permutation of the group. In their original formation, they effectively broke open the Mapuche punk and metal scenes for later groups such as *Pewmayén* and *Tierra Oscura*, the two best known fusion Mapuche rock projects in Araucanía to date. These two bands emerged in the following decade, coalescing their unique sounds approximately in 2007.

In the meantime, what could arguably be termed a unique Araucanian subculture of *música combatiente* (combatant music), featuring punk, hard rock, metal, hip-hop, and even folklore and traditional Mapuche expressions, had also coalesced. The cultural

¹⁰⁴ For more on such rituals, see Ana Mariella Bacigalupo’s 2001 book entitled *Shamans of the foye tree: gender, power, and healing among Chilean Mapuche*.

studies scholars of the Birmingham School put forward “subcultures” as a framework for understanding the counter-hegemonic cultural specificities of groups within given societies (Hall, et al. 2004[1993]: 12-13). Postwar Britain offered a wide array of examples, many of which dealt directly with music and “youth culture.” The vocabulary of this scholarship remains relatively indispensable to studies engaging with popular music, style, and one or another form of rebellion. The subcultures concept emerges from an anthropological and literary understanding of culture as a contested social and symbolic field, itself having emerged from a Marxist reading of social and economic relations (Hebdige 2001[1988]).

I mention the subcultures paradigm in relation to the synthesis of different forms of rebellion articulated in the music of interest to this chapter. As Chile emerged from dictatorship, punks, *metaleros* (metalheads) and b-boys voiced deep-seated discontent with the new democratic system. At the same time, the Mapuche Movement reoriented itself to contend with a democratic government that, while technically more merciful than the previous regime, also constituted a nebulous, overbearing manifestation of power. Neoliberal multiculturalism sapped Mapuche iconography, and even certain Mapuche sounds, of the countercultural potency they had when the nueva canción artists adapted them in the 1960s. By contrast, the multiple forms of distortion at work in punk and metal have thus far proven inalienable. Fusion music, then, restores the ethnonationalist agency of certain Mapuche expressions.¹⁰⁵

¹⁰⁵ Developing a theme from Jean Genet’s 1966 novel entitled *The thief’s journal*, Dick Hebdige writes that, “. . . the tensions between dominant and subordinate groups can be found reflected in the surfaces of subculture—in the styles made up of mundane objects

Additionally, where the shady corners of Temuco's music scene once constituted the last holdouts of open musical expression, in the democratic era their hole-in-the-wall feel has attained a new, counter-hegemonic value. At the *tokata*, the urban performance event, the conviction of autonomy governs in multiple dimensions, namely in the rejection of public or institutional financing, and in the projection of an ideology of regional and cultural autonomy for Araucanía and Wallmapu.¹⁰⁶ Bars are the ideal venues, and gymnasiums and universities serve when necessary, to accommodate massive audiences. Hip-hop artists perform alongside practitioners of *ülkantun*, guarding one another against cultural-political appropriation from one angle, and commercial dilution from another. Mapuche iconography hangs from the walls, often integrated into innovative works by artists such as Eduardo Rapiman. The *tokata* is thus a ritual space (see Fox 2004: 22) in contemporary Araucanía. Here, beyond the grasp of the music industry, social conformism, the government, and for that matter, the social movements themselves, artists hammer out the meaning of autonomy, colliding materials from Mapuche culture, folklore, and subcultural music genres.

which have a double meaning. On the one hand, they warn the 'straight' world in advance of a sinister presence—the presence of difference—and draw down upon themselves vague suspicions, uneasy laughter, 'white and dumb rages'. On the other hand, for those who erect them into icons, who use them as words or as curses, these objects become signs of forbidden identity, sources of value" (Hebdige 2001[1979]: n.p.). Endowed for centuries with powerful meanings, the symbolic elements of Mapuche culture are not the mundane objects in question here. However, when merged in punk, metal and hip-hop with the great wealth of symbols these genres and styles already encompass, Mapuche visual and sonic symbols gain a new form of power, drawn from a critical stance toward governing ideologies and status quo conformism. Particularly in the age of neoliberal multiculturalism, this alliance is key to the Mapuche Movement.

¹⁰⁶ For a more complete history of the *tokata* phenomenon, see Nelson Zapata's 2009 book, which is informed both by his extensive historical and journalistic research, and his own participation in rock bands during more than two decades.

Anthropologist Héctor Muñoz (2011), upon taking in various tokatas and interviewing members of Pewmayén, Tierra Oscura, and Kiebre, a Chilean metal band from Temuco, posed an important question. Namely, in light of the political life of music in the Southern Cone, he asked: are we looking at a new musical movement here? Muñoz put this question to the musicians and to prominent music critics. Almost invariably, the answer was no, Araucanian rock is not a coherent movement, in part because its clearest and most consistent sentiments are shared by artists of other genres, which branch out in many other directions. Popular music historian Fabio Salas Zúñiga, for instance, responded that, compared with other eras when clear musical movements have emerged, Chilean society today suffers from a degree of fragmentation that precludes such massive, collective artistic expressions. Nonetheless, I would argue that a subculture clearly exists, for reasons already stated. On that note, Muñoz pointed out Kiebre's designation of their music as "*Metal Poblacional Antinacional*" (Antinational Metal from the Barrio) (2011: 34-35). This succinct classification weds meanings related to the band's political posture before the state, the music genre of metal, and life in Araucanía's tumbledown, working-class, urban sectors.

Setting the Stage for We Rakizuam: A Hunger Strike and a Wan Bicentennial

2010 constituted something of a boiling point in Araucanía. Also the year of the Chilean Bicentennial, and the end of Michele Bachelet's first presidency, 2010 was mired with a sense of resignation that little had been achieved to improve state-Mapuche relations, despite Bachelet's rhetoric of inclusion and reconciliation. A March editorial in

the online periodical *Mapuexpress* summarized Bachelet's legacy with the Mapuche in the following terms: "Assassinations of Mapuche with impunity, abuses of public force, militarization of the comunidades, harm to Mapuche boys and girls, noncompliance with international obligations regarding human rights, complicity with the economic elite, inclemency with Mapuche political prisoners."¹⁰⁷

Bachelet's term concluded with several major blows to the Mapuche. In August of 2009, she named the litigator José Antonio Viera-Gallo as "*ministro coordinador de toda la temática indígena*" (coordinating minister of all indigenous issues). Viera-Gallo had a record of vehemently opposing the United Nations / International Labor Organization Resolution 169 (described in Chapter Three), which Bachelet had relented and ratified in Chile only a year earlier.¹⁰⁸ Just before leaving office, she named Viera-Gallo to the *Tribunal Constitucional* (Constitutional Tribunal), one of Chile's highest courts.¹⁰⁹

In August of 2009, a young Mapuche activist named Jaime Mendoza Collio was shot and killed on a piece of land belonging to Jorge Luchsinger, that the Mapuche claimed belonged to them, based on a century-old title that the government had since negated. In December of 2009, CONADI expropriated, by mechanism of purchase, 458 hectares (approximately 1,130 acres) of Luchsinger's land, at a record price of 5.2 million dollars.¹¹⁰ The affair illustrated the perilous and costly inefficiency of the government's land recuperation process. On December 24, the newspaper *El mercurio* reported that, of

¹⁰⁷ See "Adios señora Bachelet," *Mapuexpress.net*, 11 March, 2010.

¹⁰⁸ See "Bachelet nombra a Viera-Gallo como ministro coordinador de temas indígenas," *El mercurio*, 26 August, 2009.

¹⁰⁹ See "La desfachatez final," *Mapuexpress.net*, 9 March 2010.

¹¹⁰ See "Chile pays record price for land distributed to Mapuche." *Santiago times*, 3 December 2009.

115 comunidades whom Bachelet had promised land restitution in 2008, by the end of 2009 only forty-seven had received plots from CONADI.¹¹¹

Violent confrontations broke out on lands in Vilcún, east of Temuco, that CONADI had also expropriated from Luchsinger. The mainstream press alleged that the Mapuche were fighting amongst themselves, while reports of CONADI's inefficiency, and of comuneros injured by police riot control tactics, led to other suspicions.¹¹²

Meanwhile, flagrant headlines continued appearing in the conservative press, such as

“Fiscal metropolitano investiga tráfico de armas de fuego a la zona mapuche”

(Metropolitan regional prosecutor investigates arms trafficking to Mapuche territory).¹¹³

In the midst of this tinderbox climate, on January 15, 2010, a military tribunal announced its decision to condemn Walter Ramírez, the carabinero who shot Matías Catrileo in 2008 (also on Luchsinger's land), to only two years of house arrest, which infuriated people all over the region and around Chile.¹¹⁴

As the hot summer wore on, several major fires broke out on forestry plantations, and machinery on some latifundios were burned, provoking allegations of terrorism. The allegations were not entirely unfounded: according to the *Diario austral* newspaper, the

¹¹¹ See “Conadi admite que no podrá cumplir meta de entrega de tierras,” *El mercurio*, 24 December 2009.

¹¹² See “Tres mapuches heridos de perdigón tras enfrentamiento entre indígenas en Vilcún,” *Diario austral*, 8 January 2010; “Comuneros denuncian amenazas ante la policía,” *Diario austral*, 12 January 2010.

¹¹³ See “Fiscal metropolitano investiga tráfico de armas de fuego a la zona mapuche,” *El Mercurio*, 4 January 2010.

¹¹⁴ See “Justicia militar condenó a dos años de pena remitida a carabinero que mató a Matías Catrileo,” *Diario austral*, 15 January 2010.

militant group called the *Coordinadora Arauco-Malleco* (Arauco-Malleco Coordination, or CAM) took responsibility for several such incidents.¹¹⁵

On February 27, at 3:35 in the morning, the earth shook. An earthquake registered 8.8 on the Richter scale, 300 kilometers off the coast of Concepción. Nearly all of Chile felt something, and in Temuco the movement registered 7.8. Fortunately, relatively few people were injured in Temuco, and most buildings suffered only minor damage. On the other hand, in the period following the quake, the media focused squarely on the city of Concepción, racked by crumbling buildings, an extended blackout, looting and martial law. Residents of smaller, poorer coastal towns such as Cañete and Lebu, along with residents of many rural areas in the Biobío and Araucanía regions, suffered long delays in the arrival of funds and materials for recovery.¹¹⁶ Ultimately, the greatest tragedy occurred along the coast near the epicenter, where the tsunami threat was downplayed, resulting in a number of deaths that could have been avoided.

In March of 2010, Sebastián Piñera took office, replacing Bachelet. An earthquake replica during the inauguration ceremony struck many as a bad omen. At the time, there were approximately 300 formally unresolved land issues between the Mapuche, CONADI, and other rural landowners in the central south. Controversies also revolved around instances of environmental contamination directly affecting comunidades, resulting from garbage dumps, salmon farms, hydroelectric projects, and a variety of other development projects that violated Resolution 169. Almost immediately,

¹¹⁵ See “CAM se adjudicó el atentado incendiario al fundo Santa Lucía en Ercilla,” *Diario austral*, 26 January 2010.

¹¹⁶ See “Mapuches aggrieved by lack of help after quake in Chile,” *Santiago times*, 17 March 2010.

dirigentes (local authorities) of a number of Mapuche comunidades and social movement organizations, including the Consejo de Todas las Tierras, gave Piñera an ultimatum: If he did not appoint a competent negotiator to work with the Mapuche by the end of the month, massive protests would begin.¹¹⁷ In the final week of the month, Piñera appointed Francisco Painepán, a Mapuche resident of Santiago, as director of CONADI. Assessing the political landscape, Painepán dubbed himself the “*enemigo del asistencialismo*” (enemy of welfarism), referring instead to his upbringing in a family of small entrepreneurs as the wellspring of his administrative philosophy.¹¹⁸ After an unimpressive year in the position, Painepán resigned amidst parliamentary allegations that he had mismanaged CONADI’s finances.¹¹⁹

Piñera actually demonstrated a mildly positive disposition toward the Mapuche upon the start of his term in office. However, his administration brought in mid-level politicians who consistently aggravated the situation, such as Andrés Molina, the Araucanía region’s *Intendente* (similar to governor), whose curriculum included management positions at several of the forestry businesses that have encroached badly on Mapuche lands.

At the end of March, José Aylwin, the director of the Observatorio Ciudadano in Temuco, called attention to the fact that, a year after the implementation of Resolution

¹¹⁷ See “Mapuches dan plazo a Presidente Piñera para designar un negociador,” *Mapuchenoticias.com*, 16 March 2010. Aucan Huilcaman, the spokesman for the Consejo de Todas las Tierras, actually stipulated 100 days from the beginning of Piñera’s term, however a larger consensus among Mapuche organizations and comunidades held the president to the end of March.

¹¹⁸ See “El enemigo del asistencialismo,” *Diario austral*, 24 March 2010.

¹¹⁹ See “Director de la Conadi renuncia a su cargo por haber ‘cumplido su ciclo’,” *La tercera*, 1 July 2011.

169 (ratified in Chile in 2008 and implemented in 2009), the government still had not lived up to its statutes, namely that of granting indigenous peoples the right to determine their own role in economic development. Instead, noted Aylwin, the Piñera administration's development plan, called the *Plan Araucanía*, corresponded with the agenda of *CorpAraucanía* (*Corporación para el Desarrollo Productivo de la Araucanía*, or Corporation for the Productive Development of Araucanía), an organization created in 1999 to represent the region's largest business interests.¹²⁰

In the meantime, Elena Varela, the filmmaker responsible for the documentary *Newen Mapuche* (cited in Chapter Three), found herself embroiled in a scandal that reflected the ongoing political tensions. Varela had won a government grant to make her documentary about the Mapuche resistance, in which she interviewed clandestine activists hiding out in remote areas of Araucanía, and exposed a fascinating side of the territorial conflict. However, a police investigation had linked her to the MIR, still operating in the central south, and specifically to militants suspected of armed bank robberies in 2004 and 2005. As a result, police confiscated much of Varela's work, her name was tarnished, and she faced prosecution for her involvement with the MIR. In April of 2010, she was declared innocent, but sufficient damage had occurred, namely in the repeated association of "Mapuche," her name, and "armed robbery" in dozens of news reports.¹²¹ As Varela's trial came to a head, the Chilean *Colegio de Periodistas* (Journalists' Association) publicly expressed concern over the persecution of Mapuche

¹²⁰ See "Nueva política indígena incentiva conflictos," *Diario austral*, 29 March 2010.

¹²¹ See "Documentalista Elena Varela es declarada inocente de los cargos que se le imputaban," *Mapuexpress.net*, 23 April 2010.

spokespeople.¹²² Several months later, Varela screened *Newen Mapuche*, which became an instant classic in part due to its tangled history.

Despite notable expressions of good will by the Piñera administration, conflict prevailed over dialogue when it came to the issue of Mapuche land restoration. However, beyond the actual pieces of land or the environmental abuses in question, arguably the most important controversies in 2010 revolved around Chile's legal apparatus for dealing with imprisoned activists accused of committing violence in the territorial struggle. Since the *tomas de tierra* carried out by the Consejo de Todas las Tierras at the start of the democratic period in the early 1990s (see Chapter Three), the state had applied special national security legislation to deal specifically with such cases. On a number of subsequent occasions, the state also applied the *Ley Antiterrorista* (Antiterrorist Law), or Ley 18,314, which was first implemented by Pinochet in 1984. Ironically, the state has invoked the Ley Antiterrorista more frequently since the return to democracy, almost exclusively in cases related to Mapuche activism. In the prosecutions of suspected terrorists, the law essentially suspends due process, allows for the use of secret witnesses, and subjects defendants to trials in both civilian and military courts.

In her recent volume about the 2010 PPM hunger strike, Paula Correa Agurto writes:

Thus, [the Piñera administration] continued applying special laws, and after three months of the new Government, in our country there were a total of 106 incarcerated indigenous people, condemned or tried in relation to the so called "*conflicto mapuche*" (Mapuche conflict), and this number is apparently double what it was in 2009 . . . All of this occurred under

¹²² See "Chile Journalists' Association voices concern for Mapuche spokespeople," *Santiago times*, 21 April, 2010.

constant criticism of police violence during *allanamientos* (house raids), regardless of the presence of children and the elderly, all of which generated news in the alternative media . . . (2014: 41-42)

Such was the atmosphere. Every week, publications such as *Azkintue*, *Mapuexpress* and *Ñuke Mapu* reported violent *allanamientos* by the police. At the same time, the mainstream press, including the principle television stations, and newspapers such as the *Diario austral*, *La tercera*, and the more conservative *El mercurio*, issued their own barrage of reports about unsanctioned *tomas de tierra*, the burning of logging trucks and agricultural machinery, and the need to crack down harder on terrorism. There were indeed *atentados* (attacks), and the police definitely carried out hostile *allanamientos* in the *comunidades*. Everything seemed true and false at the same time, while the land issues remained unresolved, and the ranks of the PPM grew.

Correa Agurto (2014: 44-46) writes that a turning point occurred on June 22, when *Canal 13* (Channel Thirteen) ran a special episode of the investigative reporting series *Contacto* (Contact), entitled “¿Guerrilla en Arauco?” (Local war in Arauco?). The episode purported to illustrate the human side of the conflict, through direct conversations with prosecutors, *Policia de Investigaciones* (Investigative Police, or PDI, similar to the FBI), as well as with members of the CAM and their families. The journalists emphasized the role of children in the struggle, whom the police claim the Mapuche use as human shields in armed confrontations, and whom the Mapuche claim the police traumatize in the *allanamientos* of family homes. *Contacto* also devoted nearly a half-hour to exploring the possibility of whether members of the CAM had received training from the notorious *Fuerzas Armadas Revolucionarias de Colombia* (Colombian

Revolutionary Armed Forces, or FARC).¹²³ Correa Agurto points out that police and prosecutors readily supplied evidence from unresolved cases to the journalists, such as

¹²³ Since my first trip to Araucanía, in 2008, I had read articles in major newspapers mentioning Mapuche activism alongside the FARC. Even though most such articles debunked any relationship between the two groups, the mere mention of the FARC clearly affected the public perception of the Mapuche. In 2008, after FARC leader Raúl Reyes was killed in an attack by a Colombian government raid on his hiding spot just across the Putumayo River in the Ecuadorian jungle, the Colombian police reported that Reyes's computer had files on it linking him to Mapuche militants in the south of Chile. This raid into Ecuador by Colombian forces, unauthorized by the Ecuadorians, triggered the so called *Crisis andina* (Andean crisis) of 2008. The director of the Colombian *Policía Nacional*, on a trip to Santiago, attributed bus heists and graffiti in southern Chile to the FARC's influence (See "Policía de Colombia: Las FARC entrenaron a mapuches hace 4 años en Chile," *El dinamo*, 26 April 2013). The main point of contention was the supposed training of a small group of Mapuche militants by the Colombian *guerrilleros* (guerrilla fighters), which apparently justified the Chilean government's suspension of due process and implementation of anti-terror measures to quell Mapuche militants. The scandalousness of the allegations, and the prospect of military-style intervention, brought new proportions to the affair, and mobilized fears and divisions echoing the dictatorship years, when the Pinochet invoked absolute sovereignty and an exception to the rule of law, and banned opposition political organizing.

In an editorial in July of 2010, retired Chilean Navy Captain Fernando Thauby cautioned that a radical military approach to the FARC-Mapuche allegations would more likely escalate political tensions than resolve them: "Taking on this problem as an association between the FARC and the Mapuche comuneros, in addition to an exaggeration, would do us no great favor. To transform an incipient terrorist movement, that could be confronted and reduced by the police and the justice system, into a national security problem, is to declare that we are at the same level or insecurity and risk as Colombia and Peru" (See "Chile, las FARC, las drogas, los comuneros mapuches y la realidad," *Elmostrador.cl*, 6 July 2010.).

Between 2009 and 2010, these allegations continued to circulate in the news media, and influenced the position of the Sebastián Piñera administration (inaugurated in early 2010), regarding the rural land conflicts in the central south of Chile. In 2011, high authorities in the Chilean police forces (in both major branches, the *Policía de Investigaciones*, and the *Carabineros*) declared that a significant FARC-Mapuche relationship was unfounded, and the issue was more or less dropped. However, the allegations had already served to radicalize the so called national security situation. In December of 2010, three months before the Chilean police made their final statement on the issue, the *Cámara de Diputados* (equivalent to the Congress) formally repudiated the FARC, declaring them a terrorist organization. According to the Chilean newspaper *La tercera*, Colombian authorities had recently accused seven members of the Partido

email records and tapped phone conversations, much of which appeared in the broadcast. Regarding the root causes of the conflict, such as environmental abuses affecting comunidades, and the state's negation of historic land titles, the program remained silent. All told, the "¿Guerrilla en Arauco?" special hauled the so called Mapuche terrorist into the public square of mainstream television, facilitated by the lifting of the basic rights of privacy and due process granted to normal criminal defendants.

July saw further escalation, and the beginning of the hunger strike. More reports of violence between comuneros and police appeared in the press at the start of the month.¹²⁴ Of the 106 prisoners held on charges related to the Mapuche territorial conflict, thirty-six faced trial under the Ley Antiterrorista at the time. On July 9, the families of the PPM circulated a public letter calling attention to the fact that the Ley Antiterrorista had been applied exclusively to Mapuche prisoners, with the exception of certain Chileans involved in the support network for the PPM. The letter also denounced the soft sentencing of carabineros who had shot Mapuche during confrontations, and pointed out that Chile had the greatest quantity of indigenous political prisoners in all of Latin America (Correa Agurto 2014: 46-47).

Comunista of colluding with the FARC. In their own declaration, the Chilean Diputados alluded to the Communist Party as well, roundly condemning any collaboration by Chileans, or Mapuche, with the FARC (See "PDI y Carabineros descartan que las FARC actúen junto a mapuches," *la tercera*, 2 March 2011). All told, the unfounded international terrorism collaboration nonetheless provoked calls for zero-tolerance intervention in Araucanía, regardless of whether or not any Mapuche activists were actually mixed up with Communist or FARC insurgents. In sum, the end result of the scandal, which essentially absolved the Mapuche of blame for such collusion, failed to remediate the negative public impression that the allegations had generated in the first place.

¹²⁴ See "Atacan garita de Carabineros en Ercilla," *Diario austral*, 5 July 2010.

On July 12, eight PPM in the El Manzano prison in Concepción announced the beginning of their hunger strike. They demanded the following: that the state cease its application of the Ley Antiterrorista and military tribunals in cases related to the Mapuche; freedom from political persecution for the PPM, meaning the application of due process and the termination of the use of secret witnesses, political montages, extortion, threats, physical and psychological torture, and degrading conditions for prisoners; and the demilitarization of the areas where comunidades were engaged in processes of territorial recuperation.¹²⁵ They were not necessarily requesting pardons, but rather that they be tried as civilians. Finally, they called their people to action (Correa Agurto 2014: 48-49).

At its peak, the strike included thirty-four prisoners. They hailed from a number of different comunidades, with the highest concentrations pertaining to comunidades called Juan Catrilef II (near Yeupeco), Mateo Ñirripil, Pascual Coña (near Lleu Lleu), Rayén Mapu (near Ercilla), Puerto Choque (near Tirúa), Autónoma Temucuicui (near Ercilla), and José Millacheo de Newen Mapu (near Chequenco). Overall, the

¹²⁵ The issue of secret witnesses has remained particularly vexing. Reports have confirmed that the police maintain paid, infiltrated members of the armed resistance, who carry out violent acts with impunity, and turn over other militants to the justice system. The Ley Antiterrorista allows for this practice, and for the use of the testimony of these secret witnesses as evidence in military tribunals. In early 2014, for instance, it came to light that a young activist named Raúl Castro Antipán had participated in at least two violent atentados in 2009, after having personally been infiltrated, contracted, trained and paid by the police. His testimony served as evidence in the prosecutions of Luis Marileo and Patricio Queipul, both minors, under the Ley Antiterrorista (See “Quién es y cómo actuó Raúl Castro Antipán, el ‘terrorista mapuche’ infiltrado por Carabineros,” *Radio.uchile.cl*, 13 February 2014). Curiously, rather than use the information from infiltrated militants to prevent atentados, it appears that the police regularly allow the incidents to occur, and then use the information to justify aggressive prosecution.

comunidades of the PPM are fairly well distributed around the central south. Still, Ercilla, eighty kilometers north of Temuco, and Tirúa, on the coast 140 kilometers east of Ercilla, represent an important axis, with a particularly high concentration of comunidades whose members were on strike. This northern band of Araucanía, together with the portion of the Biobío region south of Concepción, has suffered extensive alienation of Mapuche territories at the hands of the expanding forestry plantation industry.

Among the most notorious of the PPM involved in the hunger strike was Héctor Llaitul, allegedly the leader of the CAM, who was suspected of training with the FARC. Along with Llaitul, roughly four other PPM had similar charges against them. The “¿Guerrilla en Arauco?” program aired tapped phone conversations to demonstrate the military-style discipline and communication among Llaitul and the other members of the CAM, which the reporters implied that they could only have learned from the Colombians. Waikilaf Cadín Calfunao, who today is free, was another emblematic prisoner. He is the son of *Lonko* (local territorial leader) Juana Calfunao, herself a highly visible activist with extensive international connections. Waikilaf, both of his parents, an aunt, his brother, and one of his sisters have all served time in prison for their political activities (Correa Agurto 2014: 233). In 2011, I befriended the late poet Alejandro Stuart, who was close friends with Waikilaf. Stuart told me that he was visiting “Waiki” once when the police showed up and raided the house, suspecting that he had explosives hidden there. The police left empty-handed on that occasion, and Stuart scoffed at their bunk suspicion toward his friend.

By mid-August, the strike had become generalized in the prisons containing PPM, and the solidarity movement had spread around Chile and abroad, with massive marches occurring in Concepción, Temuco, Valdivia, Valparaíso and Santiago. The media tit-for-tat continued. On August 6, *El mercurio* published a story insisting on the veracity of the links between the CAM and the FARC.¹²⁶ Foreign media began covering the strike, and by the end of August groups such as Amnesty International formally condemned the Ley Antiterrorista.¹²⁷ For its part, the government did not issue a formal statement for the first twenty days of the hunger strike.

In light of the Piñera administration's unresponsiveness, Aucán Huilcamán, leader of the Consejo de Todas las Tierras, stated publicly that "the Bicentennial should not be celebrated".¹²⁸ With the date of the Bicentennial fast approaching, the *Defensora Nacional* (National Public Defender), attorney Paula Vial Reynal, published a highly visible editorial about the Ley Antiterrorista in *The clinic* on September 2, entitled "Paz social con reglas de guerra" (Social peace under the rules of war). On Monday, September 13, just five days short of Independence Day, *La tercera* published the results of a national survey revealing that 86% of Chileans thought the hunger strike had negatively affected Chile's image.¹²⁹ In one of his few public statements on the issue, Piñera had said the previous day that he would do all that was necessary to protect and safeguard the lives of the prisoners on hunger strike.

¹²⁶ See "Dossier links members of Chilean indigenous group to Colombian rebels," *Santiago times*, 6 August 2010.

¹²⁷ See "Amnistia pide terminar con Ley Antiterrorista," *Diario austral*, 29 August 2010.

¹²⁸ See "Bicentenario no debe celebrarse," *Diario austral*, 15 August 2010.

¹²⁹ See "Encuesta revela que 86% piensa que huelga mapuche afecta imagen internacional de Chile," *La tercera*, 13 September 2010.

Piñera added to that statement that, “as President, I am concerned for the lives of the thirty-three miners trapped in the north, and to the same degree I am concerned for the lives of the thirty-four Mapuche comuneros”.¹³⁰ Indeed, a double crisis was at hand. Since August 5, thirty-three miners were trapped 700 meters beneath the surface of the Atacama Desert, following an explosion in the San José mine, outside the city of Copiapó in northern Chile. The sagas of the PPM and the miners coincided by chance, without antagonism or competition for publicity. Each in its own way, the mining disaster and the hunger strike foregrounded trapped, suffering bodies belonging to indigenous and working-class members of society, and each crisis generated important discussions about structural inequality in Chile.

The cases of the trapped miners and hunger strikers illustrate the continued force of the spectacle of suffering, only with rearranged vectors of power and culpability. The paradox brings to mind Michel Foucault’s thesis in his book *Discipline and Punish* (1977 [1975]), concerning the importance to modern political power of the removal of the suffering of the condemned from public view. The inverse to Foucault’s thesis, in the case of the miners, would be the importance to modern political power of the removal of suffering from the bodies of national heroes, *in* public view.

The mining disaster grew into a source of unity around Chile and the world, as the government and an international team of crack engineers worked tirelessly to extract the victims. Piñera and Mining Minister Laurence Golborne appeared prominently at the site, attending personally to the victims’ families. On October 14, the highly improbable

¹³⁰ See “Piñera: haremos todo lo necesario para proteger la vida de los mapuches,” *Emol.com*, 12 September 2010.

extraction ended. Miraculously, all thirty-three miners emerged, none with serious physical injuries. Time and future mining practices will tell if the fanfare of the extraction drowned out the cry for improved mine safety regulations. One of the more touching and interesting moments of the ordeal occurred on October 12, when the two politicians, together with the gathered family members, picked up a guitar and sang Patricio Manns's hymn to the rural poor, "Arriba en la cordillera." The performance was not without its irony, considering political posture of the composer, versus that of Piñera and Golborne. On the other hand, in the best way possible, the miners redeemed some of the patriotism lost on the Bicentennial.

On September 17, Piñera gave a nod to the PPM, announcing a *mesa de diálogo* (dialogue table) to be held on Cerro Ñielol. However, the mesa revolved around the Plan Araucanía, and other development issues. While important, these issues did not include the Ley Antiterrorista (Correa Agurto 2014: 124). Nonetheless, Piñera took advantage of the appearance to better his image before a September 24 address to the United Nations in New York, in which he summarized progress on Chile's development goals, including human rights issues. In that light, he was obligated to mention the PPM hunger strike, which had reached day seventy-five, with no mutual agreement.¹³¹ Despite his gesture on the 17th, Piñera received heavy criticism from international human rights organizations for his obstinacy with the PPM.

On September 30, day eighty of the hunger strike, roughly 100 people protested outside the prison in Temuco, where they raised a giant Mapuche flag. A group of

¹³¹ See "Piñera speaks in New York, acknowledging Mapuche and poverty challenges facing Chile," *Santiago times*, 24 September 2010.

mothers of PPM then set off for Santiago, where they planned to ask Piñera personally to cease using the Ley Antiterrorista.¹³² The *Diario austral* reported that, later in the day, hundreds of comuneros blocked three of the city's exits. The police responded in riot gear, and the day ended with twenty-four arrests and three injuries.¹³³

Concerned that the death of a PPM during the hunger strike would gravely damage its reputation, the government began to examine the option of force-feeding. Still, under the rigid counsel of his *Ministro del Interior* (Interior Minister) Rodrigo Hinzpeter, Piñera would not relent regarding the Ley Antiterrorista. As Hinzpeter told *El mercurio*, "What we have here is a group of Chileans that want to sit and negotiate with the judges concerning the sentences they should receive. No Chilean can have that privilege".¹³⁴ The designation of "Chilean" was an obvious jab at the PPM, who had already proclaimed themselves Mapuche, not Chilean (Correa Agurto 2014: 51). Clearly, the demands of the PPM went to the heart of the definition of Chilean sovereignty.

On the first of October, representatives of the PPM reached an agreement with the government. The Ley Antiterrorista would be revised, but not eliminated. The PPM held or tried under the law at the time would be no longer be subject to it, and instead would be tried in normal civilian courts. The government committed to reforming the military tribunal system, to avoid future double trials (civilian and military). Critics of the law, including United Nations Secretary-General Ban Ki-moon, applauded the resolution. For

¹³² See "Manifestantes protestan fuera de la cárcel de Temuco con gigantesca bandera mapuche," *La tercera*, 29 September 2010.

¹³³ See "24 detenidos y 3 lesionados," *Diario austral*, 30 September 2010.

¹³⁴ See "La Moneda busca acotar reforma a Ley Antiterrorista tras fin de diálogo con mapuches," *El mercurio*, 29 September, 2010.

the government, the accord represented the least common denominator: they had to concede due process to the current PPM, but they did not have to forfeit the Ley Antiterrorista, and Piñera did not have to account for any prisoner deaths by starvation. Still, as Correa Agurto points out (2014: 137-140), there were hitches. The treatment of children in comunidades in conflict was not addressed, and to this day the issue remains bitterly contentious. Additionally, comuneros claimed that the hostile allanamientos resumed in October. Into the following months, and indeed until the present, the rural violence has continued, other hunger strikes have occurred, and the Ley Antiterrorista remains in use. The major achievement of the 2010 strike, then, is mostly confined to the change in sentencing of the prisoners in that moment.

Life, Death and Territorial Struggle in the Peñas and Tokatas of Temuco

The month of January 2010, my first full month in Araucanía, had ended on a high note for me, at the 4^o Mingako Kultural in Saltapura. The trope of the indigenous guerrillero is an old one in Latin America, and apparently a group of Mapuche riding around the countryside in the back of a pick-up truck is at times sufficient to stir paranoia. Leaving the Mingako on a sunny Sunday afternoon, I was struck with a pleasant sense of irony as I climbed into one of those red Toyota pick-ups that seem to be everywhere in this region of dirt and gravel roads. I loaded a big, green backpack into the bed, next to a guitar and the smaller packs of the other passengers (I was noticeably over-equipped for two nights of camping), and shared the back of the truck with Danko, Colelo, and a few other people. We wound through the countryside with the summer air

coursing across our faces, and the trees waving gently in the wind as we passed. From time to time we cut alongside an open field, revealing the occasional ruka in the foreground, and snow-covered volcanoes in the distance, behind rolling hills of wheat, blossoms, pastures and trees. Such moments make it easy to comprehend the powerful connection that so many feel with rural Araucanía.

Shortly afterward, I found myself sitting in front of a computer, trying to learn songs from videos of Victor Jara. The song “Ni chicha ni limoná” caught my attention. Exasperated while I fumbled my right-hand wrist and fingers into a knot attempting to emulate Jara’s elegantly simple *parabien* rhythm, I wound the clip back to the beginning, where he explained the lyrics. The song was a challenge to those who, during the rising tide of Chilean socialism in the 1960s, failed to commit to a cause, contributing instead to stagnation and polarization. Such noncommittal folks were, in Jara’s playfully jabbing but deadly serious words, “*ni chicha ni limoná*”—neither booze nor lemonade. After struggling for a week or so to learn the song on my own, I enlisted the help of guitarist Leo Matus, who taught it to me during our first lesson, along with its history.

Several days later, Leo invited me to a music event memorializing youth who had died in various instances of armed struggle. The date was March 28, and technically the event corresponded with the 29th, the annual *Día del Joven Combatiente* (Day of the Young Combatant), an unsanctioned, but nonetheless widely observed day honoring the fallen youth militants since the times of Pinochet. In Araucanía, the Mapuche martyrs lend the day a particular solemnity. I met up with Leo in his *pobla* (barrio) of Las Kilas during the afternoon, where he and a group of neighbors had set up a temporary stage

with a PA in a plaza, and arranged a *baby fútbol* (cement court soccer) tournament. Banners hung behind the stage representing the MIR, the *Frente Patriótico Manuel Rodríguez* (Manuel Rodríguez Patriotic Front, or FPMR), and a neighborhood-level political organization called the *Kordón Poblacional de Temuco* (Neighborhood Link of Temuco).¹³⁵

Leo, his friend Marcelo Brevis, Marcelo's *señora* (wife or partner) Cristina, and several other musicians, took turns performing classics from the heyday of *nueva canción*, while children played on and around the stage.¹³⁶ As Marcelo and Cristina performed Violeta Parra's "Gracias a la vida" (Thanks to life) with piercing sentiment, their son climbed up on the stage and embraced his mother. Behind them, an imposing, hand-painted banner read, "On every day of popular and subversive struggle, the children of the poor and rebellious people are reborn . . . with unity and organization the struggle of the pobladores advances daily!" Alongside the text, cartoon-like images of young adolescents raised up an AK-47, Molotov cocktails, and flags with the two-tone, black-red stripes of the MIR. Ever the good sport, I accepted Leo's invitation to perform "El aparecido," which he had just taught me, with him and Marcelo.

¹³⁵ The FPMR is a militant Leftist group in Chile dating to 1983. The group is named for Manuel Rodríguez, an anti-establishment martyr from the era of Chilean independence. Arguably the most notorious act in the history of the FPMR was its failed attempt to assassinate Pinochet in 1986.

¹³⁶ In Varela's documentary *Newen Mapuche*, Marcelo Brevis appears briefly playing guitar in a classic Temuco joint called Don Moises, with Danko Mariman drinking a beer in the foreground.



Figure 5.8. Leo Matus and Marcelo Brevis playing before a banner depicting *joven combatientes* (young combatants), at a commemoration for Día del Joven Combatiente (Day of the Young Combatant) in 2010.

The next day was properly Día del Joven Combatiente around Chile, which as I soon learned, normally ends in violent confrontations between police and protestors. The newly elected Piñera assured public order by putting extra security forces on the streets, which set the tone for his administration in the months to come.¹³⁷ In a way I had also set my own tone for the coming months, with my debut of “El aparecido.”

I spent much of the year taking in tokatas and peñas in Temuco, while studying guitar with Leo. Not all performances dealt so directly with life, death and politics, although many did. For his part, Leo was working at the time on developing a union of street musicians, whom the police frequently run off or hit with heavy fines. Leo invited

¹³⁷ Among various other reports, a nightly news segment on March 28 by *Chilevisión* (channel 7) described Piñera’s position on the eve of Día del Joven Combatiente.

me to several peñas supporting the union cause, where I met some of the finest musicians in the city, whose primary stages are the backs of buses, and busy street corners and plazas during the tourist season.

In Temuco, I maintained something of a dual line of research. By day, I often went to the headquarters of Fundación Chol-Chol, in the countryside between Temuco and Nueva Imperial, where I researched the relationship between textile iconography and the global fair trade movement. By night, the tokatas and peñas put me in completely different company. I began to understand that cultural activism in the region takes many forms, often colored by the ideologies of adjacent pursuits such as fair trade advocacy, or the militant folk song movement. The embrace of globalization and global capital by the fair trade movement stands at odds with the militarism of folksingers such as Leo, who willingly hang the banners of the MIR and the FPMR behind the stage each March 29 (or March 28, as the case may be). Still, in Araucanía these divergent courses of activism and advocacy share a mission of valorizing Mapuche culture.

Likewise with the hip-hop and rock scenes, whose members frequently voice discontent and political commentary, as well as admiration for the region's native inhabitants. For instance, in April, I went to a hardcore rock show in a *casa okupa* (occupied house) next to a plaza in Temuco.¹³⁸ The band opened with a brief rendition of

¹³⁸ The term *casa okupa* refers to an abandoned house that has been occupied unofficially. Until roughly 2011, a *casa okupa* on Plaza Dreves in Temuco served as a the venue for various tokatas. Subsequently, it appears to have been annexed by an adjacent business and demolished. The whole *casa okupa* as music venue phenomenon is relatively common in the region, since older houses, some of which are now abandoned, usually have high roofs and large open spaces inside. As I understand it, this construction accommodated the widespread use of paraffin torches and open fireplaces in generations

Mapuche music, pounding out a heavy 6/8 rhythm on the drum kit, and blasting multiple *trutrukas*, all of which literally made the walls of the house reverberate. After a minute, they reached a climax with an *afafan*, and stopped. They introduced the following song, “Guerra” (War), declaring that war and struggle were the only way forward, and launched into a hardcore sound recalling Rage Against the Machine. On one side of the room hung a giant banner reading “*Lemún renace*” (Lemún is reborn).

At a hip-hop *tokata* in November, I chatted over a beer with Jonathan, of the rap group Núcleo 441, before he took the stage. He passed me his headphones and offered a sample of what they would perform that night: a dramatic, rapped depiction of a *toma de tierra*. Intrigued, I asked Jonathan, “Are you guys Mapuche?” “No,” he responded, “but we’re poor.” During the year I attended a number of *tokatas*, the most memorable of which was We Rakizuam, which I will come back to shortly.

past. Today, houses in southern Chile are typically much smaller, with electric lighting and woodstoves that, while generally bad for the environment, are much more efficient and less smoky. Many old houses persist as architectural relics, however they are unattractive to most Chilean homeowners for economic reasons. Nonetheless, these houses make remarkable music venues.



Figure 5.9. Poster for a hip-hop tokata in Temuco.

In 2011, I began participating with Kolectivo Espiral, the political-artistic collective run by Alejandro Stuart. At turns I filmed, took pictures or made audio recordings at peñas, on behalf of the Kolectivo; more in the tradition of nueva canción,

Kolectivo Espiral typically put on peñas, whereas the rock and rap scenes have long revolved around tokatas. If the PPM hunger strike was the predominant issue for activism in the central south in 2010, in 2011 it was the *HydroAysén* scandal, followed closely by massive student strikes and further Mapuche manifestations throughout that year.

HydroAysén is a process of riverine exploration dating to the 1890s in the Aysén region of Chilean Patagonia, in the interest of constructing mega hydroelectric dams. For decades, the foreign energy firms Colbún and ENDESA had been drawing up plans for a series of dams to send electricity from Aysén to central Chile, and to the mines in the north, via an enormous network of high-tension cables.¹³⁹ Despite the Piñera

¹³⁹ On May 9, 2011, the *Intendenta* (akin to the regional governor) of the Aysén region in Patagonia, with the support of President Piñera and the Ministers of Energy and the Interior, approved the highly controversial hydroelectric development project for Patagonia. HidroAysén would have involved the ten-year construction of five hydroelectric plants by foreign corporations, to bring some 2,600,000 megawatts of power from dammed Patagonian rivers to the capital in Santiago. May 10 ended with large protests in Coyhaique (in Aysén), Temuco, Santiago, and other cities, criticizing what was widely viewed as a closed approval process among political officials who already had their minds made up, and/or had close links to the energy corporations involved (See “Tensa Jornada terminó con incidentes y apedreos en el centro de Coyhaique,” *El Mercurio*, 10 mayo 2011). Additionally, the project shirked the government’s obligation, based in UN Resolution 169, to consult indigenous communities before carrying out major development projects (see article entitled “Comunidades Mapuches Huilliches rechazan proceso de consulta que está llevando a cabo el gobierno, denominado ‘consulta nacional Indígena’,” *Mapuexpress.net*).

In a broadcast on May 12, Tomás Mosciatti of Radio Bío-Bío summarized the issue in broad strokes, focusing on the following points. Chile’s Minister of Energy rationalized the approval of HidroAysén by citing an energy emergency, yet other steps normally taken in energy emergencies (such as electricity rationing) never occurred. The Chilean Ambassador in Buenos Aires had discussed the sale of Chilean hydroelectric energy to Argentina, meaning that Chile would have absorbed the environmental impact as the cost of doing business, while sending energy abroad that exceeded the domestic consumption needs. Barring deals with Argentina, 100% of the energy produced by HidroAysén would have gone to Santiago, through 2,200 kilometers of cables and towers. The cables would have crossed six national parks, eleven reserves, sixteen

government's approval of the project in early May, a remarkable series of protests throughout Chile, and particularly in Patagonia, forced its delay. In 2012, the Supreme Court authorized the dams, though the power line plans failed an environmental approval process. In 2014, at the outset of Bachelet's second term, the government roundly rejected HydroAysén, whose defeat stands as a victory for the environmental movement, and for Chileans and indigenous people generally.

On April 21, Temuco was the site of a multi-form, collaborative, artistic manifestation, geared largely toward criticizing HydroAysén. "*Temuco por la Tierra*" (Temuco for the Earth, or Land) was the banner of the network of social organizations who put on the event, including Kolectivo Espiral. In the morning, a handful of poets, dancers, actors and musicians gathered in a plaza near the folkloric *Feria Pinto* (Pinto Street Market) to tune up instruments and paint faces. The "Feria," as everyone calls it, is the traditional spot for buying and selling produce, meat, clothing and artesanía, or for buying tickets on the rural buses headed for the distant comunidades of the region. The starting point itself for the event comprised a show of solidarity with the campesinos who make long journeys on the *micros* (buses) to sell cilantro, Mapuche textiles, or any variety of things; the Feria, in short, is the meeting point of city and country.

wetlands, and thirty-two private, protected land reserves. The tax system for energy production in Chile is based on the least efficient forms of production, so Chileans would have paid the owners of HidroAysén the rate of petroleum-produced energy, while the energy would actually have been produced with water. HidroAysén would have further diminished competition and augmented concentration in Chile's already monopolistic energy sector: Colbún and ENDESA, two of the three largest energy corporations working in Chile, merged in HidroAysén, and as a result they would have shared eighty percent of Chile's energy market. Spanish-based ENDESA, for its part, already had ninety-six percent of the water rights in Aysén as of 2011.

The group of artistic demonstrators began the day with a *pasacalle*, or street procession. They played brass and stringed instruments, with choreographed and costumed dance, through several blocks of downtown Temuco, waving banners extolling the causes of environmentalism and indigenous rights. The *pasacalle* offered something of a blend between minimalist Chilean theatre, a folk music *peña*, a street protest, and a parading funeral in New Orleans. When the *pasacalle* arrived at the *Gimnasio O'Higgins* (O'Higgins Gymnasium), the group entered, dried off (characteristically, it rained during the *pasacalle*), and took the stage. Greenpeace joined the event, passing out information about activities and volunteer opportunities, and hanging large banners around the venue. A group called *Revolución de la Cuchara* (Revolution of the Spoon) fed everyone, including the entire audience, with a bounteous meal of free vegetarian cuisine.

Through *Kolectivo Espiral*, I got to know Stuart, along with remarkable local artists such as Chilean singer-songwriters Nicolás Michel and Susana Cofré, and the Mapuche poet Rayen Kvyeh. Stuart had recently returned from a decades-long exile-cum-immigration in the United States, where he had also participated in the folksong and protest movements. He had recently returned to Chile to live out his days. His dual mission of poetry and photography put him at the center of the manifestations of 2010 and 2011. *Kolectivo Espiral*, which met weekly in his house over wine and coffee, bridged the worlds of the alternative press and the artistic scene. On the heels of *Temuco por la Tierra*, Stuart convened a considerable group of local artists and activists at his house, to reflect on the event's successes and shortcomings, and to strategize for the next massive artistic intervention. Stuart and I parted ways somewhat at the end of 2011, when

I began to focus on teaching and could not find the time for the weekly meetings of Kolectivo Espiral. He gave a spirited guest presentation in one of my classes in early 2013, after which I never saw him again. He passed away in August of 2013.

Back to We Rakizuam: “Mi Lucha es por Vivir”

This chapter’s narrative returns here to We Rakizuam in 2010, which constituted a remarkable artistic event taking place precisely during some of the most important political and cultural turmoil during recent Araucanian history. On September 4, 2010, Unión de Pobladores got the We Rakizuam festival off to a strong start with a brief freestyle by Juan, followed by the song “Batalla verbal” (the lyrics are transcribed earlier in this chapter). The freestyle was pointed:

No hay perro que valga para esta circunstancia,
Por ser Mapuche nos persiguen y nos tienen de amenaza,
El gobierno es asesino en esta causa,
Se justifican terrorismo para reventar nuestras casas,
Y explotan comunidades, con fuerzas policiales,
En busca de líderes de movimientos radicales,
Weichafes les resisten a estos winkas criminales,
Que se muestra como víctimas noticias nacionales,
Para ello todo se vale,
Y le es fácil decir que los Mapuche son criminales,
Los llevan sin precedentes y los muestran en tribunales,
Como grandes terroristas resguardados por oficiales,
Paren ya este montaje y este daño irreparable,
Que asuma ya el culpable,
Que asuma este gobierno que ellos son los responsables, ya!

There’s not a dog that deserves this circumstance,
For being Mapuche they persecute us and maintain us under threat,
The government is the assassin in this cause,
They use terrorism to justify breaking down our houses,
And messing up communities, with the police forces,
In search of leaders of radical movements,

The weichafes resist these winka criminals,
That portray themselves like victims in the national news,
They have no criteria,
And it's easy for them to say that the Mapuche are criminals,
They take them prisoner without proof and show them in tribunals,
Like great terrorists guarded by officials,
Stop this montage already and this irreparable damage,
It's time for guilt to be assumed,
It's time for the government to recognize that they are the ones
responsible, enough already!

Following Unión de Población, the Lafkenche poet Lorenzo Aillapán took the stage with a *trutruka* and a *kultrún*. Known as the *Üñumche* (Mapuzugun for *Hombre Pájaro*, or Bird Man), Aillapán bears what is considered a celestial gift for understanding the expressions of the remarkably diverse species of birds in coastal Wallmapu, and his poetry incorporates onomatopoeia about birds. He opened with a greeting on the *trutruka*, a traditional “*toque*” (expression) for the beginning of a social occasion. He then performed two poems, one about the bird called the *piden*, and another about the connection between the mountains and the cosmos, both in Spanish and Mapuzugun. Aillapán's performance was not overtly political, but rather rounded out the program with poetic expressions in Mapuzugun, whose promotion constitutes an important aspect of the overall mission of the Mapuche Movement.

The next performer was poet Kelv Liwen Tranamil, a young woman from a *comunidad* just outside the urban limits of Temuco. She related a story about an *allanamiento* that her family had suffered firsthand, in which the police were after a group of *clandestinos* (fugitives) whom her parents had decided to shelter for a time. The police arrived with brutality, hitting people, pointing their guns at the family, and threatening to break open the *kultrún*; however, three small children defended the

instrument. As for the clandestinos, they escaped, because the elders in the household had known beforehand about the allanamiento, through signals from the Tierra. According to Kelv, elders and authorities in the comunidades frequently have such premonitions, resulting in great frustrations for the police. Kelv told me later that, after her now handicapped mother had been shot and injured by rubber bullets in an allanamiento in 2003, a police officer had expressed the following:

“It doesn’t make sense for the Mapuche to go around making so much noise, if they have everything. How many times, he said, have we gone to the student home in Padre las Casas, and they have everything, nice beds, all kinds of things. They’re ungrateful, because people who aren’t Mapuche don’t have any way to study.” (Tranamil 2010)

In the story that she told at We Rakizuam, the police called the family “*malagradecidos*” (ungrateful) for all the assistance from the state, such as land, scholarships, and even Mapuche student residences.



Figure 5.10. Kelv Tranamil at We Rakizuam in 2010.

Kelv then recited the following poem, entitled “En el nombre de los kaidos” (In the name of the fallen), including the following verses:

Una noche su fugaz paso prende mil sueños,
Sobre sus hombros el pesar de un pueblo,
Bajo su polera la piel con rastros de disparos policiales,
Y en el espíritu, la naturaleza grita

Las aguas del mar corren en sus venas,
Y en su aliento, se desprende miles de oraciones
Que gritan casi afónica,
Un nguillatún irrupido, interrumpido en algun lado

...
Había resguardo policial,
Habían balas esperándolo,
Pero sus manos se humedecieron con el rocío de ese espacio,
Que dignificaría aun más su existencia

...
Él es el legado y mandato de la tierra,
Él es el weichafe, él es la misma tierra,
Por eso lo defiende así,
Es la mujer y los niños,
Es el pueblo,
Pelea por el mandato de la tierra,
Y en nombre de los kaidos

In the night his fast footfall ignites a thousand dreams,
On his shoulders rests the weight of a people,
Underneath his shirt the skin bears the marks of police gunfire,
And in his spirit, nature cries out

The waters of the sea run in his veins,
And in his breath unravel a thousand prayers,
That scream at the limit of the voice,
A nguillatún suddenly broken into, interrupted in some place

...
There were police,
There were bullets waiting for him,
But his hands moistened with the dew of that space,
Which further dignified his existence

...
He is the legacy and the mandate of the land,
He is the weichafe, he is the land itself,

And thus he defends it as he does,
He is the women and the children,
He is the people,
He fights because of the mandate of the land,
And in the name of the fallen

She finished by saying “*chaltumay*” (thank you, in Mapuzugun), and the audience let out a roaring *afafan*.

Elisa Avendaño then took the stage, alongside two other women who accompanied her with *cascahuilla* (bells) and *wada* (gourd rattle). Avendaño gave a special greeting to the families of the PPM, and to those who had lost family members in the conflict. She noted that the following day, September 5, would be *Día Internacional de la Mujer Indígena* (International Day of the Indigenous Woman), observed on the anniversary of the assassination of the Aymara leader Bartolina Sisa in 1782. In Avendaño’s sober wording:

No es una celebración, [ni] mucho menos, sino más bien es una conmemoración, un recuerdo, un recordatorio de las mujeres que luchan, así como *Janequeo*, *Guacolda* y *Fresia*, y tantas otras mujeres que dejaron . . . su vida luchando y defendiendo sus tierras, y también por seguir siendo Mapuche o por seguir siendo indígena.

It is not a celebration, not in the least, but rather it is a commemoration, a remembrance, a reminder of the women who fight, just like *Janequeo*, *Guacolda* and *Fresia*, and many other women who gave . . . their lives fighting for and defending their land, and also fighting to continue being Mapuche or indigenous.

Janequeo, *Guacolda* and *Fresia* are Mapuche women who fought the Spanish in the sixteenth century.

Avendaño noted that her career as a musician began when she was moved to sing in the memory of a fallen Mapuche named Juan Wilipan. At the time, she was a young

girl, but the experience has always remained with her. Today, “Wilipan,” which she sung at We Rakizuam, is arguably her best known composition. With a remarkable economy of language in Mapuzugun, the song draws out long, mournful expressions based around the name “Wilipan,” naming him as a *lamgen* (brother), born from the land and close to the singer’s heart.¹⁴⁰ In its hauntingly slow 6/8 meter governed by Avendaño’s beating of the kultrún, “Wilipan” conforms to a customary structure of *ülkantun*. Ever the master vocalist, at We Rakizuam Avendaño projected her voice powerfully through the microphone, filling the glass and steel hall with a soulful, mediated sound that any blues singer would envy.

The next act was Pewmayén, who played rousing versions of “Weichafe Alex Lemún” and “Ngapitún,” both of which I have described in detail elsewhere. Subsequently, the Mapuche singer-songwriter Martín Curín took the stage, and performed a solo version of his song “200 años” (200 years). Curín normally plays with the trio We Liwen (New Dawn, in Mapuzugun), which combines his singing and guitar playing with Mapuche instrumentation; here, he appeared alone with the guitar. “200 años” also revolves around a slow 6/8 meter, with the key alternating between A-minor and C-major. The piece opens with a solemn, pentatonic melody played on the guitar, which gives way to Curín’s lyrics affirming the Mapuche resistance:

Son 200 años, que quieren celebrar,
Pero, para nosotros, no es nada de felicidad,
Son 200 años, de tanto reclamar,
Por nuestros derechos, no vamos a renunciar,
Son 200 años, de tanto batallar,

¹⁴⁰ In Mapuzugun, men refer to each other as *peñi* (brother), and to women as *lamgen* (sister). Women refer both to each other and to men as *lamgen*.

Los antepasados, lucharon mucho más,
Nuestros antepasados, lucharon mucho más

It's 200 years, that they want to celebrate,
But, for us, it's not happiness,
It's 200 years, of so much struggle,
For our rights, we will not give up,
It's 200 years, of so much fighting,
The ancestors, fought much more,
Our ancestors, fought much more

The second two verses invoke Caupolicán, the historic sixteenth-century defender of the Mapuche and their territory:

Danos la fuerza, para luchar,
Danos la fuerza, gran Caupolicán,
Danos la fuerza, para resistir,
Por nuestros hijos, y los que han de venir

Danos la fuerza, gran Caupolicán,
Tú, que luchasteis, hasta morir,
Para que tu pueblo, hoy pueda vivir,
Hoy pueda vivir

Give us the strength, to fight,
Give us the strength, great Caupolicán,
Give us the strength, to resist,
For our children, and the future generations

Give us the strength, great Caupolicán,
You, who fought, until the death,
So that your people, today could be alive,
Today could be alive

Following the invocation of Caupolicán, Curín weaves contemporary martyrs into the lineage of Mapuche weichafe, leading up to “*el pequeño Lemún*” (little Lemún), reminding that Alex Lemún died as an adolescent. He calls out to the martyrs personally, in plain speech during the song:

Peñi Matías, tu *puke* está en mi *puke*, *peñi*, y tú estás con nosotros. Peñi Jaime, tu muerte no será en vano. Tus muertes no serán en vano. Son 200 años . . . ¹⁴¹

Peñi Matías [Catrileo], your heart is in my heart, *peñi*, and you are here with us. Peñi Jaime, your death will not be in vain. Your deaths will not be in vain. It's been 200 years . . .

Together with Tierra Oscura's interpretation of another of his songs later on, Martín Curín's performance of "200 años" was perhaps the most moving and pointed of the whole evening.



Figure 5.11. Martín Curín of We Liwen at We Rakizuam in 2010.

Lafkenche bard Joel Maripil then took the stage, and told a story about why the *trutruka* today is typically “*enrollado*” (rolled up). He played a short, clear melody on the

¹⁴¹ In addition to *peñi*, these lines contain the Mapuche word *puke*, meaning heart.

instrument, and then began. He explained that, in the past, when he was invited to sing not far from home, he would travel on horseback with a long, straight *trutruka*, perhaps equal in length to his height, or even slightly longer. Then, he was invited to perform in Currarehue, up in the mountains, and to arrive there he had to take a bus. When he got on the bus, it was terribly awkward to stow the instrument away, and he had to ask other passengers to position its other end in the luggage rack above the seats. “Look at these Mapuche, with these giant things they carry around,” murmured the other passengers. From that day on, Joel Maripil decided that, for bus trips, he would have to roll up the *trutruka*. He noted sadly, “Every day of my life, I feel a profound sense of pain, because going around with my *trutruka* all rolled up every day hurts me very much.” He paused, then added the word, “culturally.” The joke was not lost on the audience, which erupted in laughter. He then added, “Hopefully, one day there will be a different system, and we can have our lands, where we can raise our horses, and be able to ride with the *trutruka* up on our shoulders, straight, like it always was. *Chaltumay*.”

Maripil’s humorous story nonetheless hit close to home, suggesting that the disorganization and intervention of Mapuche territory has direct consequences on the physical body, a member of which he likened to the *trutruka*. In few words, he also demonstrated the relationship between musical instruments and expressions, and the state of the territory. In a *Wallmapu* with fewer highways and fewer rigid divisions of property, travel on horseback would be more practical, he implied. For its part, the *trutruka*, and all that it symbolizes, would extend freely through space.

The rock band Tierra Oscura gave a particularly moving performance of several songs, including a composition by We Liwen entitled “Una sola lucha” (Only one struggle; for the sake of accuracy, in this song I consider “lucha” to translate as both fight and struggle). Again, a gradual 6/8 rhythm underpins the song, with the drum kit evoking the kultrún. At We Rakizuum, a back-up vocalist also played pifilka and cascahuilla, while the band’s violinist played trutruka instead of his usual instrument. Harmonically, the song revolves around a simple, repeating cycle of G-major, A-major, and the home chord of B-minor. In contrast to Colelo’s wailing dissonance with the trutruka in “Weichafe Alex Lemún,” here the instrument sings more gently, in a slow, improvised melody hovering around the chord tones. Also in contrast to “Weichafe Alex Lemún,” here the pifilka plays chord tones as well. In this case, the pifilka and trutruka contribute to a sense of openness in the harmonic texture, while the electric guitars feature reverb but no distortion. The lyrics reflect the cultural and political convictions of Martín Curín of We Liwen:

El silencio de la noche,
Acompañame el silencio,
Cuando la soledad es mi compañía,
Cuando veo salir el sol,
Puedo ver tu rostro, hermano,
Puedo ver tu lucha,
Y ver la mía

Una sola lucha,
Un solo camino,
Una sola verdad,
Una sola lucha,
Nuestra libertad,
Una sola lucha,
Nuestra libertad

Pero el enemigo,
Nos confunde,
Para dividirnos,
Nos deja peleando entre nosotros,
Entre nuestros hermanos,
Se mueren de hambre y dolor,
Por la opresión del poderoso,
Del poderoso

In the silence of the night,
The silence accompanies me,
When solitude is my companion,
When I see the sun rise,
I can see your face, brother,
I can see your struggle,
And I can see mine

Only one struggle,
Only one path,
Only one truth,
Only one struggle,
Our freedom,
Only one struggle,
Our freedom

But the enemy,
Confuses us,
To divide us,
He leaves us fighting amongst ourselves,
Amongst our brothers and sisters,¹⁴²
Who die of hunger and pain,
Under the oppression of the powerful,
Of the powerful

At the apex of the chorus, the guitars and trutruka drop out, leaving just the drum kit, pifilka and cascahuilla, while the lead singer enters into a beseeching call and response with the two back-up vocalists:

[Lead] ¿Y qué vas a hacer,
[Back-up] Esconderte o luchar?

¹⁴² In Spanish, hermanos can mean brothers and sisters, not only brothers.

[Lead] ¿Y qué vas a hacer, te repito,
[Back-up] Esconderte o luchar?

[Lead] ¿Y qué voy a hacer desde hace tiempo?
[Back-up] Eligí luchar, elegí luchar

[Lead] Pero mi lucha no es de muerte,
[Back-up] Mi lucha es por vivir,

[Lead] Pero mi lucha no es de destrucción,
[Back-up] Mi lucha es por vivir,

[Lead] Pero mi lucha no es de muerte,
[Together] Mi lucha es por vivir,
[Together] Y no para matar,
[Together] Mi lucha es por vivir,
[Together] Mi lucha es por vivir

[Lead] And what are you going to do,
[Back-up] Hide yourself or fight?

[Lead] And what are you going to do, I repeat,
[Back-up] Hide yourself or fight?

[Lead] And what am I going to as always?
[Back-up] I chose to fight, I chose to fight,

[Lead] But my struggle is not one of death,
[Back-up] My struggle is to live,

[Lead] But my struggle is not one of destruction,
[Back-up] My struggle is to live,

[Lead] But my struggle is not one of death,
[Together] My struggle is to live,
[Together] And not to kill,
[Together] My struggle is to live,
[Together] My struggle is to live

On the last line, the band holds out the tonic of the B-minor chord and the second syllable of “vivir” (to live). The trutruka enters again with its imploring melody, and the chorus

begins anew from “Una sola lucha.” Tierra Oscura’s performance of the song left two profound sentiments hanging in the air: “What are you going to do, hide or fight?” and “My struggle is to live, no to kill.”

Conclusion

This chapter, entitled “The stage as a battleground,” has laid out the impression I gained during roughly two years of ethnographic research, of the stage as a site where political conflicts play out in Araucanía. The idea that music has a direct role in major social and political debates is not unique to the region. On the other hand, it is not insignificant that Mapuche fusion music has blossomed here in a relationship of inverse proportion to the heavy implementation of neoliberal cultural policies, and rural-urban migration. These pages have also addressed the conundrum of how to comprehend new developments in Mapuche musical expressions, without assuming that these developments necessarily equate to cultural loss. While traditional expressions merit support and preservation, a disproportionate emphasis on tradition risks overlooking the contemporaneity of Mapuche lifeways. For that matter, Mapuche performing artists who decide to use electrified instruments (among a variety of other tools), typically do so after having gained proficiency in the customary expressions of their culture.

In the scope of the present chapter, I have been able to compare and contrast my own approach methods and conclusions with those of distinguished ethnographic researchers on Mapuche music from the 1970s and 80s. At that point, a predominantly structuralist approach yielded crucial information concerning organology, the

fundamental attributes of music and ritual, and certain detrimental effects on traditional cultural practices vis-à-vis the modernization of Chile and Argentina. I deliberately (and respectfully) depart from these past researchers in my exploration of processes of radical social change, namely rural-urban migration, and the musical and cultural changes that have followed. I propose that the music of Pirulonko, Pewmayén, Tierra Oscura and Unión de Pobla, among other groups, are no less Mapuche for their incorporation of materials from the musical universes of punk, metal and hip-hop. Yet, as in the analysis of the song “Weichafe Alex Lemún,” critically examining these emerging areas of musical expression requires tools drawn from popular music studies and cultural studies. Like many of my colleagues, I call this approach poststructuralist ethnomusicology.

Perhaps the late Matías Catrileo revealed, among other things, the need for a new way of hearing Mapuche music, when he referred to the state’s bracketing off of the Mapuche as folklore. Contemplating songs such as “Weichafe Alex Lemún,” and instruments such as the trompe and the paupawén, also invites contemplation of the ongoing processes of change that we can only assume have occurred in Mapuche music for centuries. Researching such processes historically, which would constitute its own extended project, could go a long way toward upending the ongoing pattern of reinscribing indigenous cultures as static symbols of diversity rooted in a romanticized past.

Why is the stage a battleground, and not just the site of a debate? The divisive conflicts that transpired in 2010 and 2011, and that happened to coincide with the Chilean Bicentennial, represent a boiling point of decades-long interventions into both territory

and culture. As previous chapters explain, the most effective way to justify the taking of Mapuche lands is to deny the existence or the contemporaneity of their culture, and the most effective way to eliminate their culture is to deny their lands and their ritual spaces. We Rakizuam is the new wisdom that counteracts this dual alienation, by framing the territorial demands as present and not historic, and Mapuche culture as both autonomous and contemporary. Furthermore, in the face of neoliberal cultural policies that appropriate indigenous expressions as productive elements in an exploitative economic regime, Mapuche artists often encounter in Temuco's punk, metal and hip-hop subculture powerful elements that bolster expressions of autonomy.

Personally, I got more than I bargained for by participating in We Rakizuam. In this day in age, the notion of ethnographic objectivity is anachronistic, particularly in situations of conflict and contradictory moral imperatives, not to mention the simultaneous celebration of indigenous traditions alongside the criminalization of ethnic rights movements. I asked myself a number of times whether my presence implicated me in the struggle at hand. In terms of the land and environmental issues at stake, and the reticence of the government to adhere to Resolution 169, I have always assumed a position of solidarity with the Mapuche. Yet, the hunger strike opened new, uneven terrain. Could an outsider like me legitimately oppose the Ley Antiterrorista? Of course, I reasoned. The law is recognized globally as antiquated and brutal. Furthermore, I endorsed the cause in favor of due process in the criminal justice system, but not in favor of unconditionally pardoning people who indeed could be justly tried for committing crimes. Could I appear publicly as a co-producer of We Rakizuam, and expect anyone

finding my name in the credits to make the distinction that I support due process, but that I also abhor violence, including that committed by the people on trial? Unlikely.

Some weeks after finishing my portion of the editing, I received an email with a link to the footage. Below the video link were a few short paragraphs describing the context and political posture of the event, listing my name among the producers. Just as during the night of We Rakizuam, my pulse quickened while I read the paragraphs on the website, which offered the event as a response to the state's hostility toward the Mapuche, without making the critical distinction between supporting due process, or supporting the unconditional pardon of the PPM. Such a distinction was rarely voiced during the various protests of 2010, and in retrospect I can only wonder if this lack of distinction served to avoid driving a wedge into the broad support for the hunger strike. Thoughts flashed through my mind of the various admonishments I had heard about not getting mixed up in politics as a foreigner, and about not marching in, or even photographing, a pro-Mapuche demonstration. I thought of the visa application I had sent to the Chilean Consulate literally a few days earlier, in preparation for another year in the south. Feeling desperate, I wrote to Danko Mariman, and asked him to remove my name from the credits. The request kicked off a series of honest, yet somewhat disappointing communications between the two of us. Into 2011, I was fortunate to continue collaborating with Kolectivo We Newen, and I even participated in a year-long Mapuzugun class they ran. Still, our relationship was never quite the same.

A closing detail: After We Rakizuam, a number of people gathered in a backyard to celebrate its success, as well as a birthday. The scene blended a particularly Mapuche

reverence for social graces, with the shared satisfaction of a job well done, not to mention a good deal of hip-hop freestyling. It was a cold, drizzly night, normal for late winter in Temuco, but no one was deterred from staying up late, or from staying outside to sing and converse around a fire. A guitar went around, eventually landing in my lap. Without thinking of just how well it applied to me at the time, I joyfully played Jara's "Ni chicha ni limoná," provoking friendly admiration. I suppose I had found my song.

Chapter 6

Rural-urban Migration and *Hip-hop Mapuche* on the Araucanian Frontera

On a winter night in August of 2009, Mapuche rapper Jano Weichafe collaborated with Chilean rock band La Mano Ajena, performing the piece “Ñi Pullu Weichafe” (Warrior Spirit, in Mapuzugun) in a venue called the Galpón Victor Jara, in the Chilean capital, Santiago. The performance left the audience jumping and calling for an encore, and piqued their interest in the *tema Mapuche* (Mapuche issue), whose epicenter lies some 600 kilometers to the south, in the Araucanía region. The artist reflects:

Through music, you can reach more people, and support a cause, without necessarily going around throwing rocks . . . [it’s] more powerful . . . actually it’s also more dangerous to awaken people’s consciousness, than to go around throwing rocks. (Weichafe and Mariman 2011)

What does hip-hop tell us about Mapuche culture? How does rap music empower Mapuche people in twenty-first century Chile? What forms of activism does rap offer in climates of political instability and migration?

Addressing these questions requires examining the conditions of urban life in the Araucanía region of Chile, and the development of the poblaciones where Mapuche hip-hop took root in the 1990s. As described in Chapter Two, Araucanía has historically borne the reputation of frontera (frontier or borderland), where physical and symbolic

exchange between the Mapuche and other civilizations have long characterized many aspects of life. Mapuche hip-hop from the cities of Temuco and Padre las Casas sheds a unique light on patterns of rural-urban migration that have impacted Mapuche families, and on the role of music, performance and community organizing in the development of today's mixed-ethnic poblaciones in the region. This chapter considers the frontera as a historical phenomenon, and as the backdrop of Mapuche hip-hop in urban Araucanía.

One of Araucanía's first hip-hop groups, the *Brocas de las Naquis* (whose name means Kids on the Corner, in *Coa*, a street dialect), personified the experience of migration, and the urban, mixed-ethnic identity that resulted in the 1980s and 90s. Concertedly Mapuche rap groups such as *Weichafe Newen* (Force of the Warrior) and Kolectivo We Newen (which for a period focused largely on hip-hop) have demonstrated how artists weave hip-hop into the present-day Mapuche Movement, the region's most empowered social movement. The Araucanian frontera once indicated a combination of geographical division and calculated exchange between indigenous and colonial society, while today spaces of intercultural and interethnic cohabitation permeate the region. Yet, the frontera persists as an organizing concept for social, political and ethnic divisions that nonetheless remain strong in Araucanian and Chilean life. To close, then, I analyze the song "Ñi Pullu Weichafe," an example of a genre fusion project and an exercise in crossing borders, in order to locate the Araucanian frontera in the ephemeral yet powerful realm of popular music.

Well-known performers associated with *rap Mapuche* and *hip-hop Mapuche* include Wechekeche Ñi Trawün and Luanko, based in Santiago, as well as Wenu Mapu,

Gran Massay, Weichafe Newen, Chicha con Harina, Cerokinca, W.J. Panguilef, Unión de Pobra, Chicha con Harina, and various others. Each rapper or group speaks to a unique set of circumstances, which range from life as a Mapuche in the capital city of Santiago, to life in the Araucanian poblas, or in the rural Mapuche comunidades. Tracing the roots of Mapuche hip-hop in Temuco and Padre las Casas leads to the rappers Jano Weichafe, Wenu Mapu, Danko Mariman, Juan, and Oscar, and the groups Weichafe Newen, Kolectivo We Newen, and Unión de Pobra, along with the youth organization Brocas de las Naquis, which slightly predated hip-hop in the region. These artists' music and life experiences comprise the bulk of this essay. There is no absolute line between *rap Mapuche* and *rap poblacional* (the latter term refers to rap in general, from the poblaciones), but important distinctions do emerge, including artists' ethnic and cultural identifications, and their relationships with the Mapuche Movement.

Five Centuries of Verse about an Intercultural Region

Hip-hop in Araucanía, like in many parts of the world, extends patterns of expression and resistance that predate today's hip-hop culture, itself a global phenomenon based in the Bronx in the 1970s.¹⁴³ Mapuche poet Kelv Tranamil recently

¹⁴³ Originally understood as African-American artistic discourses from the United States, rap (the music or vocal style) and hip-hop (the broader set of expressions subsuming rap) have pushed scholars of music, social movements, and indigenous cultures to rethink hip-hop's cultural authenticity as it has become entwined in movements for social justice worldwide. Generalized frameworks for analyzing resistance in hip-hop scholarship have not emerged without debate, due to the wide geographic and cultural expanses that hip-hop now encompasses. In the introduction to his edited volume from 2002 entitled, *Global noise: rap and hip-hop outside the USA*, Tony Mitchell calls for further study of hip-hop globally, and criticizes scholars Tricia Rose and Russel Potter for their

expressed that Mapuzugun, the Mapuche language, is as much an art form as a practical means of communication: “When someone tries to translate something from Mapuzugun to Castellano, the result is always poetic . . . ” (Tranamil 2010). Poetic verse, both Mapuche and Spanish, has helped to define cultural identities and social and political attitudes for hundreds of years of Araucanian history. As noted in Chapter One, the sixteenth-century Spanish bard Ercilla eulogized the Mapuche as “. . . so wise, gallant and bellicose / That they have never been governed by a king / Nor submitted to foreign dominance” (Ercilla 1589: 3). In 2008, Mapuche rapper Wenu Mapu, aka Fabian Marin, used hip-hop to describe the effects of nearly five centuries of contact and conflict in his song “Usurpación” (Encroachment):

Con la Cruz, la Biblia y la espada,
Las tierras siguen usurpadas,
Desde el engaño, vidas asesinadas,
Y mujeres y niñas ultrajadas,
Comunidades a vivir en reducciones destinadas,
Mientras que extranjeros y colonos,
Lucrándose en las tierras que de las manos,
De nuestros hermanos han sido arrebatadas. (Kolectivo We Newen 2008)

shortsightedness on international rap music, despite the quality and depth of their work on hip-hop in the United States. Mitchell claims that Rose, while acknowledging the need for increased information about global rap, considers it a mere foreign appropriation of a North American black art form. Potter, a postmodernist, links hip-hop’s rebelliousness to critical African-American postures regarding modernity—postures generated by centuries of enslavement as Black Americans’ primary form of participation in capitalism, which is a modernist project. Mitchell regards this thesis as “a misappropriation of [Paul] Gilroy’s concept of ‘populist modernist’ black Atlantic diasporic vernacular . . . [in Potter’s] ‘resistance postmodernism’ . . . [which] sounds like a parochial attempt to deny its appropriateness to other localities outside the USA” (1995: 5). I value Mitchell’s critique, regarding Potter’s flexible reading of postmodernity onto the politics of hip-hop. However, Potter’s thesis helps to understand these politics in places like Araucanía, where the state, “progress,” and neoliberal capitalism are frequent adversaries of social movements and their music.

With the Cross, the Bible and the sword,
The lands become usurped,
Out of deception and from assassination,
And the women and children wrenched,
From communities to live on reservations,
While foreigners and colonists,
Profiting on the lands that from the hands,
Of our brothers have been snatched.

Both lyricists describe the experience of invasion, and of living alongside the ethnic or cultural Other in Araucanía. For the Mapuche the Other are a horde of invaders, often referred to as *winka*. For the Spanish in the sixteenth century, the Other were the Mapuche, the Araucanian natives, the most longstanding resisters to colonization in South America. As Chilean literary scholar Hugo Carrasco notes, Mapuche “*etnoliteratura*” (ethnoliterature), “the system of textual manifestations of a verbal character, belonging specifically to the people who produce them” (1992: 21-22), has interacted with elements from contiguous cultures during the entire history of contact, producing unique discourses about cultural continuity and resistance.

Rural-urban Migration and New Urban Expressions

To briefly summarize events from the previous chapters, the *Pacificación*, the military incursion into Araucanía in the 1870s and 80s (more than six decades after the Spanish withdrew), hemmed the Mapuche into small parcels based on *Títulos de Merced* (land grants), and established a small agriculturalist model of rural economics in the region. This system placed families in *comunidades*, whose borders cut straight lines across territories previously demarcated by natural geographic features, such as valleys and rivers, or hunting, ranching and planting areas. To the present day, a secretive, armed

resistance movement invokes this process of territorial division as its justification, with martyrs claimed both by the Mapuche and by the descendents of European colonists whose families gained large landholdings amidst the comunidades. The Chilean Agrarian Reform of the 1960s empowered campesinos, while marginalizing Mapuche lifeways from the development of a modern campesino class. In 1973 Chile suffered a brutal military coup d'état, and in the mid and late 1970s the government exposed Mapuche lands to free-market agricultural investment by removing indigenous land protections. Araucanía boomed with forestry plantations that further reduced Mapuche lands, and dried the soil with non-native trees.

Today, Araucanía claims the highest proportions among all Chilean regions of residents living below the poverty line, and of indigenous residents per region (MIDEPLAN 2009). A UN study in 2000 ranked Araucanía among the lowest in indices of education, health and income (PNUD 2000). Campesino resistance has blurred with poverty and police repression in different areas of rural Araucanía, amounting to what editorialist Pedro Cayuqueo considers the “Bronx of the Mapuche” (Cayuqueo 2012). All of these processes have provoked intense rural-urban migration in Araucanía, along with a distinct critique of Chilean development policies among Mapuche writers, activists and artists, including rappers.

In Araucanian cities such as Temuco and neighboring Padre las Casas, burgeoning, mixed-ethnic poblaciones roll up and down a hilly landscape, and give way abruptly to rural Mapuche comunidades, farms, and industrial-scale tree plantations, just beyond the urban limits. Rural-urban migration has generated conditions of urban poverty

intertwined with the customs of rural life. In these poor, rainy poblas, bright hip-hop tags coat concrete walls alongside makeshift horse pastures crammed between urban dwellings. Some Mapuche rappers have described their music as a kind of electroacoustic artesanía, a term that refers to folkloric artwork. Artesanía is vital in Araucanía due to a combination of cultural and ecological diversity, but also to low levels of income. The region offers ample raw materials for weavers, potters, and woodworkers practicing ancestral traditions, and artisans' limited earnings nonetheless compete with those of most working-class jobs. Equating rap music with artesanía asserts rappers' cultural identity, rustic production style, and economic independence, which, as one MC explained to me, translates to freedom of expression.



Figure 6.1. A *pobla* (población, or barrio) in Temuco.

In a uniquely Mapuche way, rappers use the concept *artesanal* (artisanal in English) to articulate their music and activism with pre-Colombian creativity, as well as with the hip-hop concept of underground, which translates to the Spanish word *subterráneo*. Wenu Mapu, a Mapuche rapper from the countryside, sings:

Wenu-mapu avanza, subterráneamente,
Nuestra lucha no se transa, nuestro canto no se vende,
Canción a la verdad, canción al subconsciente,
Canción de apoyo y canción al combatiente. (Kolectivo We Newen 2010)

Wenu Mapu advances, underground,
Our struggle doesn't bargain, our song doesn't sell out,
Song of truth, song to the subconscious,
Song of solidarity, and song of the combatant.

“Underground” calls forth a host of meanings in hip-hop and popular music, indicating heightened degrees of consciousness, critique, and autonomy.¹⁴⁴ Pioneering studies of rock and hip-hop in Chile have contextualized these local music scenes relative to discourses about youth cultural movements (Muñoz y Peret 2011), foreign imports to a peripheral region (Quitow n.y.), and artistic reactions to the effects of neoliberal capitalism on urban landscapes (Figuroa 2006). Yet, the links between rock, hip-hop, and preexisting indigenous cultural practices have eluded most analysis so far. In terms of rap music, I propose beginning with the terminology at hand: in the Araucanian hip-hop

¹⁴⁴ In her study of Cuban hip-hop, Sujatha Fernandes explains how the term “underground” refers to social or political consciousness and artistic autonomy inflected through notions of black nationalism (2003: 576). The same term also represents a dynamic evolution on the concept of subcultures, in the sense that British cultural studies scholars developed it. In her work on Japanese hardcore, Jennifer Milioto Matsue writes that, “As with subcultures . . . ‘underground’ does imply that there is some related activity occurring ‘aboveground,’ and that such a distinction requires the continued existence of a hegemonic system, yet it is more current and flexible” (2009: 33).

scene, the term subterráneo refers to militant advocacy for Mapuche political autonomy, freedom of expression and production, and even the physical setting of certain hip-hop performances in dingy, poorly lit venues. Additionally, for Mapuche rappers the terms artesanal and subterráneo overlap, meaning that artesanía can be electronic and militant, while underground can be traditional.

Ayudando a Fortalecer una Fuerte IDENTIDAD Regional en Territorio MAPUCHE.



WALLMAPU (PAIS MAPUCHE)



Figure 6.2. Album cover by Gran Massay, depicting woven iconography. (Courtesy of Kolectivo We Newen)

Hip-hop and Community Organizing in the Araucanian Poblaciones

The first hip-hop groups to flourish in Temuco and Padre las Casas drew inspiration from discontent and an evolving sense of community as the cities expanded in the 1980s and '90s. Rap and hip-hop culture entered through the body, roughly in 1986 with break dance groups such as the *Pirañas* (Piranhas), as young people began to move to a combination of hip-hop and early techno sounds that penetrated Chile's remote geography through television and radio (see Imperio h2 2012). During these decades, various campamentos and government-subsidized housing projects sprang up. In the 1970s, Pinochet employed decrees and military force both to complete housing projects left unfinished by previous governments, and to strip the Mapuche of their cultural and territorial rights. Pinochet's commingling of construction with physical and cultural violence likely accounts for the divergence of Chilean leftism from certain key sectors of the social classes that the left has sought to empower, since the dictatorship cultivated a public image related to progress, in part by building houses for working-class and migrating rural families.

While the dictatorship's grip on freedom of expression thawed in the late 1980s, rappers and poets began to sketch out the emerging dynamics of urban Araucanian life in new artistic formats, and often in collaboration with new mestizo and Mapuche community organizations conscious of the perils of población life, especially for those previously accustomed to life in the countryside. Community organizations that formed during and after the dictatorship in the poblaciones of Araucanía personify the negotiation between Mapuche and Chilean cultural identities in the urban environment,

and the role of popular music in the expression of Mapuche prerogatives, demands, and even cosmology in this developing context.

The fledgling b-boys (break dancers) of Temuco and Padre las Casas began to rap roughly in 1989, with notable performances before large audiences as of 1992.

According to rappers Jano Weichafe, Juan (of Unión de Pobla), and Oscar, aka *el Mono*, or the Monkey (also of Unión de Pobla), the first large, public rap performances in Temuco that involved homegrown lyrics featured the Brocas de las Naquis. The Brocas were actually a community organization based in Lanín, the region's oldest and largest campamento, located in the heart of a sector called Pedro de Valdivia. A local resident named Johnny Silva founded the Brocas in 1986, and at its height the group included about sixty young people from Lanín, who gathered to practice palín, artesanía, ecological conservation and music.

Oscar joined the Brocas in 1989, the same year the group began to participate in a series of workshops called *Iniciativas Juveniles* (Youth Initiatives), focused on theatre, film and photography. Oscar had begun to break dance by then, and during the same year he traveled with other members of the Brocas to Santiago, to personally invite Chilean rap pioneers the *Panteras Negras* (Black Panthers) to come and perform in Temuco. The Panteras Negras had a deep influence on the hip-hop scene in Temuco, inspiring local b-boys to begin rapping, in addition to dancing, which had begun earlier. Apparently, in 1992 the Brocas, including Oscar, were the first to rap before a large crowd in Temuco. In Oscar's words: "In 1992 I had my first *rapeada*, it was here in the [main] plaza [of the city], where they do events like cultural shows . . . I had a friend who wrote lyrics, and

quickly I memorized them . . . and [Johnny Silva] encouraged me . . . in front of a lot of people . . . so I went for it” (Unión de Pobla 2012). Oscar stepped up to the mic and rapped the following:

Somos Brocas de una población,
Donde hay miseria y marginación,
Pero aquí nosotros venimos a contarle,
A todo el mundo queremos demostrarle,
Que no es pecado, ni malo vivir,
En nuestra pobla llamada Lanín. (Unión de Pobla 2012)

We are Brocas from a población,
Where there’s misery and marginalization,
But here we have come to tell you,
To the whole world we want to show you,
That it isn’t bad, nor is it a sin,
To live in our pobla that’s called Lanín.

In 1994, two years after this performance by Oscar and the Brocas, a Chilean talk show called *Venga Conmigo* (Come With Me) traveled to Temuco to broadcast a special episode in the Gimnasio O’Higgins, featuring interviews and a live hip-hop performance by the Brocas. Oscar, who was twenty years old at the time, recalls bright lights, an elaborate stage, even makeup—“Estabamos metidos en la farándula” (We were like talk TV stars).

Both Oscar and Juan, who is a bit younger, regard 1994 as a great moment for the Brocas de las Naquis. Unfortunately, the hip-hop scene in Temuco did not fully take advantage of this positive momentum, because rap subsequently lost its community orientation. For their part, Juan and Oscar reflect that their music is based on the friendships they have developed with fellow musicians, rooted in their initial experiences with rap in the late ‘80s and early ‘90s. Oscar adds:

Rap, or hip-hop . . . some people consider it just a style, but for us it isn't like that, because hip-hop is what you live day-to-day . . . it's what you do at home . . . hip-hop is what you do when you go to work. Hip-hop is all that, everything that happens to you and that surrounds you . . . it could be rage, it could be sadness, joy, all that . . . (Unión de Población 2012)

In the intervening years, hip-hop has reflected a wide variety of sentiments and life circumstances in the poblaciones, including the constant struggle to orient youth toward positively toward their communities. Such efforts suffer from weak relationships between rap artists and public institutions, such as the *Consejo Nacional de la Cultura* (National Arts Council), which manages music festivals and arts programs. For instance, the Consejo sponsors numerous events each year in Temuco, primarily in theatres and museums, promoting folkloric music, classical music and jazz, as well as more traditional genres of poetry. In stark contrast, by 2010 rap in Temuco had become almost exclusively a nocturnal event, taking place in smoky beer joints, such as the *Bar Klandestino* (Clandestine Bar), the *Bar Sin Nombre* (The Nameless Bar), and the *Bar Sótano* (Basement Bar). Rappers argue that their art form has gone underground both literally and figuratively, because bar owners offer attractive deals for young musicians looking for a quick return on their investments in sound systems and promotional materials. Basically, bar owners charge a cover, sell alcohol, and split the revenue with the musicians, who in turn supply the talent and draw a crowd. Rap performers recycle the aesthetics of their surroundings into their music: Araucanian rap (Mapuche or otherwise) is known for sounding *pesado* (heavy), and for voicing discontent about poverty and disillusionment, amidst the smoke and dim lights of these local bars.

Back in the 1990s, though, rappers claim to have had a different *modus operandi*. The practice of performing late at night in bars has broken down a connection between rap music and break dance, which predominated in Chilean hip-hop throughout the 1990s, and which relates to the positive occupation of public spaces by inner-city youth. The Santiago-based group *Panteras Negras* summarize the relationship between break dance and community, in an interview from a 1994 documentary entitled *Estrellas de la esquina* (Stars from the street corner):

. . . We say lifestyle, because in reality breakdance implies a form of walking that's different. We always walk with rhythm, and we dress in baggy clothes. We don't like violence, first off. We prefer . . . in the case of a dispute . . . to resolve it dancing, and not fighting. So for us, it's a solution. (1986)

In the 1990s, Araucanian rappers and b-boys claimed street corners between track houses and apartment buildings in their cities' budding poblaciones. Curious neighborhood kids encountered hip-hop on their doorsteps, rather than in bars. In Padre las Casas, the hip-hop scene centered on spots such as the *triángulo*, a triangular intersection between the *bloques rojos* (red blocks) apartment buildings, and the Panamerican Highway.

Across the river in Temuco, Oscar, Jano Weichafe, and the Brocas de las Naquis gathered in the Lanín campamento as of the late 1980s, and in a more visible plaza in the Pedro de Valdivia poblaciones, as of 1997. Hip-hop in Pedro de Valdivia revolved around the *Función Sureña* (Southern Function) between 1997 and 2006. This group was a collection of more experienced *hip-hoperos*, who met with younger learners in an outdoor plaza to share knowledge. More recent groups such as Núcleo 441 and *P de V* (which stands for Pedro de Valdivia), now well established in the Temuco rap scene,

began with the Función Sureña, alongside Oscar, Juan, and other more experienced rappers. Today, Oscar and Juan rap with Unión de Pobla, a staple in regional hip-hop. They have maintained some form of collaboration with national hip-hop organizations through the years, including the *Coalixión*, *Hip-hología* and the *Red de Hip-hop Activistas*. Their 2012 album pays homage to the roots of Araucanian rap, with the title in Coa, *De Nakis of De Pagner* (The Street Corners of Power).

Araucanian hip-hop in general has assumed a different orientation in recent years, with considerably less emphasis on community-based activities in broad daylight. Nonetheless, Mapuche rappers such as Jano Weichafe have developed unique themes and performance contexts that articulate the social consciousness of the era of the Brocas, with the expression of an urban indigenous identity and a forthright association with the Mapuche Movement.

From Hip-hop Poblacional to Hip-hop Mapuche

Mapuche rapper and social worker Jano Weichafe participated with the Brocas since the late 1980s. Within several years, Jano decided to plant the idea of *rap Mapuche* in Temuco and Padre las Casas, noting the need for cultural projects designed for Mapuche youth living in the expanding poblas. He recently reflected:

That's where the necessity came from, to begin to inculcate with the young people . . . that we have our own identity, and therefore to not feel ashamed of it, and to begin to explore part of our historical memory. That's what I began to do through music, through hip-hop . . . recalling some of the old heroes, some of the history . . . in the city it's complicated, because of discrimination, poverty, drug addiction and alcoholism. So, [the issue was] how to deal with all of that, so that the city wouldn't continue to destroy our people. And that's where the idea appeared for

Mapuche hip-hop. And as a Mapuche hip-hop group, we called it *Weichafe Newen* (Force of the Warrior). And I was Jano Weichafe (Jano the Warrior) . . . In that era . . . 1990, a whole process of territorial recuperation was just beginning. As part of this process, all the Mapuche organizations began to appear again, with force. (Kolectivo We Newen 2012)

Since this time, the term *hip-hop Mapuche* has worked its way into common parlance. From Santiago to southern Patagonia (only to speak of the Chilean side of the Andes), artists such as Wechekeche Ñi Trawün, Weichafe Newen, Chicha con Harina, and Luanko have brought serious notoriety to Mapuche rap, while others have developed grass-roots initiatives orienting hip-hop toward the Mapuche Movement. Here the focus remains on the initial artists who developed hip-hop Mapuche in Temuco and Padre las Casas: Jano Weichafe and his group Weichafe Newen, as well as rappers Fabian Marin, aka Wenu Mapu, and Danko Mariman, aka Gran Massay or Salvador Mariman, and the organization Kolectivo We Newen.

Jano Weichafe recently described his own sense of being Mapuche, which stems from a combination of factors:

My father is Mapuche, [with the last names] Cabrera Nahuelpan. On the Cabrera side also, the father of my grandmother was Mapuche, but she changed the last name when she went to the city . . . I was not raised with my father, but with my mother. But since I was a child, I have always dreamt about specific people who talked to me. And they told me about things that I had to do. So I always said that I was Mapuche, ever since I was three or four years old, and when I began to speak, I said, “I am Mapuche, I am Mapuche.” My mother didn’t know why. I mean, [she] understood that I had Mapuche genes and blood, but she got a kick out of it because she knew that on my father’s side I was [Mapuche], and even though I had not contact with him, I said, “I am Mapuche, I am Mapuche,” always . . . When I was sick also, I always had people who visited me to take care of me, like spirits . . . [so I felt] a certain mission in my life. (Weichafe and Mariman 2011)

Jano's experience captures a common pattern in the lives of residents of urban Araucanía. As noted in Chapter One, legal status as Mapuche is determined strictly by whether or not a person has a Mapuche last name, rather than by blood quantum. In Chile, most people use two last names, one paternal and the other maternal. Jano's father's paternal last name, Nahuelpan, is Mapuche. His father's maternal last name, Cabrera, is Spanish, because Jano's father's mother changed her Mapuche last name when she migrated to the city many years ago. Jano was raised by his mother, who is Chilean, not Mapuche, yet all his life he has had dreams in which Mapuche ancestors visit and guide him. Other Mapuche artists, such as the poets Elicura Chihuailaf and Lorenzo Aillapán, and the rocker Colelo, have signaled the power of dreams in their creative work. Although Jano grew up in an ostensibly non-Mapuche household in the city, his culture and spirituality have nonetheless imbued him with a Mapuche identity, which he later reconciled with his upbringing.



Figure 6.3. Jano Weichafe. (Courtesy of Jano Weichafe)

The group Weichafe Newen, like the Brocas de las Naquis and the Función Sureña, has involved a mix of members and projects since its beginnings in 1989 and 1990. Initially, Jano participated in youth-oriented folkloric stage performances and peñas, which in more recent years have embraced rap, cumbia, and other kinds of music, in addition to folklore. He soon began to compose and perform rap songs, sometimes

with pifilka, kultrún and trompe. Other frequent collaborators over the years have included rappers and musicians from the region who are now fairly well known, including Juan and Oscar of Unión de Poblá, and *Jona*, aka Jonathan, a younger rapper from the Lanín-based group Núcleo 441. Well-known songs by Jano and Weichafe Newen include “Hip-hop Alternativo” (1989), “Ñi Pullu Weichafe” (Espíritu Guerrero) (1997), and “¿Hasta Cuándo Más Vamos a Soportar?” (How Much Longer Will We Tolerate This?) (1999). The lyrics to “Hip-hop Alternativo” lay out Jano’s prerogative:

Mi hip-hop es indigenista
Rebelde sin previsto
Defiendo las ideas de la gente sometida . . .
Hip-hop alternativo, todos escuchen
Nación del aguerrido, nación del Mapuche. (1989)

My hip-hop is indigenista,
rebellious like never before,
I defend the ideas of the subjected peoples,
Hip-hop alternativo, listen everybody,
Nation of the warrior, nation of the Mapuche.

In the intervening years, Jano has performed at various peñas and other *actos culturales* (cultural stage events), either appearing alone as Jano Weichafe, or in collaboration with other artists, as the group Weichafe Newen.

As noted above, during a period of intense, post-authoritarian mobilization in the Mapuche Movement, Jano Weichafe brought a critical posture about Mapuche identity and demands to local rap music, itself an art form based in the poblaciones, the region’s fastest developing demographic. Rappers sprang into action in Chile and Araucanía at the tail end of the dictatorship. The transition to democracy involved the official valorization of indigenous cultures, the legalization of many forms of social mobilization, and the

coming of age of a generation of youth eager for freedom of expression. Nonetheless, Jano has commented that public discussion of cultural developments in the urban environment was sorely lacking during his youth, due to the history of repression. While participating with the Brocas in the late 1980s, he and other members of the group began searching for spaces to play palín, and to put on music events. The rapper recalls, “In those years, 1989, 1990, in the poblaciones, and even in the schools, there were no places at all for discussing culture in the urban environment” (Weichafe and Mariman 2011).

In 2011, I heard Jano perform at peñas oriented towards urban life and popular music, such as those sponsored by Kolectivo We Newen. The Kolectivo’s members spent much of that year gathering resources and signatures to petition the government for increased sponsorship of Mapuzugun language education, and music events served as key moments for raising funds and awareness. The Kolectivo held peñas called *We Kawiñ* (New Celebration, or New Circle), where they charged a cover, sold food and drinks, and invited a string of performers to take the mic over several hours at a bar on different Friday or Saturday nights. Whereas local rap in general (i.e., rap poblacional, not necessarily Mapuche) often relies on the co-sponsorship of bar owners, peñas such as *We Kawiñ* are managed completely by organizations such as Kolectivo We Newen. The Kolectivo periodically rents bars for these events, however they can adjust the lighting, show documentaries with a data projector, prepare Mapuche dishes, and create the ambience they desire. Jano Weichafe helped to set the precedent of performing Mapuche hip-hop primarily at more formal events such as these peñas, in addition to marches and outdoor cultural festivals. As a result, Mapuche hip-hop performances are less frequent

than those of other kinds of local hip-hop, but they are also more prestigious and more visible.



Figure 6.4. Poster advertising a We Kawiñ peña. (Courtesy of Kolectivo We Newen)

Hip-hop and Mapuche Ceremonies

The relationship between hip-hop and more traditional aspects of Mapuche culture signals noteworthy variations on themes of migration and cultural practices that

researchers have described regarding other areas of South America. Working in the Peruvian Andes, anthropologist Zoila Mendoza, and ethnomusicologist Jonathan Ritter have demonstrated how urbanization and folklorization “[are] frequently characterized by a dialectic between ritual decontextualization and the opening of new spaces for subaltern voices” (Ritter 2002: 23). Cultural studies scholar George Yúdice argues that the mechanical adoption of cultural practices into state development projects (as if they were natural resources) risks propagating static, consumable representations of marginalized communities, while obfuscating real class and ethnic tensions (2003: 217). In Araucanía, the urbanization of ritual and ceremony has involved negotiations of cultural identity and political authority, along with the participation of popular music artists such as rappers.

According to Jano Weichafe, Mapuche ceremonial life in urban spaces has changed drastically since the late 1980s, when he first recognized the need for more initiatives oriented toward Mapuche youth. For instance, as discussed in Chapters Three and Four, *We Xipantu* is historically a small, indoor family celebration. By contrast, celebrations of *We Xipantu* have now become large, outdoor community affairs, involving Mapuche and non-Mapuche alike, often sponsored by public institutions and indigenous organizations with legal status. In 2011, I had four *We Xipantu* invitations: at the home of a friend in the rural beach town of Puerto Saavedra; at the *Museo Regional* in Temuco, with a large *asado* (barbeque) and live music; at a rural Mapuche school in the outlying *comuna* (district) of Padre las Casas; and at an urban cultural center in Temuco, with the members of *Kolectivo We Newen*. Whether or not the *rogativas* (prayer ceremonies) associated with *We Xipantu* are now “decontextualized” because of where

and among whom they take place, they certainly are more conspicuous in Chilean society than they were three decades ago.

In Temuco and Padre las Casas, hip-hop has aided in developing new spaces for Mapuche ceremonies, since rap music and break dance have regularly accompanied traditional Mapuche cultural practices on the agendas of urban youth organizations such as the Brocas de las Naquis and Kolectivo We Newen. In fact, when Jano Weichafe met with Danko Mariman and Fabian Marin at a We Xipantu celebration in 2006, they considered it one of the more important meetings of Mapuche rappers in Temuco. As a later portion of this chapter demonstrates, Mapuche musical elements related to spirituality also rupture onto dance floors, set to fusions of rap, blues, rock and cumbia, during performances by Weichafe Newen and groups such as La Mano Ajena.



Figure 6.5. Danko Mariman taking images in the hazy winter air, in front of the Mapuche flag, at a We Xipantu celebration in 2011.

Wenu-Mapu: Mapuche Hip-Hop from the Countryside

Lyricist Fabian Marin, aka Wenu Mapu, began to freestyle and compose militant rap songs as a high school student in the late 1990s, nearly a decade after Weichafe Newen's initial work. He draws inspiration from his cultural heritage, the struggles of rural life, and a profound sense of cultural and political reivindicación. Marin recorded most of his songs in the early years of Kolectivo We Newen, 2006-2008: "Wenu Mapu Avanza" (Wenu Mapu Advances), "Diez Veces Venceremos" (Ten Times We Will Overcome), "Rap Reivindikativo" (mentioned in Chapter One), "En el Nombre del Progreso" (In the Name of Progress), "En el Nombre de los Kaídos" (In the Name of the Fallen), and "Usurpación" (Usurpation). He also recorded a remarkable track called "Resistencia Mapuche" with the Chilean rapper Subverso in 2011.

Fabian hails from a rural area called *Wilio*, which in Mapuzugun means "nail (or claw) in the water," roughly fifty kilometers southwest of Temuco.¹⁴⁵ He describes where he grew up:

It's a territory made up of thirty Mapuche comunidades . . . where each comunidad has roughly an average of thirty or thirty-five families per comunidad. So, taking an average per family, there are four or five people in each one, so that makes it a pretty large territory, pretty extensive. What's more . . . culturally it's one of the most lively territories that exists today in all of the Mapuche region, one of the territories where they've conserved most effectively and most intact what we call the nguillatún, and all the Mapuche ceremonies. So I belong to one of the comunidades of Wilio. That's where my family comes from, my grandparents, my great grandparents . . . and my great great grandparents. All of them came from Wilio, which is obviously a territory that at some point was also formed according to migration among certain families, who came to inhabit a new

¹⁴⁵ In Mapuzugun, *wili* means claw, and *co* means water. Marin notes that the region bears this name because of the shape of an estuary of the larger Toltén River that flows through it.

area. I don't think that there is an exact date [for this migration], but I do think that it was more or less slightly before the *Pacificación* . . . and afterwards [also] . . . In that period, I believe they formed Wilio . . .

The majority of the people that formed that territory, many were running from the war, and others were there due to this whole issue of the *peaje* (toll), where they stole children, and later [the same children, when they had grown up] arrived and had no idea where they had come from originally . . . The Spanish did this, as did the Mapuche.

Essentially Wilio is part of a territory called Boroa . . . Boroa is larger . . . [and] forms an *ayllarehue*, made up of nine *rehue*.¹⁴⁶ So, [the territory of] Boroa was in charge of these nine [smaller] *rehue*. Boroa is older . . . The Spanish installed forts there, and they militarized and evangelized that whole zone . . . They constructed missions. There's one that's pretty famous, called the *Misión de Boroa*. (Marin 2010)

Fabian goes on to discuss how ethnic and sexual violence in the Boroa region have resulted in both bad blood and mixed bloodlines. Stolen children and rape appear to have figured into desperate, ongoing war efforts on both sides, from the colonial era to the *Pacificación*. Conscious of the colonial-era conflicts related to missionary efforts at places like the *Misión de Boroa*, in the lyrics of the song "Usurpación" Fabian associates the Bible with the sword, rather than with divine grace.

In addition to the strength of local traditions, Wilio and Boroa are known for the fertility of the soil, on the banks of the Toltén. Fabian's family still farms there. He describes the effects of land reduction:

My parents . . . live in the countryside, work the land, cultivate, tend to their animals . . . After the *Pacificación* come the land reductions, the *Títulos de Merced*, and that whole story. At that point everything changed, and each family came to have five or six hectares, ten hectares.

¹⁴⁶ A *rehue* (also spelled *rewe*) is an altar, the most sacred physical site in Mapuche cosmology, carved from a large tree trunk, with steps on which a *machi* (ritual specialist) climbs toward the heavens (see Bacigalupo 2001; Bengoa 2007: 161). The word *ayllarehue*, as Fabian Marin describes it, refers to the administrative grouping of multiple family lineages (also considered trunks) in a region, for ceremonial, social and economic purposes (see also, Instituto de Estudios Indígenas 2003: 158).

Then they had children, and with three children, let's say, each one inherited three, four hectares . . . That's also why today we're recuperating lands. (2010)

Faced with farming these small plots, many young people choose to move to the cities and study or search for other types of work. When Fabian and I met in 2010, he was studying information technology at an institute in Temuco, and living in Padre las Casas in a resident hall for Mapuche students. Since that time, he has apparently returned to a rural lifestyle.

Fabian began rapping and composing lyrics as a secondary student in the late 1990s, while also participating in folkloric music ensembles. A teacher asked him to do a research project on hip-hop, and after gathering articles and recordings, he began to identify with the sense of struggle that inspired a good deal of rap in New York in the first place. Ironically, he had never lived anywhere but the countryside, traveling to the small town of Freire, also on the banks of the Toltén, to attend school. By the time Fabian finished high school, the Panteras Negras had built a significant reputation in Santiago, as had the Brocas de las Naquis, and the Pirañas (the break dance group), in Temuco and Padre las Casas. Still, as he notes:

Once it was clear to me what hip-hop was . . . I couldn't talk about the poblaciones, like the majority of hip-hop groups I knew—including right here in Temuco there was a group called the Pirañas, and another group in Pedro de Valdivia called the Brocas de las Naquis—so I decided, I'm going to talk about the problems facing the Mapuche, which at that time was not nearly as big a deal [in rap music] as it is today. (2010)

At the time, the only other group concertedly performing hip-hop Mapuche in the region was Weichafe Newen, whom Fabian first heard perform at an event in a rural comunidad.

Hip-hop and Local Meaning

One of Fabian's early sources of information about rap and hip-hop was a magazine called *Kultura hip-hop*, a short-lived but very interesting publication that ran four issues during 1999. The magazine documented Chilean rap and hip-hop culture during these years, including: feature articles and interviews about the budding scene in Santiago; reports and flyers about festivals in various cities; articles about influential groups from the United States, such as Wu-Tang Clan, Cypress Hill, Tupac Shakur and Notorious B.I.G.; spreads of Chile's renowned graffiti art; and commentary on urban life. Chilean rap groups such as *M-16* and *AK-47* (as in the machine guns) also appeared in *Kultura hip-hop*, as veterans in the scene by that time. Through their names alone, these groups reflect how lyricists have recycled the terminology of the Cold War. The names of groups such as the Panteras Negras and *Pentágono* (Pentagon) perhaps also refer to polemics that Chilean rappers often identify as the basis of hip-hop in the United States, but that they have reconfigured through local language, humor and social realism.

Kultura hip-hop also documented an aspect of the relationship between Chilean hip-hop culture and the Mapuche Movement. Issue number four contains a lengthy interview with "don Gervasio," a member of the Coordinadora Arauco Malleco, the militant Mapuche organization working to recover territory in the south. The Coordinadora's representatives in Santiago at that time raised awareness by passing out information on the crowded city streets. Hip-hop and the Mapuche Movement share an aesthetics of protest, visible both in *Kultura hip-hop* and in the graffiti art of the poblas in Araucanía.



Figure 6.6. Hip-hop graffiti in Temuco.

Rap as a Mapuche Art Form

To further address the meaning of hip-hop in Mapuche territory, I refer to the words of rapper, poet and anthropologist Danko Mariman, from a 2006 interview. That year, Danko, along with Fabian Marin, activist and actor Isabel Cañet, poet Kelv Tranamil, and several other Mapuche artists and activists, formed Kolectivo We Newen, whose original focus revolved largely around hip-hop and documentary filmmaking. In Danko's words:

When we talk about “Mapuchifying” hip-hop and poetry, we mean incorporating them into our culture. Through both these art forms we bring to light our personal and collective struggles . . . [O]ur culture isn't immobilised or fixed in books, quite the contrary, it's alive in those of us who are alive today . . . As we engage in cultural contact with other human communities, we acquire new tools that we can incorporate without losing our Mapuche identity. (Estrada 2006)

In light of both the expansive tradition of *ülkantun*, and the massive traditions of Chilean poetry and music, hip-hop represents a natural fit, particularly once electronically reproduced music and rural-urban migration figure into the cultural landscape.

Danko Mariman started with rap in the mid-90s, when he participated in a growing hip-hop scene at the *triángulo* in Padre las Casas. In 2005, he recorded the album *V.I.D.A. D.E. A.R.A.U.K.A.N.O.* (L.I.F.E. O.F. A.N. A.R.A.U.C.A.N.I.A.N.), under the artistic name *Gran Massay* (Big Maasai), which he earned for his height (like a Maasai Tribesman), and his short hair. The tracks on the album elaborate proposals for peaceful interculturalism between Mapuche and Chileans, combined with regional autonomy from a Mapuche cultural standpoint. That same year, the political party *WallMapuwen* was born, with a mission to unite regional voices and votes behind an agenda of increased autonomy and Mapuche self-governance—a platform that coincided with Danko, aka Gran Massay’s message. (Kolectivo We Newen member Isabel Cañet ran for Councilwoman of the municipality of Freire in 2012, as one of forty candidates on the Wallmapuwen ticket.) Under the pen name Salvador Mariman, Danko later collaborated on several books of poetry with the Kolectivo. He has since combined film with hip-hop, for instance in music videos that accompany Fabian Marin’s rap songs. His 2010 documentary, *En el nombre del progreso* (In the name of progress), problematizes the Western notion of progress, while detailing environmental problems heavily impacting Mapuche families and communities, set to a soundtrack of homegrown hip-hop.

In the liner notes to a 2008 album, Danko and Fabian note that seventy percent of Mapuche people now live in cities, making hip-hop an apt expression of Mapuche identity.¹⁴⁷ During a 2011 interview, I asked Danko and Jano Weichafe about Mapuche hip-hop relative to Chilean hip-hop. Danko pointed to patterns of rural-urban migration among the Mapuche, the largest indigenous group in Chile.¹⁴⁸

In the decades of the '60s and '70s, all the [Mapuche] families had one migrant [from the country to the city], one in each family. So later, some time passes and the phenomenon massifies, and there comes a point at which it's fifty-fifty in the Mapuche population: [fifty percent] in the [rural] comunidades, and the other fifty in the city. And of that fifty in the city, which was 400,000 people, seventy percent went to Santiago . . . approximately ten percent went to Temuco, and the remain percentage went to other towns and cities. But what they don't say there, which is part of the reality, is that all of those people that migrated wound up in the poor neighborhoods. They all went to live in the campamentos, the outer limits, the margins of the city. Well, rap also begins in the poblaciones. Chilean rap, as it were, has a lot of influence from those Mapuche that migrated, because a lot of rappers were the children of those who migrated, or the grandchildren of those who migrated—the Mapuche diaspora, as they call it. (Weichafe and Mariman 2011)

In the 1980s hip-hop took root in Chile, during the chaotic urban expansion that has defined the landscapes of Temuco and Padre las Casas, as well as Santiago and other cities. It stands to reason that the influx of Mapuche migrants and rap music shaped Chilean cities at the same historical moment. Jano and Danko have expressed that all Chilean hip-hop has something Mapuche in it. Even if a rapper is not Mapuche (although

¹⁴⁷ In 2009, a government MIDEPLAN (Ministerio de Planificación, or Ministry of Planning) survey, entitled CASEN (Encuesta de Caracterización Socioeconómica Nacional, or Survey of National Socioeconomic Characterization), found that nationwide, 69.9 percent of indigenous people live in cities (MIDEPLAN 2011[2009]).

¹⁴⁸ MIDEPLAN's CASEN survey from 2009 shows that the *Región Metropolitana* (the capital region) of Chile is 4.1 percent indigenous, accounting for 24 percent of the indigenous people in Chile. The Araucanía region is 30.1 percent indigenous, accounting for 24.6 percent of the indigenous people in Chile (MIDEPLAN 2011[2009]).

many are), if s/he grew up in a población, they probably had neighbors who had migrated northward from the Mapuche comunidades in Araucanía and WallMapu.

Mobilizing this demographic in a social movement that encompasses intercultural expressions favoring Mapuche autonomy, comprises an ongoing project for Kolectivo We Newen. In 2007, Danko published a document entitled “Nace We Newen, un potencial movimiento artístico Mapuche” (We Newen [New Force] is born, a potential Mapuche artistic movement), calling for the integration of hip-hop with social and cultural mobilization:

We refer to *We Newen* as a potential movement . . . an artistic project that encompasses all the Mapuche demands, whether specifically cultural, or pertaining to the maintenance and reconstruction of traditions, language, territory, but that also have to do with the Mapuche demand for nationhood, for the exercise of our right to self-determination. (Mariman, Danko 2007)

According to Danko, Mapuche artists embraced this message, but the Chilean hip-hop community would not roundly endorse a Mapuche ethnonationalist project, despite empathy and shared political positions. At the very least, Kolectivo We Newen had achieved a litmus test of the politics of their peers. Still, as the next section illustrates, Mapuche rappers’ clearly stated prerogatives have inspired intercultural fusions that respond to the call issued by Danko and the Kolectivo.

From 2010 until the present, the group has focused increasingly on Mapuzugun, hosting semester-long classes, compiling a documentary, and petitioning the government to make Mapuzugun an official language in Araucanía. As noted earlier, peñas and music events are key moments for raising resources and awareness, in addition to marches and

other public demonstrations. In 2009 and 2010, Kolectivo We Newen also hosted the We Rakizum music festival, which bore particular significance in 2010.

Musical Analysis: “Ñi Pullu Weichafe”

The song “Ñi Pullu Weichafe” is a classic from Jano Weichafe’s repertoire. In 2009, Jano performed the piece with Santiago-based rock group La Mano Ajena, in Santiago’s bohemian Galpón Victor Jara. The performance generated roaring applause, as well as interest in the *tema Mapuche* (Mapuche issue) among audience members. I propose understanding this piece as an exercise in crossing borders, and a remarkable example of what Juan Pablo González recently termed Chile’s “hydroponic roots” music (2011: 942-945). The fluid combination of musical and cultural references in “Ñi Pullu Weichafe”—klezmer, Gitano music, blues, cumbia, and hip-hop—indicates interethnic solidarity with the Mapuche Movement.

On the topic of fusion, Chilean scholar Mabel García writes that Mapuche artists incorporate diffuse, often non-Mapuche materials, “. . . and organize them into a discourse that emphasizes the problematics of difference while . . . [constructing] their own, autonomous vernacular” (2004: 13). García argues that those political discourses in Araucanía that are based in Mapuche language, cosmology and social life, appropriate the power of the occidental sociopolitical structure to which the Mapuche are forced to conform, while conveying messages of resistance related to conflicts stemming from inherent differences in concepts of social organization and resource exploitation (1998: 103). García’s position articulates with a wide range of scholarship concerning

empowerment, performance, language, speech act theory, and vulnerability. Drawing on work by Judith Butler, Deborah Wong expresses that “‘linguistic vulnerability’ . . . puts agency and trauma into dynamic relation” (Wong 2004: 7), which I understand to mean that cultural groups subject to derision also potentially subvert the discourses associated with their marginalization. Mabel García argues likewise for both artistic expressions and political discourses from Mapuche perspectives. The song “Ñi Pullu Weichafe,” like a lot of hip-hop, falls into both categories (the artistic and the political), demonstrating points of articulation between social movements, popular music, and pre-Colombian language and cosmology.

The piece opens with no sonic reference to hip-hop, but rather with an accordion riff, and almost immediately a swaggering cumbia beat follows on light percussion. María Fernanda (of La mano Ajena) opens the chorus, singing “Nuestro latido, señores, es azul . . .” (“Our heartbeat, ladies and gentlemen, is blue . . .”), over the following melody, hovering around the tonic in the key of G-minor.

Nuestro latido,
es azul,
la voz de los cuatro vientos,
nación en el sur.

Our heartbeat,
is blue,
the voice of the four winds,
nation in the south.



Figure 6.7. Chorus vocal melody, “Ñi Pullu Weichafe.”

The word *nuestro*, our, invokes a collectivity among those represented in the diverse musical and cultural attributes of the song. *Latido* signals a powerful pulse, or heartbeat. Beyond a musical characteristic, the word invokes something visceral, corporeal and alive, perhaps the beat throbbing from a kultrún, which María Ester Grebe describes as a microcosm for the universe, and the most important object in Mapuche cosmology (Grebe 1973). There is no kultrún in the song, as the instrument's use in popular music could be spiritually problematic (Grebe 1973: 28), but listeners with even minimal consciousness of Mapuche culture are likely to make the association.¹⁴⁹ *Azul* refers to the color blue, sacred in Mapuche culture, and elsewhere dealt with concerning dreams and tranquility, by poet Elicura Chihuailaf (1998). *Azul* is polysemic, also referring to the blues, powerfully present in the musical attributes of the song, and reinforcing the sense of solidarity between the marginalized groups who are represented here through musical references. *La voz de los cuatro vientos*, the voice of the four winds, refers to the sound, literally and figuratively, of the land, which in Mapuche culture has four cardinal directions and divisions (Grebe 1973). *Nación en el sur*, nation in the south, asserts the

¹⁴⁹ Opinions vary as to whether Mapuche sacred instruments are appropriate for popular music and fusion projects. The rock band Pewmayén has developed some remarkable sounds with traditional instruments, described in previous chapters. Jano Weichafe has used a kultrún in place of a *bomba y caja* (beatbox) during hip-hop performances. Juan, of the group Unión de Poblá, once told me that he prefers not to mix actual Mapuche instruments with hip-hop (although his group does sample them), out of respect for their ceremonial uses, a sentiment that María Ester Grebe also records in her ethnographic work on the kultrún from 1973. On the other hand, Colelo, the vocalist of Pewmayén, has commented that older Mapuche people in the rural comunidades often embrace his fusion music.

territorial and political autonomy of WallMapu, here with the solidarity and support of non-Mapuche music and musicians.

Suddenly Jano Weichafe enters, rapping forthrightly with no attention to the minor key from the previous section. The bass and percussion transition fluidly from cumbia to an old-school hip-hop beat. A xylophone melody accompanies Jano, bridging the sounds of La Mano Ajena and hip-hop. Whereas the opening chorus section featured an accordion, on the verse Jano raps over a synthesizer, evocative of hip-hop from the 1980s and 90s. The lyrics focus the collaborative energy of “Ñi Pullu Weichafe” around the tension between Mapuche lifeways and the destruction of the natural environment, a cost of development in central-southern Chile. The first verse alternates between condemnation of the winka forestry industry, responsible for drying and scarring the land, and celebration of Mapuche culture, territory and spirituality.

Agua aire pide la vida de la hermosa *mawiza*,¹⁵⁰
Para seguir latiendo y bailando, con el *kurruf* del sentimiento,
Verano primavera otoño invierno,
Wekufes de metal moderno imperialismo *winka* del norte occidental,
Nuestros *anumkas* ancestrales los han devastado,
A danzar con la muerte los han condenado,
Agua agua piden las llagas de la tierra,
Provocado por el árbol que seca sus venas y las condena,
Eucaliptus pino insigne es el emblema,
Del winka transforestal que envenena nuestro sistema,
De la vida nuestra hermosa vida, *Genechen* creador que nuestro *mapu*
siga,
Dando latidos como el *pewen* muy aguerrido,
Ha resistido mas de cinco siglos no ha cedido,

¹⁵⁰ The words in *Mapuzugun* (the Mapuche language) in this verse appear in italics, and translate as follows: *mawiza*, mountainous landscape; *kurruf*, wind; *wekufes*, malignant spirits; *winka*, destructive outsider; *anumkas*, plants; *genechen*, creator; *mapu*, land, in both a territorial and a spiritual sense; *pewen*, araucaria tree, a unique millennial tree that grows in the Araucanian highlands; *tugun*, origins.

El *tugun* de nuestro mapu se ha pronunciado,
Sangre de mi sangre tierra de mi tierra, condor dorado,
Escencia de tres pumas espíritu de plata tugun sagrado.¹⁵¹

Water and air required for the life of the beautiful mountains,
To continue moving and dancing, with the wind of sentiment,
Summer spring fall winter,
Evil spirits of metal and modern imperialism, occidental winka of
the north,
They have devastated our ancestral plants,
They condemn life here to dance with death,
Water, water, plead the wounds of the earth,
Provoked by the tree that dries their veins and leaves them
condemned,
Eucalyptus and pine are the emblems,
Of the winka forestry industry that poisons our system,
Of our life, our beautiful life, Genechen creator of our land
continues,
Giving heartbeats as the embattled pewen,
Has resisted more than five centuries it hasn't given in,
The origins of our land was proclaimed,
Blood of my blood earth of my earth, golden condor,
Essence of three pumas spirit of silver sacred origins.

The words “Genechen creador,” referring to the much debated concept of a creator entity in Mapuche cosmology, fall right before a pronounced phrase on the synthesizer. The resulting contrast between a supposedly traditional cultural element, and a high-tech musical sound, reinforces the contemporaneity of the issues at the core of Jano’s verse.

To assess the reception of the performance of “Ñi Pullu Weichafe” at the Galpón Victor Jara, I refer to Jano’s description, since his words adequately address the questions at the beginning of this essay.

It was pretty powerful, most of all for the people in Santiago, who had never heard ideas like this; that is, they had heard this type of discourse,

¹⁵¹ Jano Weichafe provided me with these lyrics, in this exact format, through personal correspondence. The only alteration I made was the addition of the emphasis on words in Mapuzugun, for the sake of translation.

but not in the same format [as a song like “Ñi Pullu Weichafe”] and the message it delivers . . . When I finished singing the song . . . [they were all] jumping up and down, shouting, and asking about our struggle in the south. Through music, you can reach more people, and support a cause, without necessarily going around throwing rocks . . . [it’s] more powerful . . . actually it’s also more dangerous to awaken people’s consciousness, than to go around throwing rocks. (Weichafe 2011)

Conclusion

As Danko Mariman points out, arguably the most salient event affecting rural families in the last half-century is migration to the cities. Migration implies the reorganization of physical space in addition to new forms of thought, communication, and expression. The dialectic between urban, industrial society, and rural-dwelling indigenous peoples is no longer the only adequate analytical framework in regions with major indigenous populations. Hip-hop heralds other networks of information and identification along with other sites of confrontation in the ongoing struggles of Araucanian life. While the artists whose lives and music I have described sing of rural territorial disputes (among many other things), the fact that they do so as rappers calls attention to urban life as well. The object of this writing is to seek out more complex ways of understanding these disputes and patterns of change based on a style of music that arrived to Araucanía three decades ago, but whose roots wind all throughout the preexisting “etnoliteratura.”

Epilogue

Contradictions, and Opportunities for Elevating the Debates through Music

A Final Anecdote: Contrasting the Weichafe Spirit of Mapuche Fusion Music with the Trope of Insurgency in Popular Culture

After a great many words about cultural appropriation, a final anecdote presents a somewhat different angle, which is enlightening as to the construction of the trope of insurgency in popular culture, and musical performance in particular. This trope refers to the entry of terms such as *encapuchado* (veiled insurgent) into the general lexicon, and its conflation with concepts such as resistance. How do musicians play a role in either constructing the trope of insurgency, or fostering positive cultural resistance? There is no simple answer to this question, but instances of performance contain certain clues.

On an April evening in 2012, well after I had finished my fieldwork and ceased to pack a notebook, camera and microphone every time I went to hear live music, my wife and I attended a concert by Chilean singer-songwriter Evelyn Cornejo, at the Universidad Católica in Temuco. The university regularly opens its main hall for free concerts by some of the best musicians in the region, and indeed in all of Chile. Cornejo, who had traveled from Santiago, gave a superb performance. The whole evening, she sang and played either guitar or *cuatro* (a small, Venezuelan relative of the guitar), with no

accompaniment other than a trombonist on certain pieces. From under the spotlight on the dark, theatrical stage, she projected her singular style of reggae and other regional genres, built around gorgeous vocal melodies and lyrics brimming with social commentary.

Then, something peculiar occurred. At the height of the concert, Cornejo played one of her best known songs, “Alerta” (Alert). The lyrics recall the legacy of Simón Bolívar (1783-1830), the revolutionary and politician who played a key role in liberating South America from the Spanish, particularly in what later became Venezuela, Panama, Colombia, Ecuador, Peru and Bolivia. Since the 1960s, *nueva canción* artists have often invoked Bolívar in their songs of struggle against twentieth-century tyranny, such as in “Simon Bolívar,” the aptly titled Venezuelan-style *jaropo* by the Chilean group Inti-Illimani (2001[1972-1991]). For her part, Cornejo sang of *Bolivarismo* (Bolivarianism) with more hesitance, expressing a sense of both reverence for democratic principles, and disillusionment with their appropriation and misuse in the years since the initial era of *nueva canción*.

Alerta, alerta,
Alerta que camina,
La espada de Bolívar por América Latina,
Bolívar cabalga, Bolívar se levanta,
Junto a los indígenas, obreros y estudiantes,
Va por las callampas, por minas, por escuelas,
En comunidades con él nos encontramos.¹⁵²

Ya estamos libres de la monarquía absoluta,
Hoy nos atormenta la democracia y su yunta,
Ya estamos libres de la monarquía absoluta,
Hoy nos atormenta la democracia y su yunta.

¹⁵² In a performance in Temuco, the word *comunidad* could be interpreted as referring either to community, in a universal sense, or to the Mapuche *comunidades* throughout the region.

Corre que vienen los pacos,
Sacar el quite al guanaco,¹⁵³
Que no te llegue ni un palo,
Que no te llegue un balazo.

...

Resiste, africano, resiste,
Resiste, América, resiste,
Resiste, estudiante, resiste,
Resiste, Mapuche, resiste.

La historia la escriben los pueblos,
La historia la escriben los hombres,
La historia está en nuestras manos,
Este cuento recién ha comenzado.

Alert, alert,
Alert that
The sword of Bolívar paces through Latin America,
Bolívar rides, Bolívar stands up,
Together with the indigenous, the workers and students,
He goes through the slums, through mines, through schools,
In our communities we find him.

We are already free from absolute monarchy,
Today democracy torments us with its yolk,
We are already free from absolute monarchy,
Today democracy torments us with its yolk.

Run 'cause the cops are coming,
Get out of the way of the water cannon,
Watch out for the beatings,
Watch out for the bullets.

...

Resist, African, resist,
Resist, America, resist,
Resist, student, resist,
Resist, Mapuche, resist.

History is written by the people,
History is written by men,

¹⁵³ A *guanaco* is an enormous vehicle with a water cannon used by the police to disperse crowds.

History is in our hands,
This story has just begun.

In the middle of the song, as though timed with the exhortation to “resist,” a few people in the back of the hall launched stacks of small *panfletos* (in this case, single-sheet, double-sided pamphlets with messages) into the audience. Executed in darkness, the act remained anonymous, but the sound of little piles of paper taking flight made audience members turn their heads to glimpse the flurry as it descended onto laps and armrests. A few meters away, I saw a young girl, perhaps nine or ten years old, bending forward to examine a panfleto under the light of a cell phone, while Evelyn Cornejo led the audience in a chorus of “Resiste, estudiante, resiste / Resiste, Mapuche, resiste” (Resist, student, resist / Resist, Mapuche, resist). On “Resist, Mapuche, resist,” the crowd erupted with cheers and applause. I picked up a panfleto and saw the following (note the machine gun in the image to the right):



Figure 7.1. Panfleto, *Inchiñ Kai Che, Nosotros También Somos Gente* (We Too are People), distributed anonymously at an Evelyn Cornejo concert in Temuco, in April of 2012.

In Mapuzugun, “*Inchiñ Kai Che*” means We Too are People. The impassioned propaganda read:

Side 1

HALT TRAFFIC IN OUR STREETS
AGAINST THE RISING PRICES OF FOOD AND TRANSPORT.
UNDER THE WINKA SYSTEM

WE WILL RECOVER OUR DIGNITY
UNITED AND IN COMBAT!!

INCHIÑ KAI CHE ORGANIZATION
WE TOO ARE PEOPLE

Side 2

FROM OUR TERRITORIAL
DEMANDS, IN LATIN AMERICA
AND ALL OF OUR LAND!!

WE DON'T SURRENDER
WE DON'T FALTER
WE DON'T SELL OUT

NOT ONE STEP BACKWARDS AGAINST THE
OPPRESSIVE WINKA SYSTEM

INCHIÑ KAI CHE ORGANIZATION
WE TOO ARE PEOPLE

The incident of the panfletos seemed odd, or at least out of sync with what I knew about Evelyn Cornejo. I cannot say that we know each other personally, although we had met once in 2011 through Kolectivo Espiral and Alejandro Stuart, whom she sometimes visited during her trips to the south. From her music, and from the people we know in common, I understand that she was outspoken about the issues raised at the time by the Mapuche Movement, the environmental movement, and the student movement. Still, her music and her words were a long way off from the discourse of these Inchiñ Kai Che panfletos. Furthermore, Cornejo had recently begun collaborating with a project called *Paz en la Frontera* (Peace on the Frontier), in which noteworthy musicians from around Chile campaigned against the violence affecting Mapuche children during the territorial conflict (see Mapuexpress 2012). Considering that fact, the little girl reading the call to arms with her phone in the back of the dim concert hall radiated irony.

The whole incident raised various questions: First and most obvious, who threw the panfletos? Who or what was (or is) this group? Second, did the incident somehow validate the alarm frequently stirred by the news media, for instance in Canal 13's *Contacto* program about the CAM in 2010? Third, could this be the work of imposters bent on incriminating the Mapuche Movement? After all, the panfleto combined all the

markers of the stereotypical encapuchado in the region: anonymity, violence, indigenismo and anarchy. That is, the papers were like tiny, vivid reinscriptions of the “indigenous terrorist,” Hale’s “maximum term of opprobrium” (2004: 19-20). Once in the air, moreover, regardless of their author they could generate quite an impact. Fourth, if a group called Inchiñ Kai Che were (or are) actually mounting an armed resistance effort, was (or is) that effort related to more notorious manifestations of armed resistance, or to any other aspect of the Mapuche Movement? Fifth, why did they throw the panfletos clandestinely, rather than unmasking themselves and talking to people? Like the images on the little papers, they felt the need to do their work in the shadows, uncovering only their eyes, so that they could see but not be seen. Sixth, why did they choose an Evelyn Cornejo concert?

I can only really propose an answer to this last question, which opens a broader inquiry that is well worth exploring. Namely, in what kinds of venues do we construct the trope of the armed conflict, and how are non-Mapuche, non-indigenous members of society required to carry out this construction? Furthermore, how and why does music facilitate this construction? The audience at a concert of Chilean music sang along, “Resist, Mapuche, resist,” while panfletos espousing radical activism glided through the air. Similar to Lila Abu-Lughod’s critique of “reverse Orientalism,” I would argue that such activism, if we can call it that, falls short by leaving in place the structures of power it denounces, reversing instead of dismantling them. Someone still perpetrates aggression, which has many consequences. In Abu-Lughod’s words, “The point is that [this] notion of culture . . . does not seem to guarantee an escape from the tendency

toward essentialism” (1991: 146). The culture concept rears its head again, which begins to address *why music*. Idealistic statements to the effect of *music is simply powerful* constitute pitfalls here. There is more to it.

Recall George Lipsitz’s argument, quoted in Chapter One, that “we need to explore the potential of popular culture as a mechanism of communication and education, as a site for experimentation with cultural and social roles not yet possible in politics” (1997: 17). Scholarship about music and activism ought to interrogate when music opens real possibilities, or simply assaults what, in our frustration, we perceive as their absence, or as justification for negative types of confrontation. Cornejo’s music is not necessarily the object of this critique. Actually, her music is nuanced, it deals with a wide variety of themes, and it makes people think. The problematic moment occurred when she got the audience singing about Mapuche resistance, which she was not wrong to do, especially given current events. Yet, in that instance she, too, was up for appropriation. To clarify, urging the Mapuche to resist is one thing, but doing so together with Inchiñ Kai Che is quite another. Whether or not she knew about the panfletos is of secondary concern to their impact when combined with her music.

Here we get into tricky territory. The last thing I want to do is advocate that artists hold back from expressing their views on issues such as indigenous rights, or that they do anything in particular; after all, their music is their business. Neither do I argue that, by contrast, Weichafe Newen and the other Mapuche groups whose art I have described have some special right to sing statements of resistance because they are indigenous.

Such a stance would ring of an exclusive validation on the basis of race, ethnicity or culture.

Yet, I do argue that the groups who have inspired this writing do offer something important to this complex issue, and furthermore that they are not the first to make this type of contribution. Political song is the subject of longstanding debates. Two decades ago, Eduardo Carrasco signaled a certain tension at the core of *nueva canción*, between “song and politics or song and history” (1982: 610). He concluded: “The *nueva canción* is a living reflection of the world it comes from; it bears all the wounds of the struggle for the social and economic emancipation of Latin America, as well as its hopes, its doubts and its victories. Because of this it does not need anyone to tell it what it has to do” (1982: 612). As I described in Chapter Three, Violeta Parra, Atahualpa Yupanqui, and a generation of other performer/researchers initiated a powerful form of *reivindicación* by transferring indigenous and campesino song forms to popular music. Importantly, they differed from the initial academic indigenista composers who, barring certain exceptions, used extracted materials and ideas, and thus had less direct contact with the rural, provincial and indigenous culture bearers who inspired the new musical movements. As Carrasco points out, *nueva canción* can encapsulate a political tract, because that is part of the fabric of Latin American culture. On the other hand, it can also constitute resistance by changing popular culture, and even art music, to incorporate an extraordinary diversity of musical expressions, including those of the most marginalized people.

While Weichafe Newen, Pewmayén, We Liwen, Tierra Oscura, and other fusion groups from Araucanía today definitely express outright resistance, they also generate new music in ways that bear commonalities with the generation that prepared the way for nueva canción. By breaking down stylistic barriers, they not only issue a critique against essentialism, but they open new possibilities for cultural, social and political roles.

The Broader Themes, and Opportunities for Elevating the Debates

The preceding chapters have all dealt with the struggle to open new possibilities for cultural, social and political roles through music and performance, and this struggle has contended with a wide range of forces during recent history. During the early republican era in Chile, the state treated the Mapuche as objects of study and military adversaries. This relationship culminated in the Guerra de la Pacificación in the 1880s, and the subsequent radicación, or relocation, of the Mapuche into the comunidad system that continues today. In the early twentieth century, Mapuche political organizations such as the Federación Araucana established an important link between rituals and activism. As this and other organizations gained traction in the broader political system, Chilean leftists attempted both to collaborate with and appropriate the cause of indigenous autonomy. Leftist intervention into early and mid-twentieth-century Mapuche activism may well have driven rituals away from political mobilization, and may also have precipitated broader divides between the Mapuche and other sectors of society along lines of spirituality. Having begun his work slightly before this leftist intervention, Aburto Panguilef of the Federación Araucana stands as an interesting example of a proponent of

Mapuche autonomy who also practiced Christianity and maintained working relationships with non-Mapuche organizations.

The complex relationship between the Mapuche and the left peaked during Allende's socialist government, and resulted in broad setbacks for both groups upon the coup d'état in 1973. Parsing the interwoven political history of the Mapuche and the left constitutes an important exercise for understanding politics and cultural identities in Araucanía and neighboring regions today. To the contrary, conservative historians such as Alejandro Peláez have conflated Mapuche and Chilean campesino cultures, claiming that their common pauperization has rendered them indistinguishable. Yet, historians such as Sergio Caniuqueo and Florencia Mallon have pointed out that the use of territory differs enormously along lines of culture. Thus, the Mapuche do considerably different things with their land than non-Mapuche agriculturalists, which also explains why the dictatorship aggressively pursued the privatization of Mapuche lands as a means of disintegrating their culture during the 1970s and 80s. Interestingly, the collaborative efforts of leftist and Mapuche activists during the rise of socialism in the 1960s and 70s was probably key to setting the stage for neoliberalism, by rationalizing an authoritarian agenda shortly thereafter that cultivated obedience and stigmatized protest by referencing past insurgencies. Ever since, the neoliberal multicultural consensus, or hegemony, has involved the bargain that the Mapuche are valued in symbolic cultural terms; but, to gain the full favor of Chilean governing administrations (either authoritarian or democratic), they essentially have to relinquish their most fervent demands.

Also throughout the twentieth century, Chilean folklore and popular culture gained increasing consciousness of, and access to, Mapuche music and other symbolic representations. Mapuche music had remained largely foreign to Chilean society until roughly the 1930s and 40s, at which point it attracted interest among audiences versed in new, progressive political discourses. While many (though not all) representations of Chile's indigenous groups in popular culture remained abstract, uninformed by direct contact or ethnography, nonetheless these representations undoubtedly influenced the groundbreaking social policies of the 1950s and 60s, such as the Agrarian Reform. Following Diane Nelson's formulation (2001: 314-319), this relationship has been "prosthetic," in that groups such as the Mapuche have sustained and moved the nation's ethnic, cultural and gender contours, while also being moved by national politics, folklore, popular culture, feminism, and social movements. Beginning in the 1960s, *nueva canción*—both the music genre and the musical-political movement—has had various interesting links to Mapuche culture, and has established an enduring paradigm for protest music. Despite certain commonalities, I do not consider *nueva canción* a direct predecessor of the Mapuche fusion music I heard during my fieldwork. On the other hand, the new forms of Mapuche music I have described embody efforts at breaking with the lingering effects of nationalism characteristic of the Pinochet regime, which was a principal antagonist of *nueva canción*.

It is worth noting that, since *nueva canción*'s heyday, folklore can be both nationalistic and subversive. An important lesson from this dual quality is that folklore, which in one way or another represents various minority cultures, does not inherently

encompass expressions of autonomy for those cultures. For instance, folklore representing oppressed communities has been used to signal a healthy Chilean multiculturalism, which is not synonymous with empowering Chile's multiple cultures. An important non-musical example bearing many contradictions includes the role of Mapuche weavers, and the cultural capital they possess, in Chile's current development model.

I have worked in these chapters to underscore empowering cultural changes amid, and sometimes in spite of, sweeping challenges such as rural-urban migration. Through ethnography concerning the reformulation or recontextualization of rituals, and ethnography of the particular, I have described how individuals develop their art and their political postures during periods of major social change. This type of nuanced analysis is designed to subvert the tendency toward generalizations about rebellion, which is not the same as autonomy, and about cultural erasure, which is not an inevitable conclusion in situations of migration. As I have argued, artistic expression, performance and ritual vary considerably from one era to the next, but they also bear important continuities. Overlooking the flow between forms, genres and generations risks positing assimilationism, and thus framing indigenous peoples as historical subject-objects, rather than central players in contemporary society. The *Mingako Kultural* offers a glimpse at how Erwin Quintupil and a group of creative individuals revolving around a rural comunidad have dealt with the diminishing value of Mapuche lands and the increasing value of their cultural representations, by shifting the focus of the *mingako* from agriculture to expressive culture.

The ngapitún ritual, and the song “Ngapitún,” demonstrate the fluidity between ritual and popular music, and how a rock performance can encapsulate and narrate a ritual that by now is mythologized in Mapuche and Chilean cultures. Additionally, performed by a singer and a group whose music is central to the Mapuche Movement, the song “Ngapitún” demonstrates how changing cultural expressions and rituals continue to embody and transmit problematic gender relations that are likely ignored for the sake of solidarity in the face of external forms of oppression. For its part, the winter solstice celebration of We Xipantu, once staged as a performance by Ad-Mapu, has taken on a whole new life. Now, beyond a traditional affair, We Xipantu is also a site of negotiation between integration and autonomy, or between a stage performance and a spiritual ceremony. These examples of performance and ritual are far more than mere expressions of protest under the banner of things Mapuche; rather, they demonstrate agency amidst upheaval, and important methods for asserting the place of indigenous groups in relation to contemporary Chilean society.

The stage can also function as a battleground. Notions of music as a weapon, or of the stage as a site of conflict, are not unique to Araucanía, yet they definitely play out in a unique way here. Again, local events and expressions exceed a simplistic framework of music and protest, or music as protest. For instance, it is significant that Mapuche fusion music has flourished in a relationship of inverse proportion to the implementation of neoliberal multiculturalism and rural-urban migration. Considering that life in the comunidades has grown increasingly difficult compared with life in the city, I have worked via a poststructuralist ethnomusicological approach to understand new Mapuche

musical expressions, without equating them to cultural loss. This analysis has also permitted me to draw out important comparisons and contrasts between my theory and methods, and those of past researchers on Mapuche music. In light of the words of the late militant Matías Catrileo, who alleged that the state seeks to maintain the Mapuche as part of their folklore, I suggest that we could interpret this statement as a call for a new way of listening to Mapuche music. Among other things, this new way of listening would have us tune in to the changes in Mapuche musical expressions that have occurred for centuries, and that continue to occur today. As Lila Abu-Lughod argued in her proposal for ethnography of the particular, such attention to detail would “subvert the most problematic connotations of culture: homogeneity, coherence, and timelessness” (1991: 161).

Despite my critique of structuralist analysis, I concur based on my own research and interactions with people in Araucanía that culture and territory are inextricable for the Mapuche. The culture of the Mapuche is also urban today, yet it remains rooted in the campo. Thus, as noted earlier, the most effective way to justify the taking of Mapuche lands is to deny the existence or the contemporaneity of their culture, and the most effective way to eliminate their culture is to deny their lands and their ritual spaces. In that light, the *We Rakizuam* (New Wisdom) embodied in the festival I described in Chapter Five counteracts this dual alienation by framing the territorial demands as present and not historic, and Mapuche culture as both autonomous and contemporary. What’s more, against the grain of neoliberal multiculturalism, many artists involved in

We Rakizum have encountered in Temuco's punk, metal and hip-hop subculture powerful tools to fortify their expressions of autonomy.

The We Rakizum festival in 2010 called attention to a major hunger strike by thirty-four PPM (Mapuche Political Prisoners), which coincided remarkably with the Chilean bicentennial. In attending and documenting the festival, I encountered dilemmas of researcher subjectivity that cut to the heart of state-Mapuche sovereignty debates, and the conflicting moral imperatives evident in issues surrounding the hunger strike. I wondered whether my presence and documentation implicated me in the festival's overall message, and if so, whether my participation could be read as support for due process in the trials of the PPM, or as unequivocal support for the release of these captives, regardless of whether I thought they had committed crimes. To me, the distinction was extremely important. On the other hand, as events unfolded during the southern winter of 2010, I found discussions of this distinction wanting in broader discourses from either side of the conflict. These unattended, conflicting moral imperatives lead to important discussions of certain shortcomings in social movements, specifically involving the masking of internal rifts for the sake of solidarity in the face of external oppression. The two main examples of such dilemmas that I have encountered include this contradiction related to supporting the PPM hunger strike, along with the lack of critical discussions of gender relations, Mapuche feminism, and the *weichafe* warrior trope as masculinist and violent.

To return to the issues I originally raised in this epilogue, these internal rifts constitute major opportunities for artists to intervene and fortify social and cultural

movements. In the world of Mapuche hip-hop, the Brocas de las Naquis, Weichafe Newen, Unión de Pobla and Kolectivo We Newen did precisely that when, beginning in the late 1980s, Mapuche migrants struggled for a foothold in the cities of Araucanía and other Chilean regions. Despite glaring demographic shifts, a positive, urban Mapuche cultural identity did not necessarily figure into the state's multicultural agenda. Hip-hop encompassed an array of tools that were at once dynamic and autonomous, affording urban youth unique opportunities to redefine themselves without forsaking their roots.

Other dilemmas remain, such as critically addressing the armed conflict, and addressing gender relations while developing a broader base for Mapuche feminism. Neither of these issues requires calling all activism into question, nor do they necessarily require discarding the tactical symbolism of the predominantly male weichafe. As Andrea Smith (2005: 63-64) has pointed out in reference to similar dilemmas in Native American communities in North America, colonialism capitalizes upon such internal rifts, since colonialism itself relies upon racial and sexual violence and inequality. Ignoring internal fissures justifies colonialist disparagements, namely that minority groups are violent, machista and so forth. Again, artists stand to make a big difference here. Considering once again the anecdote that began the epilogue, Evelyn Cornejo is not one who oversimplifies, but rather in one particular instance she demonstrated the dangers of stating things simply, when she left her own message of resistance open for appropriation.

Against appropriation, confusion and mixed messages, Martín Curín's lyrics from the song "Una sola lucha" come to mind once more:

Una sola lucha,
Nuestra libertad

Pero el enemigo,
Nos confunde,
Para dividirnos,
Nos deja peleando entre nosotros,
Entre nuestros hermanos . . .

Pero mi lucha no es de muerte,
Mi lucha es por vivir,
Y no para matar,
Mi lucha es por vivir,
Mi lucha es por vivir

Only one struggle,
Our freedom

But the enemy,
Confuses us,
To divide us,
He leaves us fighting amongst ourselves,
Amongst our brothers and sisters . . .

But my struggle is not one of death,
My struggle is to live,
And not to kill,
My struggle is to live,
My struggle is to live

In the struggle for cultural and political autonomy, and for life itself, music and performance counter confusion and clarify the direction of a potent social movement. Social and cultural change can be navigated in empowering ways, but that empowerment requires intensive community work, and a critical notion of culture that subverts the static expectations of neoliberal multiculturalism, inherited from the biased external scrutiny of the Mapuche in earlier periods of history. Performance casts in relief the continuities between hip-hop and ũlkantun, between heavy metal and the intense drumming that

accompanies the dance of choike-purrún, and between the urban poblas and the rural comunidades. These continuities constitute the performative pathways for struggle—pathways long traveled by the weichafe spirit in Mapuche fusion music.

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APPENDIX A GLOSSARY OF TERMS IN MAPUZUGUN

A note on spelling of terms in Mapuzugun:

Mapuzugun derives from “Mapu” (land) and “zugun” (speech). The Mapuche language is thus the speech of the land. An oral language, Mapuzugun has several systems of spelling. In this dissertation, terms in Mapuzugun generally derive from song lyrics and documents whose authors have already made decisions about spelling in written form, meaning that a deeper discussion of writing in this language is not strictly necessary. Additionally, rather than authoritative definitions, I offer here abbreviated descriptions of terms in order to facilitate reading. The following terms appear in the dissertation.

Afafan: a collective holler of affirmation

Anchimalleñ: evil spirits

Añumka (also anumka): plants

Ayllarehue: administrative grouping of multiple family lineages in a region, for ceremonial, social and economic purposes

Biobío: the river historically marking the northern boundary of Mapuche territory, particularly since the arrival of the Spanish

Calfuhueno: blue sky

Canelo: a sacred tree

Cascahuilla: small bells used in Mapuche music, typically worn on the wrist

Chaltumay: literally, thank you

Choike-purrún: a ritual dance representing the ostrich of the Southern Cone grasslands

Colihue: a long, pliable reed similar to bamboo

Epeu: traditional Mapuche stories

Huillimapu: lands in the southern section of Mapuche ancestral territory

Iñce (or inche): pronoun, I

Inciñ (or inchiñ): pronoun, we

Kulkul: a cowhorn trumpet with no neck, just the horn

Kultrún: a ceremonial drum, and the most important Mapuche musical instrument

Kuñifal: orphan

Kurruf: wind

Kuyen (also kvyen or kvyeh): moon

Lafkenche: literally, people (che) of the coast (lafken); designation for Mapuche dwelling on the coast

Lama: an all-purpose Mapuche weaving

Lamgen: literally, sister or brother; the form in which Mapuche women refer to other women and men, and the form in which Mapuche men refer to women

Lof: a traditional geographic division of family groups

Lonco (also lonko): an authority figure

Machi: a ritual specialist

Mapuche: literally, people (che) of the land (Mapu)

Mingako: an agricultural ritual dating to contact between the Mapuche and the Inca

Mudai: a drink made of fermented cereals

Netuaiñ Mapu: a sector of the Mapuche resistance movement during the political upheaval of the early 1970s

Newen: force

Ngapitún: a courtship ritual sometimes involving kidnapping

Ngenechen: the most commonly used term to describe a central deity in Mapuche cosmology

Nguillatún: the principal Mapuche ceremony concerning the land

Ñi: possessive adjective, my

Ñi pu tremen: all of my people, as in one's family

Palín: Mapuche hockey

Paupawén: a bow instrument predating the trompe, or mouth harp

Pehuen (also pewen): millenary tree found only in the mountains of central-southern Chile, particularly in the Araucanía region; in Spanish, Araucaria

Pehuenche: literally, people (che) of the mountains (pehuen, which in this case means region of the pehuen); designation for Mapuche dwelling in the mountains

Peñi: literally, brother; the form in which Mapuche men refer to one another

Pentukun: formal greeting

Perimontun: visions

Pewma: dreams

Pewmayén: Space of dreams; also the name of a Mapuche heavy metal band

Pifilka: an end-blown flute with one hole

Pikunmapu: lands in the northern section of Mapuche ancestral territory

Pirulonko: literally, head filled with worms; also the name of a band in Temuco

Poncho: a large, tightly woven cloak, synonymous with *manta*

Puke: heart

Pullu: spirit

Quilapayún: name of a Chilean nueva canción group; literally, The Three Bearded Ones

Ragko: clayey waters; also supposedly the root word of Arauco, which the Spanish used to describe the Araucanía region as of the sixteenth century

Rakizuam: wisdom

Rehue (also rewe): an altar, the most sacred physical site in Mapuche cosmology, carved from a large tree trunk

Ruka: a Mapuche house, traditionally made with a grass roof and walls

Tañi: possessive adjective, our

Tayil: Mapuche lineage songs from the eastern side of the Andes

Trarilonko: traditional Mapuche headband made of tightly woven wool containing iconography, or silver adornments when worn by women

Trawün (also xawün): meeting

Trompe: a mouth harp of European origin

Trutruka: a cowhorn trumpet with a long neck made of colihue

Tugun (also tuwun): origins

Ülkantun: wide-ranging repertoire of traditional Mapuche song

Wallmapu: Mapuche territory, historically spanning the Pacific to the Atlantic in the Southern Cone

Wada: a gourd rattle

We Liwen: New Dawn; also the name of a Mapuche folk-rock group

We Newen: New Force, as in Kolectivo We Newen (New Force Collective)

We Rakizuam: New Wisdom; also the name of a music festival held in 2009 and 2010

We Xipantu: a winter solstice celebration

Weichafe: warrior

Wekufe: malignant, conquering spirits

Weñelfe: morning star

Wenu Mapu: realm of the stars; also the name of a hip-hop artist

Wewaiñ: literally, we will triumph; a rallying cry

Winka (also huinca, wigka or wingka): invasive, destructive outsider

Yowe: people, as in one's family

Yumbrel: rainbow

APPENDIX B
Miguel Enriquez and the MIR/MCR

Images from the document recording Miguel Enriquez's words on November 1, 1971 in Temuco, "A conquistar el poder revolucionario de obreros y campesinos. Discurso del Secretario General del MIR a nombre de la Dirección Nacional" (Capturing the revolutionary power of the workers and campesinos. Address by the Secretary General of the MIR in the name of the National Directorate). This document is housed in the Biblioteca Nacional de Chile (National Library of Chile), and can be accessed via their website, memoriachilena.cl.



Cover page, with photo and caption: "Thousands of workers from around the southern region of the country, who filled the center of the city of Temuco, rendering homage to Moisés Huentelaf, the campesino hero assassinated by the latifundistas."



MIGUEL ENRIQUEZ, Secretario General del MIR, habla en el acto efectuado en Temuco, el 1º de noviembre, para rendir homenaje a Moisés Huentelaf, campesino asesinado por los terratenientes en el fundo "Chesque" de la comuna de Loncoche.

COMPARECE campesinos de CHILE y de todo Chile.
 Comparece del Movimiento Campesino Revolucionario y del Frente de Trabajadores Revolucionarios.
 Comparecen militantes del Movimiento de Izquierda Revolucionaria.

Comparece:
 A nombre de la Dirección Nacional del MIR hemos venido a rendir un homenaje a Moisés Huentelaf, campesino, trabajador, revolucionario y millarista de nuestro movimiento, asesinado por los terratenientes en el fundo "Chesque" el 22 de octubre en el fundo "Chesque".

La tierra es que encierra la muerte Moisés Huentelaf revivió gran parte de la contradicción y sufrimiento del período porque atravesó nuestra vida.

Como sucede a lo largo de todo el campo chileno, campesinos pobres, sin tierra, se organizan para conquistar ellos mismos lo que la ley les niega: la tierra. Explotados por la clase terrateniente de los beneficiarios de la sociedad, explotados, victimas sólo por su existencia y destino, se lanzaron un fondo donde se se explotaba la tierra.

Los dueños del fondo, terratenientes a esta

de la explotación de los campesinos, gozando de la riqueza y el privilegio, que no trabajaron la tierra para crear el fondo en Chile; impunemente, sus acciones y explotaciones, atardecen, desaparecen, lucharon y asesinaron campesinos; así se defendió el derecho de algunos a la riqueza y un destino de miseria para otros.

Los campesinos fueron despojados, Moisés Huentelaf fue asesinado, otros campesinos fueron torturados.

Es un episodio de la lucha entre los dueños del poder y la riqueza por un lado y los explotados por el otro, en la forma que adopta hoy en Chile.

Para eso los dueños, tres terratenientes aglutinaron a los terratenientes a donar a los campesinos, el Gobernador de Loncoche fue llamado tres veces para que interviniera, pero se abstuvo, no ayudó y dejó que los terratenientes explotaran por tres horas a los campesinos. Y no terminó allí el linchamiento.

Los dueños, cuando los campesinos fue asesinado por los terratenientes, el punto que atacamos fue el fondo a los campesinos! Fueron asesinados en sus campos y en sus campos, despojados de ellos fueron despojados, al mundo que de ellos fue torturado, fueron asesinados los

Page 2, with photo of Enriquez and caption: "MIGUEL ENRIQUEZ, Secretary General of the MIR, speaks during an event carried out in Temuco, the 1st of November, to render homage to Moisés Huentelaf, the campesino assassinated by the landowners on the fundo 'Chesque' in the comuna (district) of Loncoche."



CAMPESINOS del MCR desfilan por las calles de Temuco durante el homenaje al dirigente Moisés Huentelaf, caído en el fundo "Chesque".

**EL GOBIERNO NO MOVIERO
A LAS MASAS**

El resultado de una política débil es el ser-
vor agudo y el hecho de que el gobierno en
lugar de asumir el liderazgo del movimiento
campesino en agosto, obligó al movimiento
campesino por medio de las medidas tomadas en
temuco, a acudir a formas legales de movili-
zación, entre las que están las huelgas de fami-
lias, que fueron rechazadas. El MIR no he-
veró la lucha de clases en el campo, sino
formas organizadas y lideradas las cuales for-
man posibles de movilización campesina da-
das las condiciones impuestas por la política
agresiva del gobierno.

Pero, sobre en el primer agosto, no se dió
el sistema de las medidas económicas donde
está el origen fundamental de las movili-
zaciones que el período han vivido.

La Unidad Popular, al mismo tiempo que
tomaba medidas económicas que tenían un
carácter a corto plazo, no desarrolló las me-
didas al pueblo en forma adecuada ni en gra-
do suficiente, más que, a veces, tomó medi-
das abortando contrarias al sentir de los
trabajadores, como la reintroducción de las
subsidios de precios respaldados por los
trabajadores a través la destrucción del pre-

cedente de CORA de Linares, cuando CORA
había que fue respaldado por los campesinos y
toda la izquierda de Linares.

También movilizó a los trabajadores de-
bido de sus reivindicaciones y política que
llevó al control, primero en las minas
y luego llegó a llevar a cabo movimientos re-
sistencia contra algunas movilizaciones de los
trabajadores. De todo es cierto que desarrolló
algunas formas de movilización e insurrec-
ción de las masas, a estas fueron dirigidas
a través por distintos dirigentes de sus ins-
tituciones económicas a través las cuales
de su parte se movilizó.

Al proceder de esta forma el gobierno y la
Unidad Popular no generó la forma de ma-
sas que le permitan realizar algunas de las
medidas económicas tomadas. Así el gobier-
no no tuvo la fuerza suficiente para impulsar,
transformar o reemplazar las instituciones
que todos estos movimientos como contrari-
tas al avance del proceso: la Ley de los pa-
trones, el Parlamento con mayoría demokra-
ticipada y nacional, y la justicia de clases.

El no se tuvo la fuerza para impulsar estas
instituciones, hubo razones que contrariar
muchos votos a sus disposiciones. Así la ma-
yoría parlamentaria demócrata-cristiana y
nacional, al modificar el proyecto de ma-
nifestación del voto, obligó a Chile a pagar

Page 5, with photo and caption: "CAMPESINOS of the MCR in the streets of Temuco during the homage to Moisés Huentelaf, who died on the fundo 'Chesque'."

APPENDIX C Netuaiñ Mapu

Document, "Convocatoria al Primer Congreso del Movimiento Netuaiñ Mapu" (Call to the First Congress of the Movement *Netuaiñ Mapu*, Take Back our Land). This document was posted for general interest on the website *Ñuke Mapu* (<http://www.mapuche.info>), on December 6, 2012. For partial translation, see Chapter Two.

